

World History Bulletin

Fall 2003

Vol. XIX No. 2



H. Micheal Tarver
Editor

Peter Dykema
Book Review Coordinator

bulletin@thewha.org

Jacky Swansinger
Michael Brescia
Teaching Forum Coordinators

In This Issue

Letter from the President	1
2004 WHA Annual Conference Announcement	2
World History Association Strategic Plan, 2003-2006	3
Minutes of the June 2003 World History Association Executive Council Meeting	10
Minutes of the June 2003 World History Association Business Meeting	14
Call For Papers: 2004 World History Association Annual Meeting	16
Teaching Forum	
Jobs for World Historians? <i>by H. Parker James, World History Center</i>	19
Communism in World History <i>by Robert Strayer, California State University, Monterey Bay</i>	20
Teaching About War in World History <i>by Larry Litchfield, Orange County Community College</i>	24
Teaching Food in World History: The Chinese Example <i>by Michael Marcus, Berlin Public Schools</i>	28
Fall 2003 Election Results	31
News of Interest to Our Members	
Comparative Review of Wendy Kasinec and Michael Polushin, eds., <i>Expanding Empires: Cultural Interaction and Exchange in World Societies from Ancient to Early Modern Times</i> and Anthony Pagden, <i>Peoples and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration and Conquest, from Greece to the Present</i> . <i>by Peter Dykema, Arkansas Tech University</i>	32
Review of Jerry Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler, <i>Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past</i> , 2nd edition. <i>by Peter Dykema, Arkansas Tech University</i>	33
NCSS Update by Ane Lintvedt, McDonogh School	34
A Look Back: Glasnost, Perestroika and Nationalism in Russian and World History: An Analysis <i>by Marilyn Hitchens</i>	35
World History Connected by Heidi Roupp, Director - WHA Task Force on Education	37
Why Should We Study Byzantine History? <i>by Al Andrea, University of Vermont (Retired)</i>	38
Photographs from the 2003 Annual Meeting in Chicago by Micheal Tarver, Arkansas Tech University	

WHA 2003

Chicago



Letter from the President

November 2003

Dear Colleagues.

This will be my last letter as President. These two years have seemed very long at times, but have passed with amazing rapidity. I will not attempt an assessment of what has been accomplished. Let's wait and see how it looks with some historical perspective.

It has been a period of transition from an all-volunteer organization with decentralized operations and improvisation (repeatedly reinventing the wheel) an unavoidable necessity. In retrospect, I am amazed at how well the volunteer Executive Director, Dick Rosen at Drexel University, and the elected officers of the 1990s managed, but it was clear that with expanded membership and expanded activities, the WHA could not go much further without building some infrastructure and acquiring the institutional memory that makes it possible.

For example, with administrative help from the Headquarters, our last Annual Conference in Atlanta set a record for attendance and contributed more than four times as much to the WHA coffers than had come from any previous conference. Just as important, out of it came a Conference Planning Manual that will make hosting future conferences much easier for both our staff and the people at the host institution. In future, we will not have to count on the kind of heroic efforts and personal sacrifices that Prof. Steve Rapp made at Georgia State this year, as did other conference organizers before him. If you are in an attractive place, easily accessible, at an institution that might regard a WHA Annual Conference a feather in its cap, please consider submitting a proposal.

In general, better record keeping, organizational continuity, and regularized procedures should allow the Association to launch more programs and to apply for much more substantial funding with good

prospects for success. The Strategic Plan, approved at the Atlanta meeting of the Executive Council, is full of great ideas about what could be done to further promote world history. To mention just two that are currently at the preliminary discussion stage: one, workshops or institutes for world history teachers in urban, multi-cultural school districts; two, financial support for graduate studies in world history, possibly including doctoral or post-doctoral fellowships. These and other potential programs will require support and initiative from our members. The Headquarters can stimulate, coordinate, and support, but the grass roots volunteer spirit that carried the WHA through its early years is still greatly needed. Members interested in working on these or other initiatives should contact President-elect, David Northrup, or the Executive Director, Kieko Matteson (thewha@hawaii.edu).

With regard to upcoming programs, please mark your calendars for the "World History: The Next Ten Years" conference in Boston, March 12-14, 2004. Co-sponsored by the World History Center at Northeastern University and the WHA, the conference will provide a forum for interested persons to discuss the future of the field and what needs to be done. For more information, please see our website (<http://www.thewha.org>).

The WHA should be active in all areas concerning world history, but it cannot and should not try to do everything. As the overall demand for world history grows, there are plenty of independent initiatives and worthwhile programs in the works. The web-based world history resources projects at Northeastern and San Diego State University are two instances, as is the new electronic teaching journal, *World History Connected*, scheduled to appear this month. All this is good news for world history, and what is good for world history is good for the WHA.

In short, there is still plenty for the WHA to do in making itself a more effective organization able to serve its members better and do more to promote the field. We are riding a still-rising tide, but there are worrisome back eddies.

Presumably, I do not have to tell this

group why world history is important now more than ever. It is somewhat awkward for the WHA's first non-American President to comment on U.S. politics, and the WHA is strictly non-partisan in any case. But some political trends in post 9/11 American politics (a period that almost exactly coincides with my term of office) are not only alarming to the rest of the world (and to almost everyone I know in the United States) but also are directly affecting history education in the world's only remaining superpower. Education is a legitimate issue for the WHA. I would not presume to suggest to WHA members what they might say to their government about Iraq, or the United Nations, or the Kyoto Accords. But I do wish to call your attention to some of the legislation before Congress regarding federal support for history education. Both the Alexander Bill and the Gregg Bill are designed to promote traditional American history teaching and combat the perceived threat of multiculturalism and, by implication, world history.

What should the WHA do to address these bills? We have been working with the National History Coalition to try to modify the language and implementation of these retrograde measures, but we cannot expect that the AHA and OAH, with their preponderance of American historians, will be willing to oppose money for history, even if to us it is the wrong kind of history. I believe the WHA must publicize the issue by making information available on our website and encouraging members to write to their Senators and Congressmen. Further, I believe the WHA should implement the measures in its Strategic Plan that call for the WHA to become more active in public education. These include establishing a WHA "Speakers Bureau" that makes names of qualified persons available to speak to interested groups. The other measure proposes a "Media Committee" to produce op-ed pieces on exactly this kind of issue—the sort of historical education relevant to the 21st century.

Again, I invite any members interested in these projects to contact the WHA office.

That is my final word, suggesting work for others to do. Soon, I will really retire and either write that last great book, do some

world traveling, or just sit back and watch the world pass by from my tower overlooking Active Pass. It's a somewhat different perspective on the world from this small West Coast island, and I hope some of my good friends and comrades in the WHA will drop by and share it with me from time to time.

Best wishes for all of us,

Ralph



2004 World History Association Annual Conference

Fairfax, Virginia

June 17-20, 2004

The thirteenth annual conference of The World History Association will take place **June 17-20, 2004** at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. GMU's scenic campus is a short metro ride from Washington, D.C.

The themes of the conference will be:
Social History as World History
Diasporas in World History
Empires in World History to 1500

Please visit the WHA website for more details on the conference later this fall.
<http://www.thewha.org>.

For information about exhibit space, program advertising, or reception sponsorship, contact the WHA at thewha@hawaii.edu or (808) 956-7688.

World History Association Strategic Plan: The Next Three Years

During the Spring of 2003 a special committee of the WHA drafted a Strategic Plan outlining the goals and needs of the organization for the next three years. The WHA Executive Council voted to approve the document at its June meeting in Atlanta. The completed Plan is included in this issue of the *Bulletin*, and your comments and opinions are welcome. Please send them to either the new President of the WHA, David Northrup, at northrup@bc.edu or the Executive Director, Kieko Matteson, at thewha@hawaii.edu.

This Conference will address the needs of interested middle and secondary school teachers and college faculty by examining the Americas in the context of the other regions of the world. You are encouraged to submit proposals with a focus on any aspect "The Americas in World History" including interdisciplinary and transatlantic topics. In addition, all PAPERS concerned with world history are welcome. Graduate Students are warmly encouraged to participate.

Continuing the tradition of WHAT conference, we encourage proposals that share ideas and methods of teaching with your colleagues, such as, class preparations, strategies for teaching AP World History, use of media, textbook selection, and so forth.

Presentations

1. Proposals for complete panels are encouraged.
2. Conference presentations should not exceed twenty minutes and papers should be limited to ten pages.
3. Please let us know in advance of your presentation needs.

Deadline for Submission of Proposals is January 20, 2004

Address all proposals to:

Prof: Kenneth Margerison
Department of History
Texas State University-San Marcos
601, University Drive
San Marcos, Texas 78666-4616
Fax: (512) 245-3043
Email: KMargerison@txstate.edu

A Call for Proposals

The XII Annual Conference of the World History Association of Texas

Texas State University-San Marcos
San Marcos, Texas

February 28, 2004

Theme - "The Americas in World History"

Keynote Address -- Dr. James E. McWilliams

"A Taste of the Past: Understanding the Transatlantic World Through Food, 1500-1800"



World History Association Strategic Plan, 2003-2006

Revised and edited July 12, 2003

I. What is the World History Association?

1. Historical Background; Present Position

The WHA is the foremost organization for the promotion of world history through the encouragement of teaching, research, and publication. It was founded in 1982 by a group of teachers and academics determined to address the needs and interests of what was then a newly emerging historical sub-discipline and teaching field.

The new world history emerged out of the shift in higher and secondary education away from a sole emphasis on national and regional histories toward broader cross-cultural, comparative, and global approaches. By the 1980s, instructors who had been asked to create new courses in this field, as well as scholars who had already begun laying its theoretical groundwork, came together in founding a new type of professional association, one that united the schools and the universities, teaching with research.

Since then, the WHA has grown four-fold, has garnered accolades for its award winning *Journal of World History*, and has played a seminal role in shaping the field in the U.S. and around the world. Important for American secondary education, WHA members have been instrumental in establishing standards for World History teaching at the national and state levels as well as designing the AP World History course. At present, although its membership is still predominantly North American, the WHA is represented in over 35 countries and has an affiliate relationship with world history societies in Europe and Australia.

Most important, the WHA brings together university professors, college and community college instructors, school teachers, graduate students, and independent scholars in a collegial camaraderie rarely found in more narrowly focused academic and professional societies. Still motivated by a larger sense of mission in preparing students and the public for an interdependent world, the WHA has been unique

in bridging the gap between secondary and post-secondary educators.

2. Mission Statement

Adhering to its founding principles, the WHA supports teaching and scholarship within a global perspective. Through the teachers, researchers, and authors who are its members the WHA fosters historical analysis undertaken not from the viewpoint of nation-states, but rather from that of the global community. To this end, the WHA provides forums for the discussion of changing approaches to the study and teaching of world history at all levels and works with other organizations to encourage public support for world history.

3. Vision Statement

With an enlarged and further diversified membership, professional administration from its Headquarters, and funding adequate for its expanded role, the WHA will improve services for its members, expand outreach and professional development programs for secondary and college instruction in world history, stimulate research and publication on world history, and further internationalize its scholarly activities.

II. Membership

Serving and growing our membership is fundamental to the future of the WHA.

Membership Services will be improved by having a professional staff with better, fully computerized records communicating more regularly and more effectively with the members.

This will be done through:

- An improved and frequently updated website
- An electronic newsletter as a supplement to the Bulletin (see "Website")
- A "welcome package" with information about the WHA, a letter from the President, and teaching and reference materials, the latter probably available through a proprietary page on our website
- More member resources on our website

The Membership Committee working with Headquarters staff will actively pursue recruitment of new members. This will involve:

- Introducing online membership registration through our website

- Contacting specific groups, such as AP World History teachers, teaching institute participants," community college instructors, and graduate students in world history programs with mailings, publicity, and special introductory offers.

- Increased visibility for the WHA at more venues, expanding our presence beyond the AHA and NCSS national conferences to reach other scholarly and teaching organizations, especially at their regional meetings

III. Publications

The WHA has two official publications:

1. *Journal of World History*

Since 1990, when it won the Council of Editors of Learned Journals award as the best new scholarly journal, this has been the WHA's flagship serial. It is published by the University of Hawaii Press, which handles printing, distribution, advertising, etc. The editor, Jerry Bentley, a founding member of the WHA, is an ex officio member of the WHA Executive Council. Under his editorship it has established itself as a leading historical scholarly journal with an institutional subscription of over 450 and a total subscription of approximately 1500. In 2003, it moved from semi-annual to quarterly issues.

There are no plans to change its successful format apart from adding a feature page on current WHA activities such as conferences, teaching institutes, and study tours.

2. *World History Bulletin*

Published semi-annually, and like the journal distributed to all members, this has been WHA members' chief source of information about WHA activities and other news about teaching and research in world history. Unlike the Journal, it is published directly under WHA auspices. Under its new editor, Professor Micheal Tarver, Arkansas Tech University, format and punctuality of publication have greatly improved. Further effort and additional resources, including more volunteer assistants for the editor and staff support from the Headquarters, will be needed to make it more effective in supplying current information about the latest developments in and resources for teaching world histo-

ry.

The *Bulletin* editor is also appointed by the Executive Council where he is member ex-officio without vote. Its present biannual publication schedule, April and October, is unlikely to change but in order to keep members up to date with current developments a short newsletter supplement is planned and will be delivered twice a year in electronic form.

In addition to its present official publications, the WHA has a strong interest in several other publishing venues, including:

a. Pamphlet series

The very successful series of 30-40 page pamphlets, "Essays on Global and Comparative History," published by the AHA under the general editorship of Michael Adas, will soon be completed. In a field as diverse and rapidly growing as world history, there will be a need for more of these useful mini-books which digest the most important scholarship in world history and make it more available for college and high school teaching.

As this need becomes apparent, and possibly in cooperation with other professional academic or teaching organizations, the WHA anticipates playing an important role in continuing and expanding this type of publication with one or more of its members assuming editorial responsibility.

b. Edited volumes from WHA conferences World History has been served well by the many scholarly monographs, historiographical collections, and classroom oriented books produced by WHA members. The number of publishers, both commercial and university presses, launching book series in world history has grown steadily and is likely the best way of advancing the field.

Papers from one of the WHA's recent annual conferences have been published as an edited volume, *Colonialism and the Modern World*, in the M.E. Sharpe series "Sources and Studies in World History," and the WHA anticipates more such publications but probably more often from special thematic research conferences (See "Research") than from our annual

meeting.

c. Electronic teaching publications

The WHA welcomes the development of high quality, well designed electronic resources such as the "World History Network," "World History For Us All," "History Matters," and especially the forthcoming triennial serial "World History Connected: the E-Journal of Learning and Teaching." These have for the most part been developed by WHA members in consultation with the WHA.

IV. Website

The WHA has improved its own website in recent years with the two main goals of bettering member communications and providing information about developments in the field of World History.

After redesign in 2002, it is now professionally managed by Duomo Communications, San Antonio, with our Headquarters staff providing updated information.

Further improvements will include some or all of the following:

- Online membership registration and renewals
- Online conference registration
- A "Members Resources" Section with proprietary content, featuring updated bibliographies, digests of recent research and other materials
- A FAQ section to answer such questions as, "what does the WHA do?," "where can I find lesson plans for a high school world history course?," and "which schools offer graduate programs in world history?"
- Back issues, or at least selected articles, from both the *Journal of World History* and the *Bulletin*
- Carefully controlled online advertising by publishers and other purveyors of world history materials and services
- An annotated links section to other useful online resources

V. WHA Annual Conference

Along with our publications and website, this is our face to the world, at least to the world of professional teachers and scholars.

It is essential for recruiting new members, especially younger faculty, but also

for sustaining group cohesion and morale. The WHA maintains a presence at the AHA Annual Meeting with a display table, several world history panels on the program, meetings of our Executive Council and general members, plus a reception. Still, our own annual meeting, usually in late June so secondary teachers can attend, is when the core members most often see each other.

