

Tutorial Letter 501/3/2018

**Africa in the World:
Historical Perspectives**

HSY1511

Semesters 1 and 2

Department of History

This tutorial letter, Tutorial Letter 501/3/2018, contains the content of your module, and takes the place of the study guide.

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
INTRODUCTION	3
Purpose and outcomes of this module.....	4
Study material	6
Overview of the contents of this module	7
1 DOING HISTORY: HOW HISTORIANS APPROACH THE PAST	8
1.1 What is history?	9
1.2 Why study history?.....	11
1.3 How do we study and write history?	14
1.4 Historical writing about Africa.....	21
2 POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD	25
2.1 A brief introduction to the Enlightenment: Revolution and Democracy	25
2.2 The Enlightenment in the 19 th Century: The Abolition of the Slave Trade and Imperialism.....	32
3.3 Totalitarianism	39
2.4 Independence	42
3 IDEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD	47
3.1 Introduction.....	48
3.2 The birth of liberalism.....	48
3.3 The spread of religion	50
4.4 Resistance to the spread of western ideologies	58
3.5 Rejection of western ideologies.....	62
4.6 Nationalism and decolonisation.....	66
3.7 Conclusion	70
4 SOURCES FOR FURTHER READING	72

INTRODUCTION

Welcome to your studies in the Department of History, and in particular to this module, entitled 'Africa in the World: Historical Perspectives' (HSY1511).

We hope that you will find the content of this module interesting and fulfilling, and that it will stimulate you to ask questions about, and to study further, the historical relationship between Africa and the world.

As you will see, Africa occupies an extremely important place in the history of the world. There have also been extremely important shifts in thinking about Africa's place in the world in the last few decades.

It is perhaps unusual that the reasons for studying Africa should be explained and defended. We seldom ask: why study Europe or the United States? This situation can be ascribed to widespread pessimism ('Afropessimism') about the state and future of Africa in a world which cherishes notions such as 'progress', 'development' and wealth. Although there has been a great deal of uncertainty in the West since the financial crisis of 2008 and 2009, and both the United States and Europe are experiencing far less confidence than they did after the collapse of communism during the 1990s, the United States, in particular, continues to see itself as the standard against which others should be measured. In some ways, Africa remains the 'other', a continent that has to become 'civilised' and 'developed' rather than possessing any dynamic qualities of its own. Africa has often been seen as insignificant, or it has been dismissed as 'the hopeless continent'.

There are several 'practical' reasons for studying Africa:

- As with any other area, the study of Africa can illuminate some of the most important, universally relevant questions facing the world today – the relationship between rich and poor, inequality, links between people and the environment, conflict and peace.
- The study of Africa can make us more aware of, and sensitive to, issues such as ethnic identity, racial categories and cultural stereotyping.
- It can alert us to the fact that knowledge is not always neutral, but often itself the product of history. In the study of Africa, knowledge is often linked to power and control. For example, as we will see, knowledge of Africa was used to support and justify colonial control of the continent.
- Research on Africa and African societies has profoundly influenced major disciplines such as history, anthropology, and literature. The study of African history has moved over the past three decades from the margins to the centre of historical studies. Historians have become aware that Africans do not only write their history; they tell, sing, produce (through dance and ritual), sculpt, and paint their history. The methods and theory of the practice of African history have been adopted to expand our understanding of other fields of history: for instance, early modern European history, British history, colonial American history, African American history, and women's history. The intellectual basis of anthropology, for example, was shaped by challenges raised in African research. Anthropology was consolidated during the colonial era. The image of African communities has been shaped by anthropologists' own participation in the colonial

enterprise. As a result of their experience in Africa, anthropologists have begun questioning their involvement in the creation of anthropological knowledge. The study of Africa has also led to a questioning of basic concepts in the field of literature. For example, what is the meaning of literature in societies without writing? And what is the meaning of African literature when the texts are written in European languages? Research in Africa has, then, both transformed our knowledge and understanding of the continent itself, while at the same time it has increased our awareness of the way in which knowledge is produced and organised. It has shed light on the foundations of academic disciplines such as history and anthropology.

- The study of Africa can help to supplement or contest the current image of Africa as a doomed continent by focusing on a contending image of Africa as a vibrant, resilient place where human populations have met formidable challenges successfully for millions of years. It has the deepest of human history, a rich cultural diversity and vast reservoirs of untapped natural resources.
- The study of Africa can make us aware that history does not only deal with progress and modernisation. In the 1960s, theorists of modernisation looked at the 'forward march' of the 'Third World'. African, Asian, and Caribbean aspirations to become more 'modern' were defined as more 'Western'. Other societies were expected to march toward the Western model. In 1992, the idea of modernisation was revived by the Japanese American, Francis Fukuyama, in his book, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 1992). His view was that the relentless march of history was toward a pluralistic, market-orientated, liberal-democratic political order – the final achievement of human beings. All historical change, and all modernisation, was toward the apex of democratic capitalism. He regarded the 'Second World', that of failed communism, as evidence of the triumph of the West. The model has been questioned by many, and recent developments in Africa, for example, show that the three interrelated concepts of Westernisation, modernisation and globalisation do not necessarily have validity at all. A study of Africa and its place in the world can reveal the limitations of both the West and Africa regarding expectations, communication and interaction.

Purpose and outcomes of this module

This module is offered in the Department of History at the first level of undergraduate university study (or NQF Level 5).

The formal purpose statement of this module is as follows: 'Qualifying students will gain an understanding of major developments in the history of Africa and the world from the 17th century to the early 21st century, and will also acquire an appreciation of the critical place of Africa in the history of the world.'

Essentially, we hope that we will enable you to gain an understanding of some major themes in the history of Africa and the world over the last four centuries, and come to understand the important place of Africa in these developments. We aim to:

- develop an understanding of the historical roots of current African society
- acquire respect, appreciation and understanding of different societies, cultures and points of view
- produce effective learning, analytical and critical skills which are appropriate to the discipline of History and are transferable to other disciplines and other contexts.

Once you have worked carefully through the learning units and completed the assignments and the examination successfully, you should have achieved the following:

- 1 Explain the difference between history and the past, through deriving a basic understanding of the nature of different sources and the ways in which historians approach, construct and represent the past.

Evidence shows that learners are able to:

- understand the difference between history and the past
- identify different primary and secondary sources that are used by historians to construct the past
- explain why different interpretations of the past exist and why history is a contested subject
- recognise different ways in which Africa and Africans have been represented and characterised
- demonstrate insight into the construction of race and the phenomenon of racism in different historical contexts in Africa and the world.

- 2 Analyse debates and discourses pertaining to the political and economic history of Africa and the world in approximately the past 400 years.

Evidence shows that learners are able to:

- demonstrate in broad outline a grasp of political change in Africa and the world as a result of the emergence of nation states, imperialism, colonialism and decolonisation
- provide insight into industrialisation, technological change, developments in communication and the distribution of, and access to, resources in Africa and the world
- discuss set case studies from African and world contexts related to political and economic change.

- 3 Evaluate perspectives, debates and arguments pertaining to ideological and religious change in Africa and the world in approximately the past 400 years.

Evidence shows that learners are able to:

- provide insight into ideological and religious exchanges and influences in Africa and the world
- demonstrate insight into reasons for perceptions of both 'modern' 'progressive' societies and 'primitive' 'backward' societies
- understand historical reasons why particular notions of modernity and progress have tended to dominate historical studies
- discuss set case studies from African and world contexts related to ideological and religious change.

- 4 Analyse debates and discourses pertaining to the historical construction of gender and the lived experience of men and women in Africa and the world in approximately the past 400 years.

Evidence shows that learners are able to:

- demonstrate insight into gender as a social and historical construct
- understand gendered domestic arrangements (the home, marriage and patriarchy) in different African and world contexts
- show insight into gendered interactions and expressions in public spheres in different African and world contexts
- discuss set case studies from African and world contexts related to historical gendered relationships.

Study material

When you register, you should receive Tutorial Letter 101 as well as study material produced in the form of this tutorial letter, Tutorial Letter 501.

- Tutorial Letter 101 introduces you to your studies in this module. It contains essential information about what is required, your work programme and your assignments.
- Tutorial Letter 501 contains the main material that your lecturers wish to convey to you, and encourages you to participate actively in learning this material. This material therefore contains varied activities, questions and exercises, as well as some feedback, and you are expected to complete these tasks as you work through the module.

If you were studying at a residential university, you would attend a set of lectures and perhaps tutorials as well, conducted by lecturers and tutors. In a sense, Tutorial Letter 501 is a set of 'lectures' and activities related to these 'lectures', similar to lectures and tutorials in a residential university.

The study material in this Tutorial Letter 501 has been divided into three main learning units. These are the main themes of the module, and form the module content:

- Each of the learning units has a particular central theme, and the material in that unit relates to that theme.
- Every unit begins with a clear statement of the objectives of the learning unit, telling you what knowledge you should master by the time you have completed working through it.
- There are also some skills you will develop and learn as you work through the learning units, particularly through the activities which are situated within each learning unit. The activities are designed to develop your reading and writing skills, as well as your ability to select information and to organise it logically in response to different kinds of questions.
- Many of the activities have links to various internet sites and domains. The easiest way to access these will be through the online site of this module, where all the activities have also been placed. You will be able to click from the respective activities straight to the respective site.

We strongly urge you to access the module website regularly, which we use to enrich the study material. In particular, we have created three additional learning units which we believe you will find interesting and useful, and which will complement the three main learning units in this tutorial letter. These learning units will not be directly examined in assignments or the examination at the end of the semester, but the material there will certainly add value to the work that you cover there. We will post additional material that you will find worthwhile, and

there will be discussion forums where we will encourage you, guide you and hope to develop your learning and understanding of the module's content.

At the end of this tutorial letter, you will find a list of sources for further reading and study. There is no prescribed book for this module, but you are encouraged to consult further sources where possible. Most of the general published histories are available in public libraries and bookshops, and all of the titles are available in the Unisa library, although some are in short supply. The list of sources is very selective; there are many good books and articles which are not listed. You are free to use any books or resources available to you. When in doubt, consult your lecturers about additional reading.

This Tutorial Letter 501 is fundamental to your studies. Its main aim is to guide you through the syllabus of this module.

Overview of the contents of this module

We have divided the content of this module into three main learning units (Learning Units 1 to 3, set out in this tutorial letter) and three additional learning units (Learning Units 4 to 6, available online on the module's website). Although we hope that these divisions are logical and make sense, there is some overlap and regular cross-referencing between them, and we trust that the learning units do contribute to a more coherent whole.

- Learning Unit 1 is concerned with how history is constructed and produced. Some understanding of this is essential for students who are embarking on a study of history, as it underpins all historical knowledge. We thus explore the difference between history and the past, the nature of sources used by historians to construct the past, and methods used by historians to write and produce history, particularly history in Africa.
- Learning Unit 2 explores some of the main political developments that have taken place over the last four centuries in relation to world and African history, and considers particular case studies which highlight the different forms taken by Enlightenment ideas and their impact on political transformation in different societies.
- In Learning Unit 3, ideological and religious change in Africa and the world is explored over the past four centuries, again with appropriate case studies to illustrate the significance of these factors in human history.
- Learning Unit 4 indicates ways in which Africa and Africans have been portrayed and represented mainly by outsiders to the continent during the past 400 years. These representations have had considerable power, but have also been challenged, particularly in more recent times, by Africans themselves.
- Learning Unit 5 is concerned with major economic transformation over the same period, in which industrialisation, technological change, developments in communication and the distribution of resources in Africa and the world affected different societies. There are also some important case studies to consider.
- Learning Unit 6 focuses on the lived experience of men and women, and their relationships with one another, over the past four centuries in Africa and the world, in both public and private spaces. Case studies are also used to illustrate some significant themes in gendered relationships.

It is our hope that these six learning units will illustrate different aspects of the main theme of the module – the place of Africa in the world over the past four centuries – and that the historical perspectives provided will stimulate you to further thinking and reading around them.

1 DOING HISTORY: HOW HISTORIANS APPROACH THE PAST

When you have completed this learning unit, you will be able to answer the following questions:

- What is the difference between history and the past?
- What is the importance of studying history?
- What sources do historians use to study history?
- What different disciplines can help us to construct history?
- How do we study the history of Africa?

In this learning unit, we aim to provide you with an introduction to the subject, or the discipline, that is called 'History'. We will look briefly at what the subject entails, the methods that historians use to produce 'history', and the different uses that 'history' can provide. We will also discuss how and why historians have interpreted the past in different ways, and we will focus in particular on the construction of the African past and how we can understand it and interpret it.

We will focus on the following main themes in this learning unit:

- What is history?
- Why do we study history?
- How do we study and write history?
- Historical writing on Africa

Activity 1.1

Spend a few minutes thinking about your understanding of what history is.

Also ask yourself: what are my reasons for studying history?

Make brief notes for yourself on the following questions:

- 1) What do you know about the history of Africa?
- 2) What perceptions do you have about African history?
- 3) What do you know about the history of Africa in relation to the world?

You almost certainly have some knowledge, or if you do not have knowledge, then you have at least some perceptions, about the history of Africa.

- 4) Where has your knowledge and/or your perceptions been derived from? What sources have informed you? Books? Newspapers? The Internet? Television? Radio? People around you?
- 5) Do you think the sources that have informed you are reliable?

Think about your goals for this module.

- 6) Do you think that you can learn valuable things from a module on 'Africa and the world'?
- 7) What relevance could a module such as this have for your life today?
- 8) What is the importance of history for you as an individual?

Finally, think about your perceptions and your understanding of what history is.

- 9) Do you think that history is a body of facts to be memorised?
- 10) Is history a subject in which the truth can always be certain?

1.1 What is history?

Quite often in my life, as I am sure is the case with almost all of us, I meet new people. A typical question that is asked from someone trying to connect with me, or showing an interest in me, is: 'What work do you do?' I reply to them, 'I teach history' or 'I'm an historian'. Sometimes a person will ask more about this, or show a genuine interest, even excitement; but common responses can also be more negative or even confused. Comments can include ones such as the following:

- 'That is my worst subject, because there are so many facts'; or
- 'History is so boring, all those people and events just make me tired'; or
- 'What is the point of knowing what happened long ago; I am much more interested in things happening around me now'; or
- 'I suppose that nothing new ever happens in your field'.

There are, of course, many other possible responses, but this range of responses can reveal that people think very differently about the past and its place in our world. Some think that it is genuinely very important and very exciting, while others perceive history to be dull, full of facts, and has little or no meaning. Many also think that history never changes: that it is no more than a defined collection of events.

Simply put, history is the study of human society in the past. Human society is never the same, however, so history is also very crucially concerned with how and why societies have changed over time. Let us explore this in a little more depth.

History as a systematic study of the past

History is a subject or discipline with its own method, which looks specifically at the past and the developments which took place. History is also about how people organised their lives in the past. It focuses on the life styles of groups of people. It is the study of patterns of work and settlement, developments in technology, systems of social interaction and political organisation, and of how people's cultures and religious beliefs have changed their societies. It is therefore an extremely broad subject, which encompasses the full range of human activity.

History is not just a collection of facts about the past. Rather it is a story of how the world of today has come to be the way it is. What history does is to record the lives and experiences of people in the past and how their struggles and achievements have shaped our present society.

The difference between the past and history

We must, however, make a distinction between a sense of the past, which we all experience, and history, which has to be consciously produced. In the process of systematically studying the past, historians reconstruct or recreate history by using evidence. This can come from a wide variety of sources, such as contemporary documents, diaries, letters, and travellers' accounts, but also from oral traditions of people, material remains, and artefacts. All of these depict some aspects of the past.

In a sense, therefore, historians assemble a particular version of the past when they write history. The past is what actually happened, and history is an attempt to reconstruct what happened.

Historians and history

All historians write from their own particular point of view. What they write is largely determined by their own background – their values, their social and political situation, and their experiences. For the most part, historians look back on a past that they have not lived through themselves, and therefore they have to establish how people lived in the past. Because historians are part of the present, their understanding of the past is influenced by their present circumstances and the contemporary concerns of the society in which they live.

It can be claimed, therefore, that historians stand between us and what actually happened in the past. Consequently, they shape history to a considerable degree. Historians certainly give verdicts on the achievements of individuals and societies. And it is their versions of the past that are generally believed.

Activity 1.2

Access this article 'The Fundamentals of History', by Arthur Marwick:

<https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/marwick1.html>

(accessed 24 June 2017)

Read Section 1 of the article.

Note that Professor Marwick's brief discussion differs a little from the discussion of what history is in this learning unit (Learning Unit 1). He does not like the notion of historians 'reconstructing the past'.

Consider the following question that arises from this, and also use the material you have covered in Learning Unit 1:

- What do you think of Professor Marwick's definition of what history is, and do you find his definition more understandable than that which appears in Learning Unit 1?

Please do not be perturbed that this Learning Unit has a slightly different approach to the question of 'what is history'. Remember that different sources stress different things, and we can learn from all of them! It also is good if we attempt to reach our own definitions and understandings.

1.2 Why study history?

As students embarking on historical study, we urge you to begin to nurture a questioning mind. Asking questions is essential and we strongly encourage you to do so. Do not assume that what you read or hear is necessarily true and accurate – just because it appears in a book, or a website, or on the radio, or in a film, does not make it completely valid. This process of questioning is essential to the development of critical thinking. History is not a body of knowledge to be 'learnt'; rather, history is an ongoing questioning and dialogue between the present and the past, and we learn through thinking, questioning, discussing and writing.

To expand on this further, there are several important reasons why we study history. We have identified three of them.

History as knowledge

Does history have value as an independent body of knowledge? In other words, can we learn from history? In answering this question, we must approach history as an exercise in understanding, which involves critical thinking and a careful assessment and evaluation of evidence (or sources). In this sense, doing history is like preparing the legal defence of a client in court. What is required is a detailed and careful investigation, because there are no simple answers to be derived from history. We will obtain insights and answers from history only if we search our sources, try to be objective and critical in what we write, and allow the evidence to confirm, modify or change our preconceived ideas. That is the historian's task.

Many historians would agree that the purpose of historical research would encompass at least the three following matters:

- History trains our minds, because we are forced to think about many different occurrences and events, and assess these in relation to one another – what are causes, what are consequences?

- History enables us to develop our understanding, our empathy and even our compassion. In thinking about the actions of humans in the past, we quickly would realise that the experiences of people are complex. Although we can certainly conclude that some people had better reactions to events than others, that some people behaved more honourably than others, it is seldom that we draw very simple conclusions or judgments.
- A study of history provides perspectives on current issues and problems. If we want to understand our present world, continent, region, or society, one has to confront and try to understand the historical forces that gave shape to the present.

