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**NOTICE:** See important membership information on the back cover.

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Please read the important announcement on the inside front cover of this issue

Deadline for next *Bulletin* — 15 October, 1991

# **FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION**

**The Theme of the Conference:  
THE GLOBAL IMPACT OF 1492**

**The Time of the Conference:  
June 25 - June 27, 1992**

**The Place of the Conference:  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, USA**

**Send proposals and suggestions for  
papers and panels to the  
Chair of the Program Committee**

**Kevin Reilly  
125 Riverside Drive  
New York, NY 10024, USA**

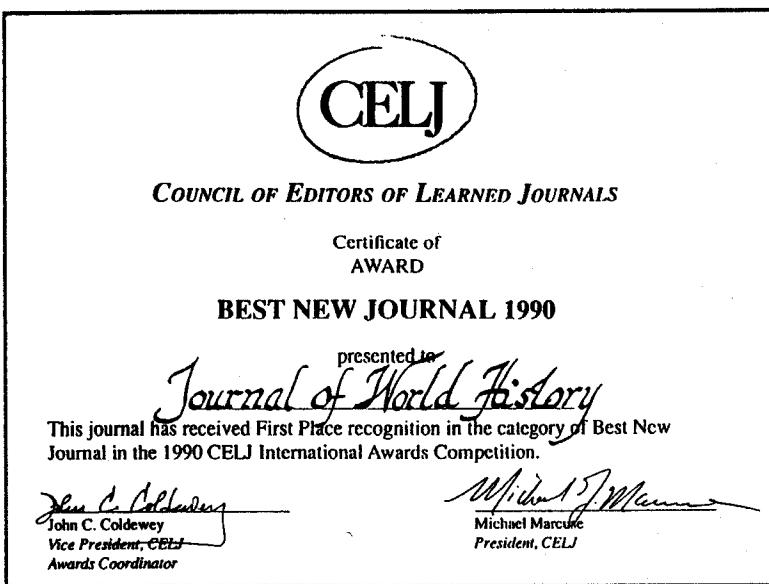
# WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

## Newsletter of the World History Association

### JOURNAL OF WORLD HISTORY Wins Coveted First Place Award

John C. Coldewey, Vice President of the Council of Editors of Learned Journals (CELJ), sent the following message to the World History Association's Journal:

I am pleased indeed to inform you that the Journal of World History has won the coveted First Place Award in the 1990 CELJ competition in the category of Best New Journal. The opinions of the panel of judges were unanimous in their praise for your journal. The Journal of World History was singled out in part for its timeliness, and also, as one judge commented, because it

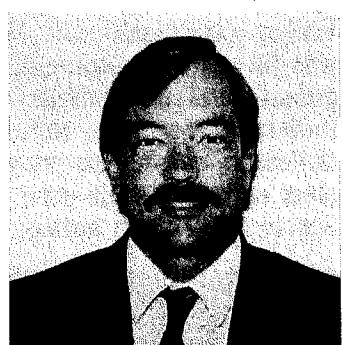


addresses a need that is at once particular and peculiar in the last decade of the twentieth century. Clearly, the study of history must move from specialized focus and arcane trivia into a broader scope in order to prepare the upcoming generation for living in a shrinking world. . . . Here is a periodical that devotes itself to thoughtful analysis of events, people, trends in a comprehensive context. It is a vanguard for the need for advanced, concentrated study of world history and may serve as part of the underpinning for degree programs. The scholars who contributed to its inauguration issue are widely respected as among the cadre who have demonstrated a comprehensive grasp of competing *Weltanschauungen*. The format and design invite the general reader. Best wishes for a successful venture.

Jerry Bentley, the Editor-in-Chief, was the founder of the publication and has defined its nature. From the start, the World History Association has been proud of his product. CELJ has made notice of the merits of the Journal, but others have done so as well and even earlier.

Richard Rosen, the Executive Director, reported after the first number of the Journal that he had received a number of comments that in capsulized form stated that it was the "most manageable and rewarding" of any journals that the subscribers had read.

Plaudits to Jerry Bentley and the University of Hawaii Press are certainly in order. As members of the WHA, we certainly take pride in the achievement of all who have contributed to the rapid success of the Journal.



### Contents of the next World History Journal, Volume 2, number 2 (fall 1991):

#### Articles

Alfred W. Crosby, "Infectious Disease and the Demography of the Atlantic Peoples"

Jerry Bentley

William K. Storey, "Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930"

Jacqueline Swansinger, "A Three-Legged Race: Ethiopian Reconstruction, 1940-1944"

Ken Coates and W.R. Morrison, "The American Rampant: Historiographical Reflections on the Impact of United States Troops in Allied Countries during World War II"

#### Communication

David Christian, "The Case for 'Big History' "

## A Further Report on the UNESCO "Project for the Integral Study of the Silk Roads"

Hugh R. Clark  
Ursinus College

In an earlier edition of the *Bulletin*, Prof. Andre Gunder Frank (University of Amsterdam) reported on his experience on the initial stage of the UNESCO "Project for the Integral Study of the Silk Roads" (see "Some Ups and Downs on the Silk Road: An 'Academic Travelogue'" [WHB vol. VII: 3 (fall/winter, 1990-91, pp. 7-11]). Since Prof. Frank's report, the second of three planned phases of the project, "The Comprehensive Investigation of the Marine Silk Road," has also unfolded. Benefiting from the generosity of the Sultan of Oman, who lent his yacht to UNESCO for the duration of the investigation, a team of UNESCO officials, international press, and rotating scholars traveled the length of the old maritime trade route from Venice to Osaka, holding both local and international conferences in the major port cities that lined the way. I would like to report on one of those conferences, the "UNESCO International Conference on China and the Maritime Silk Road," held in Quanzhou, the ancient port on China's southeast coast.

**"Humankind has made some use of the Indian Ocean as a trade and communications link since our earliest civilizations."**

By way of introduction, some general words about the so-called "Marine Silk Route" are in order. Humankind has made some use of the Indian Ocean as a trade and communications link since our earliest civilizations. Evidence indicates that the ancient Indus Valley civilization of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro was linked to its contemporary civilizations in Mesopotamia via the Arabian Sea, the western leg of the Indian Ocean trade route. Later, but still over two millennia before the present, Greek and Roman travelers recorded their own journeys across the Arabian Sea to the Indian subcontinent and possibly beyond;

some even argue that Roman envoys visited the Han Dynasty court after journeying all the way to China by sea.

In the seas east of the Indian subcontinent our first sources are a bit later. We know from archaeological records that the peoples along the ocean littorals of the East used the sea, but Ban Gu's *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, compiled ca. 90 CE, is the earliest documentary source. He tells us of seaborne trade routes connecting China's south coast to kingdoms as much as twelve months distant; early in this century the great French historian Paul Pelliot suggested this meant Han envoys traveled as far as the western reaches of the Indian Ocean. Like the speculation on Roman envoys visiting the Han court, Pelliot's conclusions have not won wide support, but Ban Gu's account also roughly corresponds to the time when Hinduism began to influence the lands of Southeast Asia, clear evidence at least that contact between them and the subcontinent to their west had been regularized. Thus just as the Greek and Roman records demonstrate the existence of a western trade route even before the beginning of the common era, so these records point to a functioning eastern trade pattern by the same time.

In the early centuries of the common era, trade and communication between China, India, and the lands in between grew increasingly common. We hear of Chinese travelers such as Kangtai, who traveled through the lands of Southeast Asia on behalf of the Wu Dynasty (222-77 CE), of Malayan princes who coveted the horses of central Asia, and of regular merchant activity. And we learn that the Chinese monk, Faxian, who traveled the overland route to India in pursuit of Buddhist scriptures at the start of the fifth century, returned to China by boat when he was finally done.

The great age of the "Marine Silk Route" is inseparably connected with the rise of Islam. Spurred by the proselytizing zeal of the new religion, merchants from western Asia, both Arabs and Persians, tied the Indian Ocean and East Asian trade routes into one vast ecumene. Although they did not displace the other traders who had established the individual legs

### WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

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The *World History Bulletin*, newsletter of the World History Association, is published twice per year: Fall/Winter and Spring/Summer. The *Bulletin* is sent to all members of the World History Association. Dues are U.S.\$ 25.00 per year for regular members (U.S.\$ 31.00 for students, unemployed, disabled, and senior citizens) and should be sent to Richard L. Rosen, Executive Director, Department of History/Politics, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA 19104. The World History Association is a scholarly, nonpolitical, nonprofit, professional association and is open to all persons interested in world history. Notices, announcements, and short articles dealing with world history should be sent for consideration to the Editor, *World History Bulletin*, Department of History/Politics, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA 19104. The editorial committee and staff reserve the right to edit all material submitted for publication.

of the ecumene in the preceding centuries, it was the Islamic merchants who made the "Marine Silk Road" a reality in the seventh to ninth centuries, carrying their trade its entire length and inseparably linking the trade patterns of Southeast and east Asia to those of west Asia and east Africa. Because of the general lack of written records from south and Southeast Asia until more recent times, we lose sight of these intrepid mariners until they reach China. Chinese sources, however, tell us that at least by the late seventh and eighth centuries communities of western Asians had gathered in Guangzhou (Canton), the great and oldest port on China's south coast, and Yangzhou, no longer so well-known but in the Tang Dynasty (618-906) the juncture between the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River and so critical in China's domestic trade networks. Records of several unfriendly encounters between Chinese and their west Asian guests survive in both Chinese and Arab sources, culminating in the 878 slaughter of these merchants at the hands of the forces of the rebel Huang Chao. The Persian historian abu-Zayd al-Siraf recorded that 120,000 Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians died in this incident; even if his numbers are inflated, they suggest how large the expatriate community had grown in that single city.

Although Guangzhou was China's oldest port, by the ninth century traders had begun to frequent other sites along the coast, including Quanzhou, which they knew as "Zayton." That name, by which the city came to be known throughout the Indian Ocean ecumene and even into Europe by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was derived from the Arabic transcription of the cetong tree for which the city had become famous, and is itself evidence of the prominent role west Asians were playing in the trade. During the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties, when China was most fully integrated into the Indian Ocean trade ecumene, Quanzhou displaced Guangzhou as China's primary port, and so it became the fulcrum around which the ecumene pivoted at its eastern extremity. The volume of commerce through the port had grown so large that Marco Polo, who passed through the city late in the thirteenth century, was led to remark: "It is indeed impossible to convey an idea of the number of merchants and the accumulation of goods in this place, which is held to be one of the largest ports in the world." Zhao Rugua, Quanzhou Trade Superintendent early in the thirteenth century and author of the *Zhusan zhi* ("Records of foreign peoples") translated in this century by Messrs. Hirth and Rockhill, claimed to have interviewed merchants from over sixty foreign lands, ranging from Japan to the north to Zanzibar, Alexandria, and even Spain, who passed through his port. And when the eunuch admiral Zheng He set forth on his seven massive expeditions which spelled both the apogee of and end to

China's active role in the ecumene early in the fifteenth century, he set forth from Quanzhou.

Such extensive contact with the trading networks of the Indian Ocean could not help but leave a mark on the city and surrounding countryside of Quanzhou. Local scholars are perhaps most proud of the discovery, made in the mid-1970s, of the hull of a merchant vessel found in the mud along the shore of Quanzhou Bay. The vessel, now thought to have belonged to a member of the local branch of the Imperial Family, contained the remains of goods that were commonly included in the trade, including porcelains, spices, and rare woods. Other remains which attest to the prominent role of the port include a large collection of Arabic, Persian, and even Christian tombstones, mute testimony to the one-time existence of a thriving foreign community; the skeleton of the Qingjing Mosque, one of several that once existed in the city, also survives to bear witness to the once-prominent role of the local Muslim community. Indian and Southeast Asian remains are legion: incorporated into the modern structure of several temples, prominently including the Kaiyuan Temple whose twin pagodas dominated the city's traditional skyline, are the sculpted remains of a now-lost Hindu temple; the story of Hanuman, the monkey-god of the *Ramayana*, the great epic of Indian culture — from which the Chinese derived Sun Wugong, the simian anti-hero of China's most beloved novel, *Journey to the West* — is etched in the stone face of the temple's Western Pagoda, built in the eleventh century; and on the western edge of the city is a stone lingam, itself in all probability a remnant of the one-time Hindu temple and clear evidence that there was once a cult of Shiva in the city.