Finally, in recent years the annual conference has become a source of revenue for the organization. With our Headquarters now able to manage much of the conference business, including registration and payment of major expenses, we are turning this conference into a substantial revenue maker.

The following measures should be implemented to further improve the conference:

- Increase attendance through more effective publicity
- Strive for consistently high quality in the accepted research papers and teaching presentations
- Solicit more panels or roundtables that "translate" the latest research into effective teaching plans and plan more thematic panels that could serve as the catalyst for special research conferences and future publications
- Organize more sessions bringing together secondary and post-secondary teachers (e.g.: AP World History and the Introductory College Survey is a natural combination)
- Attract more publishers and suppliers of teaching materials as both a revenue source and a service to conference attendees
- Continue to find host institutions (such as Georgia State University in 2003 and George Mason University in 2004) that provide space and facilities in an attractive and accessible location
- At its triennial meeting abroad (see "Internationalization"), assist one or more of the regional affiliates in building up its conference with particular emphasis on relevance to members who cannot afford overseas travel

VI. Teaching

Given the synoptic nature of much of the world history scholarship and the sense of

public purpose that motivates many of its practitioners, it is not surprising that teaching has always been at the forefront of the WHA's agenda.

Continuing the growth of summer teaching institutes in the last few years, the WHA will work with the College Board and other interested organizations to extend their reach, targeting AP World History teachers, in particular, but also developing training institutes for other high school, middle school, and college teachers. The WHA will also explore the possibility of shorter one or two day workshops during school districts' "professional development" days. Finally, the WHA will attempt to stimulate the growth of on-line training courses. There may be possibilities for the WHA to offer some kind of certification for completion of such courses.

All of the above will require additional staff time for administration.

Some may be run on a cost-recovery basis, but extra funding could greatly enhance their numbers and effectiveness.

In this regard, we should note that high school and middle school world history education is weakest in the area where the multi-ethnic composition of the student population makes it most relevant, America's largest cities. Obviously, this is a need the WHA could not begin to meet by itself, but it could provide some of the experience and expertise for larger bodies attempting to address this situation.

The preparation of secondary and post-secondary world history teachers continues to lag behind the rapidly increasing demand for trained instructors as world history courses proliferate. The WHA has been involved in one project to develop curriculum models for pre-service training and sees this as a continuing need. See "Research" for possible projects to create more trained world historians in the universities as trainers of college and secondary teachers.

While nearly all of the initiatives outlined above will require large-scale external funding, there are some initiatives the WHA can undertake with present resources. They include: a certificate for professional development credit for attending our annual conference making available bibliographies and teaching materials on our website (see "Website" and "Membership Services")

encouraging publications directly relevant to teachers (see "Publications")

VII. Research

As World History has developed over the last forty years, it has generally maintained a close connection to teaching and public issues in a global age. Nevertheless, in a field that requires broad-scale, innovative thinking, it cannot be restricted by immediate, presentist considerations.

In a sense, world historians are still creating a field or discipline that needs to achieve higher academic visibility as well as broader public recognition. Scholarly inquiry — research — must be a taproot for the overall growth of world history.

Of our research publications, the Journal is in the forefront, but other important projects loom on the horizon.

The WHA is, therefore, forming a "Research Committee" under the chairmanship of Jerry Bentley, Editor of the *Journal of World History*.

Its broad mandate is to not only stimulate original research and conceptual innovation in World History but also to gain wider recognition of World History as a valid, indeed vital, academic field by research universities and grant agencies. The committee will also stimulate the growth of graduate programs in World History as a way of meeting the critical need for more well-trained young world historians to teach the rapidly expanding number of college and university world history courses.

This committee will explore the WHA's role in launching the following types of programs.

1. Research initiatives

A series of thematically focused research conferences designed to stimulate research in a given area and lead to major scholarly publication, in most cases a conference volume.

Increase the cash value (presently \$500) of the already widely recognized WHA Book Prize for the best scholarly book on world history in a given year.

2. Graduate Student Training

Two-year post-doctoral fellowships in world history designed to train new PhDs

with a regional or national specialization to become competent world history practitioners and, most importantly, university teachers.

Graduate fellowships to support PhD candidates writing theses with a strong comparative or world history component. Award a prize for the best Ph.D. thesis in world history to complement the existing student paper prize.

Expand our present graduate student organized panel at the annual conference and publicize it more.

Obtain funds to assist graduate students in traveling to our annual conference. Host a panel, or panels, on graduate education in world history at the WHA annual conference and perhaps at the AHA.

Host a special conference with representatives from all universities having, or seriously considering, a graduate program or graduate field in world history.

Most of these projects will require substantial outside funding but some, such as strengthening student participation in our conferences, may be accomplished with present resources.

VIII. Internationalization

Founded in the United States and still approximately 90% North American in membership, the WHA must connect with the rest of the world, partly through intellectual and pedagogical exchanges, partly by attracting more "overseas" members, but partly through encouraging the growth of like-minded organizations in other countries such as our independent affiliates in Europe and Australia.

The high cost of membership and Journal subscriptions for many teachers, scholars, and libraries in the developing world is a serious constraint on our efforts to build global contacts. We will implement a program whereby individual WHA members can buy a membership for a deserving recipient or a Journal subscription to a library. The WHA will also attempt to obtain funding to expand the scale of this program.

We currently have our annual conference outside the United States every third year. (Our 2005 conference will be held in Cape Town. Previous international sites include Florence, Pamplona, Victoria, and Seoul.) It would be very helpful for pro-

moting world history on a global basis if we had funding to bring at least one scholar or master teacher from a country outside the United States to our "home" conferences. This person would deliver a keynote address, a practice already featured at many of our conferences. To ensure an ongoing connection and promoting world history in the travel grant recipient's home country, funding to give this person a lifetime membership in the WHA would be useful.

Further along this line in promoting world history in countries where resources for education are scarce, we should try to give free subscriptions to our publications, perhaps on a two-three year trial basis, to key educational institutions and libraries.

Finally, when the WHA meets in Asia, Africa, or Latin America, some travel grants for scholars and teachers from other countries in the region would greatly extend our international contacts.

IX. Public Outreach

In the age of globalization, world history is too important to be confined to the academy or the classroom. Moreover, public support for more world history in the education system requires more public awareness of its importance. Therefore, in cooperation with other organizations, the WHA will play an even more active advocacy role in the public arena.

This means working with the national and local media to bring world history to the attention of the wider public. To do this, we will undertake the following:

Establish a "Media Committee" to work with the Executive Director in publishing WHA events, facilitating news reports and broadcasts giving the world history background to current events, perhaps preparing a "press hit" for interested journalists. Establish a "Speakers Bureau" coordinated through the Headquarters and accessible through our website, to provide national and local speakers for schools, professional groups, and civic associations. Tapping the extraordinary public spirit of our members, we might make this expenses-only with any fees going to the WHA.

Identify WHA members willing to and capable of writing short journalistic arti-

cles and establish a "Public Writers Bureau" to help place their articles.

X. Administrative Infrastructure and Funding

A professionalized WHA will be able to do more, and do it more efficiently, but the organization's greatest asset is still the spirit and dedication of its many-talented membership. We will continue to rely on that, organizing volunteers into task-oriented committees (see Appendix B for present committee structure), which will be more effectively supervised and coordinated by the Executive Director. For the sake of credibility with potential granting bodies, but also to increase internal efficiency and accountability, it is important that administrative and fiscal procedures be regularized to accord with the normal practices of non-profit organizations. Some of these are already outlined in the Constitution and Bylaws (see Appendix A), but certain procedures and responsibilities should be more clearly defined. Rather than proliferating Bylaws, the Executive Director, in consultation with the elected officers and Committee Chairs, will draft an Administrative Procedures Manual to be put before the Executive Council at its January 2004 meeting.

At present, the Headquarters is staffed by a half-time Executive Director supervising a half-time secretary and occasional work-study student assistants. This staff will have to be expanded as the present workload of routine business, especially that borne by the Treasurer, is transferred to the Headquarters. More work-study assistance will help, but as the new projects outlined above are implemented, it is likely that a second part-time, or one full-time, secretary will also be required.

The Executive Director, a scholar-administrator with a Ph.D. in history, is the key to a headquarters that can both facilitate the WHA's operations and expand its outreach. At present, only as more funds become available from outside sources can we consider expanding the position beyond half-time or, alternatively, hiring another person at the administrative level to specialize in fundraising.

REVENUE SOURCES

Internal

1. Dues, presently \$60 per year with special category and multi-year discounts. Dues cannot realistically be raised in near future. Growing the membership is the only viable option.

2. Annual Conference, "home" conferences in the United States have the potential for net revenues of \$10,000 or more in the near future.

3. Miscellaneous activities - some are mentioned in this plan, e.g.: fees from "Speakers Bureau", advertising on website and bulletin. In the past the WHA sold T-shirts, and we will probably try some imaginative promotional sales in the future, but this cannot supply more than a small amount of the funds needed to run a serious professional organization.

4. Individual gifts and bequest from members. In the last two years members have contributed over \$30,000 most of it to support the establishment of the headquarters. Some of this will continue, but the WHA has to look outside for most of the funding for new projects.

External

1. Operating grants and donations to endowment.

The start up operations of the Headquarters has been facilitated by a generous grant from the CES Foundation. We shall pursue more such grants, hence the need for intensified fundraising to locate both public and private foundations as well as internationally minded individuals.

2. Administrative costs from grants for specific projects.

This will be necessary for us to manage any of the big projects. We will approach private foundations and public spirited, internationally minded individuals as well as government agencies and globally oriented companies.

XI. Summary and Conclusion

There is no shortage of things that need to be done to promote world history. We are

well aware that many of these cannot be undertaken without generous external funding and a larger administrative infrastructure. We know the need to prioritize.

Here, in abbreviated form, are our top priorities for the next three years.

Dependent on External Funding

1. Thematic research conferences with publication.
2. More world history teacher institutes or workshops.
3. Travel stipends to bring international scholars to the WHA conference.
4. Graduate and postdoctoral fellowships to increase the production of new, well-trained world historians.

Doable with internal funding

1. Improved membership services with more frequent communication and teaching resources on website.
2. Enlarged and improved annual conferences and assistance to the conferences of regional affiliates.
3. More public outreach through Speakers Bureau and media contacts.
4. More and higher profile prize competitions for teaching, research, and general service to world history, for faculty and students.

This is our road map and wish list for the next three years. By the end of 2006 we envisage a larger, stronger, more efficient, and still enthusiastic WHA that has both surferd and stimulated the groundswell for world history that is an ineluctable part of our globalized future.

Strategic Plan Appendix A

WHA CONSTITUTION and Bylaws

WHA CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

The name of this society shall be the World History Association.

ARTICLE II

The object of the association shall be the promotion of studies of world history through the encouragement of research, teaching, and publication. The association shall promote activities which will increase historical awareness, understanding among and between peoples, and global consciousness. The association will provide help to the teachers of world history and venues for the discussion of both theories

of history and methods of study and teaching.

ARTICLE III

Membership in the association shall be open to any person interested in history upon the payment of one year's dues. Any member whose dues are in arrears shall be dropped from the roll. Members who have been so dropped may be reinstated at any time by the payment in advance of one year's dues. Only members in good standing shall have the right to vote or to hold office in the association. Honorary members of the association maybe elected by the Council, and such honorary members shall be exempt from payment of dues.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1: The elected officers shall be the President, the Vice-president, Secretary, and Treasurer.

SECTION 2: The President shall serve for a two-year term and shall be succeeded by the Vice-president who is the President-elect. It shall be his or her duty to preside at meetings of the Council and at the business meeting and to formulate policies and projects for presentation to the Council to fulfill the chartered obligations and purposes of the association.

SECTION 3: The Vice-president shall be elected for a two-year term, and shall be President-elect. He or she shall be a member of the Council. If the office of President shall, through any cause, become vacant, the President-elect shall thereupon become President.

SECTION 4: The President shall be the chief administrative officer of the association. It shall be his or her duty, under the direction of the Council, to oversee the affairs of the association, to have responsibility for the continuing operations of the association, to supervise the work of its committees, to assist in the formulation of policies and projects for submission to the Council, to execute instructions of the Council, and to perform such other duties as the Council may direct. The President will be responsible for all assets of the association and will sign all contracts approved by the Council.

SECTION 5: The Secretary shall be elected for two years. He or she shall keep minutes of all meetings of the Council and all general meetings. He or she shall be responsible for all publications of the association and the association archive. The Secretary shall be a member of the Council.

SECTION 6: The Treasurer shall be elected for two years. He or she shall be responsible for the collection of dues, disbursement of funds at the direction of the Council, and the rendering

of accounts at the annual meeting. He or she shall be a member of the Council.

ARTICLE V

SECTION 1: There shall be a Council, constituted as follows:

(a) The President, the Vice-president, the Secretary, and the Treasurer

(b) Elected members, nine in number, chosen by ballot in the manner provided in Article VII. These members shall be elected for a term of three years, three to be elected each year, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms. For the first election Council memberships shall be divided into three categories of three positions each. The first category shall serve one year. The second shall serve two years, the third three. At the end of one and two years positions in categories one and two will be for three years.

(c) The immediate past President, who shall serve for a one year term.

(d) The Executive Director shall serve ex-officio and without vote.

SECTION 2: At least two members of the Council shall be secondary school teachers.

SECTION 3: The Council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. The Council shall fix the amount of dues and the date upon which any change of dues becomes effective. It may appoint such committees as it deems necessary. The Council shall call an annual meeting of the association at a place and time it deems appropriate. It shall, if it chooses, constitute meeting for the dissemination and discussion of academic matters other than at the time of and in addition to the annual meeting. It shall report to the membership on its deliberations and actions through the publications of the association and at the business meeting.

SECTION 4: To transact necessary business in the interim between meetings of the Council, there shall be an Executive Committee composed of the President, the vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer. The Executive Director shall serve ex-officio and without vote. The Executive Committee in the conduct of its business shall be subject always to the general direction of the Council. The Executive Council shall have the administrative responsibility for staffing as provided in Article X.

SECTION 5: For the general management of the financial affair of the association, there shall be a Finance Committee composed of the President, Treasurer, and Executive Director

ex-officio and without vote, and not more than three other voting members of the Council elected annually by the Council.

ARTICLE VI

SECTION 1: The Council shall call a business meeting, open to all members of the association in good standing, to convene at the time of the annual meeting.

SECTION 2: The business meeting, by a majority vote, may consider resolutions and deal with proposals concerning the affairs of the association, receive reports of officers and committees, instruct officers and the Council, and exercise any powers not reserved to the Council, Nominating Committee, and elected or appointed officers of the association.

SECTION 3: All measures adopted by the business meeting shall come before the Council for acceptance, nonconcurrence, or veto. If accepted by the Council, they shall be binding on the association.

SECTION 4: The Council may veto, by an absolute majority of its membership, any measure adopted by the business meeting that it believes to be in violation of the association's constitution or which, upon advice of counsel, it judges to be in violation of law. The Council shall publish an explanation for each such veto.

SECTION 5: The Council may vote not to concur in any measure adopted by the business meeting. Within ninety days of the Council meeting following the business meeting, the Council shall publish its opinion of each measure with which it does not concur and submit the measure to a mail ballot of the entire membership. If approved by a majority of the members in the mail ballot, the measure shall be binding on the association.

SECTION 6: The Council may postpone implementation of any measure adopted by the business meeting or approved by mail ballot that in its judgment is financially or administratively unfeasible. The Council shall publish an explanation of each such decision and justify it at the subsequent business meeting.

ARTICLE VII

SECTION 1: The Nominating Committee shall consist of six members, each of whom shall serve a term of three years. Two shall be elected each year by the Council on nomination by the President. The President shall fill by ad interim appointment any vacancy that may occur between annual meetings.

SECTION 2: The Nominating Committee shall nominate every other year, by ballot, candi-

dates for the offices of President, Vice-president, the office of Secretary, the office of Treasurer, and by annual ballot for each position on the Council where a prospective vacancy shall exist. But the Council may, in its bylaws or by resolution, provide for additional nominations to be made by the Nominating Committee for any position where there is a vacancy through death or by resignation of a candidate.