To provide a historical perspective demands that historians explain fairly and without conscious bias what motivated people in the past to act the way they did, how they viewed their own situations, and what the results of their actions were.

Many historians also strive to make history enjoyable. After all, history should excite our curiosity about other people, their struggles, achievements, different values and lifestyles. When history is well written it is absorbing to read, and because it is about real life and the real world it often has a more powerful effect than any work of fiction.

History and change

We cannot escape history because it is all around us. The mere fact of living around people older than ourselves makes us aware of the past. If we look at buildings in our neighbourhood or in the city, we are also conscious of history. Even our own actions are dependent upon our memories. So, the past is a powerful feature in our lives. And just as individuals have memories, so societies have collective memories which make up what we call history.

We have an individual past, which relates to our place within the family, but we are also part of a social group or community, which itself has a past. History helps us to understand where we have come from and who we are, both individually and as members of society.

The rapid change in today's world also gives immediacy and relevance to the past. History is sometimes part of the process of change, and on occasions history seems actually to precipitate change in South African society. This is because knowledge of the past makes people aware of how different things have been and therefore awakens them to how different the future could be. Consequently, history itself becomes an instrument of change.

History and political power

Precisely because history is not merely factual, but also interpretative – and because there are therefore many different versions of history – it is not surprising that the subject can be controversial, or that it has been used to legitimise all kinds of human action.

It is true, for example, that history is often the story of those who possess political power. There are many examples of works of history that reflect the political authority of those who are in control of society. History can often record the important actions and deeds of such people. It can also be used to win loyalty to those in authority, and it can be manipulated to perpetuate such political control.

Communities which have little knowledge or understanding of their past are more inclined to submit to current power structures, because they are not familiar with or aware of any alternatives. Many writers who work on subjects such as the history of workers, or the history of women, or the history of minority groups, have argued that part of their task is to provide such

people with a sense of their own history. They maintain this because the marginalisation of their history has kept such people and groups uninformed, without knowledge and therefore without power.

History is not the exclusive possession of the powerful, but it is also the property of the poor, the dispossessed and the oppressed. Strong bonds which unite large social groupings within the working class can be forged by a common history and a shared broad understanding of that history. It has been argued that such a history can be as powerful in moulding consciousness as something such as language, which of course is a critical way in which people communicate and are drawn together.

Those who possess political and economic power are often aware of the potential danger and subversiveness of history to their positions. History can be used to support opposition as much as it can be used to confirm those in authority. History can make people sceptical about the ideas that have come down to them, which is why the writing of history is so strictly controlled in repressive societies. History can serve rebellion and dissent just as well as it has served the power of the state. A government's use of the past for its own ends seldom goes unchallenged where people know their past. Therefore, history can be an important weapon for those who seek to liberate themselves from oppressive conditions.

Potentially, therefore, history can be reduced to propaganda for a particular political programme or set of policies. In this context, let us reflect again on the comment at the beginning of this section: perhaps the best historical work is that which raises questions, probes received ideas, and questions assumptions. This is of course a very large task, and indeed one perhaps which never really ends – it has to continue, because there are always new questions to be asked. But it is vital that it be done.

Activity 1.3

Here are three different discussions of why we study history, or the main benefits of studying history.

- 1 'The History Guide: A Student's Guide to the Study of History':
<http://www.historyguide.org/guide/study.html>
(accessed 24 June 2017)
- 2 An article by Peter N. Stearns:
[https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/why-study-history-\(1998\)](https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/why-study-history-(1998))
(accessed 24 June 2017)
- 3 Another extract from the article that we encountered in the previous activity: 'The Fundamentals of History', by Arthur Marwick:
<https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/marwick1.html>
(accessed 24 June 2017)

Read Sections 2 and 3 of Marwick's article.

Work through the three extracts, which are not long.

Make a list of the reasons that each of them outlines as important reasons for the study of history.

Then, decide for yourself five reasons why you think that the study of history is important. Which reasons do you find the most important? Which do you think are the most convincing?

1.3 How do we study and write history?

As we have seen, history is a discipline that constantly changes as historians review and rethink their ideas about the past. New patterns and new meanings are regularly presented by many different historians, and this ensures that the discipline remains relevant to us in our current society.

Thus, we need to ask: how do historians go about this task of reviewing, rethinking, studying afresh and then writing about the past?

It is probably safe to claim that the great majority of historians, and certainly all the best ones, work carefully and systematically. Doing history is not something random, and we cannot derive sound and valid conclusions from fanciful imagination. Historians need evidence to support any theories and ideas that they might advance, so that we as people who read or receive these ideas may be convinced that they have validity. The collection of evidence often takes much searching, thought, and organising, so that clear patterns can emerge, and a convincing story can be told.

Historians therefore need to gather evidence, or sources, to enable them to construct history.

Primary sources and secondary sources

Traditionally, historians classify sources into two main categories: primary sources and secondary sources. Both are vitally important to historians, and both need careful investigation in order to extend our knowledge into the particular topic under investigation.

- Primary sources are those which came into existence during the actual period of the past which the historian is studying. Thus, for example, if we are studying a topic such as the French Revolution of 1789, an official record of the government from 1789, or diary entries written by someone living in Paris during the events of 1789, or newspaper reports from 1789, would be primary sources. They describe aspects relating to the French Revolution, they were obviously produced during 1789, and as a result, they are primary sources. Primary sources can vary greatly. Typically and traditionally, primary sources are mainly written sources, such as official records, government documents, proceedings of courts of law, religious records, personal memoirs, letters and diaries. However, in more recent times, other kinds of primary sources are often used by historians (depending on the nature of the topic), such as oral traditions and oral

histories, archaeological artefacts, and visual records such as paintings and photographs. Anything produced at the time of the event being studied can be seen to be a primary source.

- By contrast, a secondary source is not a first-hand account, but rather an interpretation of what happened in the past. A history book is a very good example of a secondary source, because it gives an interpretation of what actually took place in the past, and it has made use of primary sources in doing so. Secondary sources can vary, and sometimes there is a blurred line between a primary and a secondary source. For instance, a book written at the time of the French Revolution could be categorised as a secondary source because it gives an interpretation of events, but it is also a primary source because it was produced at the time of those events.

Generally, however, we can say that the historian's function is to change the raw material of history – the primary sources – into a piece of historical writing – the secondary source.

Some people have argued that works based very carefully on primary sources are better works of history, because they are a better reflection of the times about which they are writing. They say that if a historian ignores secondary sources (other interpretations of events) and uses the primary sources, he or she will be less biased and will offer a more authentic account. However, this is not necessarily true. All sources need to be carefully evaluated, and subjected to various tests such as how they were created, why they were created, and what their purpose is. It was once argued by prominent historians that the best sources available for historians were government documents, because these were carefully produced to be accurate records and were properly stored for future generations. However, we now recognise that government documents can be biased. Governments often highlight certain things and are silent about other matters. They often want to portray their work and their policies in a particular way, commonly to show themselves in a favourable way. Thus, all sources need to be considered carefully by historians, not only for what they actually say, but also for how they say things.

Studying history is more complicated than merely finding out and writing down what happened in the past. If it were as easy as that, all historians and all history books would tell exactly the same story – they would all agree and there would be no debate. But this is not the case. In fact, historians have many different opinions about the past. They often disagree about which events, people and facts were significant and how these facts should be explained.

The reason for this is that historians have to select information which enables them to answer questions about the past. Of course different historians ask different questions about the past. They also get different answers, which lead them to various interpretations or explanations. Our knowledge of the past improves as more historians ask new questions and find new information to answer these questions.

We all try to give meaning to the things that happen to us in our lives. In this way we are interpreting events to ourselves; we are explaining why things are the way they are. We often use our memories to make sense of what is happening to us. For example, the loss of a job, which at the time may have seemed disastrous, might in later years be considered a positive event – one which led to greater personal opportunity. By interpreting such personal events to ourselves, we are actually engaged in doing what historians try to do for public events.

It should be evident therefore that history is not merely a set of unchangeable facts about the past. Rather, it is a series of interpretations (i.e. attempts to explain why certain events, people and processes are important) about what happened. This means that there is not just a single history, but many histories, as historians constantly debate different views about the past.

It is wrong to see historians merely as eager hoarders of factual information; more crucial is their interpretation of the past. For historians, trying to make sense of the past by explaining why and how things happened is the most important challenge. It is because of their interest in the present that they look to the past to find ways of understanding the here and now. In this sense they remake the past in terms which are useful for the present. Central to this task is how they interpret their primary and secondary sources.

History and other academic disciplines

Historians often work closely with others in order to create works of history. It is probably fair to say that everything on the planet has a history, which is why some people would argue that the work of historians is absolutely central to understanding anything in society. Historians do, however, often need to work with specialists in other disciplines – depending on what they are working on, of course – in order to provide a better and more refined understanding of their topic.

Let us touch on some important academic disciplines that are of particular value to historians:

- **History and Archaeology.** Archaeology is the scientific study and classification of the physical remains of past human settlements. These consist of the bones of humans and animals, the remains of houses and village settlements, tools, pieces of pottery, ornaments and various metals. Archaeologists work at sites where communities lived, and systematically dig through the layers of ruins that have been left.

Different groups of people may have lived on the same land at different times. Artefacts which have been left remain scattered on soil at these sites. Archaeologists date such items carefully in order to establish exactly when they were used. They often find charcoal remains and bones at these sites. Through different scientific techniques such as carbon-dating, the age of these objects can be ascertained with considerable accuracy.

Although archaeologists are concerned with physical evidence, like historians they can tell us how people organised their communities, what food they produced, what implements they used and what trade and crafts they practised. The value of archaeology goes beyond the mere scientific explanation of sites and the classification of pots, bones and stones to the reconstruction of the past. Archaeology is therefore a means of extending the study of history.

History and archaeology have been drawn together greatly in the construction of the history of much of Africa. Archaeological sources are essential to an understanding of the history of many early societies on the continent, and without them, knowledge of these societies would remain buried and hidden.

- **History and Anthropology.** Anthropology is the study of the culture, religion and kinship patterns of societies, and how societies were structured and organised. Anthropology is also concerned with process, change and development, which indicates a historical dimension, as well as the encounter between different lifestyles and peoples.

Anthropologists have done invaluable work on numerous African societies, and in so doing, have pioneered the study of these communities in a way in which historians have failed to do. They have taken the lead in looking at links between politics, religion, economics and social relations, issues which now form an important part of historical research. They have also investigated the significance of oral traditions, myths and legends in various societies, and how these have held societies together.

- **History and Linguistics (Language).** Researchers of languages (Linguistics) have identified links between different languages through comparing them with one another. The connections they have found point to contacts between different groups of people, which suggests that they have a common past. Often words from one language are borrowed by others, which shows links between the speakers of these languages. Historians are therefore able to begin reconstructing a history of various communities by using linguistic evidence. One good example is how the reconstruction of the history of speakers of different Bantu languages in southern Africa has relied partly on understanding the links between the different languages.
- **History and Geography.** The natural environment has always played a role in shaping the lifestyles of people. Topography, climate and vegetation in particular determined the settlement patterns of various communities in Africa. Historians thus need to take note of the work of geographers and people who study the physical environment – which is never static and unchanging – to gain a better understanding of the conditions which affected people who lived in the past.

There are times when historians work with other disciplines not cited here; the disciplines mentioned above are not the only ones of value to historians. For example, historians may often work with legal and constitutional experts if they are writing about the development of law within society, or historians of religion could often work with specialists in different faith communities. There are therefore many other examples that we could cite. The point is that because history can encompass a very wide range of human experience, good historians cannot work in complete isolation and cut themselves off from other academic disciplines and specialists.

The historian's method

We have touched on this matter in the two sections above – in the way that historians have to use sources and sometimes also work with other disciplines and specialities. We will end this section with a few further thoughts about the methods that historians use to reconstruct the past.

The past has to be recreated on the basis of the evidence which has been collected – the primary and secondary sources. To do this, historians have to use factual material creatively and imaginatively in an attempt to recapture something of what happened in the past. The sources usually give many clues about what the past was like, but sometimes the material is too fragmented to provide a clear picture. When this occurs, historians might speculate about what could have taken place, and attempt to make some intelligent links or comparisons to recover the past. Naturally, historians aim to discover as much about the truth of what occurred as possible, and speculation needs to be kept carefully in check.

The past also has to be explained. This means that the historian has to analyse the causes and consequences of events that have been depicted. In other words, the historian has to interpret history as a process (i.e. a series of actions or changes, which are linked by some cause or result), and not just as a list of facts.

Historians have a role in undermining myths or misconceptions which influence popular interpretations of the past. By correcting myths about our society, and by explaining how these have helped to create a common social and political consciousness or national identity, historians can make a contribution towards freeing people from a version of the past that prevents them from acting creatively and independently in the present.

The historian's method is therefore important. It is not really acceptable, for instance, only to look for information that confirms what one already believes. In fact, sources that raise doubts about our opinions and preconceptions often lead to a better writing of history, and they show more clearly the complexities of the past. Certainly, no history can be completely objective, but the way one goes about collecting material and sifting the evidence offers an opportunity to overcome prejudices and to develop a broader point of view.

Put another way, a careful and systematic study of historical sources provides valid historical perspectives. There are many different ways of approaching and studying the past. There are also many different ways of writing about it, although narrative history (or telling the story) remains one of the most common and accepted forms. Perhaps one can end this section by saying that there really is no definitive history of anything, although some of the best historical writing comes close. History really is a never-ending story of new questions, new approaches, new sources, and re-interpretation and re-writing. This is why the subject remains vital, fresh and alive, because there are always new ways of looking at, and understanding, past events.

Activity 1.4

First of all, to revise and supplement what we have just worked through in this learning unit (Learning Unit 1), work through the following:

Another extract from the article that we encountered in the two previous activities: 'The Fundamentals of History', by Arthur Marwick:

<https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/marwick1.html>

(accessed 24 June 2017)

Read Section 7, 'Primary and Secondary Sources'.

Now, answer the following questions:

1 What would you describe as the essential difference between a primary source and a secondary source?

2 Would you describe this map as a primary or a secondary source? Why?

<http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/unpacking/Resources/africa1630tn.jpg>

(accessed 25 June 2017)

3 Would you describe this Bushman rock painting as a primary or a secondary source? Why?

<http://quatr.us/africa/art/pictures/san6.jpg>

(accessed 25 June 2017)

- 4 Would you describe this terracotta figure from an archaeological site in Nigeria as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<http://historylists.org/images/nok.jpg>
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 5 Would you describe this book as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
https://bsazone6-2m4ngwd4.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/remote/2016/08/2779-0-0-0_2524059.jpg
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 6 Would you describe this extract from a personal diary as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
http://www.communitycatalogue.co.uk/assets/letterintheattic/images/processed/LIA_15_11.jpg
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 7 Would you describe this academic journal, which contains articles written by historians who specialise in the study of African history, as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
https://static.cambridge.org/covers/AFH_0_49_1/cover.jpg?send-default-cover=false
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 8 Would you describe this newspaper as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
https://4.bp.blogspot.com/-fRIPnc2Mhu4/V2fnDdKbtol/AAAAAAAAACQBE/qyYxDedFwPwpdh_X0wyRHKFLieXYgmSewCLcB/s1600/headlines-of-the-past-6.jpg
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 9 Would you describe this stone cross, placed by the Portuguese seafarer Bartholemeu Dias at Mossel Bay in 1488, as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<https://www.travelground.com/img/1200x800/letterbox/AEEAAQAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAJDFjYjZIODUzLWE3NzgtNGMwMC04ZTEyLTM0NTNjYmFiMzE0ZA.jpg>
(accessed 25 June 2017)

- 10 Would you describe this book as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<http://www.orwelltoday.com/africabook2.jpg>
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 11 Would you describe this official government document as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<https://img.yumpu.com/22686182/1/358x462/complete-document-south-africa-government-online.jpg?quality=80>
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 12 Would you describe this historical photograph of Africans at a missionary hospital as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<http://johnedwinmason.typepad.com/.a/6a0112791cb10528a40168e888d6c5970c-550wi>
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 13 Would you describe this collection of recordings of oral history testimonies a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<https://static.c-span.org/assets/images/series/logos/ahtv-oral-histories-logo.460.200.png>
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 14 Would you describe this film, based on historical events, as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<https://images-na.ssl-images-amazon.com/images/I/81THTBkYX7L.SL1500.jpg>
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 15 Would you describe this historical film footage as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<https://i.ytimg.com/vi/uSnKJnJmDEo/hqdefault.jpg>
(accessed 25 June 2017)
- 16 Would you describe this official government document as a primary or a secondary source? Why?
<https://img.yumpu.com/22686182/1/358x462/complete-document-south-africa-government-online.jpg?quality=80>
(accessed 25 June 2017)

1.4 Historical writing about Africa

The continent of Africa is a very large, diverse and complex place located between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Africa is the second-largest of the world's continents (after Asia), and today has the third-largest population (after Asia and Europe), estimated in 2013 to be 1.1 billion people.

Africa is an actual place, an area – but 'Africa' is also an idea, a concept or even an 'invention'. An 'invention' simply refers to the various images imposed on Africa, particularly by Europeans and European Americans. Many of these images, or the ways in which the continent and its people have been portrayed in the past and even in the present, exist more in the minds of outsiders rather than having much basis in reality. There are many images of Africa, and many perspectives on the continent; there are, in a sense, many 'Africas'.

History before the middle of the 20th century

For a long time, many myths and prejudices existed about Africa, and African societies were looked upon by outsiders as societies that had no history. Many different 'inventions' – even substantial and entire 'series of inventions' – were made in earlier times by travellers, explorers, colonial rulers and missionaries. This kind of approach has sometimes continued in more recent times in the work of many different writers, academics, journalists and development experts. Many of them have tended to bring preconceptions from outside the continent to bear on their studies and analyses of Africa.

Until at least the middle of the 20th century (approximately the time when African countries started to seek, and win, their independence from the colonial powers), the great majority of experts from outside the continent – including historians – argued that the lack of written sources and the lack of written documents made it impossible to reconstruct the history of Africa. Some even argued that because there appeared to be virtually no written documents, Africa in fact lacked history – indeed, there was no such thing as African history. The largest part of the African continent – Africa south of the Sahara Desert, or sub-Saharan Africa – only began to be known by Europeans after the 15th century. Thus, only from this time, because of the written observations of different travellers, explorers and settlers, could they begin to write about historical developments in Africa, through the records that these outsiders to the continent left. African oral and cultural traditions were dismissed as worthless.