Although the overland Silk Road which Prof. Frank and his colleagues followed is perhaps better — and more romantically — known in the West, it is certain that there was a much higher volume of goods moving back and forth along the maritime routes. With goods moved ideas, religions, technologies, food

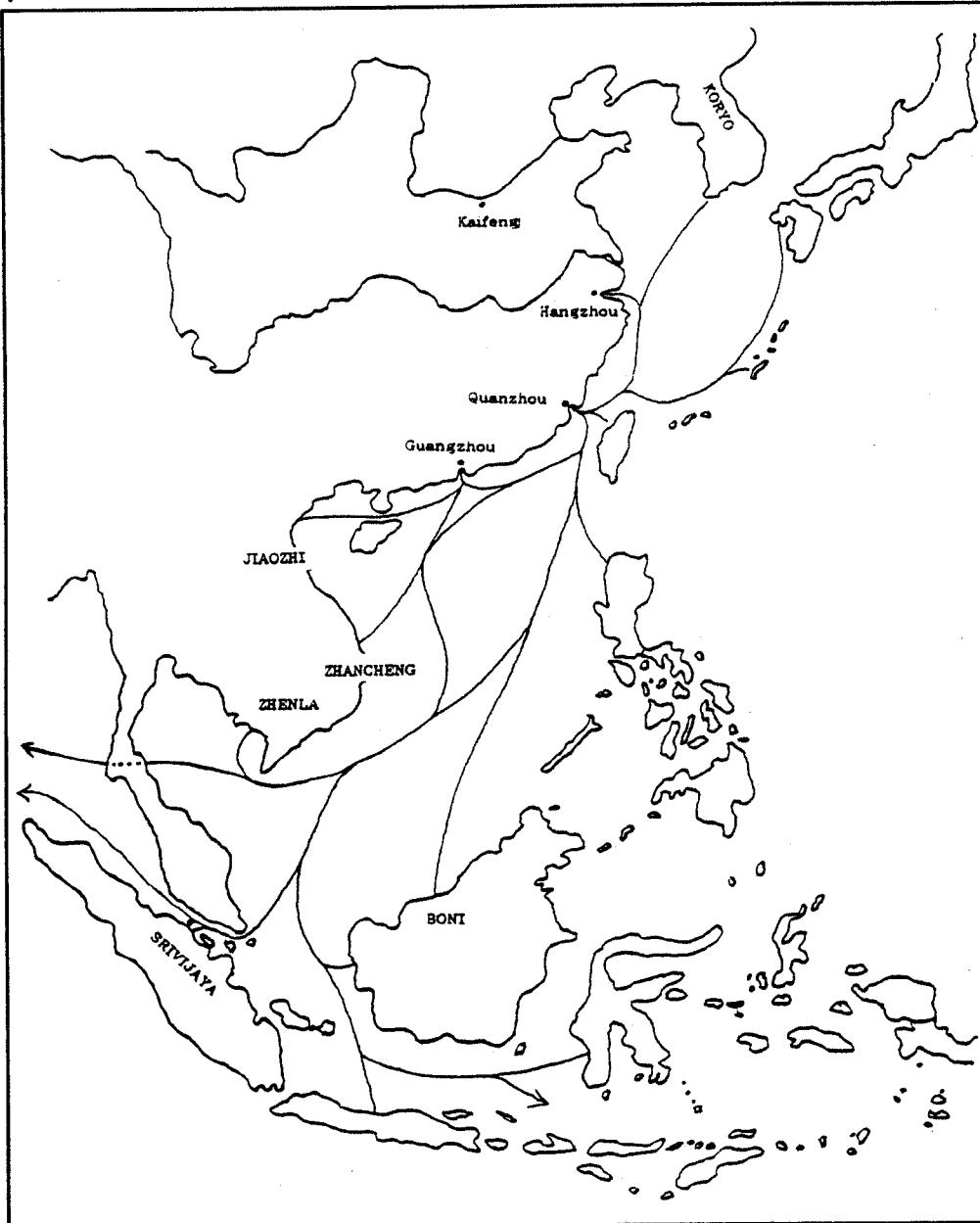
*"With goods moved ideas, religions, technologies, food plants, medicines...."*

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plants, medicines, indeed everything that makes up culture and civilization. Even as basic a crop as rice may have been carried by the ancient traders from its place of origin somewhere in Southeast Asia or the Indian subcontinent into both east and west Asia. In later times, such critical nautical Chinese innovations as the compass, the lateen sail, the stern-post rudder, and watertight compartments, as well as cultural innovations such as printing and examinations, and military inventions prominently including gunpowder, all passed along the maritime routes to influence the emerging cultures at the western end of Eurasia and set the stage for their forceful intervention into the In-



Hugh Clark



Trade Ties Between China, Southeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean, ca. 1200

dian Ocean ecumene in the sixteenth century and after.

It is because Quanzhou was so critical to China's participation during the heyday of the "Marine Silk Road" and is now the home of the Museum of Overseas Communication History — perhaps China's leading center of historical investigation of that participation and an enthusiastic host to the conferees — that it was chosen as the location for the International Conference. The conferees included the shipborne UNESCO representatives and scholars of the Investigation Group, who arrived in Quanzhou on February 13 after as much as four months asea and just in time for the massive state holiday celebrating the Chinese New Year, as well as a team of scholars from China and abroad whose work has focused on China's contribution to the trade; altogether there were almost one hundred participants. After an official opening

ceremony which coincided with the inauguration of the new building housing the marvelous holdings of the Museum of Overseas Communication History, the conferees were treated to two full days of ceremonial sightseeing, for which local authorities marshaled bands, dancing dragons, hordes of school children and huge welcoming committees, and an endless series of New Year's entertainments and banquets.

The conference itself convened on February 17. During the following four days over fifty papers were presented and discussed, by far the majority dealing with questions of exchange between China and her partners along the maritime routes. There were several presentations on such issues as the transmission of medical, technical, and scientific knowledge, the export of Chinese silk and ceramics, and the exchange of food crops. Many of these papers, which were of prime interest to the Chinese participants, were restricted in part by the authors' limited use of foreign language sources and consequent unilateral perspectives. Some of the presentations were nevertheless original and worthwhile; that by Wang Yaohua exploring the influence of Chinese music on the musical tradition of the Ryukyu Islands, was especially good and, through its

combination of discussion and performance, very entertaining. Discussions of the exchange of medical knowledge by Cai Jinfeng and food stuffs by Min Zongdian were also important. But many such papers, regrettably, tended to repeat facts and to draw conclusions that have been extensively discussed before and are consequently already well-known.

Another theme that arose in several papers was the influence of the trade on China itself. My own paper examining the debates surrounding the establishment

*"Another theme that arose in several papers was the influence of the trade on China itself."*

of the Quanzhou Trade Superintendency in the late eleventh century was the only essay which explored the tie between trade and domestic politics, but several contributions examined the effects of the trade on

Chinese culture and society. Both Dru Gladney and Zhuang Jinghui considered the history and role of the Muslim community in the area surrounding Quanzhou, while Chen Dasheng continued his work on Islam in China in a broad-ranging essay focused on Islamic inscriptions. John Guy and Yang Qingzhang looked at the evident influence of South Indian culture on the Quanzhou region, and vice versa. And Shiba Yoshinobu continued his long-running inquiry into the Lower Yangtze macro-region in an essay which considered the effect of sixteenth-century trading patterns on the macro-regional economy.

Finally, several essays, predominantly but not exclusively contributed by foreign scholars, looked at the influence of Chinese settlement abroad. Notable among these was the contribution of Ho Chuimei on Chinese in southern Thailand before 1500, Claudine Salmon's study of a Chinese lineage on East Java in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and Wolfgang Franke's report on Chinese epigraphic materials in Southeast Asia.

This survey by no means exhausts all the issues which were touched in either the essays presented or in the following discussions, nor do I mean to slight those I have not mentioned. Obviously in such a large gathering not all contributions will be equally strong, and what impresses one participant as valuable may well strike another as less so, or vice versa. In toto, however, it is the feeling of this observer that this was a very worthwhile gathering, not simply because the papers included so many that were strong, but also because the truly international character of the participants fostered a level of dialogue that was stimulating and frequently of great value. Despite the pratfalls of such gatherings — and Prof. Frank alluded to many that plagued the first part of the program and which were sometimes echoed in the second — UNESCO is to be congratulated for bringing so many together around such a fascinating and important theme. The long-term results both in fostering international contacts and providing direction to subsequent scholarly inquiry will more than repay the participants and the world community for the efforts which were made.

**"UNESCO is to be congratulated for bringing so many together around such a fascinating and important theme."**

Interested readers can purchase the complete essays through the Quanzhou Museum on Overseas Trade History. Ask for the publication *China and the Maritime Silk Route: UNESCO Quanzhou International Seminar on China and the Maritime Routes of the Silk Roads* [in Chinese and English] (Fujian: Fujian People's Publishing House).

## Big and Small, and Distant and Close in History\*

Leif Littrup

East Asian Institute/Center for Research  
in the Humanities  
University of Copenhagen

It is a great honor for me to congratulate the journal *Lishi jiaoxue* ("History Teaching") on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary. As a Danish historian of Chinese history and the historiography of world history in China I share with most readers of the journal the belief that the study of history is important for our understanding of the present and the future world. It is important to understand our own history and the history of our close and distant neighbors.

To study the history of distant civilizations is a challenge to any historian but it is perhaps also an escape from the challenge of the history closer to oneself. During my study and teaching of Chinese history I have come to realize the importance of understand-



Leif Littrup

ing European history and particularly our national history of Denmark. I have continued my studies of that topic and have repeatedly encouraged my students also to study the history of our own civilization. The systematic teaching of the national history in primary, secondary, and tertiary education had been neglected in recent years in Denmark but it is now coming back. Most Danish historians of all historiographical orientations agree that knowledge of the national history is the foundation for understanding the history of the rest of the world. And most educators and politicians agree that in this time of internationalization and integration, when the Danish people may end as a minority nationality of a united Europe, a more systematic teaching of the national history is necessary so it has now again become part of the standard curriculum in primary and secondary schools.

**"The first problem of national history is the territory of Danish history."**

The first problem of national history is the territory of Danish history. Each generation has its own view of our history and has published a multi-volume history of Denmark. A new one is now under publication in sixteen volumes, for a population of five million people! The editor has very clearly defined the territory as the present Kingdom of Denmark but with due consideration to the fact that during most of historical

\*Reprinted from *Lishi jiaoxue* (History Teaching) on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary. This history journal is published in Tianjin, The People's Republic of China. Professor Littrup was invited to contribute to this special issue. We reproduce it in the *Bulletin* with his permission.

time, Denmark was a multi-nationality state with a territory much larger than the present. The historiographical problem involved in the change of the territory seems to have been solved in a way which is acceptable to the people of Denmark and also to our neighbors. I hope that no historian in this part of the world will ever want any other criteria for the territory of national history. Historians have in the past too often served the cause of nationalism and chauvinism and with the current changes in Central Europe there is a danger that historians may again incite such problems which in the modern world must be solved through national and international cooperation.

So for China I welcome the current emphasis on the teaching of the national history and the definition of its territory as the present Chinese territory with its many minority nationalities, some of them larger than the population of Denmark and with a history of their own. The creation of a national history of China, which integrates the history of all nationalities, is a major task in the study and teaching of history in China and it is a prerequisite for the teaching of world history. Important progress has been made and it is very urgent that this is reflected in the teaching of history at all levels.

At the same time it is important to study and teach the development of Chinese society within the last few hundred years. I have from time to time spoken with young Chinese about the importance of the past in understanding the present, and they have invariably started to speak about the philosophers of the Zhou period (before 221 BC). These are important for understanding the subsequent development of Chinese civilization just as the philosophers of ancient Greece and of early Christianity are important for Euro-American civilization. But when in Europe we really want to understand our present civilization, the emphasis is on the modern period after the Enlightenment or perhaps including the Renaissance. The change of emphasis from ancient to modern history has developed over the last decades and even historians of the ancient period seem to accept it, perhaps also because there is at the same time a considerable popular interest in ancient history and pre-history. Modern Chinese history is an important part of the curriculum of history teaching in China but it may be worth considering giving more emphasis to the indigenous development of Chinese society in a world perspective during the last five hundred years.

In the teaching of world history we have in Europe always been very self-centered. Europe is not the center of world history and attempts all over the

***"In the teaching of world history we have in Europe always been very self-centered."***

world to move away from the concept should be encouraged, but at the same time we should study and learn from the European experience with self-centrism. Our world history has been and to a large

extent still is the history of Europe and her expansion in the rest of the world after the great discoveries around 1500. The history of other important parts of the world, including China, has been sandwiched in between the main body of European history but has never had an important position except when a teacher had a special interest in or knowledge of overseas history. There are of course advantages and disadvantages in this approach to world history. The advantage is that our own national history has been placed in a larger European context which makes it easier to understand both the national history, and that of the surrounding world. The disadvantage is that most Europeans do not know the important civilizations in other parts of the world and how they have contributed to the present world civilization or, and this may be equally harmful, they distort the history of such civilizations and overemphasize aspects which suit their own way of thinking. The wave of chinoiserie in eighteenth-century Europe is the most prominent example of such romanticizing about or deliberate misuse of foreign civilizations, but there are other examples.

The study of world history in China is different from Europe in that there is a sharp division between Chinese and world history in the organization of teaching and research, and perhaps also in the minds of many historians. The emphasis is on the historical development of European civilization from the earliest times so in principle any Chinese middle school graduate should have a better understanding of Europe than European graduates usually have of China. When I first saw what is taught about European history in Chinese education I was amazed by the courage and diligence put into it. But on further investigation and reflection I have begun to doubt the results of these efforts.

The problem is the emphasis on the vertical development of history while neglecting the horizontal. This is most obvious in the omission of the history of the surrounding countries in Chinese historical education. In Europe world history, or foreign history, is first of all the history of the surrounding region, i.e. Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa and for the later periods also America. The study of foreign history begins with our immediate neighbors and this leads naturally to the study of our interaction with them and its influence on our national history. Then follows their neighbors and their mutual interaction, and the possible repercussions on our own history etc. This geographical organic concept of world history is of course not linear. Certain areas demand more attention at certain times, and occasionally it is necessary suddenly to jump to another part of the world because of important events, such as the discovery of America. But even so, we still have our neighbors as the stepping stone to put such sudden developments into a context which we can understand. Historical studies of the surrounding countries are carried out in China but with few exceptions they are not used in

general history teaching. Not only is Chinese history separated from world history but outside the border there appears to be a historiographical no-man's land.

One side effect of this approach is that the history of smaller countries tends to be neglected in Chinese world history to an extent which does not happen in European historiography, both the smaller countries of East Asia, and the smaller countries in other parts of the world, e.g. Northern Europe. The history of a single smaller country is of course rarely so important in a world history context that it can demand special attention. But when the histories of several smaller countries are taken together then they are often important in a regional context and the history of that region cannot be understood if they are neglected. So I hope that the concept of the history of smaller countries will develop in Chinese history teaching.

**"The history of a single smaller country is of course rarely so important in a world history context that it can demand special attention."**

Developments in Chinese historiography in the last ten years have emphasized the horizontal development of history, and research of the highest quality is being carried out along these lines. In our time it is important that such results are made available for history teaching as soon as possible. The *Lishi jiaoxue* has an important function and a proud record in this respect and I send my best wishes to the journal and its editors and contributors that the publication may continue with the same high quality for many years.

WHA

### CALL FOR PAPERS 1992 ANNUAL MEETING AMERICAN MILITARY INSTITUTE

The 1992 annual meeting of the American Military Institute will be hosted by the Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Quantico, Virginia (35 miles south of Washington, D.C.), 10-11 April 1992. The theme of the conference will be "Joint, Combined, Amphibious, and Expeditionary Operations." This focus is all inclusive, i.e., irrespective of era, nationality, culture, location, etc. Proposals for individual papers and for complete sessions are solicited. Scholars and graduate students who are commencing work on a new research project are encouraged to submit proposals for "works-in-progress" sessions. Send proposals by 5 October 1991 to Dr. Donald F. Bittner, A.M.I. Program Chairman, P.O. Box 307, Quantico, Virginia 22134-0307. Telephone inquiries to the Program Chairman are encouraged at (703) 640-2746.