SECTION 3: Nominations may also be made by petitions carrying in each case the signatures of five percent of the membership in good standing or one hundred of the association in good standing, whichever may be less, and indicating in each case the particular vacancy for which the nomination is intended. Nominations by petition must be in the hands of the chairman of the Nominating Committee at least three months before the annual meeting. In distributing the annual ballot by mail to the members of the association, the Nominating Committee shall present and identify such candidates nominated by petition along with its own candidates, having first ascertained that all candidates have consented to stand for election.

SECTION 4: The annual ballot shall be mailed to the full membership of the association at least six weeks before the annual meeting. No vote received after the due date specified on the ballot shall be valid. Election shall be by plurality of the votes cast for each vacancy. The votes shall be counted and checked in such manner as the Nominating Committee shall prescribe and shall then be sealed in a box and deposited in the headquarters of the association, where they shall be kept for at least one year. The results of the election shall be announced at the business meeting and in the publications of the association. In the case of a tie vote, the choice among the tied candidates shall be made by the business meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments to this constitution may be proposed (1) by the Council, (2) by petition to the Council of five percent of the members in good standing or one hundred members in good standing, whichever is less, or (3) by resolution at an annual meeting on a majority affirmative vote of 25 members in good standing.

An amendment so proposed shall be reported to the membership by mail at least six weeks in advance of the subsequent earliest annual business meeting for which such notice is possible, and shall be placed on the agenda of that meeting for discussion and advisory vote. Thereafter, the proposed amendment shall be submitted to the membership of the association, accompanied by summary statements of the pro and con arguments thereon, for

approval or rejection by mail ballot.

ARTICLE IX

The Council may adopt bylaws consistent with the provisions of the constitution, upon any matter of concern to the association.

ARTICLE X

The Council shall appoint for a stipulated time an Executive Director and such staff as the finances and the work of the organization require. Further staffing of the executive offices may be undertaken by the Council at its discretion and with the concurrence of the Executive Committee. Terms and duties of the Executive Director and permanent staff shall be determined by the Council in by-laws.

ARTICLE XI

SECTION 1: In the formal establishment of the World History Association: The Steering Committee elected at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1982, shall constitute the Council until the next meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1983.

SECTION 2: The Steering Committee shall elect a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary for the interim. These officers shall act as the Executive Committee. The Steering Committee shall constitute the Nominating Committee until the annual meeting of the American Historical Association (AHA) in December 1983.

SECTION 3: The interim Executive Committee shall arrange for an annual meeting to be held during the meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1983.

SECTION 4: The Executive Committee shall present this constitution by mail for ratification and shall hold election for officers and Council prior to the December 1983 meeting of the American Historical Association.

SECTION 5: All persons running for office shall agree to run in writing and have all dues paid in full.

ARTICLE XII

Notwithstanding any other provision of these articles, the association shall not carry on any other activities not permitted to be carried on (a) by a corporation exempt from federal income tax under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Internal Revenue Law) or (b) by a corporation, contributions to which are deductible under section 170 (c)(2) of the Internal Revenue

Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Internal Revenue Law).

Upon the dissolution of the association, the Council shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all of the liabilities exclusively for the purposes of the association in such manner, or to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious, or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Internal Revenue Law) as the Board of Trustees shall determine.

AFFILIATE AMENDMENT August 20, 2000

Interested associations may request affiliate status with the World History Association in conformity with such Bylaws and policies as the World History Association may establish. Such affiliate status becomes effective when approved by two-thirds vote of the Executive Council. The World History Association assumes no financial or legal responsibility for the affiliates. Either the World History Association or the affiliate may terminate the affiliation at any time.

END OF WHA CONSTITUTION

BYLAWS FOR WHA AFFILIATES (approved by Executive Council June 1999)

The World History Association welcomes the formation of regional or topically defined world history associations and encourages their affiliation with the World History Association on the following terms:

A letter requesting affiliation must be presented to the Executive Council of the World History Association and accepted by a two-thirds vote.

All affiliates must have constitutions. The purpose of each affiliate and its role in promoting world history, as defined in its constitution, must conform to Article II of the Constitution of the World History Association. The membership and leadership structure of each affiliate must include secondary school teachers as well as teachers and scholars from institutions of higher learning, as does the World History Association (Constitution, Article V, section 2).

All affiliates must have clearly defined geographical or topical boundaries and must not be geographically competitive with each other.

In the request for affiliation, each affiliate must explain and defend its boundaries as appropriate and different from the boundaries of other affiliates. Associations requesting affiliation must submit statements of support from neighboring affiliates with their requests for affiliation, or at least must demonstrate that they made timely requests for such statements of support.

Affiliates formed in the USA are responsible for establishing and maintaining their tax-exempt status at federal and state levels.

An affiliate must have an established membership and it must have its own elected officers, consisting at a minimum of a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer in order to request affiliation.

While affiliates are autonomous and self-governing, affiliation carries the obligation to maintain cooperative and positive relations with the World History Association. To facilitate doing so, each affiliate will have a representative on a council of affiliates, which will have the power to make recommendation to the Executive Council of the World History Association.

The president of the World History Association has the power, from time to time as needed, to review the status of the affiliates collectively or individually and to revise procedures for affiliation. Decisions on these matters will be subject to approval by majority vote in the Executive Council.

END OF AFFILIATE BYLAWS

FINANCIAL PROCEDURES (APPROVED 2001)

PREAMBLE

These regulations are subordinate to the WHA Constitution, which contains provisions on financial matters as follows:

* The President (Art. IV, sect. 4) oversees the affairs of the association and has responsibility for its continuing operations; the President will be responsible for all assets of the association and will sign all contracts approved by the Council.

* The Treasurer (Art. IV, sect. 6) is responsible for the collection of dues, the disbursement of funds at the direction of the Executive Council, and the rendering of accounts at the annual meeting.

* The Executive Council (Art. V, sect. 3) conducts the business, manages the property, and cares for the general interests of the associa-

tion; the council fixes the amount of the dues and the date on which any change of dues becomes effective.

* The Executive Council (Art. VI, sect. 6) also has the authority to postpone implementation of any measure adopted by the business meeting or approved by mail ballot that in its judgment is financially or administratively unfeasible; the Council must publish an explanation of any such action at its next meeting.

* The Finance Committee (Art. V, sect. 5) consists of the President, treasurer, and Executive Director (ex officio without vote), and no more than three other members of the Executive Council, elected annually by the Council. The Constitution does not elaborate the functions of the Finance Committee.

Interpreting these provisions all together:

* The President deals with financial matters as part of the overall business of the WHA, leads in defining financial policy, delegates financial detail work to the Treasurer, works with the Finance Committee on financial policy when the Executive Council is not in session, and brings matters of financial policy before the Executive Council for discussion and vote as needed.

* The Treasurer collects the dues, keeps the accounts, and does the detail work on WHA finance, including reports and tax returns.

* The Executive Council has general oversight of WHA finances and votes to approve financial reports and policies.

* The Finance Committee works with the President and treasurer on financial policy matters when the Executive Council is not in session.

PROCEDURES

1. Every year by 1 December, the Treasurer will prepare the budget for the coming year, based on the experience of the preceding year and projections for the coming year. In preparing the budget, the Treasurer will consult with the President and seek input in advance from other officers, members of the Executive Council, and committee chairs about budgetary needs and priorities.

2. The Treasurer will produce and make available monthly statements and an annual budget. Both the accounts and the budget will distinguish the different categories of WHA funds (dues, WHA Fund, grants) and show the balance of receipts and disbursements separately by funding category.

3. The Treasurer will make sure that all reports and forms required by federal and state authorities are scheduled, produced, and submitted on a timely basis.

4. The Treasurer will work together with project officers in charge of grant-funded projects to ensure that accounts are rendered to granting agencies by the dates they require. The Treasurer will work together with the accountant and bookkeeper to make sure that reports required by granting agencies or by federal and state authorities are scheduled, produced, and submitted on a timely basis.

5. The Treasurer is responsible for maintaining the integrity of the different categories of funds—dues income, WHA Fund, individual funded projects—in such a way that payments are made only out of funds of the appropriate category. Funds of a given category are to be used only for their appointed purposes and not transferred for purposes of cash management or short-term expediency, even temporarily, among sub-accounts or projects. The Treasurer may approve a payment or transfer from one category of funds to another, subject to the additional approval requirements in item 7 below, to meet a specific, legitimate obligation. The Treasurer must receive supporting documentation for any such transaction, and it must be shown on the accounts with matching debits and credits. Requests for any such transfer must originate from the person responsible for the fund or project.

6. Directors of grant-funded projects are responsible for securing grant funds for project expenses before those expenses have to be paid and for timely submission of reports required by granting agencies. In the event that funds are not received in time, exceptions may be granted by the President in consultation with the Treasurer.

7. All expenditures of WHA funds above \$500 require the Treasurer and the Executive Director's signature and the approval of the President.

8. Specific, serially numbered forms will be used to generate payments. The form must include a clear indication of the sub-account or project against which the payment is to be debited as well as all other information needed to complete the payment. Requests for payment must be submitted and paid in a timely manner. Payment requests must be accompanied by the original receipt or invoice (not a photocopy); the Treasurer will permit no exceptions on this point without clear demonstration that duplicate payment is not being claimed elsewhere.

9. Specific flows will be set up to expedite the financial administration of grant-funded proj-

ects, to maximize efficiency and cut down on the number of people involved.

10. WHA officers whose responsibilities include purchasing of goods or services on behalf of WHA or projects undertaken under its auspices will take steps, before placing orders, to set up accounts and arrange for the treasurer to be billed directly.

11. The President, Vice President, Treasurer, and Executive Director are authorized to hold WHA credit cards for the duration of their service in those offices and to use them exclusively for official WHA business, and only when other modes of payment are not possible.

12. The Treasurer will receive and process dues payments.

13. The Finance Committee will establish procedures to solicit proposals for projects to fund out of the WHA annual account and to select the projects to be funded.

14. The Treasurer is the custodian of the WHA Financial records, past and present, and will keep them updated.

END OF FINANCIAL PROCEDURES

Strategic Plan Appendix B WHA COMMITTEES

Book Prize Committee

Committee on Affiliates

Committee on Committees

Conferences Committee

Conference Program Committee

Education Task Force/Teaching Committee

Endowment Committee

Finance Committee

Fundraising Committee

Grants Committee

Media Committee

Membership Committee

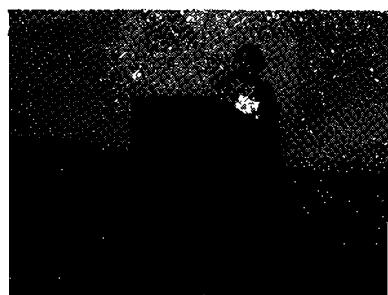
Nominating Committee

Research and Graduate Studies Committee

Student Paper Prize Committee

Teaching Prize Committee

Technology Committee



Minutes of the June 26, 2003 Meeting of the Executive Council

Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia

Attendees: Ralph Croizier (President), David Northrup (VP), Roger Beck (Treasurer), Jacqueline Swansinger (Secretary), Kicko Matteson (Executive Director), Executive Council members Bob Bain, Deborah Smith Johnston, Ane Lintvedt, Kenneth Pomeranz, Howard Spodek, Robert Strayer, Susan Douglass, Stephen Gosch, Anand Yang.

Also attending: David Christian (Strategic Planning Committee), Jerry Bentley (*JWH*), Heidi Roupp (Strategic Planning Committee & Teaching Committee), Alan Lebaron (Affiliates Committee), Al Andrea (Membership Committee & Strategic Planning Committee), Micheal Tarver (*Bulletin*), Patrick Manning, Steve Rapp.

Executive Council session opened with welcoming remarks from Professor Steve Rapp, the local conference organizer and representative for Georgia State University. He also handed out relevant information (maps, schedules and folders) to the Council members.

Report from Alan LeBaron – Affiliates and their status – separate meeting to be held June 26, 2003 at 7:00 pm.

Professor LeBaron is the chair of the Affiliates Committee. First created in 1997, its first official function was to inform the Executive Council in January of 1998 on the condition of the affiliates. The original premise was for the committee to be a liaison between the WHA and the affiliates. Communication is a key part of this function. The committee was also meant to be an aid for start up, offer advice as affiliates matured, and in the long run serve to strengthen membership in the WHA.

Affiliates were not originally listed in the World History Association's constitution; therefore it became imperative to add them to

that document. Affiliates were added and this amendment helped define their relationship to the parent organization. Beyond this first administrative reform, no specific change has followed. Canada and the Northwest have some people, but not a real organization. California has a spokesperson, but there is not an affiliate. In Ohio, Tim Connell is their spokesperson, but they have not met. Europe has some activity. Australasia had a couple of years of activity, but messages have been returned for over a year. Their chair, David Christian, moved to the United States and the regional lost its most active member.

Developing an affiliate is difficult and requires more than one person to keep it going. Experience in the Northwest shows failure is often associated with depending upon one person. That person becomes tired and thus loses impetus. What can the center do to help affiliates? Should it be a matter of money?

Organizational structure still exists in the New England area, but they have not been active lately. Rocky Mountain has also fallen apart since Heidi Roupp has moved to more international activities. At the present time, there are only three active sites, Southeast, Texas and Mid-Atlantic.

The loose structure of the affiliates enables members to create their own connection to the World History Association; however, it also means that each regional creates individual ideas rather than a replicable organizational format. President Crozier confirmed that the affiliates have suffered from some inattention due to this administration's commitment to reorganize headquarters, but that it is now time to move this issue to center stage. What issues are important to the WHA in regards to affiliates, and what concerns do affiliates have?

The discussion that followed ranged widely. What is the nature of the relationship between the affiliates and the WHA? The Strategic Plan suggests two ways to help: the speakers' bureau; and setting up special topic mini-conferences or teacher training sessions that would appeal to local membership.

Perhaps constitutional procedures could be simplified, so as to make the rules simpler. Beef up affiliates; use the people already on the ground to develop two or three day in-service days. Centralize and collect information to help get speaker's around the WHA to join in helping out the group.

Motion to approve minutes from the Executive Council meeting in Chicago made by Ane Lindtvedt, seconded by Howard Spodek, and carried unanimously.

President's Opening Remarks:

The Strategic Plan will address many of the points raised in the affiliates discussion. The last 3 or 4 years have been devoted to developing the administrative center of the WHA. This will continue to be a concern, but will be less dominant and we can now begin to move on to other matters. The WHA needs to increase its contact with the grass roots and more effort will be needed to accomplish this aim. Dynamic and collaborative synthesis between the new central administration and the committees is vital to the success of future projects. It is essential that the volunteer spirit of the WHA continue.

Treasurer's Report:

Roger Beck distributed three sheets of information: the May 2003 income statement, a list of restricted funds, and a monthly balance to date. Discussion ensued.

President Crozier indicated that he was comfortable with these numbers but expressed the need for continued prudence. At the present time, there are no emergencies facing the organization, however, caution is necessary when planning for future spending and revenue enhancement. Additional discussion followed on the possibility of renaming the restricted funds.

Howard Spodek asked for more information regarding budget and cash flow. Executive Director Kieko Matteson distributed the most recent Finance Committee report (emailed in March 2003) to the Council.

Al Andrea made a motion to accept the report; it was seconded by Howard Spodek, and passed unanimously.

Executive Director's Report:

Accomplishments and Challenges since January – The 2003 annual conference is indeed enhancing revenue. Presently, receipts run at approximately \$24,000; this total will grow before the end of the conference. The break down includes \$13,000 in registration fees, and \$19,000 in books and program ads. Cost is coming in at \$27,000 but Georgia State University contributed about \$12,000. In the future, this format will need to be examined more carefully, since without the generosity of our host institution, we would not be making a profit. The central office has calculated costs in two ways: one that includes all the office support (\$14,000), and without office support, the cost is closer to \$9,000. The income from the conference is likely to exceed \$10,000. These are estimates proffered as the conference begins. Over the course of the week, these numbers will solidify.