Further, historians also tended to create a split between parts of north Africa and other parts. They generally saw the Sahara Desert as a space that divided the continent into two distinct sections which had nothing to do with one another. There were civilizations such as ancient Egypt and ancient Nubia in the far north, and the rest of Africa which was 'shut off' from all other areas of the world. While it is certainly true that the northernmost parts of Africa had considerable links and ties with the other parts of the Mediterranean world, there were also numerous connections between these parts and those further south, across the Sahara Desert.

There is one further issue that needs to be raised, that greatly affected research into, and understanding of, Africa before the middle of the 20th century. This was the fact that Africa was greatly affected by the slave trade of the 16th to the 19th centuries and colonisation by Europeans, particularly in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These twin processes gave rise to racial stereotypes: that Europeans who were 'white' were also superior, while Africans were 'black', were seen as no more than units of labour to be traded, and were ultimately seen as inferior. Africans came to be portrayed as people who had limited culture and no history, and most historians believed that their history was neither recoverable nor worthwhile.

History since the middle of the 20th century

There has been very significant change in the study of African history since approximately the 1960s. Certainly, a key reason for this was the emergence of many independent African states during the 1950s and 1960s, with independent political leadership. These new states began to assert their place in regional, continental and world affairs. Historians of Africa began to emphasise much more strongly that African history both could, and had to be, written. Africans themselves also have increasingly become involved in the writing of the continent's history, and unsurprisingly have felt the need to record and establish the historical foundations of African societies across the continent.

As suggested above, in an earlier section of this learning unit, this has quite legitimately been done by Africans taking seriously various 'non-traditional' historical sources and approaches:

- Archaeology has been shown to be vital to the recovery of the history of African societies and civilisations. Enormous advances have been made during approximately the last 50 years by archaeologists in many parts of the continent. The artefacts that have been dug from the ground – building materials, tools, food, different kinds of objects – all require interpretation, but all tell a story of how people lived in the past in Africa.
- Oral traditions have come to be seen as containing the essential social and cultural record of particular communities and societies. Of course these traditions require careful treatment and study. Critics say that oral traditions, particularly epic traditions which tend to present the past in very heroic and congratulatory terms, are little more than mythology. They also say that oral traditions play a functional role in society, of bonding people together and giving them a shared identity, which further distorts any historical value. However, written documents can do the same. There are many examples of the written record being produced in a particular way to present the ruling class of a society in heroic ways; and further, written history can also play a functional and social role, binding people together. The point is that all sources need to be carefully evaluated, and the purposes in their creation clearly understood, before they can be used as sources for the construction of legitimate and useful history. Written documents are not necessarily 'objective' or 'more true' or 'more accurate', and are just as likely to be subject to distortion and bias as oral sources and traditions.
- Linguistics is a discipline that has come to offer historians very useful insights into the past. A great deal of very painstaking work has been done, and continues to be done, by linguists who record languages and compare them to one another. They can establish words or phrases that can be said to have been spoken earlier in some societies than others, which suggests that the people using these must have lived earlier than later ones. This of course is not always easy to establish and can cause debate and even conflict. Again, however, this is not all that much different from interpreting written sources, many of which are difficult to date with complete precision.
- Anthropology has increasingly come into its own as a discipline which, through its study particularly of the structures and practices of societies, can help to shed light on the historical evolution of those societies. Before the middle of the 20th century, anthropology was used in certain ways by Europeans to suggest that Africans were 'primitive' and 'backward', and structures of societies, once studied and understood, were pulled apart to make it easier for colonial administrations to control Africans. Anthropologists tended to try to divide people into all kinds of different physical categories, labelling them in many different ways. However, over the past 50 years, anthropologists have rejected such approaches and purposes, and their work is framed by the assumption that Africans are just like any other people, but who have been shaped by a different context.

Written sources do, of course, also contribute to the writing of African history. These are unevenly distributed, and it is true that for many sub-Saharan African societies, there are many centuries where written sources are non-existent. This is in contrast to much of north Africa, where the written record is relatively rich and varied. Many of the written sources about sub-Saharan Africa were initially produced by non-Africans, by explorers, travellers and missionaries, most of whom had their own assumptions and recorded their experiences in particular ways that made sense to themselves and to those who read what they wrote. However, this does not mean that these sources should be dismissed as lacking in validity. Provided later historians understand the context and the purposes of these early records, they can be creatively used to understand historical developments in particular societies.

Thus, over the past 50 years, there have been strong moves to counter the Eurocentric and anti-African outlook and writing that had claimed that written sources could be the only basis of historical scholarship. This writing had essentially denied non-literate and relatively small-scale societies (as were the great majority of societies in sub-Saharan Africa), a history. Using the wider array of sources that we have touched upon here, this newer scholarship was able to demonstrate convincingly that Africans had a history. Ideas of Africans being 'static' (or unchanging) and 'backward' were strongly rejected. This scholarship has been strongly interdisciplinary in its approach – in other words, it uses methods from archaeology, anthropology, linguistics and oral traditions in combination to reconstruct the African past.

In a very real sense, African historians have played a very prominent and powerful role in transforming the entire discipline of history. Before the middle of the 20th century, as we have seen, history was essentially dominated by Western Europeans and North Americans who projected their views of what constituted history onto the rest of the world. Europeans and their civilisations were seen as triumphant and ascendant, superior in every way to other regions. Thus, people such as African historians who have rejected this Eurocentric approach and who have studied African societies and their histories in their own terms can be seen to have been even revolutionary. They have successfully shown that just because people were not literate, or societies whose material base was relatively poor, does not deny them a legitimate and authentic history.

These developments also contributed to another major change in traditions of historical writing after the 1960s. Generally, up till this time, historical writing had been mainly concerned with the achievements of ruling classes, for example, of kings, emperors, powerful politicians, influential religious leaders, or powerful business people and companies. Traditional historical writing had neglected all other social groupings, in Europe and elsewhere. What historians of Africa began to show, along with historians in other places, was that it was possible to write proper social history that examined all parts of society, not just the ruling classes. They did this in Africa through the interdisciplinary methods that we have mentioned, and indeed African historians have been among the pioneers of writing social history and the history of all classes of people and of all social formations.

The way in which African historians were particularly pioneering was in the use of oral history and oral traditions. Although some people began to collect oral traditions in the first half of the 20th century, the movement to do so only began seriously after the 1950s. In 1961, an important book by Jan Vansina, entitled *Oral Traditions: A Study in Historical Method* was published, which was a significant milestone. This book argued that oral traditions were valid as historical sources, although (like other documents) such sources needed to be examined critically and carefully corroborated with other kinds of evidence.

Another development at this time also boosted the study of African history and its professionalisation. Up until the 1950s, there were almost no professional historians of Africa.

The history that was written – and which generally viewed Africans as inferior and lacking history – was produced mainly by colonial officials, missionaries and travellers. No university regarded African history as worth studying. This situation began to change markedly from the 1960s, however, when specialist programmes in African history began to be established in many western European and north American universities. In addition, with the establishment of many universities in newly independent Africa, there was much more concentration on African history within Africa itself, and many African scholars began to be trained and to produce history themselves. This process was of course not even across the continent – South Africa, for example, was definitely behind in making moves in this new direction – but African historical studies unquestionably advanced very significantly during the 1960s and 1970s.

Today, the history of the world is no longer the history of Western civilisation, or history seen through the eyes of western civilisation. African historians have been significant contributors to the broadening of the discipline of history. In recent times, many Africans have also been leaders in a move to ‘decolonise’ the history of Africa (and indeed the world), through their work in actively questioning and rejecting traditional preconceptions and prejudices. They have aimed to construct a more authentic African past, in which Africans played a leading role as shapers of their own destinies, not mere victims of outside forces. Increasingly, the contribution of Africans to the history of the world, the values of Africa, and the interaction of Africa and Africans with the rest of the world has been studied and highlighted.

Activity 1.5

Write a paragraph of about 10 to 15 lines on each of the following topics which we have covered in Learning Unit 1:

- 1 Explain the difference between ‘history’ and ‘the past’.
- 2 Briefly outline reasons why the study of history is important.
- 3 Explain briefly why knowledge of history can empower marginalised groups to challenge their position in society.
- 4 Briefly outline reasons why it is important for historical research to be carried out.
- 5 Discuss briefly why history can be a valuable weapon for political elites to justify their power.
- 6 Explain what a primary source is, and provide at least three examples of primary sources to illustrate your answer.
- 7 Using at least three examples, explain the difference between a primary source and a secondary source.
- 8 Briefly outline why historians in Africa can benefit from the research of archaeologists.
- 9 Critically assess the importance of oral tradition in enabling historians to reconstruct the history of African societies.
- 10 Briefly outline major ways in which historians of Africa have altered Eurocentric approaches to the study of history.

2 POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD

When you have completed this learning unit, you will be able to answer the following questions:

- Discuss the main political developments that have taken place over the last four centuries with a particular emphasis on world and African history
- Understand the ways in which different primary sources are used to construct history
- Consider the ways in which case studies are used to highlight the different forms taken by Enlightenment ideas and their impact on political transformation.

2.1 A brief introduction to the Enlightenment: Revolution and Democracy

There are certain political, economic and ideological features of our society that are so powerful that they are seen as having always existed. Concepts such as democracy and capitalism are familiar to us in the 21st century and have a great influence on our lives – but this was not always the case.

If you lived in Europe in the 17th century, the world was a very different place to what it is now. People's lives were governed by their position in society. Ordinary people were under the power of the aristocracy, the church and the ruler. They lived during a time when the world was largely unknown – most people had not travelled further than their own village, so other countries, people and beliefs were unfamiliar to them, and seemed to them to be in the realm of legend and myth. Their lack of knowledge about the world meant that disease, natural disaster or any other form of misfortune was attributed to divine wrath. They believed that God was displeased with them and punished them for their misdeeds.

Things, however, had slowly been changing – although these changes would take some time before it began to affect the way in which people thought about the world. In the 15th century, the voyages of discovery dramatically increased the world as Europeans knew it. Explorers like Christopher Columbus and Ferdinand Magellan sailed to lands unknown to Europeans, encountering people who looked, spoke and believed very differently from them. These contacts had both positive and negative effects, but they ultimately challenged and changed the perspectives of Europeans and the people that they encountered. We live in a world that has been shaped by that process.

In addition to having their geographical understanding expanded, Europeans also had their intellectual understandings tested as well. People were largely illiterate, and education was reserved for the clergy. Most people's knowledge of the creation of the world and their place in it was therefore derived from the Bible as explained to them by the Church. In the 16th century, however, a new spirit of enquiry pervaded society in what became known to historians as the Scientific Revolution. Scientists such as Nicolaus Copernicus – drawing upon the findings of the ancient Greeks two thousand years earlier – challenged the view that the Earth was the centre of the universe. Isaac Newton's three laws of motion provided an explanation for the movements of the stars and planets. Science suggested that the natural world was something that, instead of being a fearful place, could ultimately be understood. The basis of this

understanding was the scientific method. This method was suggested by Francis Bacon, who proposed that reason and experimentation could be used to understand the natural world.

What do you think was the implication of this?

These early scientists were often religious men and believed that science was a means of understanding the magnificent workings of the universe that God had created. However, the questioning attitude adopted by scientists and their reliance on experimentation placed them at odds with religious belief which was based on faith. This would ultimately bring science into conflict with the Church – which was experiencing its own upheaval.

The Catholic Church, based in Rome, was the supreme power in Europe with authority over even kings and emperors. The Church, however, was challenged by the Reformation which was begun by a monk, Martin Luther, who expressed his dissatisfaction with existing Church practices. The Reformation led to a breakaway Christian movement which came to be called Protestantism. This form of Christianity emphasised the individual's relationship with God which did not have to be mediated by the Church. The invention of the printing press had, for the first time, made books cheap to print and, therefore, more accessible to everyone. People could read the Bible for themselves. This also promoted a questioning of the authority of religious leaders.

You should therefore be able to see that there were far-reaching changes that occurred in European society in the 15th and 16th centuries. These can be briefly summarised as:

- The voyages of discovery
- The Scientific Revolution
- The Reformation

By the 17th century, then, the foundations were set for great change – and this would come in the form of the Enlightenment.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Enlightenment in shaping the world as we know it. You will find that some mention is made of it in most of the learning units in this module. It has affected most aspects of human history over the past 300 years. The focus in this learning unit, however, will be on the Enlightenment as it relates to states, governments and revolution.

In this learning unit, we will be covering a great period of time and focusing on countries and territories in different parts of the world. Some of you may find this daunting. During the course of your reading, you may want to refer to the timeline below in order to better orientate yourself in time and space.

Timeline of events

1650s – 1720s (mid 17 th to early 18 th centuries)	The Enlightenment begins in Western Europe
1757 – 1857	East India Company rule in British India
1776	Outbreak of the American Revolution
1807	Britain abolishes the slave trade throughout the British Empire, resulting in the formation of ex-slave colonies in Sierra Leone and Liberia
1857	Indian rebellion and the establishment of British rule in India under Queen Victoria
1870 – 1914	High Imperialism marked by European competition for colonies in Africa and Asia
1870s	Japanese modernisation
1914 – 1918	First World War
1920s – 1930s	Economic depression and the growth of totalitarianism in Europe
1933	The Nazi party comes to power in Germany
1939 – 1945	The Second World War and the Holocaust
1941	The Atlantic Charter
post 1945	The Cold War begins; empires fragment and Asian and African states gain independence

The Enlightenment

European states in the 17th century were absolutist. This means that they were under the control of a single leader – usually a monarch – who ruled with absolute power with royal authority that passed from generation to generation. Kings were believed to have been chosen by God and hence given a Divine Right to rule. To disobey the king, therefore, was to defy God, which was something that few people could contemplate. As you can imagine, then, the voice of the people counted for little. Moreover, the state was very different from that with which we are familiar today. The state (and the government) took little interest in the quality of life of their people other than to collect taxes from them, most of which was used to finance the wars that often wracked Europe. As the king was not elected, he did not usually feel a great sense of responsibility or accountability to the people under his control.

The Enlightenment was the period when this situation began to change. Drinking coffee had become quite fashionable in Western Europe, and coffee houses sprang up in European capitals like London and Paris. Here, men would get together to discuss current events that were now circulated through the large number of newspapers and periodicals that owed their origins to the printing press. These men were largely middle class – they were educated and wealthy but lacked political power which was held by the aristocracy by virtue of their noble birth. This congregation of men allowed for the flourishing of ideas and opinions in the new spirit of inquiry and created a civil society. A similar process occurred in the *salons* of Paris. This refers to the drawing rooms of wealthy homes where there were intellectual gatherings of the middle class and aristocracy which allowed for discussion and the free exchange of ideas. Although these were largely gatherings of men, their hostess was often a woman of high status.

As you can see, the Enlightenment was confined to a wealthy elite who were educated and had enough time and resources to engage in these activities. It is for this reason that some of its earlier thinkers or *philosophes* were men from the nobility. The ideas that they had, however, would have far-reaching effects and would ultimately affect all levels of society.

Just as the work of scientists like Isaac Newton had resulted in the formulation of scientific principles or laws that could explain the workings of the universe so, too, was the Enlightenment based on a search for natural laws. Enlightenment thinkers believed that just as reason could be used to explain the universe, reason could also be used to explain the ways in which society worked. If these laws were understood, they would allow for intervention in society to correct social ills. No longer was poverty to be considered punishment from God, but could be attributed to social and economic causes that could be addressed and solved. In this sense, the Enlightenment was optimistic – society did not have to be accepted as it was but could be improved for the benefit of all. What you must remember, however, is that Enlightenment thinkers were not always in agreement as to the best way of achieving a perfect society.

There are a number of key Enlightenment thinkers whose philosophies have influenced the political development of the world since the 17th century:

- John Locke was an early English philosopher who argued that all human beings were born with 'natural rights'. To an extent, these can be equated to human rights – people had the right to life, to be free (so long as their freedoms did not affect the rights of others) and the right to own property. When human beings form a society, each gives the state the right to ensure that their rights are maintained. This is called the 'social contract'. Law and authority should therefore be used for the protection of its citizens. Should the state fail to uphold the rights of its citizens, people have the right to overthrow the state.
- Baron de Montesquieu was a French aristocrat who believed that the best form of government was one that ensured that liberal rights were upheld and tyranny avoided. To do this, there need to be restraints on the absolute power of the state where the judiciary (or law) needed to be separate from all other state structures in order to remain just and unbiased. While he spoke of liberalism, Montesquieu did not envision a democracy as we understand it. He felt that the best form of government was a monarchy but, to prevent the monarch from becoming a tyrant, there needed to be a strong and free aristocracy that would curb the power of the king. Political power would thus still be held by the elite.
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau was another French philosopher who stated that 'man is born free, but he is everywhere in chains'. This implied that all people were born with 'natural rights' but were not allowed to exercise these rights. Rousseau adapted the 'social

contract' to a notion of the 'general will'. This referred to the will of all members of a society of rational human beings that served the good of all or the common good. While Rousseau saw himself as defending the ordinary citizen against the unrestrained power of the state, the concept of the 'general will' has also been used to suggest that the rights of all are more important than the rights of the individual. This has two implications – it promotes the social welfare state which ensures that everyone has a basic standard of living. It can also be used to defend authoritarian rule where a government can claim to represent the general will of the majority of its citizens at the expense of their individual freedom.

- Jeremy Bentham promoted utilitarianism which can be described simply as 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. The actions of a state should be judged by the extent to which they provide for the happiness of the majority of their citizens. This was to be most evident in the creation of laws that would promote prosperity and progress. As with Rousseau's 'general will', utilitarianism emphasised the common good or what was best for the majority, and Bentham advocated for a democracy as the best form of government, as he believed it would best represent the will of the people as expressed by the state.

We have just considered four Enlightenment *philosophes* or thinkers here, but you should be able to see that there exists a tension in the Enlightenment which is something that you need to bear in mind as you work through this learning unit.

Although the Enlightenment allowed for the birth of democracy, it was in absolutist states that its impact was first felt. This occurred in Prussia under Frederick II who became known as an 'enlightened despot'. He drew upon Enlightenment philosophy to reform the Prussian state, playing an active role in attempting to improve the lives of his people by reforming the legal system, the bureaucracy and advocating religious tolerance. No longer would rulers simply enjoy the benefits of their position without the additional responsibility. Frederick II saw himself as a servant of the state, and his role was to ensure the common good. His rule, however, remained absolutist.