### A Milestone in Chinese World History Publishing\*

The newly published Foreign History volume of a planned 74-volume encyclopedia is an informative reference book for historians, teachers, and anyone interested in world history.

With 2,521 entries and 1,285 illustrations, it took 400 scholars seven years to complete the work under the leadership of chief compilers Chen Hansheng, Wu Yujin, and Zhu Tingguang.

The Foreign History volume of the encyclopedia is the most comprehensive reference book of its kind in China. It not only introduces the history of ancient Greece, Rome, and Babylon but also the history of 184 countries and regions in Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America, North America, and Oceania.

It outlines the history of the international communist movement and the development of international relations.

The book's most recent information is from the late 1980s and covers such living statesmen as Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan, Kim Il-sung, and Norodom Sihanouk.

Compared with Western encyclopedias and dictionaries on world history, Foreign History lays more emphasis on Third World countries and devotes half of its pages to the introduction of each country's history. The book adheres to the idea that people make history and affirms the role of historical figures, including some reactionaries.

According to the book, Chinese observation of the outside world started more than 2,000 years ago. In his immortal Historical Records, Sima Qian, a historian during the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC - AD 24), covered the major events in China under the reign of the Han emperors as well as events in some neighboring countries.

In the following dynasties, historians carried forward Sima Qian's tradition. In writing about Chinese history, they focused on the people and included information about other countries.

The encyclopedia points out that due to geographic limitations, Chinese and foreign historians before the fifteenth century could not write books covering world history. The accounts of these early historians usually focused on their own ethnic, political, or religious groups.

Works on world history in the modern sense appeared in the Renaissance, the volume says. With the development of capitalist production and the discovery of a round-the-world sea route, Western historians expanded their view of world history.

But these pioneering historians still had their shortcomings. For example, they believed Europe to be the center of the world. And they neglected the fact that material production was the foundation of the development of world history.

\*This review comes from CHINA DAILY (26 November 1990). We thank Carlton H. Tucker, WHA Council member, for sending it on.

Chinese historians began to turn their eyes from their "middle kingdom" to the outside world in the middle of the nineteenth century. On the eve of the Opium War (1840-1842), Lin Zexu, a Qing court official who banned opium in Guangzhou, took charge of a journal Events of Four Continents, which involved the history and geography of more than 30 countries.

Later, historians Wei Yuan and Xu Jishe introduced the history, geography, politics, and economy of other countries in their works. But they were not free from the traditional concept that China was the center of the world.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Soviet Academy of Sciences published a multi-volume Comprehensive History of the World, which was clearly different from world history books produced in the West.

The book stressed the people's role in history and the history of the oppressed nations, and tried to seek out the laws of historical development on the basis of the development of material production.

Since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, China has published many books on the history of different countries as well as biographies of historical figures.

World History and Historical Science, published by the World History Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, provided important opportunities for historians to make public their research results and conduct academic discussions.

In 1962, China's first Comprehensive History of the World, compiled by Zhou Yiliang and Wu Yujin, was published. The book begins with primitive society and goes to the end of World War I.

The recent publication of Foreign History is a milestone for Chinese world historians. But it is just a beginning considering the dramatic events of recent years.

The "Foreign History" volume costs 61.20 yuan (\$11.80) and is published by the Chinese Encyclopaedia Publishing House, which was set up in 1978. The principal editors of the volume are Zhao Zhongyuan, Yu Ruixi, Man Yunxin, and Han Zhigeng.

WHA

### East Central Europe in World History \*

Marilynn Jo Hitchens

President, World History Association

My part in the topic, "East Central Europe in the '80s — from Democracy to Dictatorship," is to explore the ways to conceptualize the changes going on in the area, and then how to integrate them into world history. In this regard, there are two immediate problems. First, it has not yet been well established what actually has happened in the area, and how and why it

happened. Second, it is far from clear that the changes have reached a clearly definable conclusion. In many respects, the shift to democracy is arguable and the results very much in flux. Without that, world historians cannot even think of using the dictatorship to democracy paradigm in a worldly fashion.

Perhaps I should start by simply putting a question mark with my topic. EAST CENTRAL EUROPE IN WORLD HISTORY? Will there ever be such a thing?

I remember quite clearly several years ago at the World History conference on "Cities in World History" being asked to review Roy Willis' book, World Civilizations. The focus of this book is on the world's great cities as they reflect civilization. Among other things, he described the idyllic nature of his research — a month in Rome, six weeks in Athens, only three weeks in Cairo as it is pretty hot, etc. In my review, I noted, with some disdain, that only three pages out of 1,500 were devoted to the Soviet Union. He responded by saying that that is as it should be, as that is all it was worth in terms of civilization and cities! So much for the Soviet Union in world history!

Here we address somewhat the same question with regard to East Central Europe, especially as we look at the period of the '80s. Will there be a story to tell here in the broad scope of world history? And if so, what is it?

A quick survey of the treatment of East Central Europe in world history books to date reveals that the history of the individual countries and of the area is very much fringe history. Eastern Europe, for the most part, is looked on as being influenced by patterns of history from outside — by the Iron Age, the Agricultural Revolution, Christianity and Islam, the feudal order, the Protestant struggles, kingship and empire, nationalism, liberalism, capitalism and communism, great power politics and modernization. In most textbooks, Rumania is scarcely mentioned, if at all, during the Roman Empire, and then does not re-surface again until the topic of nineteenth-century nationalism in connection with the Ottoman Empire. Czechoslovakia is almost always subsumed under the rubric of the Hapsburgs until the twentieth century. Poland appears in connection with medieval Christianity and then is lost until it is gobbled up during the Polish partitions. Hungary makes an early appearance during the steppe invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries, the Byzantine Empire, and then during the Ottoman advances into Europe. All the countries emerge as nationally identifiable states only in the twentieth-century interwar period, only to disappear after World War II into the Soviet satellite fabric and the politics of the Cold War. Unfortunately, the



Marilynn Jo Hitchens

\*This paper was read at the WHA Rocky Mountain Regional Affiliate Conference at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah in early June, 1990.

more global and less Western-civilization-oriented the book, the less mention of the area. There are even varying definitions of what the area is comprised of—some place the western borders of Eastern Europe at the Oder, others at the Elbe.

In one respect, the propensity of world history to focus on the major advances, the major changes, the major themes, and the major civilizations is justifiable. World history, after all, has just so much time and space to cover a great deal. While the inclusionary and exclusionary principles of world history have not yet been firmly established, those working in the field have tried to keep the focus on events and themes of a worldly nature as measured in both time and space. This has caused such sacred cows as the

***"Are the '80s a turning point in world history and is Eastern Europe at its nexus?"***

Renaissance to fall by the wayside. It is difficult to find a major theme, change, civilization, or advance coming out of the history of Eastern Europe. We are here *inter alia*, however, to ponder whether Eastern Europe in the '80s might be the exception. Are the '80s a turning point in world history and is Eastern Europe at its nexus?

We should not be timid in our quest for an answer in this regard. While to date there is a paucity of fringe areas in world history, there is one notable exception. William McNeill, by focusing on the Asian steppe borderlands, latched on to a theme of previously minor interest and propelled it into a place of some importance. Before McNeill, the Mongols received short shrift; now they receive whole chapters and an entire video episode despite McNeill's ability to produce much in a tangible way of achievement. What he did produce was a good argument for the change the Mongols caused, and he has used the Mongols as the premier example of a long lasting and ongoing world conflict between nomadic and settled societies. Could it be that Eastern Europe will command great attention McNeill-style as the identifiable spearhead of challenge against the twentieth century socialist, Soviet, and Communist world system and the change that that challenge has wrought? Will it emerge as a classic example of the struggle between economic and political systems of modernization, and the kinds of integration between the two?

Having myself become fascinated by fringe history by way of the Balkans, I would like to argue that there may well be a place in world history for some systematic approach to the question of fringe civilizations especially as they reflect the causes and nature of large-scale change at the epicenter. Balkan history, and indeed the history of most of the countries we are dealing with today, reflect multiple influences which produce intricate multicultural results. This study alone is of some interest. It is also of interest to note that the great civilizations to which they were attached, died first on the fringes and last at the heart. Doesn't this have a story to tell of the winds of change and of their causes?

Fringe history, to be a success, must in some measure divorce itself from the larger areas with which it is associated, and establish an identity and pattern of its own. In this regard, regional history might provide the necessary glue to make it fit better into world history. Several years ago the eminent East European scholar, Charles Jelavich, pleaded such a case. In the AAASS Newsletter, he surveyed the field of East European history. He noted that it had begun in the interwar period with an emphasis on national histories, and was in the post-war period subsumed under the rubric of the Cold War. In looking to the future, he pleaded for an emphasis on regional history, free from the bonds of satellitism. John McKay et al. in the text A History of World Societies makes a success story of the regional approach. By examining social history of the East European region during the late Middle Ages, he makes some powerful historical distinctions between Eastern and Western Europe — in the West, the emergence of towns and power of kings diluted the power of the nobility, while in Eastern Europe, the nobility gained absolute power over the peasantry in the absence of commerce. In his analysis, the region begins to take shape and establish its own identity much as McNeill's nomads have become a cultural entity.

Besides looking at East Central Europe in the '80s as a region of some indigenous identity, and with the ability to cause real and far reaching change in the world, it should also be noted that world history is interested in the question of cross-cultural encounters and the civilizational mixes they produce. Here Eastern Europe is fertile ground, indeed, for more than the Crusaders have traipsed across this land. Ideas and institutions have, too, among them Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam; capitalism, communism and socialism; feudalism, nationalism, imperialism, autocracy and democracy; agrarianism, commercialism and industrialism — to mention a few, have become part of the intricate mosaic of the area. The question for world history is how to fashion a recognizable picture of the mosaic which can tell an important story. It is

***"The question for world history is how to fashion a recognizable picture of the mosaic which can tell an important story."***

not without some relevance to note that the areas in the world with the richest cultural mixes — Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Central America — are providing some of the most important backdrops for events of the twentieth century. These include the Balkan region as it precipitated World War I, East Central Europe as it precipitated World War II, Southeast Asia as a focus of conflict in the Cold War, Central America as it pertains to the ideological and North/South economic conflicts of the world, and in this very day the Middle East.

It is my feeling that many see East Central Europe in the '80s as an important world history story because it both reflects and spawned the end of the Cold War. The loosening of the reigns by Gorbachev

spawned the reemergence of nationalism and Westernism. At the same time, the changes in Eastern Europe reflect change in the Soviet Union and change in the world political balance and ideological commitment. Its place in Cold War history is assured, and whether Eastern Europe promoted, or was the beneficiary of the end of the Cold War, will be debated. Still, there may be other worldly stories to tell, some small and some of much broader scope.

### 1. The continuing forces of nationalism and individualism.

### 2. Failing economic systems or the dysfunctionalities of autarchic systems in an increasingly bold world market economy.

### 3. The changing place of Europe in the world.

### 4. Twentieth-century ideologies under attack.

May I suggest a few of the larger world history stories in which Eastern Europe of the '80s is at the forefront. First is the continuing story of what I call "the rise of the people." In the long run, man has been steadily gaining ground in his race with nature through science and technology, in his struggle for human harmony through religion and political equality, and in his dream of prosperity through the market economy. All of this has resulted in a remarkable increase in the world population, and the very numbers, if nothing else, have given power to the many over the few. The rise of the people in Eastern Europe in the '80s was an expression of the force behind the will of large numbers for better standards of living, more voice in government and a movement into modernity. This is a story which began in the ecumene and has gained momentum and force through three millennia, a short period of time in world history.

From a teaching standpoint, this story is certainly the one best projected into the classroom. Pictures of the Berlin Wall being hacked to pieces, testimonials of reunited families, personal exaltations of freedom from fear, the lid being blown off resentments against abuse of power, the dark side of the hidden Rumania, the bitter acceptance of betrayed ideological dreams — these are the moments that make history come alive, but they at the moment are lacking in context and in some ways in perspective. Populism as opposed to rebellion may put a comprehensible face on this story.

A more unique world history story here is the impact of technology on changing economic and then political and social systems. While there is every evidence that East Europeans were fairly well informed about the relative inability of socialist systems to deliver consumer goods and while evidence of dictatorship by a few rather than by the people as the socialist fiction purports was no secret, the momentum

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*"Once the stringent reins of information control by Communist regimes weakened, the flood of evidence was hard to resist."*

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of these truths increased as information transfer increased. Once the stringent reins of information control by Communist regimes weakened, the flood of

evidence was hard to resist. The importance of information on a broad scale can be as important to Eastern Europe in the '80s as it was to Martin Luther's cause, and with the same results.

As a teacher who must deal with the concrete rather than the abstract, which I have just discussed, there is no doubt that the changes in Eastern Europe will for many years to come, at least, be part of the twentieth-century European story — of its nationalisms, its ideologies, its diminished role in the world, perhaps forcing it to slip into regionalism, and its geography, which makes Eastern Europe a fluid border between Europe and Asia. Certainly when one approaches the changing relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the ideological and economic battles fought for people's hearts and pocketbooks, history will use Eastern Europe as the windsock of change. While it is unlikely the teacher would have time to develop the individual histories of East European change, there is some need to understand them nevertheless. For world history finds direction in the commonalities, but its development in the individualities. If the technological revolution means anything, it gives more people the ability to be the same or different, scholars and teachers included.

As our discussants proceed, I am sure we will hear much of the continuities and change in the area. Some may well argue that the changes are cosmetic, or that they are really a part of the continuous history of Eastern Europe. They may argue that Eastern Europe is still hostage of the Soviet east given the nature of the birth of these changes. They may see in the end of empire, the beginning of resurgent nationalism rather than of European unity. They may argue that Russia's fluctuating borders and varied approach to Europe has been a continuous pattern. So have East European flirtations with democracy and East and West European attempts at European union as by Charlemagne or Napoleon. Continuity might also be found in the fluctuating European emphasis on trade rather than autarchy, as during the Renaissance versus the Middle Ages. Continuous also has been the differing warp woven into European history between Islamic Ottoman-influenced Eastern Europe and Christian Western Europe.