Headquarters is presently working on developing public relations and outreach. Jenna Dearth, the HQ assistant, has updated every page of the web site, but fundamental changes are happening much more slowly. The WHA needs to increase its outreach to other organizations such as: AHA, H-World, The Historical Society, and NCSS. HQ has exchanged mailing labels with NCSS in order to reach out to more teachers.

On-going improvements being made to the *Bulletin* include printing and mailing. HQ is also embarking on efforts to improve committee reporting by creating standardized formats and other efficiencies. The next step is to establish what each committee does and develop committee manuals. Additionally, an ongoing effort to move financial matters to HQ is underway, beginning with a search for an accountant who understands the difficulties of working in a web community. Financial planning and workshops to support and facilitate this effort are ongoing.

Challenges: The largest challenge arises from the incredible volume of work accomplished by volunteers within the WHA. This system has made the WHA what it is, but no established structures exist. Each volunteer has completed his or her assignment without leaving a formal record or set of procedures, leaving each accomplishment to be deciphered by the new HQ.

Membership Database - grant money was used to hire a person to make a database. The database is complete, but it took a year. We received the completed version in November, but since January we have not been able to contact the consultant to make critical adjustments to adapt the database to our needs. Much to our dismay, we are going to have to start over, as the product that the database consultant created is not usable. In the meantime, Roger Beck has been keeping track of membership and we will use his information until a new database is created.

WHA has not followed GAAP (generally accepted accounting practices), in the past and we now need to sort matters out quickly and efficiently. We have not yet moved actively on fundraising, and we need to do this.

Goals: To move accounting functions to Hawaii, improve the web site (make it more aesthetically pleasing, introduce new links like opportunity to purchase books that have won book prize, with commission accruing to WHA), develop new logo and aesthetic for the organization, expand and improve public relations, complete the membership database, develop procedures manuals.

Question asked: What is it that we are doing that keeps us short of GAAP? Need to reincorporate in the state of Hawaii, need to examine the bylaws (through a lawyer), re-file with the IRS, and other small items. We currently keep our books with Quicken, which is good. We will continue to do this when we transfer the accounting to Hawai'i. On the whole it involves attention to a number of small procedures rather than changing the whole process.

A motion expressing the appreciation of the Executive Council for the work performed by Kieko and Jenna at the HQ was made by David Northrup, Roger Beck seconded, carried unanimously. (Applause)

The effort expended to clean up the committee reports, to develop a clearer financial picture, and the work of the Executive Council to simplify conference planning has created a smoother process to administer the organization and will allow the Council to focus on the future.

Strategic Plan

Ralph Croizier introduced the Strategic Plan by stating that the original impulse was to enable the WHA to actively solicit money, but in the long run, the plan internalizes the direction towards which the WHA chooses to plan. The committee began with the mission and vision statements. Ane raised the issue of whether or not we wanted to add "at all levels" to the mission statement of the document, in regards to supporting world history "at all levels". After discussion, a motion to add the phrase was forwarded by Jacky Swansinger, seconded by Susan Douglass, carried unanimously.

No discussion on Vision Statement portion of the Strategic Plan.

The Plan will be adjusted to reflect the motion and distributed via email for Exec. Council review and vote in July.

Membership Committee

Discussion focused on the responsibilities, and actions of the Membership Committee as well as the nature of its relationship to the Executive Council. Although the issues were not resolved, it was decided that the conversation should recur and be settled in the near future. Additionally, discussion ensued regarding the best way to achieve clarity and what process might be followed. Presently, this is not defined in the Constitution but it definitely needs to be addressed and spelled out.

Motion 1: "Colleagues Helping Colleagues" – Insofar as the cost of \$60 for an annual WHA

membership is beyond the means of many colleagues OUTSIDE of the UNITED STATES and CANADA, the WHA institute a program whereby members can elect to donate \$50 (sic) to pay for a one-year membership for a colleague from abroad who otherwise could not afford membership. This program shall be known as COLLEAGUES HELPING COLLEAGUES.

Discussion: Is this a designated individual membership, or would it be a general fund meant to help colleagues from other countries? This motion is a result of a colleague from Gambia who could not afford to pay for this membership. Al Andrea did some research, found similar programs in other places, and thought perhaps the WHA would be willing to encourage this kind of program whereby we could sponsor a foreign visitor or colleague. Andrea suggests funds would be allocated anonymously, not just through sponsorship.

Discussion raised issues of bureaucracy, publicity, and whether or not this was the best use of those monies. Further discussion tried to develop mechanisms to identify colleagues to be sponsored, or to qualify for sponsorship. David Northrup made a motion to table the proposal, Bob Bain seconded it, passed by a majority. The issue will be raised again in January.

Motion 2: WHA members may elect to pay the fee of \$1200 for a lifetime membership over three years at \$400 per annum.

Second motion proposed by membership committee would allow members to pay for a lifetime membership (\$1200) in \$400 payments for three years, seconded by Ane Lindtvedt, called by Deb Johnson, carried unanimously.

Motion 3: In order to support summer world history institutes and to increase the WHA's membership rolls, it is moved that the Membership Committee and the Office of the Executive Director are empowered each year, until further notice by the Executive Council, to offer the following special membership rates to summer world history institute participants: New members who would normally pay \$60 shall be charged \$50 for their initial year. "New professionals," who would normally pay \$45, will be charged \$35 for their initial year.

Persons who are current members may renew for the following year with a discount of \$10. To qualify for this special rate, all new and renewed memberships must be postmarked no later than the Tuesday following Labor Day. Information for the Executive Council: A somewhat similar reduced dues incentive was offered to summer institute participants last year and 35 availed themselves of the offer. Currently 10 of these have renewed for 2004.

To avoid confusion on the part of an over-worked Treasurer, a special application/renewal form will be sent to institute coordinators and this form and only this form is to be used by those taking advantage of this offer. The same protocol was followed last year."

Discussion and questions – how do we send the information to various institutes? Would HQ be a clearinghouse for a list of all the AP institutes that are offered every summer? At present, HQ has had a very difficult time obtaining information regarding the AP institutes, including where they take place, who is teaching, who is taking, and how many are served. Greater assistance from the Teaching Committee's assistance in this regard would be appreciated. Motion was approved.

Publications, part I

Jerry Bentley reported on the *Journal of World History*. It has now begun publishing quarterly; first issue is in the mail, no other changes at this time. There was no discussion.

Micheal Tarver reported on the *Bulletin*. The Strategic Plan is very vague and loose in describing it, appropriate since organization is not at all sure about what is going to happen to this medium. Micheal asked a few specific questions: whether or not we should keep the cellophane wrapper on the *Bulletin*, given that there is low extra cost. Council agreed.

Any effort to improve or expand communication with the membership will require either more email or snail mail. Council discussed pros and cons of each choice. The Council recommended that the *Bulletin* use three different methodologies for contact: the web, email, and hard copy. WHA is going to experiment with different ways of improving our communication with members. (This was a specific reference to the Strategic Plan)

Relations with proposed Teaching Journal
Discussion – Question was raised by Council regarding whether mention of the anticipated e-journal, "World History Connected: The E-Journal of Learning and Teaching," [WHConnected] should be included in the Strategic Plan if it is not a WHA publication. Discussion ensued over the current nature of the relationship between the WHA and the proposed WHConnected. A Council member suggested that because there have been changes regarding WHConnected's institutional home, editorial oversight, funding, etc, since the Strategic Plan was drafted, an amendment to the Plan might be in order. An amendment was suggested but not seconded as a motion. Roupp noted that she would provide more information to the Executive Council by the end of July/early August. With that informa-

tion in hand, at that time, the Council will be able to vote on the *WHConnected*'s earlier request (January 2003) for formal WHA endorsement. The second part of the discussion involved the decision made by the board of *WHConnected* at its August meeting to ask individuals from the NCSS, NCHE, and WHA to serve on the journal's proposed editorial board. In this regard, *WHConnected* asked David Northrup to serve on its editorial board *ex officio* as President-elect of the WHA. However, no formal motion was made to the Council on this question. The issue of whether all subsequent WHA Presidents would serve on the e-journal's board remains to be clarified.

Publications, part II

Pamphlets – The Council discussed idea of world history pamphlets. Key question was whether or not to make the product more or less ambitious than the initial concept. The discussion led to a motion to table the idea for now; President Croizier asked for the concept to be kept as described in the Strategic Plan.

Books and Monographs – Discussion centered on how to improve the publication rates of world history books. The discussion was not conclusive.

Website – Discussion of how to make proprietary pages access available only to members, possibly with password access, that could be set up on email or separate site. The web page discussion that followed was clearly a wish list, not goals. An improved website might offer: proprietary or members-only pages, and public access pages for WHA sponsored events. This led to discussion on advantages of joining WHA. One of the key advantages was the chance to connect to representatives of World History, as researchers, teachers and public advocates.

Annual conference

Council agreed that stronger language is needed in proposals to strengthen our encouragement of international conferences. The present language is too vague. Could scholarship be used to strengthen the commitment? The WHA needs to seek reimbursement for international scholars who do not have access to travel funds. VP Northrup has asserted that internationalization is insufficiently addressed in the Strategic Plan.

Teaching

The WHA has not recently addressed national or state standards. The Council suggested that this should be done in conjunction with other groups. Possibilities: work with other professional teaching groups; conversations across the disciplines; contact American historians to

work in contextualizing America and the world.

The dissemination of teaching models to meet the proliferation of world history courses is a serious challenge. The lack of high school textbooks is a very real concern for teachers, for states, and for schools.

Research

Council discussed post-graduate training and funding. WHA needs to explore how to train more graduate students. SSRC, ACLS, and outside funding will be among the earliest priorities, as WHA seeks to expand research opportunities. There is a need for some group initiatives to develop graduate studies in world history.

Is there a role for public world history? Discussion should be initiated on how the WHA defines research and its own relationship to the "real world".

A transitional phase could be set up by asking ACLS, SRCC, etc to fund WHA recognition of the seminal works of senior scholars.

Internationalization

Promoting international memberships should be a part of the WHA's Strategic Plan. Discussion centered on whether or not this effort should be housed under the category of membership or kept under internationalization. Suggestions were made to exchange mailing labels with German and Japanese affiliates or groups. Further questions were raised regarding the lack of diversity within the organization, addressing both race and gender. The vision statement needs to clearly identify diversity as a goal of the WHA.

Public Outreach

Council agreed that the issue of public interest in the Strategic Plan should be strengthened, particularly in regards to the constituents of the WHA. Additionally, the WHA's role as advocate to members, the public and society at large should be more clearly defined.

Administrative Infrastructure

Fund raising is likely to be a real concern both for the immediate and long-term future. Whether or not we move to a professional fundraiser is a question for the very near future. There is no doubt that the WHA needs funds and the means to obtain them.

The Council recommended that the paragraph beginning with "the nature and responsibilities..." to end of paragraph should be deleted (refers to administrative infrastructure). First

sentence of the next paragraph, and begin next sentence with "ambitious new projects will require more money and time."

Post-graduate or graduate student support should be added to the external funding categories.

2005 WHA Conference

The discussion over the 2005 conference was lively. It will be held in the 3rd week of June 2005. The arguments against going to South Africa include the cost – it will be expensive and therefore we cannot guarantee a large attendance. It is possible that some members will feel excluded; perhaps an attempt to compensate would be to beef up a regional conference in order to facilitate travel for some. The arguments in favor – great place to go, takes us out of developed world, on going contacts thus more likely to be follow up. Although it is expensive to get there, living costs are cheap.

Special discount round trip fares of about \$690.00 were reported for going to South Africa from New York. As a rule of thumb, consolidators indicate \$700-\$1200 as their range. Typical individual fares are listed from \$1200 to \$1400 per person round trip. Without developing a group discount, it will be difficult to lower the cost.

There exists a dorm area available for a cost of \$30 a night in the waterfront section of the university. The business school rebuilt and modernized a prison and turned it into dorms. Some attendees argued that it would be necessary to obtain a Fulbright travel grant in order to take the group to the region.

Deb Johnston offered the motion to vote in favor of South Africa, seconded by Susan Douglass, the council voted to accept the invitation from the South Africa Historical Association for a conference in June 2005.

Motion to adjourn offered by Ane Lindtvedt, seconded by Deb Johnston, meeting concluded at 5:45 pm.

Congratulations to the 2003 World History Association Book Award winner - Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*, (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Business Meeting of the World History Association, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, June 28, 2003

To be voted on at the next Business Meeting of the WHA, scheduled to take place at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, 5:00-6:00 p.m., Friday, January 9, 2004, at the McKinley Room of the Marriott Wardman Park in Washington, D.C.

Minutes

Preceded by banquet lunch.

Ralph Croizier, WHA President: introductory remarks.

I. Business Meeting minutes approved from Chicago meeting (two negative votes), rest overwhelmingly approved.

II. Treasurer's Report-Roger Beck

-hopes to raise money to implement the strategic plan.

-raised \$25,000 for executive director over the last three years. Now have two part-time employees: Executive Director and Secretary.

-Balances: \$86,000 at start of 2003. Includes \$20,000 in Executive Director Fund.

-As of May 1, we now have \$373 left in Exec Director fund.

-We will earn something like \$10,000 from conference.

-Endowment Fund: \$20,279 as of May 1. This is in a Vanguard Fund. Treasurer is pleased with interest earnings. Calls for donations to this fund, which is for long-term projects, speakers, etc.

-Annual Fund: approx. \$3200 as of May 1. For prizes: books, student essay, etc. (WHA will award \$1000 during today's meeting). Calls for donations to this fund as well.

-More than 90% revenue comes from member dues. Please encourage others to join. 1200 now; goal: 1400, then 2000.

-Looking for new grant funding also important.

III. Executive Director Report—Kieko Matteson

-Big thank you for making conference a success to: Program Committee: David Northrup, Adam McKeown, Steve Rapp; also to the GSU Local Organizing Committee headed by Prof. Rapp.

-Call for folks to peruse the offerings at the book exhibit.

-Report on the WHA headquarters: setting up office time consuming and challenging. So far, focus has been on:

--increasing revenue through things like book exhibit and advertising in the conference program and biannual *Bulletin*.

--striving for better PR and outreach: improving website, stronger ties to sister organiza-

tions, including AHA, OAH, H-World, etc.

-- hope to begin reaching out to high school teachers, community colleges, etc.

-- praise for Jenna Dearth, new secretary. Wonderful.

-- GOALS: improvements in member services and communications.

-- improvements in website and database

-- better fundraising, grant writing

-- call for suggestions

IV. Dorothea Martin, President, Southeast affiliate of the World History Association (SEWHA)

-calls for regional folks to join SEWHA. Promises it will be stimulating. For a rock-bottom fee of only \$10/year, you will have the opportunity to attend ongoing SEWHA meetings. Next meeting will be in Huntsville, Alabama in September 2004. Join now, and receive membership for the rest of 2003, plus all of 2004!

-This year's SEWHA meeting is held in conjunction with WHA conference here in Atlanta.

Related remarks by Ralph Croizier on affiliates and WHA conferences:

-Most affiliates not terribly active. Praises SEWHA for its productivity.

-WHA will soon release a how-to bulletin on setting up a regional affiliate.

-280 attending conference. Largest ever.

-hopes to have an even bigger conference turnout at George Mason University in Washington, D.C. area next year.

V. Awards: Deborah Smith Johnston & Ralph Croizier

Teaching prize: co-winners: Linda Black and Jessica Young.

-review of purpose: to reward the use of current research in world history into classroom lesson plans.

-Jessica Young: race, labor, & identity. "What Makes World History World History." Teaches world and European history in Illinois.

-Linda Black: economic role of women in world history. Teacher in Texas, nationally recognized. Works on statewide exam and textbook committees in Texas. PhD program in TX A&M. Curriculum relies on primary sources, works toward AP exam.

-Ralph bestows on both a certificate, check for \$250, and WHA anniversary button.

Book prize winner: Lauren Benton

-Presented by Croizier.