It was in the creation of the democratic state that the Enlightenment left a lasting legacy. It led to revolution in France and the overthrow of the king, which you will learn more about in Learning Unit 3. The first state, however, that was created as a result of the Enlightenment was the United States of America.

Case study: The American Revolution

Since its discovery by Europeans in the late 15th century, North America had been subject to various waves of colonisation – Spanish, French, Dutch and British. By the 18th century, British settlers had formed 13 colonies in the eastern part of North America. These American colonists formed a society based on slave labour and were considered British subjects. They maintained strong ties with Europe, and leading American figures such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson contributed to the intellectual ferment of the Enlightenment.

Colonial discontent with British rule began as a result of a number of taxes that were imposed on Americans. The British Parliament had passed the Declaratory Act in 1767 which allowed them the right to pass legislation that affected the colonies. Through this Act, Americans were subject to a number of taxes to which they had not agreed, and the rallying cry of the American Revolution was 'No taxation without representation'. As British subjects, they felt that they had

been unfairly treated when Parliament passed legislation without their consent, thus ignoring their natural rights as Englishmen.

Relations between Britain and the American colonists became increasingly tense. In 1773 the British Parliament allowed the East India Company to monopolise the sale of tea to the various colonies. This would force Americans to purchase tea solely from the Company and pay a tax on the tea. In response a group of colonists boarded a ship carrying tea that was docked in Boston harbour and threw the tea overboard in an act that became known as the Boston Tea Party. Tensions continued to grow and war broke out in 1775.

The Americans had formed a Continental Congress which ultimately advocated American independence from British rule. On 4 July 1776, Thomas Jefferson wrote a declaration of independence on behalf of the Continental Congress.

Activity 2.1

Access the American Declaration of Independence at the following website:

http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html,
accessed 6 April 2016.

Answer the following questions:

- 1 As you would have discovered in Learning Unit 1, historians use sources to construct a view of the past. The Declaration of Independence is a primary source, so what does it tell you about the impact of the Enlightenment on the American Revolution?
- 2 Which of the Enlightenment philosophers do you think influenced Jefferson as he was writing the Declaration?
- 3 Briefly summarise the view of that or those philosophers.

Support your answers with examples from the Declaration of Independence.

The war continued for a further eight years until the British were forced to concede defeat, leaving the United States of America an independent country. The country that came into existence was built upon democratic principles and the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. It was a blueprint for the democratic states that were to follow – including our own. Yet, there were limitations to their understanding of democracy.

Activity 2.2

Look at the following definitions of different terms, and match them with the terms below:

- A this emphasises individual freedoms or liberties such as freedom of speech and association with safeguards taken to prevent a state from encroaching upon these liberties
- B an action is judged to be correct if it upholds the happiness of the majority
- C this is why power is exercised completely and is usually tyrannical in nature, often leading to abuses of liberty
- D a theory that holds that power must be held by a single ruler or authority
- E emphasises an obedience to power which may entail the sacrifice of individual liberty
- F a type of government that is headed by a hereditary ruling power
- G a group of like-minded citizens that are able to act together politically
- H a period in the 17th and 18th centuries when tradition was being questioned in favour of reason
- I a system of government that is elected by the popular vote and represents the interests of the majority
- J a form of agreement between members of society where individual freedoms may be sacrificed in return for the protection afforded by the state

Match each of the terms listed below with one of the definitions above:

Enlightenment
 Despotism
 Absolutism
 Authoritarian
 Civil society
 Social contract
 Liberalism
 Democracy
 Monarchy
 Utilitarianism

2.2 The Enlightenment in the 19th Century: The Abolition of the Slave Trade and Imperialism

By the dawn of the 19th century, the political impact of the Enlightenment had been felt over much of Europe and North America. Absolute rulers, influenced by the Enlightenment, envisaged a greater role for state intervention in the daily lives of their people. The role of government was to improve the lives of its people and to better society. This was carried out by the provision of educational opportunities, infrastructure to facilitate communication and trade and philanthropic institutions to provide social welfare for those most in need. Humankind would no longer be the helpless victims of fate. Through the application of reason, the natural laws governing society could be determined and this knowledge would enable progress.

We have, however, already seen that the Enlightenment was not all-inclusive. Those that most benefited from revolution and the removal of inherited privilege were white middle-class men – self-made men of property – who came to form a new elite. These men became the citizens of the enlightened state who were considered most qualified to exercise their democratic rights. This notion of citizenship was a limited one – it excluded fully half the population (women), the working classes and those who were considered property (slaves). These groups were believed to lack the faculty of reason, making them ill-equipped to exercise the rights of citizens.

As you will see in the material for Learning Unit 4 (available on the module's website), reason and science could be used to determine a hierarchy of civilisation which placed white men at the very top. Other groups fell further down the hierarchy based on their perceived capabilities for reason. In this way, inequalities became fixed and were given the status of truth as they were considered 'scientific'. Enlightenment philosophers had, however, introduced the language of rights and equality and, over time, this could be used to address these inequalities.

This section focuses on the ways in which inequalities were both challenged and reinforced in the 19th century.

The Abolition of the Slave Trade

Enlightenment philosophers highlighted natural rights which applied to every human being. These rights included the right to life, liberty and property. The institution of slavery highlighted a contradiction evident in this. If slaves had the right to life and liberty, how then could they be held in captivity? In addition, slaves were also considered property and belonged to their masters. Freeing them would infringe upon their masters' right to property. Social Darwinism had apparently solved this contradiction by considering slaves to be less than human due to their racial origins. The notion of the 'survival of the fittest' meant that white men, placed at the top of the ladder of civilisation, were considered superior over the other races. They possessed full 'natural rights'. Slaves – considered subhuman – did not.

However, even as these arguments were being made, they were being challenged. The trans-Atlantic slave trade was triangular in nature – slaves were obtained in Africa and taken to the Americas and the West Indies. Here, they laboured on plantations producing, among other crops, sugar and cotton which were shipped the factories of Europe. The resulting manufactured goods were then traded to Africans in exchange for slaves and raw materials. The trip across the Atlantic from Africa to the Americas was called the 'middle passage' and was horrendous. Slaves were packed on board ships in horrific conditions and many of them did not survive the voyage. Once in the New World, they laboured under difficult conditions and were subject to harsh punishments. The mortality rate was extremely high.

The conditions of slavery provoked an outcry and abolitionists drew upon Christian morality as well as the ideas of equality and natural rights characteristic of the Enlightenment to argue for the abolition of slavery.

There has, however, been debate over the influence of humanitarian grounds on the abolition of slavery. The United States of America was a country founded on Enlightenment principles where slavery continued unabated in the southern states until the mid-19th century. On a more practical level, however, the economy itself was undergoing a shift. As you will see in Learning Unit 5 (available on the module's website), the industrial revolution and the growth of capitalism (also with its origins in the Enlightenment) emphasised a free market economy which meant very little to no state interference in the economy. This was based on waged rather than forced labour. This ultimately led to the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 by Britain, the country that, until then, had played the largest role in the slave trade. By 1815, Britain was policing the seas to prevent the trade in slaves. You should remember that, although the slave trade was abolished, this did not end slavery itself which continued in the Americas. In fact, slaves became more valued items of property as it was increasingly difficult to replace them due to the greatly reduced supply from Africa.

Britain was now left with a dilemma – what was it to do with the slaves freed from slave ships? The solution was to relocate them to the West African territories of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

Case study: Sierra Leone and Liberia

The first settlers began arriving in arriving in Sierra Leone in 1787, and established their capital in Freetown. A large proportion of these early settlers were made up of free blacks from England, and the colony was founded upon the humanitarian principles of abolitionists. At the same time, the colony was expected to be economically self-sustaining, demonstrating the economic viability of free waged labour. The colony expanded in the early nineteenth century, its numbers swelled by a mixture of freed slaves known as 'Liberated Africans' and those blacks who had sided with Britain during the American Revolution.

The British government assumed direct control over Sierra Leone in 1808. During this period, the transition from slave labour to free labour proved to be difficult and freed slaves were sold as apprentices in a system of indenture that lasted for seven years. As indentured workers they were tied to a particular employer until their contract had expired. Although this could not be considered free waged labour, those who opposed slavery approved the system as they believed that apprenticeship was a means of instilling the values of civilisation in these freed slaves. Civilisation was also undertaken by the Church Missionary Society, which emphasised Christian values. Converts married, had families, went to church regularly and were educated, forming a new middle class. This middle class saw themselves as British subjects, adopting British culture in the form of dress, religion, education and trade. The colony was seen as a means of promoting British values of civilisation, free trade and, with it, abolition.

Sierra Leone attracted large numbers of settlers and provided a model for a new settlement called Liberia, which was established in West Africa with the financial assistance of the United States. Its capital was Monrovia, named in honour of American president, James Monroe. Liberia attracted freed slaves and free blacks from North America as well as slaves liberated from slaves ships. While Sierra Leone was strongly British in character, Liberia had a greater American influence. Liberians followed American middle-class traditions – Christianity, democracy, free trade and education. With the majority of Liberians originating in North

America, they created a culture that was distinct from that of the indigenous Africans around them. Liberians also believed that they had a duty to spread the moral values of Christianity and civilisation – which sometimes led to conflict between the two groups. Liberia eventually declared its independence in 1847. It continued to grow in the mid-19th century, fuelled by the steady emigration of ex-slaves from the United States after the abolition of slavery.

Both Sierra Leone and Liberia are important, because they show the ways in which ideas of civilisation that had their origins in Western Europe and North America in the 17th century were increasingly applied to Africa after the abolition of slavery. These values were not simply imposed by Europeans but by black immigrants from Britain and, in particular, the United States. It would be these three 'Cs' of Civilisation, Christianity and Commerce that underpinned British – and European – imperialism in the latter half of the 19th century.

Imperialism

The imperialism that we are discussing here is more accurately known as high imperialism which took place in the late 19th century. There are a number of factors that contributed to the acquisition of colonial empires, one of which was the abolition of the slave trade. As evident in the case of Sierra Leone and Liberia, the abolition of slavery was tied to a desire to inculcate European Enlightenment values of civilisation to people outside of Europe and the United States. When the slave trade was abolished in 1807, missionaries were provided with the opportunity to go to Africa and assist freed slaves. This allowed them to introduce Christianity, first to slaves and then to indigenous Africans. They also became adept at speaking African languages and acquired knowledge regarding the various customs of the African groups with whom they interacted. They sent reports back to Europe regarding the indigenous inhabitants of Africa as well as the potential natural resources that could be obtained on the continent. In addition, as missionaries moved further into the interior, they required land in order to set up permanent mission stations and protection from hostile groups. This provided Europeans with the pretext for a greater military presence on the continent.

Imperialism was also made possible by advances in European technology and knowledge such as weapons, the use of quinine to combat malaria and the rapid growth of communication and transport technology (see further discussion in Learning Unit 5 on the module website).

The reasons for European interest in colonies were varied:

- The industrial revolution meant that European factories could produce manufactured goods cheaply and in large quantities. Once European markets were exhausted, the rest of the world could potentially provide new markets. Colonies were also a source of raw materials required by industry and used for domestic consumption such as rubber and cocoa.
- Rich mineral resources were also exploited, such as gold in South Africa.
- Colonies were also acquired for their strategic value, such as the Suez Canal which allowed the British access to India for trading purposes as well as islands in the Indian Ocean where fuelling bases were established to provide coal to the new steamships that crossed the oceans.

- Nationalism was a major motivation for imperialism. European nations competed with each other for colonies – the greater the amount of territory controlled, the greater the prestige of the imperial power.

Beginning in the 1880s, and for the various reasons outlined above, Europeans began to vie for colonies in Africa in what became known to historians as the Scramble for Africa. This competition was given a sense of structure when the chancellor of Germany, Otto von Bismarck, held a conference in Berlin in 1884 to organise the territorial division of Africa among the various European powers. The conference laid down the rules for the acquisition of colonies – European powers had to take control over a territory in order to claim it for their own. This stimulated European expansion into the African interior and the continent was rapidly colonised until, by 1914, only Ethiopia and Liberia retained their autonomy.

A similar process had been taking place in Asia from the mid-19th century. Britain had traded textiles for tea with China. Over time, however, the Chinese lost interest in British textiles while the British demand for tea continued. The British then turned to the opium trade. Opium was produced in India and traded with the Chinese for tea and then silver. The Chinese became increasingly addicted to the drug, and the Chinese government attempted to halt the trade. In reaction, the British used military force to continue the trade in opium. Britain's superior military strength meant that the Chinese were forced to surrender much of their independence to Britain and other European powers. European states also took control over states that had fallen under the Chinese sphere of influence: for instance, France dominated Indochina which comprised Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Case Study: East India Company Rule and the Civilising Mission in India

The Indian subcontinent had been ruled by the Mughals since the early sixteenth century. However, by the 18th century, the Mughal Empire was in decline, which led to a weakening of the central state and the growing strength of local rulers. The French and the British were able to capitalise on this weakness to gain a foothold on the Indian subcontinent and British forces eventually defeated the French. The British in the form of the East India Company (EIC) took advantage of the competition and tensions between local rulers to gain allies, subdue various groups and emerge victorious, taking control of Bengal, one of the wealthiest areas in India. British bases were also established in Bombay (present-day Mumbai), Madras (Chennai) and Calcutta (Kolkata). The Mughal Emperor remained on the throne but, in reality, he was merely a puppet with little power remaining.

Wealthy Indian states derived their revenue from taxes on agricultural production – peasants who worked the land paid landlords (known as *zamindars*) who, in turn, paid money to the government which was under the control of the EIC. EIC officials became extremely wealthy and the money was used to enlarge the British army which comprised Indian soldiers under British officers. This army allowed for further British expansion in India. The British also used these taxes (paid by Indians) to purchase Indian products that were then sold in Europe, generating further income. EIC rule in India was, unsurprisingly, marked by great corruption.

As the British army grew ever larger, the EIC needed to expand ever further in search of greater income. Many Indian rulers were unable to meet increasing British demands and the British took direct control over these areas. This army was then used to further British expansion in south-

east Asia where they established bases in Sri Lanka, Indonesia and created the city-state of Singapore.

In India, the British found themselves faced with a society that was very different to their own and their reactions differed. Early British rulers (known as Governor-Generals) were known as orientalists. These men acknowledged that India had once been a great civilisation but had gradually lost that magnificence and their role was to reform the country to restore this glorious past. Occidentals, on the other hand, were convinced of the superiority of Western civilisation and firmly believed that inferior Indian civilisation had to be reformed along Western lines.

Orientalists such as Warren Hastings, a Governor-General, learnt Indian languages and fostered the study of these languages as well as Indian law. He supported the Asiatic Society which was established in 1784 which had strong Orientalist leanings. Early portraits depicted Company officials in European dress and many took Indian wives, leading to the creation of a new group of Anglo-Indians. At the same time, EIC economic and military activities created great disruption in Indian society as Indian rulers lost their independence. As you may remember, the Enlightenment emphasised the importance of laws and Hastings began the process of reforming Indian law. He created a bureaucracy and his successors attempted to create a distinct set of India laws. Unlike British law, however, Indian law was fluid and changed according to circumstance. The attempt to codify it and make it rigid altered it.

You might think about the question, then: do you think that the era of Orientalist rule in India promoted only 'authentic Indian tradition'?

Thomas Babington Macaulay was an uncompromising Occidental who believed the Indians must receive a Western education in order to instil in them the values of Western civilisation – all aspects of Indian culture, law and society were inferior and needed to be reformed along Western lines. He famously said that Indians were to be educated 'to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.'¹

Think about this quote carefully. What do you think he means here?

Under British rule, Indians, too, sought to reform their society. One such reformer was Raja Rammohan Roy who was described as the 'Father of Modern India'. Roy advocated the use of reason in seeking to uncover truth, in contrast to religion. He opposed the Indian practice of *sati*. This occurred when a man died and his wife was cremated alongside him while still alive. The British termed the practice barbaric and an indication of India's lack of civilisation. Roy agreed. He believed that religious and cultural practices should not be blindly followed but should be subject to inquiry and criticism. He embraced Western science and mathematics but nonetheless believed in the value of Indian literature, philosophy and art. This suggested that, while he was willing to 'modernise' Indian society, he wished it to retain its unique identity.

After a century of EIC rule and corruption, Indians rose up in the Mutiny of 1857. It began with the Indian soldiers or *sepoys* in the British army and became more widespread as they attempted to restore the Mughal Emperor to power. After great destruction and loss of life, the British triumphed. The Mughal Emperor was removed from power and sent into exile, EIC rule was abolished and Britain took direct control over India as a colony of the British Crown.

¹ Quote taken from 'Minute by the Hon'ble T.B. Macaulay, dated the 2nd February 1835', http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mea/ac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html, accessed 3 May 2016.

Activity 2.3**Letter from a British official in the East India Company to his wife in England¹**

1 March 1831

My dear Meg

I received your letter last week and it was most gratifying to hear from you, my dearest wife. The past few weeks since my arrival here have been most trying and I have developed a yearning for home.

I will do my best to comply with your request to learn more about this strange land. I have a bungalow in the hills above the city. It is cooler here but the heat is nonetheless stifling and I do not look forward to the dreaded summer.

I believe that this heat is in no small way responsible for the dress of the inhabitants of this country which largely seem to consist of strips of coloured cloth woven around their bodies and heads. The women, in particular, are attired in the brightest of hues and I shall endeavour to acquire some samples for you.

The people here follow two religions. The Mughal emperor is a Musselman and they have been in control of this land for centuries. The majority of the inhabitants, however, are Hindoo. They worship in ornate buildings and have a variety of gods to whom they make offerings. Our missionaries have much work ahead of them and have met with little success.

The people are divided into strict classes that are termed castes. It is a combination of birth and profession. At the very top are the *Brahmins* or priests who are the religious leaders and hold the rest in thrall. At the very bottom are the untouchables. Those who have had the misfortune to be born as such are responsible for the most odious tasks such as the removal of night soil. They remain in isolation from the others and are subject to much discrimination.

Some of the buildings here are very imposing although their architecture is very different from that at home. They have been built by the Mughals and comprise domes and soaring minarets. I have heard tell of the Taj Mahal, built by a Mughal emperor in honour of his queen and I hope to visit it soon. I have also heard reports of even more ancient structures that appear to predate the Mughals. It is clear that this was once a great civilisation but it has lost much of its glory. The people are in a state of decline and I believe we have an important role to play in instilling in them the values of our civilisation.

This is a fascinating land and I am sure that I will acquire some familiarity with it. I have already learnt a few words in the native language but would prefer that they learn to converse in English instead!