At the moment, however, we are intoxicated with the change. What strikes us most about the '80s in Eastern Europe, is the end of the Communist regimes, the turn to a market economy, the end to the divisions of Germany and, perhaps, Europe. The argument might be made that changes in Eastern Europe herald a new age and a fundamental change at the vanguard of world historical change. In conclusion, this all could be a very new story of the power of people, technology, and communications, or it could be a very old story of the collapse of heavy, corrupt, and brutally suffocating bureaucracies. It could be the story of 1776 brought to its denouement, or the repetitive din of Byzantine brutalities exposed, and the forces of economic collapse. Perhaps our illustrious scholars of the area will help us out.

## WHA President's Report

Business Meeting, 28 December 1990

It is a pleasure to welcome all of you to the seventh Business Meeting of the World History Association. By your presence, you are expressing your support for the goals of world history, that is the promotion of scholarship, writing and teaching in world history. I especially note the presence of foreign scholars who were invited to join us this evening. It is our hope that the World History Association will begin to move physically, not just intellectually beyond US borders.

One of my tasks as President is to make a report to the membership regarding the activities, concerns, and future of the Association. Happily, 1990 has been a year of world history "breaking out all over." Rarely is there a history meeting, a scholarly conference, a curriculum debate, a social studies conference which does not now involve the question of world history. There is so much going on that I leave an ongoing report of activities to Ray Lorantas and the Bulletin. Symbolic, though, is a letter I received from Terrie Epstein, Chair of the Organization of American Historians' Committee on Teaching and editorial board member of the Magazine of History, informing me that the previous focus on US history is being broadened and that future issues of the magazine will be devoted to topics in world history. Such is the direction now even of American history.

In surveying the year, I cannot help but note the numbers of people all over the country, from many constituencies and academic environments, who are taking the risks, who are contributing to the field of world history, who are giving it substance and making it work in their own unique and creative ways. Their collective efforts have produced many accomplishments, but of note this year, I would like to mention three which, I think, have special significance.

First, is the launching of the World History Journal and the publication of the first two editions. Those of you who have received copies and have read the articles can applaud its virtues and, perhaps, see new directions for its future. We acknowledge, with admis-

ration, the work of editor Jerry Bentley, his courage in initiating this venture, and the fine standard of scholarship so far exhibited in it. This Journal is helping to

**"The importance of research and scholarship needs to be reiterated and underscored."**

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accomplish one of the main goals of the Association, and that is the encouragement of scholarship in the area of world history. The importance of research and scholarship needs to be reiterated and underscored. Without attracting young scholars into the field, and without graduate programs to facilitate this, world history will die a slow death in the future. The Journal gives the necessary forum to the work of scholarship. We need to continue, however, to encourage the establishment of undergraduate and graduate world history programs, and programs for teachers, and to find means to nourish new ideas and to create jobs in world history.

The second accomplishment is the dramatic growth in World History Association membership. In 1989 our membership was 945. In 1990 it has reached 1,221. This in some measure is the result of a sparkling marketing campaign, especially by Heidi Roupp and her membership committee, and by efforts of Executive Director Dick Rosen. It also reflects growing interest in the field.

As the membership broadens and increases, the Association must be cognizant of and responsive to the needs of its constituency. It must also attempt to be a spokesperson for world history and take a leadership role in carving out a path for the future. We are always interested in knowing in what directions you think the Association should move in order to promote teaching and research in world history, and what the Association can do to help you. In response to continuing requests for materials, Secretary Loyd Swenson is beginning to put together a list of recommended resources. Likewise, those with expertise in the field are a ready cadre to advise and consult. Meanwhile, the Bulletin remains our primary method of disseminating information, sharing ideas, and communicating about the field. Our continuing thanks to editor Ray Lorantas and Dick Rosen for an ever crea-

**Have you made note of the announcement  
on the inside front cover?**

tive and useful *Bulletin*. In 1992 the Association is hoping to have its first national conference. At this AHA conference, the World History Association is co-sponsoring with the AHA four panels and is sponsoring one. This is the largest number of panels the Association has presented in its history. At all times, we solicit a continuing input from the membership with regard to servicing this ever growing membership.

***"Organizations have a way of losing touch, of becoming self-serving, and of being conformist."***

Finally, a cherished dream of the World History Association is beginning to become a reality, and that is the growth of regional and local affiliates. From the beginning, the WHA has wanted to be the voice of many, not just those who could afford to attend or who were proximate to its activities. Organizations have a way of losing touch, of becoming self-serving, and of being conformist. Affiliates, we believe, can keep world history from falling into some of these abysses, and they are virtually the only way our organization could truly function on a world scale. This Association believes that organizations do not write and teach history, only people do, and at the local level, and for all these reasons we are all ecstatic to see the emergence of groups in California, Ohio, Georgia, and Texas. We are hoping New York or the Northeast will be next. Since the World History Association was formed, organized activity occurred most consistently in the Rocky Mountain area where a regional organization was formed and a yearly conference of great substance was presented. In a way, the Rocky Mountain group has become a model for the rest. It is our hope that in the years to come, the affiliates will each have their own unique contribution and innovations to make to the field, and that the idea of local organizations will become a worldwide one.

Attraction and action have been our major 1990 themes. Looking ahead, we hope for more of both. April 25-27, 1991, the Rocky Mountain Regional World History Association will present its seventh conference, at the Air Force Academy, this year entitled "Our Changing World in Historical Perspective." A panel on world history will be presented at the 1991 NCSS conference. The 1992 conference is in the hopper. The idea of a Think Tank, of summer institutes for teachers, of a well organized effort at the next world conference of historians — these are all in the wings.

As we proceed with our meeting, during the new business portion, we invite you to share the work you have been doing, and your hopes, concerns, and thoughts for our future. Thank you.

Marilynn Hitchens, President

**Minutes of Business Meeting  
World History Association**

28 December 1990  
New York City

Approximately 40 people gathered in the New York Hilton, Gibson Suite at 5 p.m. Friday, 28 December 1990 to attend the eighth general business meeting of the World History Association. President Marilynn Hitchens began with a welcome to all and particularly to foreign scholars who might attend this and the social-hour reception to follow in the Clinton Suite next door. An eight-item agenda was distributed, as well as the minutes of 28 December 1989 in San Francisco.

1. The minutes were accepted as published in the Bulletin.
2. The Treasurer's Report of an overall balance of \$5,855.48 was accepted as reported to the Executive Council yesterday.
3. President Hitchens reported upon her mail from home and abroad and stressed three milestones passed this year by the WHA: first, the successful launching of the Journal of World History under Jerry H. Bentley's editorship and the University of Hawaii Press's production. Secondly, the dramatic growth in membership, during 1990 from 900 to over 1,200, thanks largely to Heidi Roupp's brochure and mailings to more than 16,000 teachers, and to Executive Director Dick Rosen's conscientious service. Thirdly, the growth of regional affiliates in five geographical sectors of the USA, wherein local initiatives toward global thinking are being taken by scholars and teachers at many levels.
4. Dick Rosen announced the election results that have brought Michael Adas of Rutgers, Theodore Von Laue of Clark, and Judith Zinner of NYC to the WHA Council for three-year terms. Rosen also reported the year's membership changes: 425 new members and 135 deletions for delinquent dues, for a total as of today of 1,221 active members. The President thanked out-going Council members Heidi Roupp, Edmund Burke, and John Mears for their service.
5. For Committee Reports, the President called upon Vice President Ray Lorantas to summarize the news given to the Executive Council last evening. He did so briefly, stressing the need for a new decision in the wake of the referendum results for a site selection for the 1992 WHA Conference, and endorsing the

Council's recommendation for the WHA to join with the AHA and OAH in support of the National History Education Network. Hearing no objections, the President ruled a consensus in favor of this action. Lorantas went on to report on the status of the *Bulletin*.

Then Jerry Bentley reported the status of the *Journal*, invited more articles for submission, and announced that Council had approved Herbert Ziegler as the new Book Review Editor.

6. Under the "Affiliates" section of the agenda, President Hitchens called for announcements from various representatives. David McComb reported on the Utah meeting last June, then asked John Albert and Carl Reddel to advertise the Air Force Academy's meeting next April. Swenson reported on the Lone Star Macrohistorians meeting in Houston last October and plans to meet at Commerce in northeast Texas next February. Marc Gilbert reported from Georgia about the growing Southeast conference there. Arnold Schrier and Tim Connell reported on the Ohio Valley group's affiliation with the Ohio Academy of History and with regional teachers' associations. In absentia David Smith through Carlton Tucker reported on the California group's growth and next meeting in March in Santa Clara.

Further Committee reports were made at this point by Roger Beck on the NCSS panels, by Dave McComb regarding Nominations for 1991, by Lorantas on the 1992 Conference Planning and for Judy Zinsser's 1993 Conference Proposal during the UN Year of Indigenous Peoples. Heidi Roupp also reported on the highly successful brochure mailings.

7. Under "New Business," preliminary planning for an Awards committee was announced for next year. Honors need to be established for best book, best article, best teaching. The Secretary will welcome all suggestions.

At 6:10 p.m. the President called for adjournment and invited everyone next door for refreshments.

Respectfully submitted,

Loyd S. Swenson  
Secretary, WHA 2-1-91

W H A

### Minutes of Executive Council Meeting

World History Association

New York City, Hilton Hotel

27 December 1990

President Marilynn Hitchens called this meeting to order at 5:30 p.m. in the NY Hilton Suite 504. Eighteen members of the Council and guests were present.

Minutes of the 9 June 1990 council meeting in Utah, as published in the *World History Bulletin* (VII #3, pp. 18-20), were accepted. The Secretary called for updates to the Master Address List and announced the new FAX number (i.e., 808-956-9600) for Jerry Bentley, Editor of the *Journal of World History*.

Following a pre-distributed tentative Agenda, the President announced news of:

- (a) Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation program for an experimental World History Institute;
- (b) a new focus on world history to be adopted by the editor of *Magazine of History*, Terrie Epstein;
- (c) a more inclusive AHA program for this annual meeting which will set a new mark for WHA activities by incorporating 5 different sessions at this convention; and
- (d) the need to take action tonight whether to join the National History Education Network (NHEN) being established now by the AHA, OAH, and other organizations to promote excellence in history teaching and learning in schools and other institutions nationwide.

Treasurer Gladys Frantz-Murphy next presented a one-page financial statement for 1990, showing an overall balance of \$5,855.48 as of 12/11/90. The report was accepted, and the Treasurer was thanked for better details.

Executive Director Dick Rosen presented a two-page report, showing current WHA membership at 1,221 active members plus 200 institutional subscribers to the *Journal*, spread over 48 states and 31 foreign countries. Updated labels are available and being sold, and membership address lists are being provided to regional affiliates. Rosen also reported attending the organizational meeting of NHEN on 21 September in Washington, and after explaining the need for this advocacy center and clearinghouse for excellence in history teaching and learning, he gained (at the end of the meeting) Council's approval to move for WHA's joining the NHEN at tomorrow's general business meeting.

Rosen then requested Council to approve authorization to spend about \$600 for a hard-disc drive, cartridge backup, and other computer equipment to protect and enhance our WHA records. Since these data are so basic to WHA's existence, Council unanimously approved the purchase of these safeguards.

Rosen next reported the results of this year's election of three candidates for three-year terms to Council: 316 valid ballots were received, and from a field of nine nominees, the winners were:

Michael Adas, of Rutgers University, Theodore Von Laue, of Clark University, and Judith P. Zinsser,

of the UN International School (NYC).

Council spent considerable time on the question of regional affiliates at this meeting. After a spokesman for each of five geographical areas reported on organizational activities accomplished and planned, the Rocky Mountain Regional of course being preeminent\*, it became evident that there are many grass roots agrowing. An initiative to start a mid-Atlantic coast group centered around the nation's capital seems imminent also. Therefore, possible needs for coordination, institutional bases, preplanned programs, and panels on effective teaching were debated at some length. President Hitchens directed attention to her pre-distributed two-page "WHA Affiliation: Background/Policy Statement/ and Implementation" paragraphs. After more deliberation centered around flexibility vs. filiation, Council decided by unanimous voice vote to accept the President's three-paragraph statement with the addition of a sentence to the Implementation section directing the Vice-President and committee "to recommend further guidelines as they become necessary and desirable."

Since Ray Lorantas is both Vice-President and Editor of the *World History Bulletin* at present, he agreed to carry a column of News from, by, or about Affiliates in future issues.

By now inclement weather, high-priced hotel food, and eagerness to continue brought a five-minute's recess. When the meeting reconvened at 7:30 p.m., Ray Lorantas reported on the healthy status of the *Bulletin*, and on the need for a better set of materials (bibliographies, booklets, and/or outreach kits) to be sent to teachers at various levels who request aids and information to begin establishing courses in world history. Secretary Swenson distributed the "Select General Bibliography" from Robert Roeder et al., *Study Guide for The World: A Television History* (NY: Harper & Row, 1986) and his own "Macrohistory — Suggested Readings" list but pled for help in reducing these materials to a suitable vade mecum. The Secretary agreed to mail soon a two-page annotated bibliography, perhaps to be called "an emergency jump-start cablegram," for Council members to critique before official distribution.

Editor Jerry Bentley had pre-distributed his report on the *Journal of World History*, showing a solid set of articles forthcoming for Volume 2 during 1991. Bard's resignation as book review editor led Bentley to nominate his colleague at the University of Hawaii, Herbert F. Ziegler, for this post. Impressed by Ziegler's resume, Council voted unanimous approval of this appointment. Much pride was expressed also for the beauty of *JWH*, Vol I #1 and #2.

Re the 1992 Conference Planning, Lorantas reported (for Kevin Reilly who was absent because of flu) that the referendum vote conducted through the

*Bulletin* had rejected the idea of a Caribbean Cruise-Conference by a tally of 138 to 110 and had approved a "Philly-like" city by 165 to 63. Too expensive, too elitist, and too much of an affront to Native Americans seemed to be the reasons for these results. Given the urgency of time for planning the Columbian Quincentennial Meeting of the WHA, a motion was passed to instruct the Committee to choose a site by 15 April 1991, preferably at someplace like St. Augustine, Florida, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Cahokia in East St. Louis, or maybe Mexico City, Santo Domingo, or Medicine Butte?

Under "Old Business," the President urged that panel and session proposals for the next AHA convention be sent to Peter Stearns as soon as possible; that tomorrow's hosting of foreign scholars at the WHA reception be as cordial as possible; that Heidi Roupp's brochure for the WHA be used as widely and wisely as possible; and that liaisons with the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) in their workshops for teachers be encouraged to promote more world history as effectively as possible. Both Roupp and Roger Beck reported progress with NCSS programming.