-Note: new chair of prize committee is Gregory Blue of the University of Victoria. Many thanks to David Chappell of the University of Hawai'i for his long service.

-Competition for the Book Prize is regularly increasing

-This year's winner: Lauren Benton, for *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in*

World History 1400-1900 (Cambridge University Press, 2002). This work focuses on the legal shaping of the imperial order. Challenges political economic analysis of world history. Benton's study spans the globe and makes innovative connections. One reviewer noted that it is one of the best works so far in the field of legal pluralism.

Lauren Benton remarks: Thanks to WHA for providing a community of scholars for world historians. Published some early material in the *Journal of World History*. Offers amusing anecdote about news of the award making it into her hometown paper, the *Newark Star Ledger*.

Misc. Croizier remarks: Hopes to reach out beyond the Academy.

VI. Strategic Plan

-report from LAX airport hotel retreat.

-hopes to have official version up on the website in a month or so.

-Need for strategic plan: need to formulate agenda for funding agencies. Need to decide on priorities. Need to decide how to deploy machinery of the new central office.

-hopes to have heard from many voices.

Eleven Points:

Defining mission and vision

Membership: increasing and sustaining. Improving membership services.

Publications: improving the *Journal* and the *Bulletin*. Also consideration of future publications, including a pamphlet series, monographs, and a proposed electronic (web-based) teaching journal. The latter will be an independent but one in which the WHA has a great deal of interest

Website: Better but still needs help. Has to be and will be improved

Conference: policy has been evolving over the past few years—going abroad one year out of three.

Teaching: some concrete and specific suggestions of what the WHA might do with its own resources and if it had larger resources available. These are underway.

Research: common lament is that universities aren't doing enough to train in world history at university level. NEH has done some rectifying of that at secondary level but WHA would like to move into aiding at the university level. A new research committee will be headed by Jerry Bentley.

Internationalization: Includes proposed "Colleagues helping Colleagues program"—we want to come up with a program whereby our members can aid with paying the membership of international members. Also, money to help bring more international scholars to our conferences.

Public Outreach: Speakers Bureau is one of the ideas in the Strategic Plan; also a public writ

ers bureau to reach broader readership and audience for world history

Administration and Funding: Financial picture for next few years is in good shape. But we will run a deficit of possibly \$20,000. There are reserves to carry us at the present level but our breathing space is short. We should and will be going outside to funding agencies to fund programs and projects as outlined in our Strategic Plan. For this, we are creating another committee: Fundraising Committee—this will be headed by Kieko Matteson.

Summary and Conclusion: There are lots of ideas in the Strategic Plan. It's not that we expect in the next three years that we will do them all, but it is a wish list. Hard to know who will fund what. This is a multifaceted and multi-constituent organization and that is one reason why this plan is so long. Nonetheless, we have to prioritize. As it stands right now, here are our top priorities for the next three years: Thematic research publications; post docs in world history; more world history teacher institutes and workshops; travel stipends to bring more foreign scholars to WHA conferences

Doable with internal funding: improved membership services; enlarged and improved annual conferences and assistance to the regional affiliates conference; more public outreach; more and higher profile prize competitions for teaching and research; faculty and students.

Crozier continues:

Concerns: what makes the WHA worthwhile is that it is an association of people who want to be here, not because they have to. There will always be a certain tension between teaching and research. Difficult to meet all the constituencies—this is one of the things that make running the WHA so interesting and challenging!

Also wants to raise two bogeymen:

Specter of the new American imperial mission. Our international "foreign" affiliates are going to be independent and autonomous affiliates, and should be. Not branch companies of the American empire; we should be encouraging the formation of independent world history organizations around the world

People feel the WHA should not be politicized. However, there is a political dimension to the WHA. So much of the funding and setting of standards and curriculum development at the state and national level has a political dimension to it. Are we politicized if we step into issues that affect our teaching? I don't think so.

The WHA is 21 now. Of legal age and maturity! Maturity has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Advantages are the administrative machinery—its headquarters. The youthful spirit of the WHA is often praised and compared to organizations like the AHA. We must keep it that way and rejuvenate it. We need

younger people and more diversity so as to keep expanding.

Reminders:

2004 WHA conference at George Mason University in Fairfax Virginia

2005 WHA conference in Capetown, South Africa with the South African Historical Society.

Remarks from the audience:

David Northrup thanked Steve Rapp once again for his efforts with the program committee as well as with the local organizing of the conference.

Al Andrea, Membership Committee announces expansion of the membership committee

Tim Connell, Nominating Committee announces current status of the nominations.

David Kalivas, editor of H-World, takes this opportunity to Pat Manning for his nearly ten years of steadfastly editing H-World

Pat Manning in turn thanked Dan Seagal and Ken Pomeranz, as well, for their work with H-World.

Steve Rapp thanks the members of his local arrangements committee, A. Katie Harries, Donald Reid, Fahkri Haghani, Marc Gilbert, and Alan Lebaron as well his graduate student volunteers.



*Remember
to Renew
Your 2004
WHA
Membership*

Congratulations to the 2003 Teaching Prize co-winners: Linda Black (economic role of women in world history) and Jessica Young (race, labor, & identity).

**"World History:
The Next Ten Years"**

Research, Teaching, and Graduate Education

March 12-14, 2004

John Hancock Hotel and Conference Center, Boston

Co-sponsors: World History Center, Northeastern University and The World History Association

This conference gathers world history practitioners to review the past ten years of growth in this field and to identify the approaches that will enable world history to become a substantially grounded, well funded, and intellectually exciting field of research and teaching. The conference focuses on programs of graduate education, current research in world history, and institutional support for research and teaching.

Conference organizers seek proposals for papers and roundtable sessions on all aspects of teaching, research, and institutional growth for world history.

For information -- proposals, housing, funding, schedule -- contact conference director Parker James: 617-373-4060, p.james@neu.edu. Or visit the conference website, <http://www.whc.neu.edu/NextTenYears>



Call for Papers
2004 World History Association Annual Meeting
George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, June 17-20, 2004

The 2004 WHA Program Committee invites proposals for papers, panels, presentations, roundtables, and multi-person workshops on topics related to the scholarly and/or pedagogical aspects of one of the three themes described below. Proposals outside these themes will also be considered. The 2004 Program Committee encourages panels and presenters from all over the world and from all racial and ethnic groups.

Submission deadline: February 1, 2004

Conference Themes: 1. Globalizing Social History; 2. Empires before 1500; 3. Diasporas in World History

Guidelines:

All sessions are ninety (90) minutes long. Panel organizers should divide the time for presentations and comments proportionately among the panelists, allowing at least 15 minutes for audience response.

Where possible, panel organizers should attempt to assemble panelists from a range of institutions, regions, and professional/academic levels.

The Program Committee may accept, reject, alter panel proposals, or assign presenters to other panels should the individual papers of a panel lack thematic unity.

Papers submitted individually will be grouped into panels by the Program Committee and a chair will be assigned. Please contact the chair directly regarding the time allotted for your paper and other organizational matters.

No individual may present more than one paper nor appear in any capacity on more than two panels/presentations.

Panel proposals consisting entirely of graduate students may be strengthened by a letter of support from a faculty member familiar with the students' work.

To facilitate the Program Committee's work, please indicate on your individual submission form whether you are willing to act as chair or discussant for another session.

The Program Committee will make its best effort to accommodate scheduling requests, however, it is not possible to guarantee any presenter or panel a specific date or time.

All proposals must be accompanied by the appropriate submission form(s).

In the case of proposals of equal merit, preference for acceptance will be given to:

- Proposals that address a conference theme
- WHA members in good standing

In the event a program participant is forced to withdraw, he/she should notify the panel Chair as soon as possible and locate a suitable replacement.

All program participants (paper presenters, chairs, and discussants) must pre-register for the conference by May 1, 2004. Program participants who have not pre-registered by this date will not be listed in the printed program and the panel Chair or Program Committee will seek a replacement. Pre-registration information will be posted by February 2004 at the WHA's website: <http://www.thewha.org>

Notification:

Once the Committee has finalized the program, all persons who have submitted proposals will be notified via e-mail of the Committee's decisions. Panel organizers are responsible for notifying the individual members of their panel of the Program Committee's decision. If you require a hard copy of your acceptance letter to secure funding or obtain visa approval, please let the Program Committee know as soon as possible, preferably with your original proposal submission.

The Program Committee will make every attempt to inform panelists of their scheduled appearance time and date at the time of initial notification.

If you have not received an official e-mail or letter by April 15, please contact the Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Department of History, Sakamaki Hall A203, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.); tel: (808) 956-7688; email: thewha@hawaii.edu. Questions regarding the Call for Papers should be addressed to the Committee Chair (listed below).

2004 WHA Program Committee:

Chair: Joel E. Tishken, Columbus State University, Georgia, <Tishken_Joel@colstate.edu>

Sharon Cohen, Springbrook High School, Maryland, <Sharon_C._Cohen@fc.mcps.k12.md.us>

Adam McKeown, Columbia University, <amku2009@columbia.edu>

**Cover Sheet for Submission of Panel Proposals for the
World History Association 13th Annual Meeting**
George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, June 17-20, 2004

Submission Deadline: February 1, 2004

I. Be sure to read the Call for Papers and Submission Guidelines first to ensure that you have fulfilled all requirements.

II. Panel proposals must include:

This cover sheet

An individual proposal for each paper (use individual paper submission form)

Individual c.v.s of no more than two pages for each member of the panel

III. Please submit your complete panel proposal electronically in one (1) email, with all relevant items attached as MSWord documents, to thewha@hawaii.edu. Items sent individually will be treated as individual paper submissions or discarded. Mark the subject header of your email "WHA 2004 Panel Proposal."

Hardcopy submissions will be accepted if electronic submission is impossible. Mail to: WHA 2004 Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Department of History, Sakamaki Hall A203, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.) For more conference information, visit the WHA website: <http://www.thewha.org>

Panel Title:

Conference Theme this panel will address:

Organizer's Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address:

Email Address:

Chair's Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address:

Email Address:

Discussant's Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address:

Email Address:

Panelist 1 Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address:

Email Address:

Panelist 2 Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address:

Email Address:

Panelist 3 Name:

Institutional Affiliation (if any):

Mailing Address:

Email Address:

**Cover Sheet for Submission of Individual Paper Proposals for the
World History Association 13th Annual Meeting
George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, June 17-20, 2004**

Submission Deadline: February 1, 2004

I. Be sure to read the Call for Papers and Submission Guidelines first to ensure that you have fulfilled all requirements.

II. Individual paper proposals must include:

This cover sheet

A CV of no more than two pages

III. Please submit your complete paper proposal electronically in one (1) email, with all relevant items attached as MSWord documents, to thewha@hawaii.edu. Items sent individually may be discarded. Mark the subject header of your email "WHA 2004 Paper Proposal."

Hardcopy submissions will be accepted if electronic submission is impossible. Mail to: WHA 2004 Program Committee, c/o The World History Association, Department of History, Sakamaki Hall A203, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822 (U.S.A.) For more conference information, visit the WHA website: <http://www.thewha.org>

Your Name:

Departmental and Institutional Affiliation:

Position:

Mailing Address:

Email Address:

Are you a current member of the WHA? Yes No

If Yes, member since: _____

Paper Title:

Paper Summary (content and approach):

Conference Theme this paper will address:

Vital equipment needs:*

*Note: audio-visual equipment comprises a significant portion of current conference budgets. Thus, please only request equipment if it is absolutely vital to your presentation. You may select from slide projector, overhead projector, TV/VCR, CD player, audio cassette player, or LCD Projector. Where possible, we strongly encourage you to bring your own slide carousels, laptop, connecting cables, and other necessary equipment. The WHA reserves the right to refuse equipment requests for any reason. All requests must be submitted with your original proposal.

Scheduling needs (e.g., not first/last day) and justification:

Would you be willing to act as chair or discussant for another panel, if requested by the Program Committee? Yes No

Teaching Forum

Jobs for World Historians?

H. Parker James
World History Center
Northeastern University

Between September 2002 and May 2003, I maintained a service on the World History Center a website called the World History Job Board. The job board functioned as a clearing-house for world history jobs in higher education. I compiled listings from a variety of sources, including the HNET job guide, the AHA job register, the Chronicle of Higher Education, and Higheredjobs.com. In all, the job board listed over 100 job searches, all of which mentioned world history as either a primary or a secondary area of specialization. Most were adjunct positions, but we also listed nearly 20 tenure track job searches that, judging from the job ads, seemed aimed at world historians. During the summer of 2003, I attempted to contact the departments in order to follow up on the results. The questions were simple: were the searches successful? If so, what were the names of the candidates hired as well as their primary areas of interest? About half of the institutions responded, enough to suggest that a significant portion of world history searches result in appointments of regional specialists.

Here are some of examples of the results. Calvin College ran a job ad for a "tenure track appointment in world history." The ad went on to state that the "department is especially interested in candidates with research strengths in Russian history or African history." In this case, the successful candidate was a specialist in Eastern European and Russian studies. Wittemberg University ran an ad for a tenure track historian of "the pre-modern world," with "an ability to teach courses in Islam and the modern Middle East." They hired a specialist in medieval Egypt.

Why are world history jobs being filled with people from outside the discipline? Although the evidence at hand is anecdotal, it is sufficient to suggest a few hypotheses. One problem may be that the number of World History PhDs remains very small. Lewis University, for example, ran a search for a world historian with a research focus on Latin America and the Caribbean that resulted in the hiring of a Latin Americanist. A member of the department — herself an enthusiastic world historian — told me that no self-identified world historian applied for the job, and that there was a clear lack of experience in the practice of world history among their pool of candidates. Although it is undeniable that there is a dearth of world history PhDs, one reason for their absence from Lewis's pool of candidates may lie in their ad copy, which implied a distinct preference for a specialist in Latin American or Caribbean studies.

This is part of a pattern of departments posting world history job ads which actually convey a preference for area -studies specialists. In addition to the Calvin, Lewis, and Wittemberg hires, there is additional evidence to back this up. Northeastern University, for example, ran a search for a world historian with an ad that mentioned a variety of possible regional and thematic specialties, among which were South and Southeast Asia and the Middle East. They hired two people. One studies the history of the Indian Ocean, with a research focus on the Swahili coast of East Africa. The other is a specialist on the history of the modern Middle East. Although each has expressed an interest in world history, this example is consistent with other evidence that departments which state regional preferences in their world history job ads tend to hire regional specialists. A further example is the recent job search by the Department of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies at the Pratt Institute. Pratt ran an ad for a tenure track position that stated a preference for a candidate whose "area of specialization is open, but whose innovative work on U.S. history can intersect with the world history core curriculum." The job went on to state that "primary duties" would include "teaching and developing the world history core curriculum." Consistent with the pattern described above, Pratt hired a historian of U.S. social and cultural history.

The phenomenon of departments running world history searches and hiring regional specialists is not limited to institutions that express a regional preference in their advertisements. Indiana University East ran an ad for a "World Civilization" position that made no mention of regional specialists and hired a historian of modern Britain. The University of Maine at Augusta ran a search for a tenure track position in "World Civilization," and hired a historian of the United States with a minor in international relations. One can only speculate why this might be the case. Some

historians may conflate world history with area studies; others may resist the notion that world history is a research field.

What is to be done about the situation? Since it appears that most search committees recruit according to the criteria specified in their job ads, one way to start is to improve the ads themselves. To begin, world history searches ought to be advertised in a manner that will attract world historians rather than regional specialists. Although world historians welcome the attempts of universities to hire area-studies candidates in order to globalize their departments, the fact remains that world history is a distinct discipline which requires intensive training in a specific set of skills. If the ads departments run for world history positions convey a palpable preference for candidates who work within national and regional frameworks, it puts professional world historians in an awkward position. Rarely are these ads written with attention to the methodological backgrounds necessary to produce history on a global scale. Instead, they privilege skills better suited for writing national histories, for example skills that support the research and analysis of individual documents. Such skills are useful for world historians, but they pale in importance compared, for example, with an active familiarity with the literatures and methodologies of disciplines like anthropology, archaeology, epidemiology, linguistics, and genetics. Interdisciplinary endeavor is part of the essence of the successful practice of world history, yet no mention is made of such skills in any of these ads. Ads for world history jobs need to be written to attract applicants with skills and knowledge that suit the profession.