I eagerly await your arrival in six months but, until then, continue to write and relate to me news of home.

I remain yours,

Richard

Answer the following questions:

- 1 Would you consider this a primary or secondary source? Give reasons for your answer.
- 2 Is the writer critical or accepting of Indian society? Use two examples from the letter to substantiate your answer.
- 3 In the light of your understanding of the civilising mission of the British based on Enlightenment values, what improvements do you think they hoped to make in Indian society?

1 This letter is a fictionalised source.

Case study: Imperial Japan

At this point, you may have gained the impression that imperialism in the 19th century was largely a European phenomenon, but this was by no means the case. From the mid-17th to the mid-19th centuries, Japan had experienced a period of political stability and, with this stability, came greater prosperity. There was an increase in agricultural production that led to an increase in population. Cities expanded until the Japanese capital of Edo (later to be renamed Tokyo) was one of the largest in the world. The economy was monetised and there was a growth in trade and prosperity.

Japanese society was extremely hierarchical and ruled by an emperor with a powerful aristocracy; however, real power was held by the military ruler who was called the *shogun*. The Japanese maintained a sense of cultural isolation which they hoped to preserve against Western influence. European domination of China, however, presented a threat to Japan and Europeans and Americans believed that Japan could be forced into unequal trading relationships with the West and allow the entry of missionaries as China had done. The Japanese were faced with a dilemma. They had to agree to some European demands until they were militarily strong enough to defend themselves, or else they would suffer the same fate as China. Having to concede to Western demands provoked internal conflict within the country which, ultimately, led to the overthrowing of the *shogun* and the creation of a new centralised state under the authority of the emperor.

Japanese society underwent rapid modernisation in terms of education, a bureaucracy and national military service. In the 1870s, a Japanese delegation went to the United States and the Japanese state underwent further changes by adopting what they saw as the strengths of the American system in terms of government and, in particular, industrialisation. Through this process of adoption and adaptation, the Japanese were able to maintain a position of strength when dealing with the Western powers, and were also able to capitalise on Chinese weakness by acquiring Chinese territory. Between 1904 and 1905, the Japanese were engaged in a war with Russia and ultimately emerged victorious, the first Eastern country to do so in modern warfare. Japan would later attempt to build its own empire in China and south-east Asia.

3.3 Totalitarianism

Briefly read over section 2.1 to refresh your memory regarding the various Enlightenment philosophes and their theories. Pay particular attention to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Jeremy Bentham. By now, you should have seen the influence of the Enlightenment on the creation of democratic states, the abolition of slavery and the 'civilising mission' of imperialism. The Enlightenment was closely tied to Western European notions of 'civilisation' that can be briefly summarised as free trade, liberalism and Christianity.

Rousseau and Bentham, however, wrote of the 'common good' or the 'general will'. This emphasises that which is best for society as a whole over the natural rights of the individual. This can be positive as it can be used to ensure the equality of all members of society, protecting the rights of the weakest. This takes the form of the social welfare state where a basic standard of living in terms of access to health care and housing is provided for all.

On the other hand, should an individual or group come to power representing the 'general will', this allows them to ignore the rights of the individual if these do not conform to the general will. In addition, it may pose a threat to minority groups who as the general will or the 'greatest happiness for the greatest number' caters to a majority. This is what happened in Germany in 1933.

Case study: Nazi Germany

Europe took a long time to recover after the First World War. The use of modern technology – the tank, the aeroplane, the machine gun, poison gas – in warfare resulted in a devastating loss of life, leaving the continent reeling. It also tested the optimism and belief in progress that were hallmarks of the Enlightenment.

During the 1920s, European states had borrowed heavily from American banks and the United States had invested in Europe. In the United States, people had been also investing heavily in the stock market. As they continued buying shares, the prices of these shares were artificially inflated far beyond their real value. In October 1929, however, the stock market crashed – panic-stricken investors began selling their shares and the prices fell. Banks, too, had invested in the stock market using the money that had been deposited and millions of people lost their savings. Banks closed and people were unemployed. This affected the rest of the world as well, because Americans started calling in foreign loans and stopped purchasing goods from overseas. American investment overseas was halted, and the United States focused on its domestic economy. The Great Depression challenged the view of capitalism as the ideal economic system. This resulted in the growth of communism as a solution to the inequalities of capitalism.

The Great Depression also contributed to the rise of authoritarianism. The Soviet Union was already a left-wing authoritarian state under the leadership of Stalin. Fears of communism, however, contributed to the rise of right-wing authoritarian movements in states like Spain, Italy and Germany.

Germany had suffered defeat at the end of the First World War. The Treaty of Versailles which concluded the war forced Germany to pay reparations to the victors. In addition it had lost territory and was forced to disarm. This Treaty became a source of humiliation for the German people. The high reparation payments had a negative effect on the German economy which was made even worse by the Depression. Although Germany had become a democracy at the

end of the First World War after the abdication of its emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, this democratic state was unable to handle the political and economic crises of the 1920s – which allowed for the rise of fascism.

Adolf Hitler was born in Austria and had served as a soldier during the First World War. Like many Germans, he was appalled by the Treaty of Versailles and believed that Germany had not been defeated in the War but had lost due to the subversive activities of people within Germany. For Hitler, these people were the Jews and the Communists. He gathered like-minded individuals to form the National Socialist Germany Workers' Party, called the Nazi Party. However, Hitler's initial plan to overthrow the German government in 1923 ended in failure and he was imprisoned. During his imprisonment he wrote *Mein Kampf* ('My Struggle') where he attacked Western liberalism, the communists and the Jews for what he saw as their role in Germany's failure. The Great Depression and the resulting economic and political woes of Germany resulted in a huge increase in support for the Nazi Party. And, in 1933, Hitler was elected the chancellor of Germany.

Although his election was democratic, Hitler soon convinced the German Reichstag (parliament) to pass laws that suspended civil rights such as the freedom of the press and the right of people to hold public meetings. His supporters also used violent means to suppress other political groups, eventually completely banning other political parties. This left the Nazis in sole control of Germany. In this way, through the use of force, intimidation and the abolition of liberalism, the Nazis established authoritarian rule in Germany. This was done in the name of the 'general will' of the German people. Hitler was elected into a position of power and he promised to make Germany a supreme military and economic power once again.

A key feature of Nazi policy was the prioritising the state or the society over the rights of the individual. Propaganda was used to instil the values of the Nazi Party in German citizens and no political opposition was tolerated. The Hitler Youth was formed to teach German children obedience and loyalty to the German (Nazi) state. The German Women's Bureau emphasised the important role of women in bearing the children of the nation and they were encouraged to have large families and denied access to birth control.

At the same time, Hitler also had a very narrow definition of what constituted the German people. Refer to the discussion on Social Darwinism and scientific racism in Learning Unit 2. For the Nazis, people considered inferior were not the ideal Germans. These people were those who were mentally challenged, homosexuals, gypsies, political dissenters and, of course, the Jews. In 1933, the year the Nazis came to power, laws were passed to sterilise those deemed 'inferior' so that they would not contaminate German purity. Discriminatory policies were enacted against Jews which prevented them from being employed by the state or by tertiary institutions. Two years later, the Nazis passed the Nuremberg Laws. These laws were used to identify Jews or those with Jewish ancestry who had to wear a Star of David to show their ethnicity. They were no longer considered German citizens and, so, had no access to the rights of citizenship. They were not allowed to marry Germans and their property could be seized by the state. In addition, violent acts were carried out against them with tacit state approval.

The Second World War finally broke out in September 1939 when Hitler's aggressive territorial expansion led to the Allied countries, led by Britain, declaring war against Germany. At this point, Jews were physically isolated from other Germans in ghettos and, eventually, concentration camps.

As the Second World War drew to a close, American and Soviet forces advancing towards Berlin, encountered the concentration camps filled with emaciated internees and piles of

corpses. Over the months, mounting evidence and numerous eyewitness accounts would make public the events of the Holocaust that resulted in the extermination of six million Jews and a further six million 'undesirables'.

Activity 2.4

- 1 Consider the following two features of totalitarian societies:

Dictatorship
Censorship

What would you expect the situation to be in a liberal society in relation to these two features?

- 2 Consider the following three features of liberal societies:

Rights of the individual are upheld
Minority rights
Transparency of state and legal process

What would you expect the situation to be in a totalitarian society in relation to these three features?

- 3 Use a dictionary to define the following terms:

Economic depression
Reparations
Communism

Fascism
Subversive
Propaganda
Ghetto
Holocaust

- 4 Consider the following question: Was the Holocaust ultimately a product of the Enlightenment? In your answer, you should consider the role of industrialisation, science and technology in identifying and exterminating the Jews.

- 5 If we use imperialism and the Holocaust as examples, how are human beings denied their 'natural rights'? Your answer should take into account notions of civilisation as well as Social Darwinism.

2.4 Independence

The Second World War broke out in 1939 after Germany had aggressively expanded in Europe, taking over Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Realising that diplomatic measures would do little to stop Hitler's ambitions, Britain and France declared war on Germany on 1 September 1939. Two years later, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, the United States entered the War.

Although the Second World War drew in countries from all over the world – including South Africa – it was fought between two main groups, the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) and the Allied powers (Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union). From this, you should be able to see that, with the exception of the Soviet Union, the Allied powers were largely democratic, while the Axis powers were authoritarian states. The Allies believed that they were fighting a war to preserve democracy and freedom against the tyranny of totalitarianism. With this in mind, the leaders of the United States and Britain met in Newfoundland in 1941 and drew up the Atlantic Charter which supported the principles of liberalism. Countries like Britain and France, however, still held colonial territories. The question remained as to whether they could reconcile a fight for the principles of freedom with their own control over vast territories and people all over the world.

Activity 2.5

Look at the Atlantic Charter, a document which supported the principles of liberalism.

The Charter can be accessed on the following website:
<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp>, accessed 19 April 2016.

While the Atlantic Charter was designed to support those nations already conquered or under threat by the Axis powers, it also gave some hope to colonised territories.

Which points, do you think, that the colonised people of Africa and Asia would find most relevant to their own position? Give reasons for your answer.

The Second World War ended in 1945 with an Allied victory of Germany and Japan. The devastation caused by six years of fighting left much of Europe in ruins. Even the victors were not exempt from this. Britain had suffered repeated German air raids, France had been occupied by Germany, and the Soviet Union had lost the greatest number of soldiers and endured the greatest damage to property and infrastructure as a result of a failed German invasion. Only the United States was left largely intact as no fighting occurred on the mainland. In fact, the United States emerged out of the war stronger than ever – its industries had benefitted from war production and there was full employment. This placed the United States in an ideal position to offer assistance to a shattered Europe – which it proceeded to do. Most countries, including Britain, used American assistance to rebuild. There are several points worth remembering here:

- In the post-war era, maintaining colonies for countries like Britain and France, struggling with their own domestic economies, seemed more trouble than it was worth.

- At the same time, the indigenous inhabitants of these colonies began demanding their freedom and political independence. To them it seemed hypocritical that the countries involved in a war to defend freedom denied this same freedom to the colonised.
- Many colonised people had played an active role in the Second World War and wanted their service and loyalty to be rewarded.
- Finally, the United States did not consider itself a colonial power and advocated independence. As the balance of power had shifted from Europe to the United States by the end of the war, America's influence was therefore great.

It is within this context that African and Asian states began achieving their independence from colonial rule.

Decolonisation began rapidly after the end of the Second World War. In some states such as Vietnam, independence was only achieved after war; in others it was a more peaceful process. Colonisation left a lasting legacy in places like India, where the partition of the country created the independent state of Pakistan and was marked by a great deal of violence between Hindus and Muslims.

Decolonisation was also complicated by the Cold War, which was a war of ideology between the Communist Soviet Union and the democratic United States and drew in much of the rest of the world. Both sides actively intervened in newly independent states in order to foster their respective ideologies. The new states that came into being ranged from democracies to military dictatorships, and their domestic policies were now part of a global struggle for ideological supremacy.

Case study: The Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo can be found in Central Africa. You may have frequently heard of it in news reports, which highlight the ways in which the state has failed to fulfil the social contract by either repressing or failing to protect the natural rights of its citizens. This has created a climate of corruption, violence, fear and intimidation. The roots of the political, economic and social ills of the Congo can be traced back to the late 19th century when European countries competed for colonies in Africa in what became known as the Scramble for Africa.

By the time of the Berlin conference of 1884, Leopold II, king of Belgium, had already laid claim to the Congo which was then subject to a particularly harsh form of imperialism. Leopold claimed that his interest in the Congo was humanitarian – he would end slavery and bring civilisation to the people of the Congo. The reality was far different, however. A key motivation in the Scramble for Africa was the need to obtain raw materials for European industries, and the Congo was first a source of ivory and then of rubber. Using forced labour that was little different to slavery, Leopold II and various concession companies exploited the area with little regard for the natural rights of Africans and, despite claims to be introducing civilisation, the only infrastructure that was built was that which was used to transport raw materials. Men, women and children were forced to collect rubber and, for those who failed to do so, their hands were chopped off. Hostages were taken to force people to work, and women were subject to rape as a form of intimidation and torture. European visitors to the Congo were appalled and a public

outcry was raised until, eventually, Leopold was forced to relinquish control of the area – for a price – to the Belgian government in 1908.

The Belgians were willing to grant independence to the Congo in 1960, but they had not prepared the country in any way for this, which would lead to chaos. Recent studies have suggested that Belgian haste was a deliberate attempt to leave the Congo unprepared in the hopes of still retaining some form of power over the state. African leaders would remain dependent on Belgium and Belgium could still exploit the rich mineral resources of the country that were found in the Katanga province. Before the first democratic election took place, the Belgian government adapted the country's constitution to allow greater power to the provinces so that, even if the country was led by someone unwilling to follow Belgian dictates, Katanga would retain its power.

Patrice Lumumba became the first democratically elected prime minister of the Congo and was to prove hostile to Belgium from his very first speech, where he claimed that his people had finally been liberated from colonialism. In contrast, the Belgian king spoke of Belgium's noble role in the Congo in fostering civilisation and hoped that Lumumba would continue to follow Belgian advice. Unsurprisingly, Lumumba proved unwilling to do so.

Two months after the election, the armed forces rebelled and, in reaction, Lumumba had the Belgian military leaders replaced with African officers, including Mobutu Sese Seko, who was made chief of staff. The Belgian government intervened in the crisis, sending their own troops to protect their interests in the Congo. Their presence also encouraged the wealthy Katanga province to declare its independence from the rest of the Congo.

For Lumumba, this was seen as an act of war by Belgium, which no longer had the right to interfere in an independent state. However, the United Nations was unsympathetic as the United States and Britain were opposed to Lumumba's government which they feared was furthering socialism. You must remember that this occurred during the context of the Cold War which had divided the world into two hostile camps and newly independent states were also drawn into this conflict.

Due to Lumumba's failure to follow Western dictates, Britain, the United States and Belgium decided that Lumumba – a democratically elected leader – needed to be ousted from power. The American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) exerted pressure on the President of the Congo, Joseph Kasavubu, to fire Lumumba and he was put under house arrest by Mobutu, also working with the CIA. In January of 1961, Lumumba was executed in Katanga, an event which was witnessed by representatives of the Belgian military.

The Katanga province maintained its independence for more than two years, during which its mineral resources were exploited by Belgian mining companies. It once again became part of the Congo in 1963, after the United Nations finally played an active role in ending the secession. Mobutu took authoritarian control of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1965, and was supported for much of his rule by the United States, due to his hostility to Communism. He renamed the country Zaire and his period of leadership – which ended with his death in 1997 – was marked by corruption and human rights abuses.

Since 1996, the region (once again known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo) has been subject to internal conflict resulting in the death of millions of Congolese and necessitating intervention by the United Nations (including the involvement of South African troops). Despite its rich mineral wealth, development is poor and there is a high level of violence, particularly

against women. Child soldiers are also a product of years of conflict. The Democratic Republic of the Congo remains a state in crisis.

Activity 2.6

Consider the following questions:

- 1 Based on the case study of the Congo that you have just read in Learning Unit 3, do you think that European and American intervention in the region was based on Enlightenment principles?

This is a more complex question than it appears to be and your answer will need to take into account ideas of individual freedom and the common good, trade, civilisation, and the competing ideologies of communism and capitalism.

- 2 Would you consider the Congo to be an example of a failed Enlightenment project or do you think that its roots lie in the Enlightenment? Give reasons for your answer.

Further reading on the Congo:

Those of you who are interested in reading more about the Congo could profitably consult the following book: Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (London: Pan Books, 2006).

Case study: Tanzania and an alternative to capitalism

Tanzania gained its independence from Britain in 1961 under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, who then ruled the country for 25 years. He had a particular vision for Tanzania which differed from that of Western capitalism and communism which were the two poles of the Cold War. Nyerere was influenced by the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and had a vision of an African state that followed a particular African socialist path that he described as *ujamaa* which meant 'pulling together'. Socialism can be considered as placing an emphasis on the common good rather than the individual and *ujamaa* was an attempt to put that into practice.

Whereas liberalism consists of a free market economy with little state interference, the practice of *ujamaa* meant that industry and agriculture were taken over by the state which used the profits to invest in education, housing and health care to ensure a decent standard of living. All citizens were considered equal economically and the gap between rich and poor was greatly reduced. Collective villages were set up where people shared resources and work equally and made decisions together.

Other than attempting to overcome the poverty left in the wake of colonisation, Nyerere was also particularly concerned about the discrimination experienced by women in these rural areas, noting how they suffered inequality. In these collective villages women were encouraged to voice their concerns and their opinions. They were no longer placed on the lowest rungs of society due to their gender and, because of their greater empowerment, there was less domestic violence as well. Western monetary assistance flowed into Tanzania in order to support this vision. It seemed as if Nyerere had created the perfect egalitarian society – but it did not last.

By the time Nyerere stepped down as president, the country's agriculture was in a poor state and its economy had been steadily declining. People spent far less than they had previously and earned barely enough to make a living. At the same time, the country had a high standard of education and there was little of the warfare that had marked the move to independence in other African countries.

For Nyerere, the failure of Tanzania did not lie with *ujamaa* but with the outside world. Tanzania was not a country in isolation but was dependent on a global economy. The price of oil rose in the 1970s and 1980s which was imported by Tanzanians. At the same time, the prices of their own exports of hemp and coffee fell dramatically. The leader who replaced Nyerere, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, moved Tanzania away from the socialist path in order to help the country recover economically. But Nyerere continued to believe in the strength of *ujamaa*.