John Mears spoke for a Master Plan Committee consideration of a "Think Tank" endowment that might someday allow periodic ashrams for older and younger scholars to spend a week together doing world-systems thinking. Mears asked for a brainstorming session in April at the Rocky Mt. Regional Mtg. to explore the "Think Tank" idea.

David McComb for Nominations Committee work in 1991 called for suggestions by letter as soon as possible in order to elect a Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and three Council Members, one of whom must be a teacher.

Reaching "New Business" on the agenda at about 9:45 pm, patience was being tried as stomachs started to growl. But three items were considered:

1. the need for an Awards Committee eventually led Marc Gilbert, Carter Findlay, and Loyd Swenson to volunteer some preliminary planning for honors to be recognized for outstanding scholarship, teaching, and advocacy.
2. Judith Zinsser presented a three-page proposal for "WHA Conference 1993" to be based on the UN Year of Indigenous Peoples. Possibilities for meeting for four days near Mesa Verde or Taos or Teotihuacan and conferring on anthropological themes were favorably entertained.
3. Just before adjournment, it was decided that this Executive Council will next meet the morning of Thursday, 25 April 1991, at the USAF Academy in Colorado Springs, CO.

Respectfully Submitted,

Loyd S. Swenson  
Secretary, WHA 2-1-91

\*Carl Reddel of the US Air Force Academy at this point distributed a colorful 3-page program "Our Changing World in Historical Perspective" to be held at Colorado Springs on 25-27 April 1991 and invited the widest possible participation

**Council and Committees — 1991  
WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION**

Revised 4 February 1991

**1 Year Council Members (thru Dec. 1991)**

Mary Evelyn Tucker  
Department of Religion  
Bucknell University  
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Julia Clancy Smith  
Department of History  
University of Virginia  
Charlottesville, VA 22903

Sam Jenike  
Department of Social Studies  
Walnut Hills High School  
325 Victory Parkway  
Cincinnati, OH 45207

**2 Year Council Members (thru Dec. 1992)**

Marilyn R. Waldman  
1961 Andover Road  
Columbus, OH 43212-1004

George E. Brooks, Jr.  
History Department  
Indiana University  
Bloomington, IN 47405

Carlton H. Tucker  
1368 Francisco Street  
San Francisco, CA 94123

**3 Year Council Members (thru Dec. 1993)**

Michael Adas  
Department of History  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, NJ 08903

Theodore Von Laue  
Department of History  
Clark University  
Worcester, MA 01610-1477

Judith P. Zinsser  
357 West 29th Street  
New York, NY 10001

**Nominating Committee**

**1 Year Term (ending Dec. 1991)**

Jay P. Anglin  
Department of History  
Box 5047 Southern Station  
University of Southern Mississippi  
Hattiesburg, MS 39406-5047

Irene Sagade  
San Diego High School  
Home: 4320 Cartagena Drive  
San Diego, CA 92105

**2 Year Term (ending Dec. 1992)**

David G. McComb, Chair  
Department of History  
Colorado State University  
Fort Collins, CO 80523

Walter B. Nimocks  
Professor of History  
Centre College  
Danville, KY 40422

**3 Year Term (ending Dec. 1993)**

Lynda Shaffer  
Professor of History  
Tufts University  
Medford, MA 02155

David Smith  
History Department  
Cal Poly - Pomona  
Pomona, CA 91768

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W H A

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**BULLETINIVIA****Potatoes, Asparagus, — and Beer!\***

One of the most widely eaten vegetables is the potato. Discovered by the Spaniards in the Andes mountains above Peru, it was introduced into Europe around 1583. The Economist points out that "potatoes are exceptionally nutritious: they are rich in potassium, iron, magnesium, vitamins B and C and complex carbohydrates, have a better quality protein than soybeans and are 99.9% fat free..." Some historians have argued that there would have been no Industrial Revolution in Europe had low-paid workers not been able to feed themselves and their families on potatoes.

Asparagus is another interesting vegetable. The Guardian tells us that it was known to the ancient Egyptians, and the Greeks regarded it as an aphrodisiac. A noted nineteenth century gourmet, Charles Monselet, wrote of his delight in seeing "the green of its tip" mixed with "the gold of scrambled eggs."

Beer is one of the oldest and most widely enjoyed foods, according to Alan Eames, who has spent twenty years studying the frothy brew. He writes: "The making of beer — a trade traditionally presided over by women 'brewsters' — was a vital aspect of economic, social, and religious life in Sumeria and Babylon, 4,000 years before Christ." (Americas)

In those times, a hieroglyphic symbol for food was a pitcher of beer and a loaf of bread. Pharaohs were buried with miniature breweries to insure a supply on the trek to the afterworld. And beer was the major component in ancient Egyptian medicine. The Vikings used a beer called "Aul" to pump themselves up for their daring raids. Valhalla was "no less than a giant alehouse, where beer kept the company 'in a constant state of bliss.' "

**FROM MEMBERS OF THE WHA, THE BULLETIN INVITES CONTRIBUTIONS TO BULLETINIVIA. THOSE WHOSE ENTRIES ARE SELECTED FOR PUBLICATION WILL RECEIVE A T-SHIRT EMBLAZONED WITH THE HERALDRY OF THE NOW-WORLD-FAMOUS WHA.**

\*These items are reprinted with permission of The Washington Spectator, a publication of the Public Concern Foundation, Inc. These items appeared in the issues of February 1 and February 15, 1991.

W H A

## WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION

### Background

Between the inception of the World History Organization in 1983, and 1988, there was only one working local world history organization, the Rocky Mountain Regional World History Association. Between it and the World History Association there were no formal links. Both operated and worked autonomously, albeit in tandem. In the past year and a half, four or more regional groups have been taking shape, and some have expressed interest in "affiliate" status. This has led to the need to develop a response, policy, and procedure with regard to affiliates.

While some would advocate a formal and detailed affiliate formulation, it would appear that flexible, ecumenical, individual, and evolutionary relationships will better serve an organization which looks ultimately to an international membership, and always to the broadest possible local participatory activity.

### Policy Statement

The World History Association believes that its strength rests in local, individual, and active participation. It, therefore, encourages and supports development of local groups in any part of the world which share the Association's purposes and goals, and their affiliation with the World History Association.

Written requests for affiliation will be considered by the Executive Council of the Association and ratified by a majority vote.

Affiliated organizations will have the right to designate an individual to serve on the Executive Council of the WHA as an ex officio member. In all matters, affiliates are autonomous and self-governing.

### Implementation

For purposes of implementing the World History Association policy on affiliates, a standing Committee of the WHA will be created under the chairmanship of the Vice-President. This committee will oversee the application process, nourish affiliate development and activities, and otherwise provide a communication conduit between organizations. The Council will recommend further guidelines as they seem necessary and desirable.

WHA

## AUSTRALIAN SCHOLARS AND LONG-TERM HISTORY:

### ANHOLT established

A gathering of Australian scholars in "Long-term Social and Economic Processes in Human History" was held at Monash University in Melbourne from February 22-24, 1991. It was attended by scholars from a number of different disciplines including History, Sociology, Economic History, and Politics. Speakers included Stephen Mennell, from the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Monash University (the organizer of the conference); Eric Jones, from the Department of Economic History at La Trobe University; David Christian, of the Department of History at Macquarie University; Mark Elvin, of the Department of Far Eastern History of the Australian National University; and Graeme Snooks, of the Department of Economic History, Australian National University.

Papers produced lively discussions about the study of the past on many different time-scales, and from many different perspectives. Discussions across discipline boundaries proved particularly provocative. Most valuable of all was the realization that there is already an underground of Australian scholars working on long-term themes in different areas, but with a common interest in exchanging ideas, contracts, bibliographies, and working papers.

This was the first conference on long-term historical processes to be held in Australia, and those who attended are hoping that it will stimulate further activity in long-term history at both the teaching and research level. In order to encourage such work, those present have agreed to form "The Australian Network for the History of the Long Term" [ANHOLT]. This will issue a newsletter to interested scholars; but we also hope that it will be possible to organize a second conference in two years' time through the newly established network.

Contact: Professor Stephen Mennell, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168, Australia.

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WHA

## Teaching Aids

### 1) Videodisc

A new videodisc on the History of Western Civilization will be released on May 1 by the Instructional Resources Corporation. Entitled "The Western Civilization Videodisc," it contains 2,100 pictures chosen from a wide variety of sources, with an accompanying book which provides a caption (description) for each image, an index, and instructions for use.

This disc is a resource from which teachers may easily and simply choose images for many instructional purposes. Each caption in the guide book includes a barcode, to summon images instantly to the TV screen. Teachers with videodisc players which are not equipped with barcode readers may simply enter the image number, which also appears with the caption. As the images are displayed, the teacher (or student) reads the captions to the class, and thus presents an illustrated lecture.

The pictures and captions are compatible with all standard Western Civilization/ World History textbooks. A video segment of instructions for use is included on the disc, and there are 16 sound-and-image historical overview segments on the disc. The book is plastic bound so pages may be easily photocopied. The disc may be used immediately and fully, in a classroom without a computer. It has been designed for clarity of instructions and ease of use for the first-time videodisc user.

The disc and its accompanying book are available at \$595.00 from Instructional Resources Corporation; 1819 Bay Ridge Avenue, Annapolis, Maryland 21403; (301) 263-0025; Toll-Free 1-800-922-1711.

### 2) Public Education Program of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies has made available a bibliography and an audio visual list on Eastern Europe.

The bibliography represents the efforts of some of the finest scholars in the field; the selections are based on the requests by secondary school teachers who were seeking some guidance for the implementation of Eastern Europe into their various history courses. The annotations give direction to the materials that might be the most useful in covering different topics in the area.

The audio-visual section lists films of equal diversity for prospective usefulness.

Finally, there is also a listing of the various outreach centers which teachers may contact for additional reference materials and suggestions.

For a copy of the Resource Guide for Teachers and for added information, contact Dr. Richard Frucht, Project Coordinator, Department of History, Northwest Missouri State University, Maryville, MO 64468. Phone (816) 562-1614.

## A Personal Query: Why Study History?

Howard Graves

DeVry Institute, Columbus, OH

The need to study history is an urgent one for the simple reason that none of us really understands what it is. If one of us were to sit down and pour over a selection of books on the nature of the past, that person could easily discover forty definitions of history; and it would not be a comprehensive list. How many definitions of biology are there? Of physics? Of geography? Clearly, the need to study the past stems not from genuine historical problems, nor from the wish to form antecedent patterns of behavior into intelligible solutions for the future state of humanity, but from this lack of understanding that distorts and grotesquely magnifies these issues. Until we can say with certainty exactly what history is, we remain either misdirected, or consumed with personal missions that are prey to our opinions.

Many people have chimed in with their opinions: Augustine, Bacon, Pascal, Kant, Hegel, Comte, Ranke, J.S. Mill, Marx, Spencer, Dewey, Trotsky, Khaldun, Nietzsche, Adams, Ovid, Rousseau, Spengler, Toynbee, Wells, Marcuse, P. R. Saker, E.H. Carr, Stavrianos, ad infinitum. Who is right? No one knows, which is why we study history. To be sure, we study the past to find out what happened. But is there a mechanism to history? Suppose Plato was right, that history is revealed as a great cycle of events — this would make each event intrinsically less significant because there is little that is unique. Suppose that Spengler was right, that cultures proceed through the same life cycle as do organisms — this would make each event meaningless because again cycles prevail. But what if E. H. Carr is right, that history is a testimony to human progress — this would make each event pregnant with meaning. Our destiny would be ours to make.

But I am as confused as anyone else. What is history? How does it work? Does it work? This is why I study history. One can, with some effort, find out what has happened. The exciting, albeit difficult part, is climbing to that fine, high perspective which will offer the view that we are searching for, the view of total and correct comprehension. That climb may prove fruitless, or it may reap a reward almost beyond our ken, but climb we must. And as teachers, we need to invite our students on this climb. How many of our high school students are asked to consider the ideas and men mentioned above? Into what kind of context are they asked to place the content of a course in world history? The beauty of the schemes and designs of historical theories are equal to the schemes and designs of the great literary works. The melancholy use of bright colors in The Great Gatsby, and the provincial gaiety of Huckleberry Finn resonate with a humanness so engaging that we feel compelled to share them with our students. Do not historical theories ring with that same vibration? Of course they do, and they are potentially more important.

## Technical Revolutions and Stagealism — A New Approach to World History

O. K. Ghosh\*

Salt Lake, Calcutta, India

I am a member of the World History Association. I am not a teacher, but have studied various aspects of world history for over forty years. I am now seventy-three years old. I have lived or travelled extensively in India, Southeast Asia, West Asia, USA, Western Europe, USSR, Japan and the Hong Kong enclave of the Chinese world. Hence I have learned to "think globally."

I have been very much heartened by our President Marilynn Jo Hitchens' message as contained in the *World History Bulletin Vol. VII, No. 2*, particularly when she says that "our main task... is the research and writing of a broader and richer story of the human experience through time, and of delivering that narrative in a way which is compelling, meaningful, and inspiring." Marc Welter, in the same issue, says that for this we need "an adequate conceptual base."

My book Convergence of Civilizations (Calcutta 1988, American agent, Prof. Norman G. Barrier, South Asian Books, Univ. of Missouri, Columbia Campus, Columbia, MO 65201) tries to work out such concepts based on the ideas of many thinkers, mainly European and American, with sinews and connecting bonds of mine. I present these concepts to the readers of the *World History Bulletin*.

### **"There is a vast mass of material in world history."**

There is a vast mass of material in world history. How to handle it? If we adopt the comparative method, what would be the tools and techniques of study?

I divide the world into ten zones or sociocultural entities—1. European or Western 2. Eur-Asian 3. West Asian-cum-North African 4. South Asian 5. Southeast Asian 6. East Asian 7. Trans-Saharan African 8. Oceanian and Australian 9. North American 10. Central and South American. These are comprised of 57 societies in all, like Roman, Russian, Chinese, Japanese etc.

Then there are what I call AVIT (Achievement, Values and Institutions through Time) charts. The zone is the subject matter of each chart. Here "Achievements, Values and Institutions" constitute one coordinate and Time the other. The values and institutions have a wide coverage — science and technology, politics, military affairs, economics, social affairs, ideology (philosophy and religion); and "culture" — art, literature, music etc. Many social scientists distinguish between "culture" as pertaining to primitive modes of life and "civilization" to higher ones. No such distinction is made here.