Despite the fact that people from other disciplines are being hired into world history jobs, there is some good news here. Our discipline is burgeoning. More departments are seeking to make appointments in world history, and university administrations appear to be willing to fund those positions. Now that those searches are being funded, our task is to make it clear to our colleagues that world history is distinct from area studies, and that research in our discipline requires a different set of skills. Maybe then they will write world history job ads designed to attract world historians.

Send Letters to the Editor to
bulletin@thewha.org

COMMUNISM IN WORLD HISTORY

Robert Strayer

California State University, Monterey Bay

"Excuse me, sir, but what exactly is the big deal about communism and the Cold War?" This was an honest question from a serious student in my World History class in the Fall of 2000 as we were discussing the major events and processes of the twentieth century. She had grown up in a post-communist world from which the Soviet Union had disappeared and in which China was viewed as a growing market or a human rights problem rather than a communist country. To her generation communism was history and her question a reminder of just how rapidly our collective memories fade.

It is also a question which confronts teachers of World History. The communist phenomenon has clearly been a central thread in the history of the twentieth century. The revolutions that brought communist regimes to power, the various processes of "building socialism", the enormous communist impact on the larger world, and the collapse or abandonment of communism late in the century—all of this has echoed loudly throughout the twentieth century and will resonate no doubt beyond it as well. How can we frame the communist experience in a World History context? To what other major processes does it connect? What comparisons and juxtapositions might be useful in presenting twentieth century communism in a World History classroom? This essay suggests several contexts in which teachers of World History might situate this vast phenomenon.

Heaven on Earth: Communism and Utopia

Human societies the world over have generated movements and ideas that imagined—and sometimes sought to realize—the perfect or ideal society, free from oppression and injustice, informed by freedom, equality, abundance, and community. The ancient Hebrew prophets spoke of a time "when justice would roll down like the waters and righteousness as an ever-flowing stream." Millenarian movements in Asia, Africa, and Europe have projected communities of abundance and equality from which evil has been banished. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, utopian thinkers in Europe became more secular and rational,

basing their ideas on the new possibilities of modern science and technology, and sometimes urging political action to bring them into reality. The Marquis de Condorcet, an eighteenth century radical thinker of the French Enlightenment, imagined a future in which "misery and excessive wealth are eliminated," "all diseases disappear," human life spans become indefinite, and the moral and intellectual dimensions of human life are perfected.¹ Early nineteenth century followers of several "utopian socialists" such as Charles Fourier and Robert Owen created small short-lived communities which attempted to put the detailed visionary dreams of their founders into practice.

Karl Marx strenuously denied any connection with the utopian tradition, believing his ideas to be scientifically and historically based. Nonetheless his writings and his imagination had a strongly utopian cast. On the far side of revolution and after an extended period of transition called socialism, Marx foresaw nothing less than the end of history as it had been lived thus far: no more poverty as the abundance of industrial society provided for all; no more class conflict as a rational planning evened out the distribution of material wealth; no more war or violence as the coercive power of competing states, no longer needed to prop up privileged elites, withered away. This was communism. It would ensure the emergence of wholly new men and women, free from ancient constraints and finally able to realize their full human potential. What could be more utopian than Marx's capsule description of the new order?—"from each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs."

Despite their hard-headed scientific pretensions, twentieth century communists too have often spoken and acted in utopian ways. Lenin, like Marx before him, imagined an eventual society of communism in which the released energies and skills of the masses would replace an authoritarian state and bureaucracy. More concretely, he viewed electricity as almost magical. It symbolized "heat and shelter in a land of arctic climes; light and knowledge in a land of darkness and bigotry, energy and economic growth in a land of poverty and sloth."² And in the decade following the Revolution of 1917, utopian expectations and projects proliferated explosively. Orchestras without conductors symbolized the equality and cooperation of the new age. Communes sprang up by the thousands as workers, students, and peasants sought to put socialist principles into practice. Revolutionary science fic-

tion featured technological and urban utopias on a global scale. "We will remake life anew—right down to the last button of your vest," wrote one of the revolution's major intellectual champions.³

The utopian aspects of communism have generated a great deal of controversy. Some have viewed them positively, arguing that utopianism drove efforts to reduce ancient inequalities of gender or class, that it raised a standard by which its own failures—and those of other social systems—might be measured, and that it injected joy, enthusiasm, and spontaneity into an often violent and brutal revolutionary process. But on the other hand, communist utopian dreams, when joined to unrestrained political power and pursued on a huge scale, generated some of the most chilling barbarities of the twentieth century. China's Great Leap Forward in the 1950s, a visionary scheme intended to generate rapid economic growth and an immediate move to full communism, in fact produced an economic crisis and massive famine that cost millions of lives. Even more horrendous were the efforts of Cambodian communists, led by Pol Pot in the 1970s, to implement communism almost overnight. This came to involve the emptying of the cities, the abolition of money, total collectivization, the elimination of entire groups of people such as property owners, businessmen, and intellectuals, and the killing of perhaps a quarter of the country's population—all in the space of several years. Visions of human happiness and social perfection, no less than the drive for power, can motivate and justify the most appalling means of achieving these utopian dreams.

Marxism as a European Cultural Export

Twentieth century communists the world over claimed a direct link to the tradition of "scientific socialism" which had emerged from the fertile mind of Karl Marx during Europe's nineteenth century Industrial Revolution. It was one of the major cultural "exports" which the West transmitted to the rest of the world, along with European languages, Christianity, modern science and technology, nationalism, and much more. Despite the industrial backwardness of their societies, small groups of revolutionary intellectuals in Russia, China, and elsewhere found Marxism attractive. It was a modern and western set of ideas at a time when modernity and the West had enormous prestige. Yet it was directed against the most offensive feature of Western life—capitalism. Furthermore, Marxism claimed to be "sci-

entific" "at a time when science seemed to many almost a new religion." To believers it was based on careful research, and it revealed laws of historical development that were as sure as Newton's laws of motion. Beleaguered revolutionaries working in discouraging conditions could now believe that their revolutions were inevitable. They found in Marxism a moral certainty and a rock-hard confidence that derived from being on the right side of history.

But these revolutionaries gave Marxist ideas their own spin and adapted them to local conditions. They argued that it was not necessary to wait for the full development of capitalism before launching a socialist revolution. Communist regimes almost everywhere were forced to actually construct a modern industrial society largely from scratch rather than merely to take over one already made as Marx had imagined. And particularly in Asia they relied very heavily on a revolutionary peasantry in the countryside rather than the urban working class which Marx had foreseen. Thus they set aside Marx's views on the "idiocy of rural life" and the innate conservatism of peasants. So we might present Marxism as it took root in China, Russia, Vietnam, Cuba and elsewhere as the product of adaptation, much like we might encourage our students to think about the spread of Christianity, Buddhism, Islam beyond their points of origins. China's adaptation of two foreign idea systems—Buddhism and Marxism—provides an occasion to examine this process within a single major civilization.

The Revolutionary Tradition

Another global context in which twentieth century communism may be situated is that of revolution, for in both Russia and China communist regimes were born in vast social and political upheavals. But these revolutions take their place alongside earlier revolutions of which the English, American, and especially the French are the most prominent.

These "liberal" or "democratic" revolutions shared a novel idea derived from eighteenth century European thinkers—that it was both possible and desirable for people to reconstruct their societies in a deliberate and self-conscious way. This notion flew in the face of conventional thinking in almost all of the world's large-scale agrarian societies. Human societies, it was widely held, were hierarchical, consisting of distinct, fixed, and unequal groups in which individuals would live and die. These societies, and the kings or emperors who ruled them, were ordained

by God, an idea expressed in Europe as the "divine right of kings" and in China as the "mandate of heaven." Against this conception of society, American and especially French revolutionaries hurled their ideas of freedom from traditional beliefs and practices, the equality of all persons, and popular sovereignty, which meant that the right to rule derived from the consent of the people.

The Communist movements of the twentieth century quite self-consciously drew on the mystique of the French Revolution, as an opening to new and better worlds. It had happened once and could happen again. Communist revolutionaries, like their French predecessors, ousted old ruling classes and dispossessed landed aristocracies. They too believed that human societies could be deliberately reshaped by human hands and found their vision of the good society in a modernizing future, not in some nostalgic vision of the past. They worried lest their revolutions end up in a military dictatorship like that of Napoleon following the French Revolution. And all of them involved vast peasant upheavals in the countryside and an educated leadership with roots in the cities.

But the Communist revolutions were distinctive as well. They were made by highly organized parties guided by a Marxist ideology, were committed to an industrial future, pursued economic as well as political equality, and sought the abolition of private property. In doing so they mobilized, celebrated, and claimed to act on behalf of society's lower classes—exploited urban workers and impoverished rural peasants. The middle classes, who were chief beneficiaries of the French Revolution, numbered among the many victims of the Russian and Chinese movements. Communist revolutions furthermore rejected the individualistic values of the earlier revolutions, affirming instead an even earlier tradition of communal or collective values. Thus the Russian, Chinese, and other Communist revolutions of the twentieth century can be compared not only to one another but also to those earlier upheavals.

Becoming Modern and Catching Up

Europe's growing military and economic power, demonstrated most clearly in its Industrial Revolution and its expanding imperial reach during the nineteenth century, gave rise to an increasingly common dilemma: how could other societies gain access to the sources of European power and wealth while protecting their own independence, cultural distinctiveness,

and elite privileges? How could they catch up with Europe and defend themselves against European aggression at the same time? That dilemma drove the reforms of Peter the Great and his successors in imperial Russia, animated the modernizing efforts of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, China, Japan and others in the nineteenth century, and confronted the nationalist movements of Europe's Asian and African colonies in the twentieth. And it was a dilemma which communist regimes faced as well. Like the others, they found an answer in selective borrowing and adaptation. Communists would take what was most advanced in Europe—its scientific world view, its industrial technology, and its Marxist ideology—but they would reject, decisively. Europe's capitalist framework, its individualistic middle class values, its parliamentary democracy, and its religious traditions.

Put into practice in communist governed states, this amounted to a claim to have discovered an alternative, and a superior, route to modernity. Through the use of state power and guided by their communist parties, the Soviet Union and China would mobilize their people and their resources to construct in record time a thoroughly modern industrial society. And by substituting a rationally planned economy for private property and the market, they would do so without the painful consequences of the capitalist path—the instability of repeated recessions and depressions, the gross exploitation of women, children, and workers in industrial sweatshops and urban slums, endemic conflicts between rich and poor, and economic rivalries that led to war and imperial aggression. In some ways, they did it. In both the Soviet Union in the 1930s and China in the 1950s, industrial growth rates were astonishing. Iron, steel, and coal production leaped ahead. New cities and industries boomed, and the urban work force expanded rapidly. Education and upward social mobility were available to ordinary people to a degree unknown before the revolutions. The contrast between a rapidly growing Soviet economy and the Great Depression in the capitalist countries was particularly striking. By the end of the 1930s the Soviet Union was clearly one of the world's modern industrial states, an achievement that went a long way to explaining that country's victory over Nazi Germany in World War II. Centralized planning by an authoritarian state seemed to work, and many people—some intellectuals in the West and some political leaders in European colonies—saw communism as the wave

of the future and capitalism as exhausted and moribund.

But over the long haul, that very claim to superiority—both economic and moral—was also the rock on which communist systems founded. It became apparent, by the 1970s, that communist regimes could not outperform capitalist economies and that Soviet economic growth in particular had slowed dramatically. Furthermore Stalin's Soviet Union and Mao Zedong's China had generated some of the most appallingly brutal and repressive states which a bloody twentieth century had witnessed. Thus both the economic and moral failings of communism contributed to its demise. The Communist path to modernity, it turned out, was a road to nowhere.

Communism and Feminism

Among the most remarkable developments of the twentieth century is the extent to which the lives and the consciousness of women, and thinking about the role of women, have changed. Many millions of women all around the world joined the paid work force, became literate, took part in public life, and established more equal relationships with the men in their societies. These changes, though highly uneven, incomplete, and frequently challenged, represent one of the most genuinely revolutionary dimensions of twentieth century World History.

Communist societies also took part in the revolution of feminism in the twentieth century. In fact, in many respects they led the way, pioneering forms of "women's liberation" that only later were adopted in the West. Furthermore communist feminism was state-directed, with the initiative coming from the top rather than from grassroots movements. In the West, by contrast, feminism bubbled up from below in the form of popular movements which then subsequently pushed governments, laws, and cultural norms to change. No sooner had the communists come to power in Russia than they issued a series of laws and decrees regarding women. They declared full legal and political equality for women; marriage became a civil procedure among freely consenting adults; divorce was legalized and made easier as was abortion; illegitimacy was abolished; women no longer had to take their husbands' surnames; pregnancy leave for employed women was mandated; and women were actively mobilized as workers in the country's drive to industrialize.

In 1919 the Communist Party set up a special organization called *Zhenotdel*

(Women's Department), which pushed a decidedly feminist agenda in the 1920s. Its activist leaders organized numerous conferences for women, trained women to run day-care centers and medical clinics, published newspapers and magazines aimed at a female audience, provided literacy and pre-natal classes, and encouraged Muslim women to take off their veils. Much of this encountered opposition from male communist officials and from ordinary people as well, and Stalin abolished *Zhenotdel* in 1930. But while it lasted, it was a remarkable experiment in women's liberation by means of state action, "animated by a magical sense of the limitless possibilities of a revolutionary new world."⁴

Similar policies took shape in communist China. The Marriage Law of 1950 was a direct attack on patriarchal and Confucian traditions as it decreed free choice in marriage, relatively easy divorce, the end of concubinage and child marriage, permission for widows to remarry, and equal property rights for women. A short but intense campaign by the Chinese Communist Party in the early 1950s sought to implement these changes, often against strenuous opposition. As in the Soviet Union, women became much more actively involved in production outside the home and by 1978, 50% of agricultural workers and 38% of non-agricultural laborers were female. "Women can do anything" became a famous party slogan in the 1960s.

But women's liberation communist style had definite limits. Stalin declared the women's question "solved" in 1930, fearing that it would detract from his emphasis on production. Little direct discussion of women's issues was permitted in the several decades that followed. In neither the Soviet Union nor China did the Communist Party undertake a direct attack on male domination within the family. Thus the "double burden" of housework and child care plus paid employment continued to afflict most women. And women appeared only very rarely in the top political leadership of either country.

The Triumph of the Nation

Communism represented a challenge not only to capitalism but also to the "nation" as the primary focus of political loyalty and cultural identity in the modern world. After all, the entire socialist tradition highlighted class as the most fundamental division among people everywhere. The rich and the poor, those with property and those without, the "haves" and the "have-nots"—it was class struggle, Karl Marx

argued, that drove historical change. It made sense then for communists to believe that the workers of the world would unite across national boundaries. When the Russian Revolution brought the Bolsheviks to power, most of their leaders believed that their revolution was only the trigger for a larger Europe-wide upheaval that would issue ultimately in a worldwide socialist commonwealth, leaving nations and national antagonisms in the dust of history. And even when that dream proved illusory, Soviet leaders openly anticipated the "merging" of nations and the creation of a new "Soviet" identity within their own vast and multi-national country.