While we have looked at the way in which the Western-inspired Enlightenment helped shape the world, a British socialist named Ralph Ibbott was so inspired by *ujamaa* that, upon his return to Scotland, developed something similar in an economically depressed part of Glasgow and went on to write about Nyerere's socialist project.

Activity 2.7

Work through the following questions:

- 1 Using a dictionary, provide a definition of the following important three terms:
Communism
Socialism
Capitalism
- 2 In South Africa, the term *Ubuntu* is often used. What is your understanding of its meaning? Can we relate this to Nyerere's *ujamaa*?
- 3 Is Nyerere's philosophy solely African or can you compare it to aspects of the Enlightenment? Consider the work of Rousseau and Bentham here.
- 4 What does Nyerere believe the reasons were for the failure of the *ujamaa*? What does this suggest to you about the power of an individual state?

3 IDEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD

When you have completed this learning unit, you will have attained the following outcomes:

- Differentiate between various ideological and religious developments which occurred over the course of the past 400 years.
- Demonstrate insight into the reasoning for perceptions of 'modern' societies about 'primitive' societies.
- Understand why historically different notions of modernity dominated historical studies.
- Discuss case studies from global perspectives, related to ideological change.

Timeline of events

1450 - 1950	Extensive European colonisation
1700 - 1750	The Enlightenment
1775 - 1783	The American Revolution
1789 - 1799	The French Revolution
1791 - 1804	The Haitian Revolution
1800	London Missionary Society establishes mission station in Bechuanaland
1804 - 1903	The Sokoto Caliphate
1823 - 1900	The Anglo-Ashanti Wars
1835	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions establishes mission station in Dakota
1895	Amadou Bamba exiled by French authorities
1917	Bolsheviks in Russia seize power: start of communist rule
1947	India achieves independence
1947 - 1991	The Cold War
1955	The Bandung Conference
1957	Ghana becomes first African country to gain independence
1961	<i>The Wretched of the Earth</i> by Frantz Fanon first published

3.1 Introduction

This learning unit will introduce you to some of the most influential ideologies of the past 400 years. However, before you can successfully engage with the work which will follow, it is important that you understand what an ideology is.

An ideology, in essence, is a set of ideas (or a doctrine) that a group of people shares. Ideologies are important because they embody ideas which affect several aspects of society, including political, economic and social theories and policies.

As you can imagine, world history consists of thousands of different ideologies. I have subsequently only selected *some* ideologies which had a profound impact on modern society. Please be aware that several other ideologies that I do not discuss in this unit do in fact exist: these include ideologies relating specifically to gender, the environment, politics, and the economy.

By the end of this unit, you will be acquainted with ideologies such as liberalism, religion, pacifism, communism, nationalism and decolonisation. As ideologies often act as catalysts for change, they are resisted at times. Your attention will be drawn to some of these instances. These ideologies and their related developments will only be discussed briefly, to ensure that you acquire a general overview. If you would like to explore any of these ideologies in more detail, you are encouraged to peruse the recommended reading list at the end of this unit.

3.2 The birth of liberalism

Think back to Learning Unit 2's discussion about the Enlightenment and the American and French Revolutions of the 18th century. That unit focused on the political implications of those historic events. However, you should be aware that these events did not occur in a political, social or economic vacuum. They originated and were shaped by ideas. In addition, these events had an impact on the development and spread of certain ideologies. This section will introduce you to some of the ideologies associated with these events.

The Enlightenment saw philosophers write about a broad variety of topics, covering aspects such as:

- Liberty
- Equality
- Progress
- Fraternity
- Tolerance
- The nature of the state

As you should recall, the Enlightenment was, in essence, a period of new and often radical ideas. These were focused on creating a more rational and humane society. The invention of the printing press enabled the spread of these ideas on a great scale. As a result, coffeehouses all over Europe became meeting places for people of different walks of life to talk about these ideas that they read about.

For the purposes of this section, the ideology which you should be able to grasp is that of liberalism. Liberalism is an ideology associated with ideas of liberty and equality. It goes hand-

in-hand with the notion of progress. During the Enlightenment, this related specifically to the implementation of these ideas of freedom and egalitarianism.

The Enlightenment refined the idea of liberalism. In recent history, this ideology has evolved into several diverse forms, including classical, economic and democratic liberalism, to name but a few.

Liberalism is important, because it had an impact on both the American and French Revolutions. Subsequent to that, it also affected notions of progress which Europeans had at the time that they colonised vast areas of land across the globe.

Several of the key figures in the Enlightenment, such as David Hume, Dugald Stewart and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, found resonance with this ideology. Their ideas of liberty and equality also later provided an ideological framework for the American and French Revolutions. For example, in Hume's seminal work, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, he explores ideas of modernity relating to human beings' morals, passions and understanding.

The ideas of liberalism eventually spread across the Atlantic Ocean and had an impact on The American Revolution, which was discussed in more detail in Learning Unit 2.

Read the following extract from the Declaration of Independence of 4 July 1776, where the American colonies stated their intentions:

'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.'²

Can you see how the ideas of the Enlightenment are present in this document?

Ideas of liberty and equality were deeply rooted in the conflict that ensued during that revolution. Both the American Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution emphasise liberty and equality.

The American Revolution's opposition to Britain was supported by the French. After the conclusion of the war, French soldiers returned home from America with a new confidence. This assurance lay in the knowledge that a revolution based on the principles of the Enlightenment was practically possible. Subsequently, in 1789, the French Revolution started. The French revolutionaries sought:

- Equality for all its citizens
- Fraternity (solidarity) in their society
- Liberty (freedom) from the oppressive feudal system

The French insurrectionists essentially based an entirely new revolution on similar ideas to the American Revolution. Their Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789) also focused, *inter alia*, on the fact that all men are equal, as well as on the liberty to do as one pleases, as long as it does not injure anyone. The French Revolution, although violent, brought about large-scale change to the structures of French society. These include the abolition of the absolute monarchy and the long-standing feudal system, the introduction of democratic principles, as well as the notion of a nation state. As with the American Revolution, these changes were possible because of the ideological framework provided by the Enlightenment years before.

² http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html, accessed 3 May 2016.

The Enlightenment and the American and French Revolutions utilised liberalism as harbingers of progress within their respective societies. Liberalism specifically focused on enhancing individual freedom.

Activity 3.1

Once you have worked through the section relating to liberalism, you should have a basic understanding of liberalism serving as a mechanism to achieve social and political progress.

See if you can answer the following questions:

1. Provide a definition of the word 'progress'.
2. Does progress mean the same thing to different people?
3. Did 'progress' entail the same thing for the American Revolution and for the French Revolution? If you are uncertain about the American Revolution, you can refer back to Learning Unit 2 for more details on what the intentions and subsequent outcomes of that revolution were.
4. Why do you think the notion of progress is affected by an individual's social, economic and political background?
5. Are progress and modernity the same thing?
6. From what you have learnt, do you think that Europeans applied this notion of progress to Africa in asserting that all men are equal? Refer to the material in Learning Unit 4 on the website to assist you to formulate your response to this question.

3.3 The spread of religion

One of the most influential and lasting ideologies that spread globally over the past 400 years is that of religion. Although the world currently contains thousands of different religions, this section will briefly look at two religions: Christianity and Islam. These two religions affected the largest number of people in the course of the past four centuries.

Activity 3.2

Look at the map that has been provided on the module website for this activity. It indicates the prominence of various religions across the globe in recent times.

This map illustrates an overview of the global concentration of various religious denominations.

List the regions of the world *where* Christianity and Islam are most prevalent.

Four hundred years ago, the religious map of the world looked very different. Islam and Christianity had already established themselves in parts of Europe, the Middle East and Northern Africa, but large portions of the world had not experienced any significant contact with other religions apart from their traditional beliefs.

It was only with the outset of colonialism and imperialism that the ideology of Christianity spread considerably. Although colonisation and Christianity are two wholly different things, the former enabled the spread of Christianity, specifically through its missions, known at the time as 'civilising missions'.

Christianity

Before you read more about the spread of Christianity, you need to assess some ideological factors and imperialistic motivations that facilitated the spread of the religion. Europe went through a series of changes relating to 'progress', which ultimately enabled colonisation. This included the Industrial and French Revolutions, as well as the birth of new nation states of the 18th and 19th centuries respectively. Some European nations had also established trade routes with regions in Western Africa. This was part of the triangular trading process with the Americas. Europeans subsequently already possessed some idea of the potential that Africa could provide in terms of securing resources and economic stability.

Another ideological aspect that justified large-scale colonisation came from an unlikely source: the naturalist Charles Darwin. In 1859, Darwin published one of his most famous works, *On the Origins of the Species*. In this seminal publication, he proposed the theories of evolution and natural selection. Darwin's research relating to natural selection postulates that it is common in nature for the strongest and fittest organism to survive, often at the expense of the less strong.

A variety of contemporary intellectuals adapted Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection to also apply to people – hence the term Social Darwinism. This ideology ultimately entails that one group of people could 'scientifically' justify the oppression of another group, due to their perceived historical, cultural and religious superiority. This ideology was not only used by colonists, but also in Japan, China and Nazi Germany. Learning Unit 2 explored totalitarianism in the milieu of Nazi Germany in more detail.

In line with this, some Europeans believed that they belonged to a forward-thinking, technologically advanced and 'modern' civilisation. This assumption was made in the wake of the previous two centuries of economic, political and social progression. The Europeans believed that people indigenous to the parts of the world that they had not yet colonised were 'primitive', 'backward' and 'barbaric'. These descriptions related, to name but a few, to differences in various aspects of the lives of indigenous people:

- Attire
- Beliefs
- Languages
- Social customs
- Lack of written languages in favour of oral traditions

For a more detailed view on how Europeans viewed Africans, you can refer to Learning Unit 4, available on the module's website.

This notion of superiority played a part in the significant extent of imperialism and the spread of Christianity. Europeans believed that it was their duty to 'civilise' indigenous people across the

world. To 'civilise' an indigenous person was to convert and westernise them. This essentially aimed to transform them into replicas of Europeans. One of the ways in which they achieved their 'civilising mission' was through the implementation of Christianity.

In 1884, the Conference of Berlin formally started the Scramble for Africa. This was despite the fact that several European countries already occupied some parts of the continent. However, the Conference officially set out the formal conditions of colonisation. European nations subsequently colonised Africa in a frenzied manner. This historic event, although associated with colonisation, was also responsible for the increased spread of Christianity on the continent (which had begun well before 1884 but which accelerated in the wake of the Conference of Berlin).

However, the spread of Christianity extended beyond Africa. As settlers established themselves in various parts of a global colonial empire, so too did their religious ideology. It was often postulated that religion was the most effective tool to 'civilise' an indigenous society.

The role of missionaries was formative in the civilising mission. Mission stations were established with the express intention of converting the local population. However, missionaries' objectives spanned beyond the spiritual. They also, amongst many others:

- Provided aid in terms of medical assistance.
- Recorded several oral traditions and local languages.
- Introduced local people to western agricultural techniques.
- Attempted to teach indigenous people across the globe how to read and write.

However, not all missionaries had philanthropic intentions. Some, under the guise of spreading their gospel, instead furthered imperialist interests. They often, *inter alia*:

- Undermined local religious traditions.
- Misquoted the Bible to further imperialist intentions.
- Participated in the decay of cultural traditions of indigenous people.
- Forced converts to westernise, often leading to individuals being ostracised from their communities.

Local inhabitants had varying responses to missionaries. Some were treated with suspicion (as with the Native Americans), whereas other missionaries were welcomed. Some local communities were of the opinion that missionaries brought bad luck, and were to blame for natural disasters such as droughts or cattle disease. The reception that they received depended largely on the individual communities. When missionaries were treated with suspicion, it was often due to the fact that they also represented encroaching imperial values. Christianity generally did not allow for local people to remain rooted in what were described as 'heathen' traditions. Practices such as polygamy, initiation and sacrifices were frowned upon. The western way of life that missionaries advocated also often removed local inhabitants from their natural environment.

On the other hand, missionaries were also seen as harbingers of wanted goods, such as firearms. In addition, invitations to missionaries to establish themselves in local communities served as a political message for imperialists, indicating a willingness to cooperate. Furthermore, western agrarian techniques were often coveted, as more successful agricultural production increased wealth.

Activity 3.3

As we have mentioned in the section that we have just covered, the impact of missionaries was a global one.

Read the two case studies provided on the module website for Activity 3.3, which deal with the contexts of Bechuanaland and North Dakota respectively, and mission stations there in the 19th century.

Now answer the following questions:

1. How can you deduce that the missionaries believed that the local inhabitants were 'uncivilised' and 'primitive'?
2. Why did the missionaries believe that they were 'civilised' and 'modern'?
3. Historical writing is hugely dependent on primary sources. Read through the two case studies again and identify extracts that could be regarded as primary sources. You can refresh your memory about primary sources by referring to Learning Unit 1.
4. Bearing oral traditions and the availability of certain primary sources in mind (as illustrated in the two case studies), why is it that history is sometimes regarded as being 'Eurocentric'?
5. Although these two case studies take place on two different continents, there are similarities between them, specifically pertaining to the manner in which Europeans perceived and treated indigenous inhabitants. Similarly, there are also several differences. Write a paragraph where you highlight these similarities and differences.

Negro Spirituals

Christian evangelical activities in America were not limited to mission stations. Slave owners in that region ensured that their slaves were regularly read scriptures from the Bible. Often slave owners used extracts from their holy book to justify slavery. Sections from the Bible that were emphasised to the slaves included passages that focused on the virtue of hard work, obedience and servitude. This helped the slave owners to ensure that the slave population was cooperative, docile and submissive. The Bible was also used to justify the ill-treatment which slaves faced regularly, such as public beatings and lynching. Slaves were also forced to westernise.

As time progressed, slaves found great resonance with and comfort in Christianity. They particularly identified with the hardships that certain Biblical characters endured, as in the tales of Moses, Jonah and Noah. The notion of a heavenly reward at the end of their difficult lives also encouraged slaves and gave them hope. Soon, Christianity became an integral part of the

slave societies' social fabric. Slaves held their own church services in what they coined 'praise houses'. In addition, slaves developed their own hymns, named Negro Spirituals.

These songs often contained not only religious, but also social meanings. Recurring themes in the songs include:

- Freedom
- A desire for justice
- Heaven being the land of their dreams
- A reunion with a loved one who had passed away
- An escape from the wearisome world in which they lived, often through death
- Despite the fact that slaves experienced great losses during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, their spirit remained intact.

Slaves did not only sing these songs while they were participating in religious practices. Instead, they permeated all spheres of their lives. Slaves sang Negro Spirituals while they worked for their slave owners in order to break the monotony, while going about their daily lives, and during social occasions. For example, slaves who were required to pick cotton on the plantations sang these songs in groups while performing their back-breaking and arduous duties. This alleviated the boredom of the monotonous task, while also strengthening their sense of community with other slaves with shared experiences. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, an American abolitionist, detailed the importance of Negro Spirituals to slave communities in a newspaper article in 1867. Of the tune, 'Room in There', he noted that:

Every man within hearing, from oldest to youngest, would be wriggling and shuffling, as if through some magic piper's bewitchment; for even those who at first affected contemptuous indifference would be drawn into the vortex ere long.³

Negro Spirituals also strengthened the sense of community for the slaves. This is due to the fact that the songs often required participation from a large group of people, where every slave was given an opportunity to sing a verse. Slaves also often interjected with personal exclamations (such as an 'amen', or 'ah-ha') if a certain phrase resonated with them.

Several Negro Spirituals have been assimilated into popular culture, such as the hymn 'Michael Row the Boat Ashore', and 'Swing Low, Sweet Chariot'. Have a look at the Negro Spiritual below and see if you can identify any of the themes highlighted earlier.

I Know Moon-Rise

I know moon-rise, I know star-rise,
Lay dis body down.
I walk in de moonlight, I walk in de starlight,
To lay dis body down.
I'll walk in de graveyard, I'll walk through de graveyard,
To lay dis body down.
I'll lie in de grave and stretch out my arms ;
Lay dis body down.
I go to de judgement in de evenin' of de day,
When I lay dis body down ;
And my soul and your soul will meet in de day
When I lay dis body down.⁴

³ T. Wentworth Higginson, 'Negro Spirituals', *The Atlantic Monthly*, 19, 116 (1867), 685 - 694.

Of 'I know Moon-Rise', Wentworth Higginson wrote that 'never, it seems to me, since man first lived and suffered, was his infinite longing for peace uttered more plaintively'.⁵

Christianity continued to spread as imperialism extended its influence over the world. It subsequently was to become the largest religion in the world.

Activity 3.4

Listen to this example of a Negro Spiritual:

<https://archive.org/details/TheSouthernFourSwingLowSweetChariot>
(accessed 16 May 2016)

While you listen to it, consider the following questions:

1. Identify prominent themes contained in the lyrics.
2. Think about how the ways in which slaves were treated affected their attitude towards religion. Link your thoughts to the knowledge that you acquired about slavery in Learning Unit 2.
3. How did Negro Spirituals enhance the slaves' lives?
4. How did the Bible and Christianity contribute to both the suppression and the upliftment of the slave population in North America?

Islam

The most prolific spread of Islam occurred in the centuries immediately after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in the year 632 of the Christian era (C.E.). This religion spread on a large scale, partly due to the fact that it went hand-in-hand with military conquests in the Middle East. It was also introduced to individuals who were willing to convert themselves, in an attempt to unite diverse people and to avoid violent altercations.

Islam arrived in Africa one century later, during the 8th century, and Africans in the northern parts of the continent converted readily. This was due to the fact that many Africans favoured Islam, as it was not as prescriptive as Christianity and it allowed for Africans to remain rooted in their treasured traditional beliefs. However, in other instances, Islam spread through military conquest.

In addition, as time progressed, trade routes between African and Islamic merchants became well established, including the trade route that spanned across the Sahara desert. This was also

⁴ Wentworth Higginson, 'Negro Spirituals', 685 - 694.

⁵ Wentworth Higginson, 'Negro Spirituals', 685 - 694.

a vehicle which enabled Islam to spread. Furthermore, Muslim scholars assisted with the development of religious expansion in that area.

A similar pattern occurred in parts of Asia (such as Indonesia and China), where Islam spread at the hand of traders. Islamic states were generally peaceful towards individuals aligned to different denominations and as a result, their converts increased systematically. For example, in some Islamic regions in Asia, there was a discernible lack of discrimination against individuals who prescribed to other religious ideologies, such as Christianity. However, these other religious denominations had to pay extra taxes. As a result, conversion rates to Islam saw a significant increase, because Christian local inhabitants converted over time as individuals sought to evade taxes.