Along the Time coordinate is a column for factors which are potential forces. These forces are geography, natural resources, class relations, relations with external societies, and traditions, which might at some stage become a burden. These can be expanded to include the "military-industrial complex," however primitive it may be from the modern point of view, and class struggles.

The AVIT charts help in classifying societies by types, following the Biblical dictum, "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Matthew 7:20).

Such studies of the AVIT charts lead to the following ten major conclusions —

- (i) Evolution of societies from primitive to higher ones
- (ii) Stages of development
- (iii) Unilinearity
- (iv) Stagealism
- (v) Independent history of ideas
- (vi) Socio-psychological ascension
- (vii) Arrestation, regression, stage jumping, extension, transplantation
- (viii) Statist-Dynamist syndrome
- (ix) Technical Revolutions and Social Ethos Changes — Stagealism
- (x) At the present time, convergence of societies

\* Mr. O. K. Ghosh is the author of Convergence of Civilizations and other books.

I illustrate these conclusions briefly. The stages of development and stageal values are as follows —

1. Foodgatherers and primitive hunters — Social Ethos Keynotes — equality, pacifism, communism, the characteristics of the earliest human beings.
2. Advanced hunters — Animals, masculinity, organized violence.
3. Matriarchal agriculturists — Agriculture, fertility, femininity.
4. Early technolgoists — Venturesomeness, rule of thumb innovations, monopoly of knowledge.
5. Warrier nomads and pirates — war, organization, mobility, honor, lavishness.
6. Techno-Theocratic (River Valley Civilizations) — Supremacy of priests, communal surplus production, pacifism, water control, water deities, metaphysical obsessions.
7. Religio-hierarchic agriculturists — Peasant exploitation, hierarchy, war, and religion.
8. Religio-bourgeois — Work ethic, trade, reason, simplified religion, cosmopolitanism, aesthetiscim.
9. Rational or Secular-bourgeois — Reason, self-interest, elitism, nationalism, colonialism, exchange of goods and ideas, humanism.
10. Scientific Democratic or Modern — Scientific attitude, democracy, feminism, internationalism, quest for an integral philosophy of life.

These conclusions arise out of facts. An ethno-linguistic group need not be the same in typology. Thus, the Spartan was basically religio-hierarchic agricultural, the Atheno-Hellenic secular mercantile.

The typology is based on the predominant mode of production or distribution, which again is dependent on science and technology.

We find unilinearity, the stages generally following one after the other in each zone. Europe missed stage 6, theocratic irrigation or water works civilization. Eurasia (basically Russia) also missed this, and the rational-mercantile was weak there — it did not have time to grow. In West Asia-cum-North Africa, which sets the chronological norm, all the first eight stages appear, as they do in South Asia, where, however, Stage 2, advanced hunters, is very weak. Stage 5, nomad warrier aristocratic was also confined in South Asia only to parts of the country. It also came after stage 6, theocratic irrigation, through invasions. In Southeast Asia stage 5, nomadic warrior aristocratic, is weak, and stage 6, theocratic irrigation, is missing. Stage 6 is missing in Japan also. Japan advanced to stage 9 on its own. North America did not advance much beyond stage 2, although it had parts in stages 3 and 5. In Meso- and South America stages up to 7 are represented.

Although values and institutions are mainly stageal, ideas, howsoever they originate, have their own histories and can infuse or be injected into other soci-

eties. Thus, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Marxism etc. New ideas give thrust to development by "stimulus diffusion," like Gandhara or Indo-Greek art. Material goods and techniques can, of course, be borrowed straightaway, or with adaptions.

**"New ideas give thrust to development by 'stimulus diffusion'..."**

The stages constitute an ascending series. There is successive widening and strengthening of the Scientific Knowledge - Power - Wealth - Circle of Cooperation syndrome. Political organization is taken to illustrate this point.

1. Foodgatherers — families.
2. Hunters — gentes (septs, clans).
3. Matrifocal agriculturists — peasant villages.
4. Early technocrats — guilds.
5. Warrier nomads — tribes.
6. River valley theocracies — city states, communes.
7. Religio-agricultural societies — dynastic states.
- 8 and 9. Religio-and secular bourgeois — nation states.
10. Scientific-democratic — The proper institutions should be international, although for practical purposes they will have to include nation states.

There is not only progress, but also regression, stage jumping, extension, transplantation, arrestation. I give some illustrations. The Atheno-Hellenic and the Bronze Age cultures of Europe were secular mercantile and religio-mercantile respectively. They regressed before the religio-hierarchic Roman to that stage. In Western Europe the religio-mercantile Cretan came before the religio-hierarchic agricultural, to give an instance of stage jumping. There are other cases too, for instance in modern Africa.

Mughal India is a case of extension of West Asian values and institutions to South Asia. Post-Petrine Russia, post-Meiji Japan, and People's Republic of China have all been extensions of Western Europe. In Soviet Russia and People's Republic of China the extensions have taken place on the basis of a Western heresy, as Toynbee puts it, namely of Marxism. British India was partly an imposition, partly an appropriation, of Western Europe. This process continues in post-independence India. The Americans are transplants of the West, where the United States has developed its own strong and separate identity.

There have been arrestations at all stages. The Eskimos, Red Indians, Australoids, and Indian Adivasis have been cases of early arrested growth. Other societies have been arrested at the feudal stage, some at the religio-mercantile stage. Japan reached the secular mercantile stage, but only the West climbed to the scientific-democratic stage.

**"If the West is intrinsically scientifically superior... why was this not apparent till the sixteenth century?"**

Why these arrests and unequal developments? It cannot be due to "national characteristics." I have debunked this myth in my book in question. If the West is intrinsically scientifically superior, homo mechanicus albus, in Toynbee's words, why was this not apparent till the sixteenth century? The medieval West was sunk in superstition and borrowed its science and technology largely from West Asia, the former mainly from the Arabs. The Indians, in the Gupta era, fourth to sixth century AD, were the foremost in science and technology. Even in the eighteenth century the British East India Company's doctors learned plastic surgery from the Indians. From the seventh to the tenth century the torch was with T'ang Chinga, and another was lit by the Abbasids of Baghdad, eighth to tenth century. So what operates are not "national characteristics," but the social ethos.

I have shown, in the book in question, using the Soviet Vsyemirnaya Isteriya ("World History") that facts negate strongly the Marxist dogma that class wars lead to apocalyptic changes. There have been only three such wars, rising sue mote, in entire human history — the French, Russian, and Chinese. Probably the Cuban also. Evolution, not revolution, has been the main way of progress, as Mrs. Margaret Thatcher irritably reminded the French in 1989. But Marx did a salutary service in stressing economic forces which historians before him had more or less neglected or glossed over.

The most important force is technical, the control of the environment, the utilization of natural resources. Fire and stone implements constituted the first technical revolution, leading to stage 1 (Foodgatherers).

The slash and burn led to stage 2 (Advanced Hunters).

Agriculture and its ancillaries, started by women, led to village settlements and stage 3 (matrifocal agriculturists).

The use of metallurgy and many other inventions led to stage 4 (Early Technologists).

The control of horses and camels and the seas led to stage 5 (Warrior Nomads) — grass nomads and sea nomads.

The technical control of river valleys and many innovations led to stage 6 (River Valley Civilizations).

The stage 5 people, with their better weapons, conquered sedentary agricultural societies and consolidated and expanded them, leading to stage 7 (Religio-Hierarchic Agriculturists).

The larger groupings of stage 7 led to more trade, mingling of peoples and ideas, and intellectualism. New discoveries and inventions took place. This led to stage 8 (Religio-Mercantile or Religio-Bourgeois).

The control of the oceans led to mingling with entirely different sorts of people and the freeing of the

intellect. Great discoveries and inventions followed. This led to stage 9 (Secular Mercantile or Secular Bourgeois).

Scientific inventions and discoveries now grow at a dazzling pace — the ages of steam, petroleum, electricity, atoms and electronics, cybernetics, space flights. This stage, stage 10 (Scientific-Democratic), is still on. Each stage had its own keynote social ethos characteristics, as given earlier. Thus we have a Control of the Environment (or Technical Revolutions) — Social Ethos Dialectics.

The seven "forces" mentioned earlier are really factors. They become forces due to people, working out their urges. What are these? We can represent individual and social urges following the ERG concept of psychology. The 'E' or Existence factor in the individual is constituted of urges to physiological and security needs. The corresponding social urges are: 1. security 2. good life.

The 'R' or Relatedness factor for the individual leads to social affiliation and need for esteem urges. The corresponding social urges are for: 1. just society 2. widening integrated circles.

The 'G' or Growth factor is responsible in individuals for the self-actualization or self-realization urge. In society, for urges to: 1. intellectual truth (micro-vision) 2. philosophic truth (macro-vision) 3. goodness 4. beauty 5. participation mystique with the universe 6. happy after-life.

As we know from life these have counter-forces too.

We also find a Statist versus Dynamist syndrome in history as well as in daily life. Some people oppose changes due to conservatism or vested interests. Knowingly or unknowingly Statists and Dynamists use the configuration of forces around them to gain their ends. This is "configurational dynamics."

Seeing all this it is clear that there is no determinism in history. The configuration of forces, their dynamics, impel, offer alternatives. They cannot compel.

At present the predominant world forces are those of convergence of societies, and the thrusts are to technical planetization, similarization of values and institutions, and some degree of pleromization, or general affluences. Indeed, the ten stages of civilization can be divided into three eras, thus: A. Era of Primitive Similarity 1. Foodgatherers and primitive hunters 2. Advanced or Big Game Hunters 3. Matri-focal Agriculturists 4. Early Technologists 5. Warrior Nomads and Pirates B. Era of Theocratic Divergence 6. Techno-Theocratic (River Valley Civilizations) 7. Theo-Aristocratic Agricultural 8. Theo-Mercantile or Theo-Bourgeois C. The Era of Convergence 9. Rational Mercantile or Secular Mercantile (Bourgeois) 10. Scientific-Democratic-Internationalist-Feminist (Modern).

One need not fear that convergence will lead to sameness. For areas have, to use Ralph Turner's terminology, "little traditions," besides the stage-linked "great traditions." These "little traditions" include

food, clothing, housing, interior decor, language, folklore, folk and country music, arts and crafts motifs, idioms and proverbs, dance forms, etc. So we can look forward to many pleasing blends of essentially one civilization.

I have applied the above concepts in my The Changing Indian Civilization, 2 volumes (Minerva, Calcutta, 1976; also South Asia Books, Missouri, as given above).

The tenth stage requires a worldwide Wellsian attitude and vision, a common past-consciousness, present-consciousness, and future-consciousness. Unfortunately there is no good one volume book of world history suitable for this purpose. H.G. Wells is out-dated. As a liberal he stressed ideas only. The First World books are very much West-centric, the Second World ones Marxism-centric. The Third World follows either the First or Second, emphasizing their areas. However, there is a silver lining in

#### **"H.G. Wells is out-dated."**

the cloud. George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev have ended the Cold War between the two super-powers. New vistas, new horizons, new visions are necessary and possible in the changed circumstances, where all factors, ideas, economic forces, and science and technology would be integrated in our thinking with developments in other fields. The prime place would have to be given to technological revolutions, to consequent greater environmental control and accompanying social ethos changes. I visualize histories to be written for regions primarily, nations secondarily, emphasizing stagealism more than nationalism. Macro-studies, popular in the nineteenth century, would again come into fashion after a long period of neglect. A very good model for world history would be Ms. Gladys Frantz-Murphy's article "Teaching Pre-modern Middle Eastern History" in *World History Bulletin*, Vol. VII, No. 2.

I hope I may be permitted to end also, as I have begun, with a personal note. We men have been so deeply involved in what Hannah Arendt calls "tribal nationalism" that I think it is difficult for us to really "think globally." Ultra-nationalism stands in the way. Women, once they take to writing more on world history, may be better suited for the purpose. One may hope for a really good book on the subject to come from a woman or a team of women.

#### **A Working Definition of the Term "Civilization" for Introductory Survey Courses**

Gregory G. Guzman  
Bradley University

During the course of the last few years, many high schools, colleges, and universities have significantly modified and revised their curriculum offerings; the primary thrust has been to improve and strengthen general education requirements. In most instances, the curriculum reforms have resulted in the implementation of a Western civilization requirement, but some institutions have gone a step further and also added some type of world civilization or non-Western requirement. Many of these courses are team-taught and some are even interdisciplinary; this applies to both the in-depth coverage of Western civilization and the cultural pluralism approach of both the world civilization and non-Western requirements. Thus many non-specialists are now obligated to teach the mandatory Western and world civilization courses for the first time or after years of teaching only their specialization.

The vast majority of these new core curriculum requirements go back to the emergence of the first civilizations. Some go back to the beginnings of the earliest recorded civilizations in the ancient Middle East, whereas others go back at least to the roots of Western civilization in early Greece. Many of the "new civilization teachers" are thus covering the ancient period, even though they are not specialists in ancient history and culture. Any apparent weaknesses in presenting early civilizations are especially noteworthy, since this is the first item covered in these survey courses. Good, interesting, and informed presentations in the initial class or classes are critical in setting the tone for the entire course; since first impressions are indeed lasting, the first few classes can make or break the course in terms of whether students approach it negatively or positively. Thus the entire course could flounder on something as simple as how the non-specialists in ancient history define and handle the term "civilization."

Unfortunately many "civilization teachers" tend to cover the rise of early human cultures and societies quickly. Indeed, many teachers assume that the students already know or will read the brief definition of civilization in the textbook; thus they skip it completely in class. A better and more effective approach is to use one or more of the early class periods to define clearly the rise of and fusion of the concepts, ideas, values, and practices included in the term civilization. This approach will clearly indicate the many diverse aspects included in the term, as well as show how the several different parts emerged and blended into one complex whole. This type of broad and inclusive definition of civilization will establish a clear foundation for later references in the course to things like intellectual concepts, governments and laws, fine

arts, social structures, and economic patterns. Teachers can facilitate fitting all the complex parts of the full survey course into a meaningful whole by providing a broad conceptual base — by providing a clear and expanded early definition of the term civilization itself.