But "nation" trumped class in the twentieth century, and this dimension of the Communist challenge, like its claim to outproduce capitalism, also failed. It failed to spark Communist revolutions in the developed industrial countries as well as in most of the "new nations" of the Third World. Even within particular Communist countries it failed to transcend national or ethnic loyalties as the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia so dramatically demonstrated. And it even failed to create friendly relations among communist countries, each of which developed a unique national style of communism. Many Eastern Europeans, living in communist countries, thoroughly despised and feared their Russian neighbors. In the Hungarian revolt of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, and Poland's Solidarity Union in 1980, East Europeans, even within Stalinized communist parties, demonstrated their desire for reform and independence. The crushing of these movements showed the very narrow limits permitted for such efforts within the Soviet bloc. Even more striking, the Soviet Union and China came to the brink of war over territorial disputes, ideological differences, and rivalry for world communist leadership. China and Vietnam, neighboring communist countries, did in fact go to war in 1979. Precisely why the claims of nationality or ethnicity have proven so much more compelling than those of class and communism is among the great questions of twentieth century world history and one that we might invite our students to consider.

Democracy and Totalitarianism

The nineteenth century history of western Europe and its outposts in North America, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere had witnessed the slow growth of democratic practice as the vote was

gradually extended to larger groups of citizens and parliamentary institutions assumed a more prominent role in political life. These were limited democracies, and only very gradually and with much struggle did poor men, people of color, and women gain voting privileges. Nonetheless the progress of democracy by the early twentieth century and the victory of the most democratic countries in World War I persuaded many that democracy was the wave of the future, "a natural trend", as one observer put it.⁵

But the 1920s, 30s and early 40s witnessed instead the sharp contraction of democracy. In Italy, Germany, Spain and much of eastern Europe, fascist or right-wing movements came to power as the chaos of war and depression undermined new, fragile, and often corrupt democracies. The military victories of the Nazis put an end to many others such as those in Austria and Czechoslovakia. In Nazi thinking, democracy was associated with their country's defeat in World War I, with the punitive Treaty of Versailles which ended the war, with political division and mediocrity in government, and with an emphasis on individualism that undermined a strong state. The triumph of communism in Russia following the revolution of 1917 likewise ended the modest democratic innovations which the Tsar had only recently established as a highly authoritarian and repressive state, dominated by its communist party, monopolized political power in the country. To communists, western style parliamentary democracy was an illusion, benefiting only people of property while leaving the working classes and peasantry at their mercy. Nazi success in overcoming the terrible unemployment of the Great Depression in Germany and Soviet success in promoting rapid industrialization in the 1930s seemed to confirm the effectiveness of authoritarian states and to underline the weakness and fragility of the remaining democracies.

Viewing communism and fascism as similar challenges to democracy has triggered a great deal of controversy. Soviet communists in particular bitterly resented any comparison with Hitler's Germany, since their country had bled almost to death in a heroic struggle against the Nazis in World War II. But many western scholars saw striking similarities. Both Communism and Fascism repudiated the middle class democracy and liberalism of European practice. Both were genuinely revolutionary in seeking to overthrow existing societies and to transform them in line with an ideological vision—racial

purity in the case of Nazi Germany and Marxist socialism in the Soviet Union and China. Both were embodied in mass political parties, claimed an exclusive truth, were led by a single dominant leader, and were unwilling to permit political opposition. Both imposed an unprecedented degree of repressive state control over the societies they governed and in doing so gave substance to the novel notion of a "totalitarian" system. And both engendered state-directed terror and mass murder on a scale never seen before, though in Germany this was implemented as an effort to eliminate racially defined inferiors and in the Soviet Union to root out class based enemies of socialism. A controversial book published in the mid 1990s argued that communism on a world wide basis was in fact far more destructive of human life than Nazism, claiming some 100 million lives, roughly four times that of the Nazi's victims.⁶ Was communism then a "worse" tragedy than fascism? How can we compare tragedies of this magnitude? Should we even try?

The collapse of Fascism in Germany and Italy and militarism in Japan was followed by creation of successful and apparently lasting democracies in those countries. Similarly the demise of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe brought to power a number of at least semi-democratic regimes. These have been most fully developed in Poland and the Czech Republic and less certainly in Russia and many of the other states of the former Soviet Union. Whether these countries that have recently abandoned communism will evolve toward fully democratic regimes remains an open question of the twenty-first century and a useful point of comparison and speculation for our students.

A Global Rift

Beyond its challenge to capitalism, nationalism, and democracy, communism was linked to many of the twentieth century's other major patterns. It was born amid the flames of World War I in Russia and World War II in China. It drew strength from the global crisis of capitalism known as the Great Depression. It attracted attention in many of the "new nations" that emerged from European colonial rule in Asia and Africa. It contributed much to the further spread of industrial society and the growing human impact on the environment which industrialization generated. In a century rich in promises of liberation—national, democratic, feminist—communism offered, at least for a time, greater hope for women,

workers, peasants, and oppressed people generally. But it also furthered another twentieth century trend—the vast extension of state power over the lives of individuals and social groups.

But the primary world historical significance of communism lies in the great divide which it caused in the world of the twentieth century. Beginning with western and Japanese intervention in Russia's Civil War (1919-1921) and expressed most clearly in the Cold War, that global rift decisively shaped much of twentieth century World History. It gave rise to sharp ideological antagonisms that imbued the Soviet-American superpower rivalry with a sense of total threat on both sides. In that respect it resembled the Muslim threat to Christian Europe in the sixteenth century. To many Europeans the powerful Ottoman Empire seemed to bear not only the prospect of military defeat or territorial loss but also a threat to an entire civilization, way of life, and system of values. Even in distant England the writer Richard Knolles in 1603 referred to "the glorious empire of the Turks, the present terror of the world." The Catholic/Protestant hostilities of early modern European history as well as the ideological threat posed by the ideas of the French Revolution represent perhaps still other possibilities for comparison with the East/West divide of the twentieth century.

This global rift—the East/West divide—intersected with that other great division of the twentieth century—the so-called North/South conflict between the rich and the poor nations of the world. Patterns of colonial exploitation and impoverishment provided an opening for communist influence in the Third World, for it allowed both the Soviet Union and China to represent themselves not only as proponents of Communism but also as defenders of the poor nations seeking to extricate themselves from the grasping clutches of the rich and powerful. Communist leaders argued that the class struggle operated not only between the rich and the poor within particular countries but also at the international level between the wealthy industrialized capitalist nations and impoverished former colonies of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. In this way, the message of Marxism, originally designed for the most advanced industrialized societies, became for a time more relevant to the vast majority of humankind living outside of that charmed circle. We might present the history of the twentieth century in terms of these two great global conflicts—the East/West conflict, born

of the Communist challenge and the North/South conflict of the rich and poor nations of the world. These two processes and the intersections between them account for much of 20th century World History.

Soviet/Chinese Comparisons

A final suggestion for teaching communism with a world historical perspective lies in comparisons within the Communist World, particularly between the two giants communist states—the Soviet Union and China. We might ask our students to compare the revolutions which brought communist regimes to power. Why for example did a communist takeover occur in Russia less than a year after the collapse of the czarist system, while in China it took well over 30 years for communists to triumph after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911? Why did Russian peasants rise spontaneously in 1917, while Chinese peasants had to be prodded and led by the Communists before moving against the landlords? We might also note differences in the role of war: Russian communists gained credibility by opposing their country's participation in World War I, while Chinese communists gained support by pursuing China's war against Japanese aggression vigorously in World War II.

Many comparisons could also be drawn about the processes of building socialism in the two countries. Why was collectivization so much easier in China than in the Soviet Union? Why did the Chinese communist leadership under Mao seek repeatedly to blunt the inequalities arising from processes of bureaucratization and modern development, while Stalinist Russia more readily accommodated them? The "search for enemies", even within the highest ranks of the party itself, characterized and disfigured both societies, culminating in the Soviet "Terror" of the late 1930s and in China's Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s. But these processes were also quite distinctive. In China the entire enterprise was much more public and involved much more mass mobilization than in the USSR. Millions of Red Guards, encouraged by Mao himself, streamed across China to confront those who were "taking the capitalist road." Their enthusiasm and internal conflicts were so disruptive that Mao had to call in the army to regain control for a badly damaged Communist Party. But in the Soviet Union the search for enemies was kept under official control, occurred largely in secret, resulted in a far higher death toll, and was brought to an end by Stalin's order.

Finally, we will want our students to compare the reform programs which animated both societies in the 1980s and beyond. Why did broadly similar economic program lead to such different outcomes—a catastrophic economic and political collapse in the Soviet Union and a booming economy and an intact Communist Party in China? Why did the Soviet Union choose to combine economic reform with substantial political and cultural changes, while the Chinese consistently refused to do so?

Conclusion:

Clearly communism was a distinctive feature of the twentieth century, but it was related to much else that shaped that tumultuous era—world wars, nationalism, totalitarianism, mass murder, democracy, feminism, and much more. It also connected to earlier patterns of World History such as utopianism, industrialization, Marxism, and scientific views of the world. Communism decisively shaped the world of the twentieth century, but it was in turn shaped by the larger patterns of modern world history. Those connections, comparisons, and juxtapositions provide yet another opportunity to illustrate the unique power of World History to enrich our understanding of the past.

NOTES

1. Antoine-Nicholas de Condorcet, *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind*, trans. June Barraclough (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1955), pp. 199-201.
2. Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 49.
3. Stites, p. 38.
4. Barbara Evans Clement, *Daughters of Revolution: A History of Women in the USSR* (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1994), p. 58.
5. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 17.
6. Stephane Courtois et. al., *The Black Book of Communism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

TEACHING ABOUT WAR IN WORLD HISTORY

Larry Litchfield

Orange County Community College

What can we teach students about war in survey world history courses? Clearly a simple (or complicated) recitation of the apparent causes, major campaigns, battles and consequences of important wars, while necessary, is not sufficient. Students cannot normally derive much in the way of useful general lessons from such exercises.

We need to draw some large themes and concepts from the details and develop useful questions and hypotheses about war as a major current of world history.

I. War is old. Exactly how old we do not know. If history is the study of civilization, and if we can agree for the purposes of this exercise that this word refers to at least literate, urban-based societies, then war for at least some human groups predates such communities. Given the importance of war in the history of civilization, it would seem important to search for its meaning among prehistoric communities, because we would like to know whether war represents a yet untamed (or untamable) part of a savage pre-civilized past, or if war has become more intense and deadly precisely because of the developments which led to and help to define civilization.

Anthropologists and archeologists suggest important but indefinite hypotheses. For example, a view which became persuasive some decades ago was that precivilized or primitive wars may have been vastly different from the wars of early civilizations, fought for reasons which were more ceremonial and ritualistic than they were utilitarian. According to this view the later development of large-scale territorial agriculture changed the motives and enlarged the scope of war. In so doing it played a large role in the emergence of the state as the agency of command and control. The need to defend richer areas and vulnerable populations, as well as the ambition to extend territory and to capture slaves may have been factors which transformed war into a vastly larger project of civilization than it had been as practiced by prehistoric groups.

Others resist such a view. A particularly comprehensive and cogent example of the case for a more violent prehistory is

presented by Lawrence Keeley in his *War Before Civilization* (1996) which depicts pre-civilized warfare as prevalent, extremely intense, motivated by reasons comparable to those which have caused historic wars, and resulting in higher casualties in terms of populations involved than those of civilized warfare. Keeley argues from an exhaustive consideration of available evidence that warfare in both Paleolithic and Neolithic eras was no more (nor less) a ritualistic game than modern warfare.

Such hypotheses are difficult to prove but worth thinking about. Certainly the argument, with all the clarifications, restatements and rebuttals to be expected continues in professional anthropological circles.

In the midst of probably endless uncertainty about this central question, we still need to remind students that recorded history represents a very small percent of the human past, and that what happened in prehistory is probably important. More specifically it is probably safe to suggest that the emergence of the state itself is tied to the early need for an authoritative institution capable of organizing the defense of territory, whatever other purposes it may have served, such as hydraulic projects, managing social conflict in more complex societies, or providing the mechanism for a ruling class to maintain power. It is not controversial to suggest that states are in part war-making machines, both in their origins and throughout their history.

An interesting hypothesis connected to the subject of ancient states and warfare is John Keegan's view that war is not simply Clausewitz' extension of policy by other means but a reflection of culture, and that there is a western way of war which evolved from practices innovated by Greek city-states and which focused upon the importance of fighting decisive battles to settle differences, a tradition quite different from that of a more Asian style in which the idea of the ultimately decisive battle never took hold, or not at least until western influences began to influence the East. Even today it may be that militant Islamists hold to a more extended timetable for achieving ultimate victory than would be tolerable for a western mindset. This idea may provide the basis for speculative class discussion at various points during either part of a two semester sequence.

II. A more manageable war related theme, and a reliable source of essay questions, is the inescapable fact that the consequences of a war often help to establish the causes of the next one. Such chains of cause and

consequence help students transcend their tendency to understand history as a bewildering mass of unrelated facts to memorize.

For example, the chronological halfway point in the second semester of a world history sequence is the first actual "world" war which linked Europe, Asia and America in particularly dramatic ways. British victory in this "seven years" war led to the American war of independence for two major reasons. One was simply that of the growing realization of the importance of the colonies by imperial policymakers. The other was a more gradual realization on the part of the colonists, aided by all the newly energized attempts on the part of the Crown to tax and regulate them and to hinder their westward inclinations, that with the defeat of the French they no longer needed British military protection. American success in persuading the French monarchy to aid their rebellion, while immensely helpful to the American cause, constituted financial folly for the French and was one factor which led Louis XVI to convene the General Estates, thereby creating opportunities for reformers of the Third Estate. From this the various phases of the French Revolution and its wars, a troubled vacuum of power following Thermidor, Napoleon's coup and the transition from the Wars of the French Revolution to those of the Napoleonic era.

Of course a more contemporary example is that of the "short" 20th century which begins with the outbreak of the First World War, and the many-faceted political instability which followed, including the rise of modern dictatorships which challenged not only the old dynastic orders of the past but the survival of constitutional democracy as well. The second round encouraged mutual suspicions between the western and Soviet allies and the Cold War interspersed by its many subsidiary hot ones. The post World War II factors of nuclear weapons and decolonization, themselves largely products of the world wars, encouraged the globalization of the conflict.

III. While it is normal to expect that the present or next war will be like the last one (or at least like the one that we define as the last one), and while we cannot say that this is never true, it is safe to say that it is often not true. The consequences of such expectations may be especially important when "lessons" of history have been learned too well. Examples of some pedagogical value include the common European view upon the brink of the Great War that any conflict would be brief. Those with the best mobilization

strategies would win quickly. Most perceived the last significant wars to be the German wars of unification, but of course the more relevant conflict to pay attention to was the American Civil War. In addition to choosing the wrong last wars, many failed to grasp that military technology by the early 20th Century favored the defense even more than in the 1860s, making it extremely difficult for either side to take ground quickly and decisively against a well entrenched opponent.

"Lessons learned" from the Great War included a wide variety of diverse but usually simplistic conclusions. Lenin taught that competitive capitalist imperialism caused the war, and if so the solution to the problem of war in the era of capitalist hegemony must lie in the revolutionary construction of the socialist state and sooner or later, by one means or another, international socialist revolution to eliminate capitalist power. Western European allied leaders taught generally supportive publics that the cause was the Kaiser's regime supported by a militaristic culture. The solution must be punishment and reparations as defined by the Versailles Treaty and continuing controls over Germany. Woodrow Wilson extended this hypothesis to include the militaristic bellicosity of the old ruling class of all dynastic dictatorships, the solution for which was the democratization of the international system. Variations of this view of European decadence supported attempts at American isolation after Wilson's politics had failed. The power vacuum caused by this American retreat encouraged the policies of appeasement as practiced by the British and French in the face of fascist aggression. The U.S., despite its international economic interests, attempted isolation in an effort to disengage from the dangerous agendas of European elites. The justification for appeasement was that such an accommodationist approach might have prevented World War I. Of course the effect of both approaches was to encourage political instability and fascist adventurism.

Later generations of political scientists viewed the outbreak of World War I as the result of an "overloaded" international political system in which statesmen were confused and overwhelmed by a multiplicity of agreements and obligations, all complicated by the demands imposed by the military timetables tied to various mobilization plans. Policies designed to avoid such dangers should encourage clarity of commitments, efficient lines of international communication and the learned skills of conflict management and resolution.