More recently and notably over the past four centuries, however, Islam's spread was markedly slower than that of Christianity. As you have already read, one of the reasons why Christianity spread so rapidly in the past four hundred years, is because it was an extension of colonisers' 'civilising mission'. Christianity and imperialism in the 18th century go hand-in-hand. As imperialism extended its reach to a global society, so did the adherents of Christianity. Ultimately, as empires and civilisations expand, so too do their religious adherents. Similarly, if an empire or civilisation experiences a decline, so too does the prevalence of its religious denominations wane.

Thus, in contrast to Christianity, the spread of Islam during this period is often associated with the Islamic Ottoman Empire. However, by the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire underwent a notable decline. As its imperial ambitions waned, so too did the extent of Islam's growth in the region. Proportionately, the growth of Islam also reduced globally, especially when in comparison with Christianity. As the Ottoman Empire declined, so too did the spread of Islam under its control.

However, the legacy of the Ottoman Empire remained manifested in religious ideology. As a result, several countries which were part of the Ottoman Empire have Muslim denominations to this day, if in some instances only in the minority. The Ottoman Empire's trade routes on the Indian Ocean also led to the Islamic conversion of a number of Africans on the east coast of the continent.

Islam, at this stage in history, saw limited growth. That is not to say, however, that this religion did not expand its global influence to some extent. Islam spread specifically in Africa, the Middle-East and South East Asia. However, Islam's development did not reach the same extent as Christianity in this timeframe.

In Africa, Islam grew as a result of a number of successive *jihads*. Historically, the early stages of the spread of Islam were sometimes associated with individuals converting freely and willingly. In the past four centuries, however, a more militant approach was taken where individuals were more frequently coerced into conversion. These religious wars against non-believers took place in western and northern Africa. The *jihads* were largely successful in the 18th and 19th centuries.

From these *jihads* (such as during the Fulani Revolution in West Africa), the powerful Sokoto Caliphate came into existence in Western Africa. This Caliphate saw it as its religious duty to participate actively in the spread of Islam. *Jihads*, as a vehicle of spreading the Islamic gospel in Africa, peaked in the early 19th century. These were a successful way of ensuring that large numbers of individuals converted to Islam, as illustrated by the fact that the Sokoto Caliphate was able to unite an estimated ten million people in Western Africa under its rule. The Sokoto Caliphate is therefore also regarded as one of the most powerful territories in Africa in the 19th century.

This state eventually declined as a result of encroaching European interests, which culminated in conflict between the British and the Caliphate. The British triumphed and had taken control of the region by 1906. Tension between indigenous Muslims and imperialistic Christians was certainly prevalent during this period, and several Muslim groups resisted the encroaching Christian interests that the colonisers brought with them, notably through military resistance. Local populations had by this time accepted Islamic beliefs with the local population, and these were deeply engrained, which meant that Christian colonisers faced extreme difficulties in their pursuit of converting indigenous Africans to Christianity. Generally, the colonisers were ruthless in their suppression of opposition.

In modern times, some African countries, such as Nigeria, experience notable instances of Islam expanding. The movement Boko Haram believes in extending sharia law throughout Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger, as well as surrounding regions through violent means. Boko Haram first emerged in 2002, when it rejected the legacy of the ideals of Christian colonisers in a post-colonial Nigeria. Boko Haram has become increasingly militant in its attempt to establish an Islamic state, and thousands of people have died at its hands. Boko Haram is one of several international extremist groups who utilise *jihads* as a means of establishing sovereignty for its Islamic state and spreading its ideology.

However, on a global scale and to a much more significant extent, Islam enjoys the spread of its ideological beliefs in much less dramatic ways than the means utilised by the extremist minority. The large-scale migration of Muslims to parts of Europe, America and South East Asia is responsible for the global characteristic which Islam has assumed. It is currently the second largest religion in the world.

Ultimately, the spread of religious ideologies runs concurrently with the movement of people. This principle applies to creeds beyond those of Christianity and Islam. Judaism, Hinduism and even Buddhism grew as their believers engaged in trade and migration through the ages. The growth of Christianity, specifically, was rooted in a 'civilising mission' as Europeans attempted to westernise what they regarded as 'primitive heathens'. Due to the magnitude of colonisation, Christianity became the most prominent world religion. Islam saw the spread of its religious ideology in Africa as a result of trade, people settling in new regions, and sometimes through the activities of extremist Islamic groups. Ultimately, the ideological legacy of religion remains engrained in the fabric of most societies across the world.

Activity 3.5

Draw a table of two columns, one for Christianity and one for Islam.

Provide reasons in each respective column on why Christianity spread so significantly over the course of the past four centuries, while Islam experienced slower growth.

4.4 Resistance to the spread of western ideologies

This section focuses on various forms of resistance against encroaching colonial interests and western ideologies. It aims to make you aware of different types of resistance, with examples from Haiti and the Ashanti Kingdom, as well as two case studies relating to pacifism.

As you could gather from section 3.3, western ideologies globalised at a rapid pace. This process was largely facilitated by European powers expanding their colonial territory. Colonies were established worldwide and ideas such as white supremacy and Social Darwinism were introduced to new communities. In the Caribbean, these ideas were perpetuated, as the economic growth of colonies in that area was largely reliant on slave labour from Africa. The white colonisers believed that they were superior to their slave population. As a result, slaves were treated poorly, and were harshly punished for breaches of imposed codes of control and behaviour.

You can refer to Learning Unit 2 for more information about the trans-Atlantic slave trade and its ultimate abolition.

The Haitian Revolution

The island of Haiti used to be called Saint-Domingue. It was a French colony from the mid-17th to the early 19th centuries. Economically, it was a very rich colony, because it produced prolific amounts of commodities that Europeans wanted, such as sugar and coffee.

Demographically, Saint-Domingue was similar to other colonies in the Caribbean, as its slave population largely outnumbered the number of settlers. By the time the Haitian Revolution started at the end of the 18th century, the black population outnumbered the white population by twelve to one.⁶ Its entire population in the mid-18th century can simplistically be divided into three main groups:

- The white population, which consisted of European bureaucrats; wealthy land owners and merchants; as well as middle- and lower-class whites;
- The mulattoes and manumitted slaves, a group which consisted of wealthy mixed-race individuals as well as freed slaves;
- The black population, which largely consisted of slaves, including some runaway slaves.

The slave population enjoyed relative social cohesion. This was partly because of their ideological affinity to a practice known as voodoo. Voodoo was an amalgamation of different indigenous African traditional religions from West Africa, from where the slaves originated. During their captivity, the slaves were separated from their African spiritual leaders. They subsequently adapted their religious beliefs. This could be seen as the slaves' attempt to bridge social differences and to maintain a connection to their homeland, Africa. Ancestral worship, for example, is a prominent feature in both voodoo and traditional African practices.

Another important factor was how the black intelligentsia was affected by the ideologies of the Enlightenment, as well as the American and French Revolutions. One such an individual is the famous rebel leader of the Revolution, General Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The Haitian Revolution started after France's National Assembly withdrew its previous decree of 15 May 1791, which provided mulattoes and manumitted blacks with limited rights. This can be regarded as a catalyst for the Haitian Revolution. After knowledge of the decree's withdrawal

⁶ V. Peguero, 'Teaching the Haitian Revolution: Its Place in Western and Modern World History', *The History Teacher*, 32, 1 (1998), 34.

became widespread, slaves participated in a voodoo ceremony and planned their first violent uprising against their oppressors. A number of violent and often brutal conflicts between the black and white population ensued between 1791 and 1804. Both sides were assisted by foreign powers, such as France, Spain and Britain.

After several years of bloodshed and shifting alliances, the Revolution came to an end in 1804. Saint-Domingue was renamed Haiti and became the first independent nation under black leadership in the wake of colonialism. After this development, the remainder of the white population was massacred. It is estimated that up to 150 000 people lost their lives in the Revolution.⁷ This had a profound impact on the West's ideological development. It sparked globalised debates and discussions, unrest in other slave colonies such as Jamaica, as well as unease and an intensification of racism with some white plantation owners in the American South. Other influential leaders seeking independence were also inspired by Haiti, including Simón Bolívar, who played a great part in South America's liberation struggle from Spain.

Activity 3.6

Study the three accounts, or depictions, in Activity 3.6 on the module website.

Answer the following questions:

1. Why would these three eyewitness accounts differ?
2. What do you think Account One's agenda is?
3. How does your answer to Question 2 compare to the respective agendas of Accounts Two and Three?
4. How does the quote in Account Three reflect the ideas of the Enlightenment, as well as the American and French Revolutions?
5. Do you think the artists' emotions and personal feelings are reflected in the three different accounts?

The Ashanti Kingdom

Not all resistance against the spread of western ideologies was always successful. The inhabitants of the Ashanti Kingdom, which is situated roughly where Ghana is today, failed to drive out British colonisers, despite considerable effort.

The Ashanti Kingdom was a very powerful empire in West Africa, which emerged in the 17th century. It initially gained influence and great wealth from its trade relationships with Portugal. As a result, the Ashanti people were able to maintain their power, because they owned superior weapons to their neighbouring states. One of the most famous Ashanti leaders was Osei Tutu, who united the Kingdom in the early 18th century. He made several significant reforms, which

⁷ Peguero, 'Teaching the Haitian Revolution', 36.

further strengthened the position of the kingdom, such as making Kumasi the capital. One of his most famous legacies is that he presented his followers with the Golden Stool, which served as a throne to the king. The Golden Stool became an embodiment of all of the Ashanti people's spirit.

Britain only became the Ashanti Kingdom's primary rival in the 19th century. From 1823, Britain and the Ashanti Kingdom were involved in conflict with each other. Britain, under the guise of abolishing the Ashanti Kingdom's continued trade in slaves, decided to attack the Kingdom violently. However, Britain's primary motivation for colonising the Ashanti Kingdom lay in the region's economic prosperity, associated with its gold deposits. The Ashanti people successfully resisted British encroachment for several decades, until the British took occupation of Kumasi in 1874. In total, four wars were fought in the Anglo-Ashanti Wars, before the Kingdom was assimilated into Britain's Gold Coast in 1901.

Britain ultimately ruled the Gold Coast indirectly. Despite this, Britain still perpetuated its 'civilising mission' of the local people by instructing local chiefs on how they should rule. They built several schools and churches to facilitate this process. One of the ideological legacies that remains in the area to this day is that of Christianity, which boasts the largest religious following in that country. However, despite this conquest by the British, the Ashanti people's fighting spirit remained intact. The region would become Ghana, the first African nation to gain independence from their colonisers, in 1957.

Pacifism

Opposition to encroaching colonial powers was not always violent. Some instances of peaceful resistance can be classified as pacifism.

Pacifism is an ideology which relates to the peaceful resistance to an event (such as warfare) or any display of aggression or violence. This means that a pacifist will resist oppression or militarism through peaceful, non-violent ways.

Activity 3.7

Read the two brief case studies below, to see how different individuals approached pacifism.

Case Study 1: Amadou Bamba

Amadou Bamba was a Senegalese religious leader who is best known for his non-violent approach in dealing with French colonists, as well as starting the Mouride Brotherhood. Born in 1853, he entered a life of religious teaching and very quickly gathered followers who had great reverence for him. His admirers believed that Bamba was sent to them by the Prophet Mohammad to renew their faiths.

He founded a new city, Touba, when he was just 34 years old. It is one of the largest cities in Senegal today. As Bamba travelled, his number of followers increased. His growing popularity alarmed the French authorities who had gained control of the territory some years before. The French administration feared that he would harness the power of his followers to fight against their encroaching interests. At that stage, the French government had already experienced instances of conflict with Muslim military resistance fighters and they sought to pre-empt further violent encounters. As a result, French authorities arrested Bamba and transferred him to Saint-Louis to be tried by the French Private Council. On 5 September 1895, moments before the ruling against Bamba took place, he performed an Islamic religious ritual and rejected French

colonial power, asserting that he would only be subjected by his Islamic God, Allah. As the French were Christian colonisers, they viewed this declaration as defiant and potentially destabilising. They sentenced Bamba to exile. However, this only strengthened Bamba's popularity among the Mouride Brotherhood. They viewed his actions as ardent and courageous. His appearance at the Private Council became a strong symbol of non-violent colonial resistance.

Meanwhile, French colonisation efforts intensified in Senegal. They required Muslims to Christianise and assimilate into the French way of life. They were forceful in their suppression of any violent resistance. Subsequently Bamba became a respected advocate of peaceful resistance, refusing to sacrifice his religious beliefs in favour of that of his colonisers. Bamba termed his resistance as a *jihad al-'akbar*, which alludes to a 'greater struggle' – one which was ideological. He also published literature reflecting this stance.

Bamba was ultimately kept in exile for 32 years of his life. He was imprisoned first in Gabon, then later in Mauritania and finally he was placed under house arrest in Senegal. Eventually, however, the French colonisers came to realise that rather than being a thorn in their side, Bamba could work to their advantage and was not a threat. He continued to develop his Mouride Order, which was aimed at uplifting the economy and empowering workers.

To this day, Bamba is regarded as one of the greatest spiritual leaders of Senegal. The Mouride Brotherhood is still in existence, and is regarded as one of the most economically powerful brotherhoods in Western Africa. Bamba was able to successfully facilitate a marriage between two different religious and social orders. The legacy of his work remains to be seen in the lifestyles of millions of Muslim Senegalese.

Case Study 2: Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi was an Indian civil rights activist who played an important role in that country gaining independence from Britain in 1947. He is often regarded as the unofficial 'Father of the Nation' in India. Gandhi was born and raised in India and studied law in London. Once he concluded his studies, Gandhi moved to southern Africa where he became a practising lawyer.

His tenure as a lawyer in South Africa profoundly impacted him in terms of the development of his ideology of *satyagraha*, for which he received international acclaim. His first-hand experiences of racial discrimination awakened a sense of activism, particularly with regards to civil disobedience and passive resistance. He was consequently arrested on numerous occasions in South Africa. Gandhi was also called 'Mahatma' for the first time in South Africa, a title which means 'high soul' in Sanskrit.

Gandhi applied his developed ideology of peaceful resistance in India when he returned there in 1915. He became the leader of the Indian National Congress (INC) – an organisation which aimed to achieve, amongst many causes, self-governance in India from British rule. India eventually gained its independence after Gandhi and the INC's efforts. This independence, however, came at the price of rising religious tension and fighting between Muslims and Hindus. Muslims were relegated to the newly-formed Pakistan. Similarly, Hindus moved south from Pakistan to India. Gandhi maintained his approach of self-sacrifice and religious obligation, by undertaking several hunger strikes. He hoped to achieve religious harmony in the two regions by doing so. Gandhi also published several of his teachings, most notably *Hind Swaraj*.

Gandhi was assassinated in 1948 when he was shot three times in his chest at point-blank range. His global legacy remains prominent, with many streets, buildings and monuments named after and dedicated to him. His pacifist ideology of non-violence also affected several activists in recent history, including individuals such as Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Junior and Aung San Suu Kyi.

Once you have worked through the two case studies of Amadou Bamba and Mahatma Gandhi, make a table where you highlight similarities and differences between the two pacifists' lives.

3.5 Rejection of western ideologies

It is apparent that there are numerous historical instances where communities resisted encroaching western ideologies. However, other countries rejected the spread of western beliefs entirely. One such an ideology is that of communism. This ideology spread to several countries across the globe, including Russia, China, Vietnam and Cuba. Communism developed some states into formidable political and economic giants, but steadily declined in ideological prominence over the past 30 years. Today, only a handful of communist states remain. However, several states globally have selectively chosen to adapt some aspects of communism economically and socially, in what is known as socialism.

Before we can continue, we need to establish: what is communism? Communism is an ideology relating to social, economic and political aspects of governance. With communism, the state is in complete control of property, resources, production, finances and industry. A pure communist society is also one which does not have class systems.

Communism as a modern ideology was first introduced by the German intellectuals, Karl Marx and his associate, Friedrich Engels. It was popularised by their publication, *The Communist Manifesto*. Some academics postulate that communism and the western ideology of capitalism are intrinsically linked. They believe that communism was a reaction to industrial capitalism and its associated problems in the west. Thus they argue that communism does not exist in a historical vacuum and that it would not exist if capitalism did not exist. Different interpretations and forms of this ideology exist, prominent among which are Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and Maoism.

The first country to implement communism on a grand scale was Russia. That country had traditionally been governed by powerful monarchs, known as Tsars. By the 20th century, Russia struggled to keep within the same economic trajectory as its rapidly industrialising western European counterparts, and was increasingly impoverished by comparison. By 1917, there was large-scale discontent in Russia for a variety of reasons. These include, but are not limited to:

- Extensive and far-reaching poverty, which affected millions of Russians.
- A lack of representation of the working classes in the Russian Parliament.
- Discontent with the ruling emperor, Tsar Nicholas II, and his ineffective governance.
- Russia's participation in the First World War, which led to food shortages, great losses of Russian lives and military defeats.

Russia's 'old regime' under Tsar Nicholas II came to an end during the February Revolution of 1917, after starving and dissatisfied workers revolted against the government. The Tsar was replaced by a Russian provisional government, which lasted only a few months. In October 1917, Vladimir Lenin and the Bolsheviks led a second revolution which overthrew this government in favour of a communist government.

Once Lenin came to power, he implemented a series of objectives which were inspired by the writings of Karl Marx. These changes stood in direct contradiction to western ideological norms, which included:

- Establishing a one-party state;
- Collecting all food that was produced;
- Nationalising all productive land and banks;
- Rationing and redistributing food to citizens;
- Rejecting religion, particularly on a state level, and replacing it with atheism;
- Countering opposition and suppressing it violently, in actions which came to be known as the 'Red Terror';
- Implementing 'war communism', which placed several aspects of society, such as farms, railroads and factories under strict government control.

However, Lenin soon came to realise that these changes to Russian society were not immediately viable, as that country was too poor. Several Russians were also not in support of the Bolshevik's stance pertaining to war communism, where the government confiscated surplus goods without compensating farmers. A brutal civil war between the Lenin's Red Army and the opposing White Army crippled Russia economically from 1917 to 1922. In reaction to these unfortunate circumstances, Lenin revised some of his policies and implemented his New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921. This reform allowed surplus goods to be sold at a profit, as well as enabled farmers to hold markets. Subsequently, under the guidance of the NEP, agricultural production increased significantly as farmers were given incentives again to produce goods. However, despite this success in agricultural production, Russia was still not able to compete with other nations in terms of their industrial development.