This study will attempt to provide a viable working definition of civilization for classroom use in Western and world civilization courses by discussing some of the basic characteristics or elements necessary for civilization to exist. It should help non-specialists teaching early Western and world civilization successfully launch their first few classes.

***"There are probably as many definitions as there are authors and books..."***

The commonly used term civilization is rather difficult to define because it often means different things to those who confront it. There are probably as many definitions as there are authors and books; needless to say, this has led to numerous informed discussions and outright quarrels over what should be included in the term and what aspects should be emphasized. However, most scholars tend to agree on several general characteristics or elements that must be present in some degree or another for civilization to exist.

Urbanization is usually considered to be the most important element of civilization by the majority of scholars. City life is basic to the emergence of civilization; this is indicated by the fact that the Latin word civitas (city) is the root from which the English term civilization itself is derived. The beginning of city life represents a fundamental change in human life, practices, and institutions.

With the increasing warmth after the last Ice Age, wild grain was plentiful and easy to harvest. Instead of constantly migrating and searching for food, hunters and gatherers tended to stay in one place and to establish villages and cities. In them, they could store their surplus food while at the same time increase their own personal safety and security. In the process of shifting from hunting and gathering practices, they began to domesticate animals as well as grow and cultivate plants; the animals provided a constant supply of food, milk, and clothing. The transition from a marginal diet and a precarious subsistence life (hit or miss, feast or famine) to a sedentary and agricultural life meant a consistent and reliable supply of food. Indeed, intensive agriculture led to food surpluses in some places, as people planted and stayed in the same place to harvest the fruit of their labor. Thus mankind began its mastery of nature, of controlling plants and animals for the benefit of humanity.

It is necessary to bear in mind that urbanization was a process rather than a one-time event; it took place slowly and gradually over a long period of time. Group life in agricultural villages and cities developed because it helped people in their ongoing struggle for food, shelter, and protection from enemies:

from hostile people, from wild animals, and from imaginary spiritual forces. The new agricultural lifestyle and economy changed mankind's activities and attitudes. Urban dwellers had to plan for the future and make their food stretch from one harvest to the next, they needed new and different tools and implements, and they developed a new morality with virtues that were the attributes of sedentary peoples. The new agricultural lifestyle was one of stationary routine, hard work, and peace; in short, the domestication of plants and animals led directly to the domestication of humanity as well.

Out of necessity all living things congregated near water, and thus the new agricultural economy tied humans more closely to their plants and animals. Early agricultural villages and cities emerged near a fresh water supply, many in fertile river valleys. The seasonal floods replenished the soil and removed the need for continued movement in search of newer and thus more fertile soil. The small agricultural villages were gradually transformed into true cities, as people began to identify their life, prosperity, and future with one geographic location. They frequently fortified the most defensible position for safety and security. The emergence of such a fort or walled city led to close social and personal interaction, as now a larger number of people were living in a smaller place than that in which their hunting and gathering ancestors lived. Sedentary agriculture ensured a reliable food supply, and this, in turn, led to a population increase, as now several people could live off the same area previously needed to support a single hunter-gatherer. Thus population density increased in the fertile river valleys, especially those surrounded by deserts. Since more people were now living in a confined area, individual choices and activities had to be restricted for the well-being of the entire group. Since early agriculture represented a type of planned economy, it required the mobilization of large-scale manpower resources for the massive irrigation projects needed to provide a steady food supply. This illustrates another basic feature of civilization: rules, regulations, and laws.

The rise of political institutions thus became necessary for social order and harmony. The first governments that emerged were usually monarchies. From leading his nomadic followers in military raids, the chieftain became the political leader of his sedentary people and the military defender of the city. Instead of being a wartime leader only, the monarch became the keeper of the peace and the enforcer of law and order. As the urban population grew, society became too large to be governed effectively by oral customs and traditions. Since all were now living close together in a limited geographic area, specific and exact laws and regulations were necessary, along with the required administrative agencies and bureaucracies to keep track of laws, punishments, fines, records, etc. The emergence of political institutions, royal families, governments, laws, and taxes, meant a loss of individ-

ual freedom as the social good of the group or state now took priority over personal preferences. The monarch represented the state; he had the power and authority to make and enforce the rules and regulations necessary for social order and harmony. The king and government planned and directed the large-scale irrigation projects, frequently assigning plots as well as specifying the crops to be grown. The state could and did coerce the people into conformity; in many instances, they now obeyed out of fear rather than out of voluntary compliance. At the top of the political structure, the king led, organized, and protected the city and the state; political institutions were usually laid out in accord with the accepted religious systems.

***"Religion was very strong in all early civilizations."***

Organized religious beliefs and institutions represent the third characteristic that must be present for civilization to exist. Religion was very strong in all early civilizations. Most early kings claimed a very close relationship to the gods; if they were not considered divine themselves (as in Egypt and Japan), they claimed to be a favorite, a messenger, a prophet, or some type of direct representative of the gods. Their priestly role gave them the authority to receive, proclaim, and enforce the law coming from the gods; this is especially true of the revealed religions in the ancient Middle East. The king and a professional clergy organized the government and ritual necessary to keep the gods' favor and good will. The new agricultural economy led to the emergence of fertility oriented religious cults, focusing on sunshine, water, and regeneration. These beliefs demanded exact and specific ritual to maintain the vital link between man, nature, and gods and thus to mitigate the powerful and mysterious forces of nature that seemed to hold humanity in their grip. The emerging professional clergy devoted full time to such elaborate ritual performances and ceremonies; they also kept the basic religious beliefs and doctrines pure and untainted. Most of these early civilizations were dominated by the state and by what later became the church. Most were theocracies as the king was usually the chief priest as well; thus one individual led both the religious and political institutions. He led the state according to the dictates of the organized religious beliefs and institutions — with the help and approval of the professional clergy. These political and religious institutions, functions, and leaders indicate growing occupational specialization.

Job specialization is the fourth ingredient needed for a working definition of civilization. As the political, religious, and economic systems increased in complexity and sophistication, the individual could not and often did not want to master all aspects of the newly emerging patterns of life. This necessitated a growing interdependence of all people on each other for their basic needs. All were dependent on the king

and his army for safety and security, on the professional clergy for divine favor and blessing, on the farmer for food, and on the craftspersons for agricultural tools and weapons. Increasing complexity and sophistication of the economy and society meant that individuals could not master all jobs as could their earlier nomadic ancestors, who were all hunters, warriors, fishermen, food gatherers and makers of their own tools and weapons. From being an independent and universal jack-of-all-trades, the individual shifted to specialization and interdependence on others with the advent of civilization.

The natural outgrowth of job specialization was social ranking, as some jobs and tasks rated above others (i.e., some were considered to have more prestige and glory than others). Once people are ranked socially according to their jobs, all individuals are no longer considered equal. This type of ordering continues today as professional jobs rank above manual labor jobs; salaried white-collar jobs still carry more prestige than do blue-collar hourly wage jobs. Thus the rise of civilization is directly related to the rise of personal inequality. [This is what J.J. Rousseau referred to when he said in The Social Contract, "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." The social and political restraints of civilization deny the individual his or her natural freedom; thus Rousseau advocated a return to nature to regain one's individual freedom and independence.]

It is also during this formative stage that the status and role of women began to differ significantly from that of men; gender roles became much more rigidly defined than in earlier nomadic societies. The biologically larger and stronger males did the physically demanding agricultural work, became soldiers in heavy

***"The females were relegated to hearth and home and to child rearing and nurturing roles."***

armor, and emerged as the leaders of sedentary society, as the kings and priests. The females were relegated to hearth and home and to child rearing and nurturing roles. Most early religions, especially the Middle Eastern revealed religions, tended to be male dominated (i.e., the deity was perceived as a male and only men could be priests and teachers). Organized religion therefore reinforced the emerging trend toward male-dominated societies; it condoned the rigid institutionalization of females in an inferior and somewhat secluded position (legally, socially, and economically as well as religiously).

In these early civilizations, the king and professional clergy were ranked over all others; these two top-rated classes made the decisions for and in the name of the gods and the state. The temple and palace were the two most representative structures of most early civilizations, as they were the buildings most directly equated with the ruling elements, the king and clergy. In many early civilizations, the bulk of the wealth (money, food, servants, creature com-

forts, etc.) of the society was devoted primarily to royal and religious needs and concerns; all one needs to do is reflect briefly on the temples, pyramids, tombs, and massive buildings of the pharaohs in ancient Egypt to realize the depth and extent of theocratic control.

Public buildings like temples and palaces imply the rise of the visual arts as an expression of the people's beliefs, hopes, and aspirations. The buildings usually include the accompanying statues, paintings, and architectural principles and designs. Included here are idols to represent the gods, and the great size of the structures to symbolize the power and glory of the state, of the gods, or of their favorites, the ruling king and his professional clergy. The architects and artists themselves represent still another specialized class that was trained and supported at public expense for the cooperative good of the entire society; again, the good of the group, the good of civilization, took precedence over the individual.

A closely related category is a network of public works. This seventh basic characteristic of civilization emerged when technical and urban planners conceived of and implemented walls and fortifications, dikes and dams, irrigation ditches and canals, roads and bridges, granaries and aqueducts, and hanging gardens and pyramids. The king and his government, with the approval and blessing of the clergy, initiated and directed most of these projects. They were designed for the public good, to ensure the safety and security of all, to ensure an adequate food supply, and to represent the immortality of the people and state via tombs and mausoleums.

All of these complex activities and sophisticated interrelationships were made possible by the last major characteristic of civilization — the introduction of writing. Now the discoveries of one generation could be recorded and made available to their descendants. Each generation did not have to start from scratch and re-invent the wheel; each generation could use its energies and abilities to build upon the base of knowledge and information that it had inherited from its ancestors. Complex political and governmental bureaucracies could keep written records of laws, decrees, and administrative structures. The increasingly complex economic systems were aided by bills of sale, credit vouchers, and inventories. Religious beliefs and practices were written down, clarified, and standardized; this was especially true of the specific rituals and ceremonies that were proscribed to keep the blessing and favor of the gods. Social status and rank, both by birth and by job, could now be recorded and preserved. The mathematical and engineering principles needed for canals and dikes and buildings were all available with figures and diagrams for the next generation, as were all other technical advances and progress. The activities and traditions of civilization became too complex and sophisticated to be transmitted orally with any degree of accuracy. With the advent of writing, human society was no longer at

the mercy of frail human memory and changing oral tradition; schools for training scribes also came into being. From aiding human memory and simple record keeping, writing developed into an ongoing means of communication. Thus one generation could tell future generations why they did certain things; this gave later generations insight into the real motivation of their ancestors. With writing, human society passed from the prehistoric into the historic age, as the discipline of history stresses the period since the introduction of written records. Thus humanity came into the historic and civilized age at one and the same time, as writing is essential to both the discipline of history and to the existence of civilization.

The eight features or characteristics — urbanization, political institutions, organized religion, job specialization, social ranking, visual arts, public works and writing — are the major ingredients of what is generally meant by the term civilization. It should be clear how all are related, how one feature grew out of and then in turn influenced another. This working definition reveals how humanity progressed from a simple nomadic lifestyle to a very complex and sophisticated religious, political, social, economic, technical, and cultural order. It marks the essentials of the transition from less complicated nomadic individualism to intense group orientation and control. In the process, individuals lost much personal freedom as they were now bound by formal religious, political, and gender rules; were born into specific social classes that often determined their job and occupation; and were responsible to and for others as they in turn became dependent on others for survival. From acting freely and voluntarily by accepting responsibility for their own actions, humans became part of a complex

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*"Individual choices and actions had to be restricted and regularized for the good of the entire group."*

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and impersonal society, as ways of life became increasingly rigid and institutionalized. Since all were now living in confined areas, government, out of necessity, became increasingly coercive as it implemented its rules regularly and systematically with fines, jail sentences, and executions. Individual choices and actions had to be restricted and regularized for the good of the entire group.

This working definition of civilization can be summed up very briefly in one simple sentence. Civilization is a complex society with urbanization at the center of political and governmental institutions, an organized system of religious beliefs and practices, job specialization, social class ranking, visual arts and structures and a system of public works; all this sophisticated interaction was made possible by the introduction of writing. Although some aspect of all eight characteristics must be present in some degree or another for civilization to exist, some scholars argue that urbanization and writing are probably the two most important features — the sine qua non of

civilization. Those societies that do not possess these eight characteristics are labeled as uncivilized; such less advanced peoples are usually called barbarians. Barbarian leaders like Attila the Hun and the Mongol leader Chingis Khan are frequently cited as the antithesis of what civilized humanity represents.

By working with these eight basic characteristics of civilization, both new and returning teachers of Western and world civilization should be able to provide an expanded and clear definition of the term civilization and thus get the course off to a positive start. Needless to say, each teacher can and probably will emphasize some of the eight features over others. Those interested in intellectual concepts might stress written literature and religious-philosophical ideas; those with a social orientation might emphasize job specialization, class ranking, and gender roles; those with an artistic or architectural approach might focus on visual arts and public works. Even those who might not be specialists in ancient history should be able to find topics of interest and be able to begin the

***"Needless to say, each teacher can and probably will emphasize some of the eight features over others."***

course by focusing on the subject of their greatest strength, a subject which might well be stressed to the point of its emerging as the theme of the course. This approach can help make the first class or classes solid and substantive, can help make a good first impression, and can help get the course off to a positive start. This will benefit both the teacher and the students, because it will provide a classroom setting for effective teaching and learning to take place; it will provide a solid conceptual foundation and definition on which to build an effective and interesting survey course.

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## Freedom in World History:

*Can parachutists and truffle-hunters find perfect happiness together?\**

Alan Wood

University of Washington  
Bothell Branch Campus

Let me begin by giving an affirmative answer to the question posed in the title of this essay — parachutists and truffle-hunters can find perfect happiness together, although at the moment they are not talking to each other, at least not in a language the other can understand. Parachutists, of course, are generalists, who take the broad view of matters, and truffle-hunters are specialists, who have an accurate understanding of very specific subjects. Their marriage, a once-blissful union which has given birth to many of the great teachers and scholars of the past, is now on the rocks. Ever since modern colleges and universities chopped up knowledge into bite-size chunks known as departments, an academic aristocracy composed primarily of truffle-hunters has come to dominate higher education.