Ultimately, Lenin's rule and policies came to an end after a series of strokes left him incapacitated, and also later proved to be fatal. Joseph Stalin took over as leader of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1923.

Stalin was a ruthless leader, who developed his own interpretation of the communist ideology. He replaced Lenin's New Economic Policy with a series of Five Year Plans. These enabled the USSR to move from an agrarian society to global industrial giant. Stalin's reforms included:

- Military factories;
- Collective farming (collectivisation);
- Industrial development (industrialisation);
- Improvement of railways;
- Centralised authority over the economy;
- The 'Great Terror' and the 'Great Purge', which respectively led to the imprisonment and/or deaths of millions of people.

Stalin's approach to collectivisation meant that smaller farms were consolidated into large agrarian holdings, and with time he modernised the farming techniques. However, peasants were reluctant to participate in the collectivisation process, as they had to give up their land and sell their surplus goods to the government at low prices. Incentives for them to succeed personally had been diminished. As a result of the forced collectivisation, peasant resistance to collectivisation and insufficient technological assistance being provided to peasants, famine became rife in the USSR under Stalin's rule.

Stalin desired for the USSR to contend with other European powers in terms of their modernity and industrial strength. As a result, the policy of industrialisation under his Five Year Plans focused on the development of heavy industries such as steel and coal. Workers were rigidly regulated, had targets set for them and were subjected to propaganda as a means of motivating them to work harder.

Stalin proved to be a callous leader who never hesitated to remove anyone who stood in the way of communism's development. His government was opposed to any expressions of free speech or revolt against the manner in which communism was implemented. It is estimated that millions of civilians were murdered, tortured or exiled to labour camps during Stalin's rule. However, despite his ruthless means of punishment, the USSR did enjoy some success under Stalin's leadership. His interpretation of communism ensured that the USSR had become a leading industrial nation by 1940. In addition, literacy improved, and housing and health care became more accessible to the working classes. Stalin led the country through the Second World War and remained its leader until his death in 1953.

Activity 3.8

Propaganda was a very important aspect of society in the USSR. Propaganda is information which is used to endorse a political ideology or cause. It is often information which is prejudiced and deceptive. It can take many forms, such as posters, literature, film and radio inserts.

In the USSR, propaganda posters were often utilised to further the cause of communism.

Evaluate the two posters in Activity 3.8 on the module website and answer these questions:

1. Why was propaganda needed to motivate workers in the Soviet Union?
2. Describe the emotions that the two posters evoke.
3. Why would propaganda be necessary to play on individuals' emotions?
4. Analyse Poster 2. Why would Stalin rely on the image of Lenin (and essentially the past) to promote his cause?
5. How did Lenin and Stalin's policies differ?
6. The title for the Poster 2 mentions socialist construction. Refer to a dictionary and define socialism.
7. Is there a difference between socialism and communism?

After the Second World War in 1945, the Soviet Union emerged as a formidable world power, and one which the capitalist West found threatening to its interests. The period known as the Cold War came into existence shortly after 1945, and was, loosely, a struggle between western capitalistic nations (led by the United States and Western European countries) and the eastern communist bloc (the Soviet Union and its allies). On some levels, it was an ideological war, in which the west actively resisted communist power and its encroachment.

The Cold War saw considerable tension between the two divided worlds, and had a powerful impact on political, social and economic developments globally. Important developments of the Cold War period include:

- A space race (from the 1950s to 1970s);
- An arms race throughout the period, including the building of nuclear power;
- Numerous liberation struggles, in Europe, South and Latin America, Asia and Africa

- Several major international crises and flashpoints, such as crises over the Suez Canal (1956), the status of Berlin (1961) and the Cuban missile crisis (1962);
- A series of proxy wars, such as the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam War (1955-1975), a significant dimension of which pitted communist and non-communist forces against one another.

The Cold War is generally regarded as having come to an end in 1989, when the Berlin Wall, separating the western and eastern parts of the city under their respective governments, was broken down. In 1990, the USSR government ceded its single-party power, as well as its strong control over eastern Europe and other constituent parts of the Soviet Union.

The Cold War was of immense importance historically, as it represented both a real and an ideological struggle (a war of ideas) between the east and the west. Alliances and propaganda campaigns were forged by both sides in an attempt to solicit supporters to their respective cause. The end of the Cold War has sometimes been represented as the triumph of the capitalist west over the communist east, but it is important to remember that communism did not completely vanish after 1990. Forms of communist government continued to exist in different parts of the world, and indeed consideration of this forms part of the next activity.

Activity 3.9

This activity has two sections.

1 Communism in China

The collapse of communism in Russia did not mean the end of communism.

In Eric X. Li's TEDTalk, entitled 'A Tale of Two Political Systems', he discusses in detail what life in a modern communist society in China is like. This will supplement your understanding of communism.

Click on the following link:

TEDTalk:

https://www.ted.com/talks/eric_x_li_a_tale_of_two_political_systems?language=en
(accessed 16 May 2016)

Based on what you have read in this section of Learning Unit 3 and on this discussion, what are the main things strike you about life in a communist society? Write down three main issues that seem to you to be most important.

2 Most important moments in the development of communism

Now that you have worked through the section in Learning Unit 3 relating to communism, you should have a very broad understanding of what communism entails.

Scan through the text again and highlight the most important moments in the development of communism.

Once you have done this, add these significant events to a flow chart. Your flow chart should start with the February Revolution of 1917 and finish with the government of the USSR relinquishing its power as a single-party state in 1990.

4.6 Nationalism and decolonisation

Over the course of the past 400 years, boundaries and national identities have often changed. Particularly during times of war, a strong sense of nationalism has emerged in different areas. This ideology relates to making an individual feel patriotic, loyal and devoted to his or her country. Often nationalism also means that one group of people fosters feelings of superiority over another group or nation.

There are many different historical interpretations and varieties of nationalism. Examples of different forms of nationalism include civil, cultural, religious and anti-colonial nationalism.

In more recent times, academics have argued that the following conditions should ideally be in place in order for nationalism to successfully manifest itself:

- A society which can sustain itself economically.
- A central authority which is capable of ruling the society.
- Some form of unity between individuals within the society.
- A common language or languages that individuals associate with their personal identity.⁸

Needless to say, the nation state is an important geographical determinant of nationalism. You can refer back to Learning Unit 3 for more detail pertaining to what constitutes a nation. Symbols, customs and even songs relating to a particular nation's identity are all features which encourage nationalism.

Nationalism first largely manifested itself in the modern interpretation of the ideology during the American and French Revolutions. As you should be aware by now, with reference to both Learning Unit 2 and this learning unit, the American and French Revolutions had a profound impact on the ideological constructs of the western world. In both these revolutions, individuals were willing to die fighting for the causes that they believed in.

As Italy and Germany became unified states in the 19th century, more European countries took pride in and developed their national identities. The Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, for example, were deeply rooted in nationalistic ambitions. Increased competitiveness between nations during the era of industrialisation and colonisation also resulted in a heightened sense of nationalism. It is for this reason why nationalism is often considered to be one of the long-term causes of the First World War (1914–1918).

The First World War, and later the Second World War (1939–1945) were both watershed moments for the spread of nationalistic ideas in significant areas of the world. By virtue of the nature of these *world* wars, inhabitants from many colonies were recruited to fight for the cause of their colonial powers. Africans who fought in the wars, for example, experienced first-hand the powerful impact that nationalism could have on a society. The Second World War also had a positive impact on the way in which Europeans viewed their fellow African soldiers.

In most cases, however, once Africans returned to their regions after the end of these two major conflicts, they were not treated as equal to the Europeans with whom they had fought. Understandably, this caused great unhappiness. Former soldiers in Africa formed self-help organisations to protect themselves from the injustices they experienced. In addition, ideas of working towards developing self-governing states also began to develop, as part of an anti-colonial form of nationalism.

⁸ A. Motyl, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism* (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001), 508-509.

Activity 3.10

Look up the term 'nationalism' in a dictionary.

Also enter the term into a search engine such as Google to see some definitions of nationalism.

Based on what you have read in the discussion of nationalism in this learning unit and on what you have found through your own research for this activity, try to summarise your understanding of nationalism in a paragraph of no more than 150 words.

In the United States, black political intellectuals such as Marcus Garvey and William E.B. Du Bois advocated Pan-Africanism. This ideology was rooted in ideas of anti-colonialism and reclaiming Africa for the Africans. Pan-Africanism had a resounding impact, not only on the African diaspora, but also on Africans living on the continent at that time. It is for that reason that academics often argue that nationalism and decolonisation are strongly linked.

India also inspired many international nationalistic movements, after that country gained independence from Britain in 1947. Although some African countries, such as Egypt and South Africa, had already achieved sovereignty in the early 20th century, the first African country to gain independence successfully from its coloniser was Ghana in 1957. Its leader, Kwame Nkrumah, identified strongly with ideas of Pan-Africanism.

As nationalist ideology spread, it was inevitable that decolonisation would gain momentum. European powers increasingly ceded independence to their colonies across the world, mainly during the 1950s and 1960s. This involved territories in Africa, the Caribbean, South America, Asia, and the Middle East.

Pan-Africanism occurred within a broad historical context of many countries in Africa striving to achieve independence from their colonisers. It is essentially an anti-colonial ideology. However, decolonisation stretches far beyond the drawing of new boundaries and declarations of independence in colonial societies, although these were crucial first steps. Decolonisation in post-colonial societies is an active process which former colonised regions, societies and individuals need to go through, in order to remove themselves from the oppressive forces of the past. It is also an ideology which applies to all aspects of society and encompasses political, economic, institutional, cultural and even psychological features.

Decolonisation first became a contentious issue at the Bandung Conference, which took place in 1955 in Indonesia. African and Asian representatives and delegates from 29 different countries were present as ideas of independence and decolonisation came to the forefront of their minds. It was at this conference where the 'Third World' trope first emerged. The term 'Third World' semantically refers to countries in Africa and Asia which were colonised by European powers. Due to their recent independence, these countries were also historically

associated with territories which did not actively participate or align themselves with any particular power (the East or the West) during the Cold War.⁹

The historical backdrop of the Cold War is very important in assessing decolonisation, as it largely influenced the course that various independence movements took. In 1955, during the Bandung Conference, delegates were generally inspired by the possibilities and promise of independence. After many years of colonisation, the attainment of independence finally seemed tangible and close for many territories and regions. They could finally become the authors of their own destinies and could distance themselves from colonial policies as they worked with one another in international solidarity towards the achievement of new national sovereignties.

A major thinker in ideological notions of decolonisation was Frantz Fanon. He was born in 1925 in Martinique, a Caribbean island which was a French colony. Fanon studied in France and became a qualified psychiatrist. During his stay in France, he became disillusioned at the bias that he faced because of his race. In 1952, he published *Black Skin, White Masks*, which detailed, amongst other things, the dehumanising aspects of racial discrimination.

His tenure as a psychiatrist saw Fanon move to Algeria to practice medicine. During his stay in that country, he persevered in contributing to the developing philosophy of decolonisation. His notions of decolonisation were based on his first-hand experiences as a black occupant of Algeria, while that nation was moving towards liberation from its French colonisers. Fanon was also an active proponent of the Algerian War of Independence and a member of the *Front de Libération Nationale*, the principle nationalist party opposed to French colonisation. The Algerian War of Independence spanned eight years, from 1954 to 1962. After many thousands of deaths, on both the Algerian and French sides, the War culminated in Algeria gaining its independence in 1962.

During the war, Fanon traveled internationally to deliver lectures on his theories of decolonisation. In France, he formed a friendship with the French philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre. This relationship and their shared ideological beliefs led to Sartre composing the foreword for Fanon's widely-acclaimed book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, which Fanon composed during his final months of life. He died of leukemia in 1961 at the age of 36.

Fanon's work, particularly *The Wretched of the Earth*, was so revered by his contemporary peers that the book is often regarded as the 'bible of decolonisation'.¹⁰ It influenced people in many different contexts, as diverse as the American black power movement, the Black Panthers, in the United States and the South African Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko. Both these movements sought to uplift black people politically, socially and psychologically in racially segregated societies. *The Wretched of the Earth* has been translated into 16 different languages, a testament to its influence in many different contexts.

In reading Fanon's work critically, you need to be aware of the historical milieu in which he wrote. Notably, issues which were prevalent during the Cold War, such as socialism versus capitalism, as well as the role of the 'Third World' in this global struggle, are prevalent in his work. However, despite the historical context of his book, Fanon's theories still permeate society today. They are constantly being reassessed and applied by individuals in their pursuit of decolonisation.

⁹ As time progressed, the term has come to carry a more negative connotation. It is often synonymous with developing countries and the issues which they face, such as disease, poverty, as well as political and economic instability. Several of these problems, however, stem from the legacy of colonialism.

¹⁰ E. Burke, 'Frantz Fanon's "The Wretched of the Earth"', *Daedalus*, 105, 1 (1976), 129.

Essentially, *The Wretched of the Earth* focuses on some the following aspects of decolonisation:

- Violence
- National culture
- National consciousness
- Grandeur and weakness of spontaneity

In the first few pages of his book, Fanon argued that decolonisation demanded that the 'last shall be the first'.¹¹ This means that oppressed individuals who were traditionally placed last in society during the colonial period would become leaders in all aspects of society in their new post-colonial environments. As a result of Fanon's vocational background as a psychiatrist, a significant part of book focuses on more intangible, but equally important, aspects of decolonisation, including psychological and cultural liberation, as well as the abolishment of a colonial vocabulary.

Fanon also stated famously that 'Each generation must discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it, in relative opacity'.¹² Emerging nations, according to Fanon, should invest in their people as their most valuable asset, while remaining committed to the fight for national liberty. Fanon also hypothesised that the most effective way of ensuring decolonisation is through meaningful wealth distribution, extending beyond mere moral reparations. Fanon warned against the influence of religion, as it was effectively used historically by colonisers to subjugate indigenous people. In Fanon's opinion, religion was also used to pit indigenous people against each other.

Essentially, Fanon warned against the desire to become European in the process of decolonisation. Instead of basing societal models on European examples, a decolonised nation should create a society which is suited for, and unique to, itself. The process of decolonisation should thus simultaneously be transformed into a process of nation-building, creating a new humanism and unique society.

The strongest critiques against Fanon focus on his interpretation of violence as a means of achieving decolonisation. However, several academics claim that this is due to the misinterpretation of Fanon's work. They argue that readers often confuse Fanon's elucidation of violence with that of Jean-Paul Sartre, who wrote the foreword to *The Wretched of the Earth*. They contend that Fanon is in favour of egalitarianism and reason, as opposed to violence, but that Sartre distorted this view. Fanon stated that violence is not liberating for individuals in their pursuit of ridding themselves of colonialism's influence. In addition, Fanon conceded that while the decolonisation process is often by default a violent one, violence is not a truly acceptable response to facilitating the process.

Ultimately, Fanon's perceptions of decolonisation and decoloniality influenced several generations of individuals who have grappled with the legacy of colonialism and are committed to the process of liberation of individuals and societies from colonial influences. The appeal of *The Wretched of the Earth* lies in its universalism. This means that it can, and will, be reinterpreted by new readers in different contexts as disenchantment with social injustices remains prevalent in the world.

¹¹ F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 2.

¹² Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 145.

Activity 3.11

Access the following article by Richard Pithouse, 'Violence: What Fanon really said', published in the *Mail & Guardian*, 4 July 2016:

<http://mg.co.za/article/2016-04-07-violence-what-fanon-really-said>
(Accessed 15 October 2016)

Work through Pithouse's opinion pertaining to Fanon's stance on violence. He states that violence is not an acceptable outcome of decolonisation.

With reference to the material in this learning unit and this article, how did Fanon suggest that meaningful change could be reached in the pursuit of decolonisation?

3.7 Conclusion

We hope that this learning unit has provided you with a valuable overview of some of the important global ideologies over the course of the past four centuries. Ideologies are important, because they are the thread that is entwined into the fabric of all societies.

Although this learning unit was succinct, you should now possess a basic understanding of liberalism, religion, pacifism, communism, nationalism and decolonisation.

Glossary of terms used in Learning Unit 3

African diaspora:	The scattering of the black community in North and South America due to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
Bolsheviks:	A 'majority' faction within the Marxist Russian Social Democratic Labour Party
Caliphate:	A government under the leadership of a caliph (a religious successor of the Prophet Mohammad)
Civil disobedience:	A peaceful form of protest against laws that are regarded as discriminatory and unjust
Egalitarianism:	The belief that all people are equal and deserve equal opportunities and privileges
Jihad:	An Islamic religious war, with the purpose of converting non-believers
Manumission:	The act of freeing a slave
Mulattoes:	The term used to denote persons of mixed-origin in Haiti, usually an individual who has one black and one white parent

Ottoman Empire:	Also known as the Turkish Empire, it was a powerful and vast empire which stretched over parts of Europe, Asia and Africa from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries
Sanskrit:	An ancient language in which Hindi scriptures are often written. Several Indian languages are derived from Sanskrit.
Satyagraha:	A particular form of passive-resistance developed by Mahatma Gandhi, which means the 'higher truth'
Sharia Law:	Islamic laws, as codified in the Quran, where there is no separation between religion and the state

Activity 3.12

Look at the list of ideologies or events below. This list aims to assist you to summarise the ideologies and events that have been discussed in this learning unit.

Try to provide the main period in which the particular ideologies or events occurred.

Aim to provide a succinct and clear definition or description of each of the ideologies or events listed.

Liberalism

The Enlightenment

The American Revolution

The French Revolution

The spread of Christianity

Mission stations in Bechuanaland

Mission stations in Dakota

Haitian slave revolt

Ashanti Kingdom

Pacifism

Communism

Nationalism

Decolonisation

Pan-Africanism

4 SOURCES FOR FURTHER READING

There are numerous potential sources for further reading about themes related to this module, many of which are extremely valuable.

The following list is highly selective, but those of you who wish to pursue themes discussed in greater depth can consult the following:

Abbott, M, ed., *History Skills: A Student's Handbook* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Bentley, J.H. & Ziegler, H.F., *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective of the Past* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011).

Black, J. and Macraill, D.M., *Studying History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Collins, R.O and Burns, J.M., *A History of Sub-Saharan Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Marks, R.B., *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Environmental Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, Boulder, London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

McNeill J., et al., eds, *The Cambridge World History: Production, Destruction and Connection 1750–Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Perry, M., *Western Civilization: A Brief History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008).

Shillington, K., *History of Africa* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Worger, W.H., Clark, N.L. and Alpers, E.A., *Africa and the West: A Documentary History*, 2nd ed. (2 volumes) (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).