When H.G. Wells — an early parachutist — published his Outline of History in 1920, he complained that the study of history had become too partial and narrow, and that the volume of specialized research had become too much for one mind to absorb. He could not have imagined then that the little mounds of monographs which dotted the academic landscape in his lifetime would grow by the end of the century to become vast and impassible mountain ranges, severing communication between the disciplines of knowledge (and even between the sub-disciplines of history) and fostering the proliferation of mutually unintelligible dialects.

Faced with such daunting obstacles, the prospect of doing world history well, either in a classroom or between the covers of a book, would appear to be growing dimmer with every passing year. On the other hand, as our knowledge continues to fracture, the

need for such a unifying device may be even greater. The fact that our microscopes can now peer at smaller and smaller objects on an elephant's hide does not mean we can forget about the whole elephant. One perspective is not better or worse than the other, simply different. In the same vein, if you want to find out how to get from Rockefeller Center to the New York Public Library, you look at a map of New York.

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*"In the modern research university, unfortunately, there is no academic equivalent of a map of the world."*

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If you want to find out how to get from Boston to Bombay, however, you look at a map of the world. In the modern research university, unfortunately, there is no academic equivalent of a map of the world.

Let me try to put my own views on world history in the larger context of the profession as a whole. We live in a world dominated by science. The purpose of science is to investigate the behavior of objects in the natural world in order to predict and ultimately to control that behavior for the benefit of society. During and after the Enlightenment it was hoped that the "scientific method" might also be used to understand and improve the behavior of human beings. The social sciences were born. To be sure, Enlightenment thinkers got a little carried away when they anticipated that human nature could someday be perfected. But one does not have to believe in human perfectibility to hope that human suffering can be ameliorated through understanding more thoroughly the social and psychological forces which act upon us. To that noble purpose the social sciences committed their energies.

There is one area that science does not treat, however, and that is meaning. If a scientist were to ask

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what the meaning of gravity is he would doubtless be retired early. Meaning is taken to be a matter best left to philosophers whom nobody reads anyhow, at least in the US (so said Tocqueville, and little has changed since).

The academic study of history has understandably mirrored the assumptions of the larger society. In the United States, historical study came to be modeled on the nineteenth-century German institution of the graduate research seminar, which encouraged scholars to focus on a very small subject. The final product of the scholarly enterprise became the monograph, dealing with a single subject and limited in time and area. The bureaucratic imperatives of the modern academy have further narrowed that scope. All bureaucracies share certain characteristics. Among the least beneficial is a propensity to measure success in terms of quantity rather than quality, the former being more tangible and easily defensible if questioned, and more readily accepted as equitable and fair, than the latter, which is unquestionably messy and difficult to measure objectively. Since one can produce quantity more quickly by focusing on narrow subjects, the pressure to do so is irresistible. Those who are best at it rise to the top, from which lofty heights they survey the wreckage, pronounce it wonderful, and do everything in their power to ensure that the system which so wisely recognized their worth is supported to the end of time. The result is that the modern university stresses analysis at the expense of synthesis. The only time historians ever talk about synthesis is when they give the presidential address at the annual meeting of the AHA, after which the members of the audience, and the president, deploy back to their analytical foxholes. (I read through all the presidential addresses one summer. I highly recommend the experience, which I found to be inspiring.)

The intellectual energy of the university is produced by fission, not fusion, and the forces released by that energy are centrifugal, not centripetal. Robert Hutchins was not far off when he described the modern university as a collection of separate departments unified by a central heating system.

In any case, the ultimate object of a social science is to discover underlying patterns and laws of human behavior. Most of the views of world history which have appeared in the twentieth century have this same purpose: the organic metaphor of Spengler, the challenge/response paradigm of Toynbee, the Marxist view and its current permutation in the form of dependency theory, cultural diffusion, the various forms of modernization theory, applications of sociological or anthropological paradigms to the study of world history. I do not wish to deny the validity of any of these approaches. On the contrary, I have the highest regard for the insights which they have given us. Coleridge is supposed to have remarked once that men are usually right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny, and in that spirit let me stress that my primary criticism of professional monographs is

not that they are narrow — they have to be — but that there is no place for anything else other than the monograph. To put it another way, historians are right in affirming the value of analysis, and wrong in denying the value of synthesis. My quarrel with specialists is not that they do not like generalists, but that they shoot them on sight.

*"My quarrel with specialists is not that they do not like generalists, but that they shoot them on sight."*

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Intellectual breakthroughs, after all, are the product of the synthesizing impulse. The analytical process is best suited for verifying or refuting insights originally arrived at through the free play of the imagination. Insofar as our institutions of higher learning discourage synthesis they threaten to dry up the springs of intellectual life in this country (or divert them into the think tanks). The old cliché that the world is divided into problems and universities are divided into departments (with very little connection between the two) may have some truth to it after all.

My own particular approach does not pretend to have discovered a new pattern of human behavior, but is organized around a universal problem, in the manner of a Greek play. The world history I have in mind is indebted to Greek tragedy, and to Thucydides. History is, among other things, a great drama, in which the human race is the protagonist who is endowed with prodigious gifts, who has free will, who encounters forces over which he has no control, as well as forces over which he does have control, who makes a serious error in judgment based upon a fundamental flaw in his own make-up, and who then suffers terribly — far more than he deserves — as a result. The suffering, as in *Oedipus Rex* (and *Oedipus at Colonus*), may be redemptive, but that does not wash away the simple fact that the innocent are made to suffer along with the guilty. Thucydides carried out his basic plan, in which Athens — wonderful Athens, free and cosmopolitan, the fountain of democracy and philosophy — came to a grievous end because its citizens were corrupted by disease (over which they had no control) and power (over which they did have control) and brought about their own destruction as a result.

In Genesis, the temptation advanced by the reptile in the Garden of Eden was for Adam and Eve to become like God by eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. As the inhabitants of paradise freely chose that fruit, so has the human race aspired to become like God through its mastery of the forces of nature, approaching ever closer to the divine prerogative to destroy all forms of life on earth, on the one hand, and to create life, on the other hand.

My focus is on freedom, tracing the development of the human race in all its cultural variety from very early times to the present, showing how free will and human genius have combined to increase man's control over the forces of nature but always with the trag-

ic imperative at work. That control, from the domestication of fire on to the harnessing of nuclear energy, is available for good and for evil, for ameliorating suffering and for magnifying it. The two go hand in glove.

*"My focus is on freedom. . . ."*

Lord Acton, one of the most influential historians of the nineteenth century, was always on the point of beginning work on a universal history, which he never quite got around to. Toward the end of life his friends took to referring to the project as the greatest book ever written. Instead, Acton acted as editor of the Cambridge Modern History Series — not too shabby an accomplishment, to be sure, but a work of specialists nonetheless. Had he written his own world history, I suspect he would have organized it around freedom, which he virtually identified with progress and human perfectibility. We ought to pick up where Acton left off (although not necessarily with his faith in the malleability of human nature — the intervening decades have, alas, rather tarnished those optimistic expectations).

My approach is to divide the activities of the human race into six categories: politics, economy, society, philosophy/religion, aesthetics (art, literature), and science/technology. In each of these areas, it seems to me, the notion of freedom can act as a kind of clothesline on which to hang the otherwise diverse expressions of human genius. The economic problem, for example, is how to gain greater control over the productive forces (and thereby expand the range of choice), and how to distribute their fruits equitably.

The political realm is more obviously one of increasing or decreasing freedoms. Incidentally it is here that many of my own colleagues in non-Western studies have often criticized my clothesline, saying that by focusing on freedom I am guilty of imposing my Western cultural assumptions on societies which do not have such values. I hope that the events in China in June, 1989, have put that argument to rest forever. One must make a clear distinction between the impulse to freedom, which I believe to be universal, and the existence or development of enabling institutions which may vary a good deal from society to society and from time to time. That the Chinese have the desire, and not the enabling institutions, is now — courtesy of CNN — clear to all the world.

Freedom itself, of course, is not to be understood only in its negative form as an absence of restraint, but also in its positive form as the opportunity to bring to fruition something which had previously existed in a potential state. In this sense, the outward expression of man's creative genius in art and literature, the deepened understanding of meaning which has developed as human religious and philosophical systems have grown, are all a part of this underlying impulse toward freedom.

What I offer is an organizing principle for the study

of world history which is based upon a fundamental problem in the human condition rather than a search for a fundamental pattern or law of behavior. This is clearly an understanding of history which departs from the professional assumption that history is a science, and only a science, focusing solely on the advancement of knowledge. Insofar as my view emphasizes meaning as well as knowledge, I suppose that what I offer is closer to art than science, but I stress again that my approach is not intended to be a substitute for the conventional way of organizing history but a complement.

The great French historian and sociologist of Chinese religion, Marcel Granet, who died shortly after the fall of France in 1940, is supposed to have declared to his class once (presumably before he died, though with some French intellectuals you can't be too sure): "I don't give a damn about China. What interests me is man." I suspect that if Granet were a recent PhD looking for a teaching job in the United States, with an attitude like that he would probably end up selling pencils on the street corner. If Granet meant what I think he meant, however, we could use a few more like him around now.

We know more about the world than we did, but we do not know the meaning of what we know, and it is that very meaning which is so urgently required. The problems brought about by rapid technological surrogates for religion, by overpopulation, by environmental pollution, and by proliferating nuclear weapons, far transcend in their destructive potential those which confronted individual civilizations in the past. In the face of these circumstances, historians — who have a special responsibility for educating the public in their civic responsibilities — should address themselves, however peripherally, to these urgent questions, with a view to forging out of the diverse national traditions of the world a greater sense of common purpose. Only when the world realizes the degree to which each civilization manifests qualities and experiences common to all civilizations, only when it understands the ways in which the different forms of civilized experience give expression to a common impulse to order and meaning in life, will we be in a position to confront our problems with a reasonable prospect of success. The perspective gained from a study of world history is vital to this enterprise. If such a pragmatic motive in the writing of history is criticized as imposing an unnatural burden of didactic morality on the interpretation of the facts then I can only respond that facts, alas, do not always speak for themselves, and perhaps more interpretation would shorten the unnecessarily large gap between a public desperately in need of wisdom, and the historian in need of a public. In the words of Louis Gottschalk (in another presidential address), "let [the historian] also pray for the courage combined with the humility necessary to employ his historical training and insight as well as he can for the guidance of an unmoored society seeking anchorage"

(American Historical Review 59 [January 1954], p. 286). We are all of us dependent, in one way or another, on the fortunes of the world around us. We must not allow that link, which binds the objects of our study to the need of the larger community for a clear statement of means and ends, to be permanently severed. Paul Gagnon's recently released report on high school textbooks in American history makes a strong plea for just this kind of approach to the teaching of history: "It takes a sense of the tragic and the

*"We are all of us dependent, in one way or another, on the fortunes of the world around us."*

comic to make a citizen of good judgment, as it does a bone-deep understanding of how hard it is to preserve civilization or to better human life, and of how it has nonetheless been done, more than once in the past. It takes a sense of paradox, not to be surprised when failure teaches us more than victory does, or when we slip from triumph to folly. And maybe most of all it takes a practiced eye for the beauty of work well done, in daily human acts of nurture" (Democracy's Half-Told Story: What American History Textbooks Should Add [Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1989], p. 157).

Here I seek to remind the interested reader of the importance of a universal perspective in history, and to suggest that we should no more abandon the study of world history because of its inherent difficulties than we should cease trying to become better because

we cannot become perfect. Recall for a moment Chesterton's marvelous remark (which should be carved in stone and hung around the necks of all academic perfectionists), that if something is worth doing, it is worth doing badly.

Most history departments in the major research universities in the United States devote very little if any attention to the subject of world history. Faculty members whose prospects for tenure and promotion are related to the number of publications they produce in their field of expertise are naturally reluctant to pursue a subject which might slow down the progress of their own careers. Added to this is their understandable hesitation to indulge in generalizations about areas of the world which lie outside the scope of their own academic preparation, and which would expose them to professional criticism by specialists in those areas. These obstacles cannot be dismissed lightly, nor do I know of any easy way by which they might be removed, and yet they do not diminish our responsibility to broaden and deepen the nature of the questions which we ask of the historical record. We now have within our grasp, because of the great contributions of the social sciences in the last two centuries in widening our knowledge of the past, the tools to undertake this great task; what we seem to lack is the vision and the will. We need, in short, more airborne truffle-hunters.

W H A

## "RACE," DISCOURSE AND THE ORIGIN OF THE NEW WORLD: A NEW WORLD VIEW OF 1492

Scholars to be featured:

### Moderators:

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Professor Jan Carew, George Mason University

### Speakers:

Professor Sylvia Wynter, Stanford University

"1492: A New World View"

Professor Russell Thornton, University of California at Berkeley

"North Americans Encounter the Demographic Legacy of Conquest"

Dr. Theophile Obenga, Center for Bantu Studies, Gabon

Dr. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Johns Hopkins University

"Before Columbus: The Portuguese Contribution to Discourse on Race and Slavery  
in the Fifteenth Century"

Professor Ivan Van Sertima, Rutgers University

"The African Presence in the Pre-Columbian Americas"

Dr. Maurice Bazin, The Exploratorium, San Francisco

"Their Sciences and Our Sciences: Recovering the Diversity of Third World  
Scientific Creativity"

Professor Eduardo Glissant, Louisiana State University

"La Creolisation dans la formation sociale des Ameriques"

Professor Antonio Benitez-Rojo, Amherst College

"El paradigma poliritmico: el Caribe y la epoca posmoderna"

Professor Charles Long, Syracuse University

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#### **WHA Notes: Important Membership Information from the Executive Director**

WHA dues are payable on a calendar year basis. During each year, members will receive two issues of the *Journal* and two issues of the *Bulletin*. Many members have had questions regarding the timing of dues notices. Notices for 1991 dues were mailed in October, 1990 and again in January, 1991. Thus, some members may have paid dues twice within a six-month period. Be aware that each of these payments was for a different year. Beginning this year (1991) dues notices were mailed in October so that we could notify the University of Hawaii Press of all updated memberships by mid-January. If your address has changed, please send notification as soon as possible to Dick Rosen, Executive Director, World History Association, at the address shown above.

In the future, the *Journal* will be published each March and September; the *Bulletin* will appear in May and November.

Finally, please note the new label which is affixed to the *Bulletin*. It contains both your membership number and the expiration date of your membership. If you find this information in error, please notify the Executive Director immediately.

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