While there may be considerable validity to many of these approaches, the point is

that they differ from each other. They cannot all be equally true, yet in each case there is a disturbingly brief journey from causal conviction to the attempt to apply the appropriate solution. Apparently history, unlike quantum physics or irregular verbs, is a rather simple subject, requiring only a bare minimum of reflection and study to master.

From the Second World War, the U.S. leaders especially "learned" what became the mantra of Cold Warriors - that appeasement never works, and every revolutionary movement or dictator with anti-western tendencies was defined as yet another manifestation of Hitler. Thus President Truman viewed the Communist attack upon South Korea as a warning from Munich. While reliance upon such an analogy does not in any way argue against the defense of South Korea, it may have caused some confusion when dealing with China in the course of that war. While the Soviets and their allies were regarded as indistinguishable from pre-war fascists, one lesson the Soviet regime learned from World War II was to distrust the West, both because of past invasions and because of Stalin's suspicions about the motives for western allied strategy during the War.

A single-minded determination to resist Communist aggression led the U.S. into Vietnam, and the "lesson" of Vietnam was to be careful about military commitments. Hence the cautious tone of the U.S. military in preparing to wage the first war with Iraq, and perhaps the less than satisfactory solution to the problem posed by Saddam Hussein. The point about such lessons is not that they are always wrong, but that they tend to be one dimensional and conceptually inadequate to deal with different situations. Students need to think about this. The lessons of 9/11 appear to be too confused for the moment to be of any value. One might venture a guess that defining one's enemy by his tactical approach (terrorism) may prove inadequate in time. The obvious question is that of which if any analogies from the past might prove helpful. Are there any useful parallels? Are our present foes like 17th Century European religious fanatics, early modern pirates, Taiping rebels, followers of the Mahdi, 20th Century totalitarian ideologues or none of the above? What "lessons" are available and to what extent are they trustworthy?

On this general subject of the influence of questionable lessons learned, conventional wisdom suggests that losers learn more from war than winners, the classic case being that of the German military after World War I. While the French constructed a perfect defense for a rerun of the preceding war, German tacticians

learned how to maximize the use of technical innovations which had appeared by the end of the first war. A few such cases prove nothing at all, but closer scrutiny of such examples suggests the question of whether anybody learns anything at all from war. After all the Germans failed utterly to learn the deeper political lesson about the futility of using such military means to solve the geo-political problems of Germany in the context of 20th Century realities. One might argue that Germans learned the relevant political lesson after their second great defeat - to develop representative democracy and a cooperative policy towards other industrialized societies. Perhaps this represents historical wisdom at last, but it is depressing to think that the prerequisites for such knowledge entail such a cost.

IV. Both student and teacher learn sooner or later that the old question of the general cause or causes of war is not particularly useful. There are too many causes of war. Almost any conflict about beliefs or interests, joined with the usual mix of emotional intensity, misperceptions, irresponsible leadership and available means can cause war. The more useful question is that of what causes peace, defined as an active condition of mutual cooperation rather than a passive or static absence of collective bloodshed. The answer to this question is simple but so general and open as to invite more questions. Surely the cause of peace is competent politics, which may connect with but is not necessarily the same thing as the gradual democratization of the world. Competent politics in the context of questions of war and peace is at least a rare but happy conjunction of collective experience and clear thinking shared by important decision-makers struggling to manage or resolve threatening conflicts. It requires at a bare minimum some imaginative effort to understand the interests and fears of one's potential foes. On some issues the agreements which marked the end of the Thirty Years War revealed some of this sort of understanding, as did the arrangements agreed upon to restore European order after the Napoleonic Wars. The diplomats were not wise on all issues, but wise enough to provide some hope for peace or at least manageable conflict for a considerable time, whereas the thinking and politics supporting the Treaty of Versailles could not. If operating within democracies, such leaders must also have the influence or associations necessary to convince the relevant publics that their judgements are correct. The Marshall Plan reflected some wisdom, but U.S. Cold War policies in general were more clouded with simplistic assumptions and false analogies. The question of the connection between the competent poli-

tics of peace and democracy looms as both inescapable and central. Was Woodrow Wilson right after all? Is democracy the cure for war? Some recent scholarship especially, reveals that while democracies, defined in the conventional western way, go to war as often as dictatorships do, they do not go to war against each other, and this is so because leaders socialized into the kind of culture necessary to make democracy work maintain those attitudes and skills when dealing with foreign leaders from similar regimes. Thus democracy, in the fullest imaginable sense of the word, is the politics of peace, depending as it does upon some rough consensus about acceptable processes. Energetic dictatorships tend to make war on their own people, or groups of them, and then proceed to attack designated foreign enemies. Even these apparently simple precepts introduce a range of questions appropriate for discussion in learned journals but problematical for effective teaching. We need not stay too long with definitional questions about what exactly we mean by democracy or regimes tending towards it. What qualifies? Britain after the Great Reform? Surely not. The U.S. prior to the abolition of slavery? Perhaps for white men. Britain by 1900? And what about the loose corporate oligarchy which some argue defines the American polity today? Perhaps we can escape much of this by adopting a simple Wilsonian position to the effect that the more democratic the process in the long run, the greater the prospects for peace. While this is not necessarily true, it does provide the basis for a flexible hypothesis which can be introduced, questioned, used and discussed in various connections, especially as one leads second semester students of world history to confront the conflicts of the 20th Century.

V. Finally there is the question posed by the development of weapons of mass destruction. To what degree do we find ourselves in a new era, not only in the realm of human conflict but human history in general? How does one approach this in teaching world history since the dilemma does not easily connect with any clear parallel? Of course all history is about change, but we tend to feel disoriented by abrupt disconnects.

To conceptualize the current dilemma we might have to return to a consideration of prehistoric dangers. In prehistory, through the stages of hominid evolution, especially prior to the learned use of fire, and perhaps even later during periods of glaciation, there was no guarantee that our ancestors could maintain a birthrate higher than their deathrate. For all of recorded history, however, until the first use of

atomic weapons in 1945, the survival of humankind was secure. Societies, populations, tribes, kingdoms and empires might perish from flood, draught, plague or war, but there was no significant danger that the species would become extinct. Now the specter of new weapons combined with minimal improvement in the personality of homo sapiens sapiens (both of which, the new technology and the old dysfunctions, connect to the increasing environmental threats to our biosphere), present the possibility of a new thing in history, that of our possible demise as a species. While this question of a literal "end of history" has become something of a recurrent cliché, it does present world history teachers with the old problem of finding appropriate analogies and parallels from the past to teach about contemporary changes.

EMPLOYMENT

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF WORLD HISTORY: Position Number 86360, College of Arts & Sciences, University of Hawaii at Hilo, tenure-track, general funds, full-time, nine-month type appointment, to begin approximately August 2004, pending position clearance and funding. The University reserves the right to hire at another rank when the selected candidate is qualified for that rank. **Duties:** Teach the two-semester survey sequence in World History; advise students; engage in scholarly activity and publish results in peer reviewed publications; engage in curriculum development and outcomes assessment; serve as department resource on world history curriculum issues; and participate in University and community service. **Minimum qualifications:** Ph.D. in History (any field) from an accredited college or university; graduate field in World History OR experience teaching world history; evidence of successful undergraduate teaching (especially teaching evaluations), and an active research agenda.

Desirable qualifications: Graduate field in World History AND experience teaching World History; peer reviewed publications in any field, preferably in world history; evidence of continuing, active research agenda. Experience with asynchronous education technologies. Commitment to learning outcomes assessment. **Salary:** Competitive. **To apply:** Submit letter of application, vita, graduate transcripts, evidence of teaching effectiveness. It is preferred that these items be submitted electronically as Word or PDF files zipped together in a ZIP file named with the last name and position number (ex. 86360yourlastname) and e-mailed to HR@UHH.hawaii.edu. Paper submissions are also accepted at Human Resources, University of Hawaii at Hilo, 200 W. Kawili St., Hilo HI 96720-4091. In addition, three (3) current letters of recommendation (hard copy on institutional letterhead) must be submitted to Sandra Wagner-Wright (see contact address). **Contact address:** Sandra Wagner-Wright, Chair, History Dept.; College of Arts & Sciences, University of Hawaii at Hilo, 200 W. Kawili St., Hilo, HI 96720-4091, 808-974-7737, sandraww@hawaii.edu.

Continuous recruitment. Review of applications begins January 30, 2004 and will continue until the position is filled. Appointments to positions are subject to campus recruitment guidelines and the collective bargaining agreement. The University of Hawaii at Hilo is an EEO/AA Employer D/M/V/W.

The World History Association's *Bulletin* is currently accepting submissions for articles and essays on any topic in world history to be included in either its Spring or Fall 2004 issues. Submissions should be between 5000 and 15000 words. Essays are especially encouraged which address the teaching of world history.

All essays should be sent to *World History Bulletin*, Department of Social Sciences, Arkansas Tech University, WPN 255, Russellville, AR 72801 or via email <bulletin@thewha.org>

The submission deadline for consideration in the Spring issue is February 15th; the deadline for the Fall issue is October 15th.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Southeast World History Association (SEWHA) invites panel and individual paper proposals for its 2004 annual conference, which will be held in Huntsville, Alabama, October 22-23, 2004. The conference will be co-hosted by Alabama A & M University (AAMU) and the University of Alabama in Huntsville (UAH).

The theme of the 2004 conference is: "*Pax et Imperium: Dream or Delusion? Empires and Imperialism in World History*." Deadline for submission of proposals is March 1, 2004.

Proposals should include name and contact information (email address and phone number) of presenters, along with the title of the paper and an abstract no more than one page (250 words) in length. The conference organizers strongly encourage submission of proposals for complete panels (with three presenters, chair and discussant) on particular aspects of this year's conference theme, as well as panels/papers on the challenges of teaching "empires and imperialism." Papers/panels are welcome from graduate students and secondary education teachers as well as college faculty.

Submit proposals and questions to the SEWHA 2004 Conference Program Committee: Dr. Edward Bond, AAMU, Department of Behavioral Sciences, PO Box 1926, Alabama A & M University, Normal, AL 35762, ebond@aamu.edu and Dr. Virginia Martin, UAH, Department of History, 409 Roberts Hall, University of Alabama, Huntsville, AL 35899, martinvi@email.uah.edu

Selected Sources

Bobbitt, Philip. *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History*. New York: Knopf, 2002.

Ferrill, Arthur. *The Origins of War: From the Stone Age to Alexander the Great*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.

Hastings, Max. *The Korean War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.

Keeley, Lawrence. *War Before Civilization*. Oxford, 1996.

Keegan, John. *A History of Warfare*. New York: Knopf, 1993.

MacDonald, Callum A. *Korea: The War Before Vietnam*. New York: The Free Press, 1986.

Mansfield, Sue. *The Gestalts of War: An Inquiry into Its Origins and Meanings as a Social Institution*. New York: The Dial Press, 1982.

O'Connell, Robert L. *Ride of the Second Horseman: The Birth and Death of War*. Oxford, 1995.

Otterbein, Keith. "A History of Research on Warfare in Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 101, December, 1999, pp. 794-805.

Turney-High, Harry Holbert. *Primitive War: Its Practice and Concepts*, 2d Edition. University of South Carolina Press, 1949.

Weart, Spencer R. *Never At War: Why Democracies will not Fight one Another*. Yale University Press, 1998.

TEACHING FOOD IN WORLD HISTORY: THE CHINESE EXAMPLE¹

Michael A. Marcus
Berlin Public Schools (CT)

To the people, the essence of what is most important is food.

-from the *Shi Ji*, Historical Records of Sima Qian²

Mr. Chu, the retired Master Chef of Ang Lee's 1994 film *Eat, Drink, Man, Woman* and father of a daughter who works at a Wendy's in Taipei, complains about people's loss of taste for fine cooking and the decline of the culinary arts. "Food from everywhere merges like rivers running into the sea," he observes, with the result that "everything tastes the same." As McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and numerous other foreign and domestic fast food chains enjoy the economic boom of China's cities, Chef Chu's wry comment captures the essence of globalization as a process of local level consumption. A patron's comment upon the opening of McDonald's in Beijing that "if every Chinese eats here just once, they'll make a mint."³ reminds world historians of the 19th century industrial-imperialist's dream that "if every Chinaman added an inch to their shirt-tails, the mills of Lancashire would run forever." While outsiders who recall mainland China before the 1980's may be taken aback by the extent to which images of Chairman Mao have been displaced by those of Colonel Sanders, consumption patterns in today's People's Republic are but the latest phase in a long series of regional, trans-regional and global cultural exchanges. There is nothing new about the Middle Kingdom's eagerness to accept foreign food traits and make them Chinese, for its history shows "the continuous absorption of all sorts of foreign influences, including ingredients, cooking methods, and recipes from the peoples of the steppe (Xiongnu to Manchu), as well as from the rest of Asia, the Americas, Europe, and Japan."⁴ The exoticism once found in the now unknown "golden peaches" cultivated, apparently, only in Xi'an / Chang'an during the Tang dynasty is today found beneath the "Golden Arches," whose ubiquity throughout urban China makes the erstwhile "celestial empire" more banal, ordinary, and almost painfully familiar. While for Chinese it will forever remain true that "even more important [than Whoppers]...is what they eat when they are *not* eating Whoppers",⁵ a survey of food-related issues in China's history and culture suggest some intriguing paths for student inquiry, along which their awareness of world history and cultures may be enriched. Whether they are fascinated or repulsed by the eating habits of people in other cultures, indifferent to or intensely curious about their own diets, students find food to be a highly motivating subject. Happily, for teachers of world history / world cultures courses, food studies also convey what readers of this *Bulletin* well know as the most fundamental of the "enduring understandings" to be gleaned from such endeavors: the world's peoples are all connected, have always been connected to varying degrees, and are more intensely connected now than ever before.

Food has become the focus of serious aca-

demic inquiry in addition to much popular interest in recent years. How it is produced, what is eaten, how it is eaten, who it is eaten with, and whether it is eaten or not are powerful vehicles of social, cultural, and historical meaning that deserve more of a place in social studies curricula. I have raised food-related issues in the classroom as part of a globalized, interdisciplinary approach to the study of China. Apart from the huge volume of Chinese-manufactured textiles, electronics, toys, and shoes appearing on American retailers' shelves, small Chinese take-out restaurants or even larger buffets and sit-down establishments — many looking alike or occupying a former diner on secondary roads — are proliferating across (at least) portions of the north-eastern United States, outside of the larger cities where they have long been a more common sight. Producing generically oriental tastes for clientele that pronounces "General Tso's Chicken" perhaps a half-dozen different ways, often along with a few choice "American dishes" like "French Fries" (probably Belgian) and "Fried Chicken" (probably West African), they are the fruit of recent immigration streams flowing especially from China's southeastern Fujian province. One result of this influx is that many of my students are as likely to choose pork fried rice or beef and broccoli as they would pizza when ordering out, and I often think that they might grasp world historical, social, and cultural forces better if only they were given a substantial opportunity to relate something as authentic, familiar, universal, fascinating, and desirable as *eating* to their studies. Certainly, their understanding of the geographical, historical, and multicultural connections between different civilizations and ecological zones may be facilitated by examining issues related to the production, consumption, ritual uses for, and exchanges of foods. Why, after all, should students be taught portions of *The Analects* without also being told that Confucius, despite his apparent willingness to subsist on coarse rice alone, reportedly left his wife because of her poor cooking? Or that even the ruthless Qin First Emperor spared anything and anyone related to the category of food while persecuting the scholars? Reading, thinking and writing about where food comes from, or about the consequences of having too much or too little food is an activity that middle-class American youths, who tend to think of themselves as "starving" by about 10:00 a.m., could well benefit from.

Food's shortage or abundance tends to raise the most fundamental question that may be asked about the social order: Under what circumstances is the possession of abundance among the few legitimated or challenged by the many? In China specifically, patterns of food production, distribution, and consumption seem to have always been highly sensitive to central government policies toward both its own subjects and the world outside of it. The *Han Shu* cites agriculture as "the fundamental way of governing the people," with commerce, crafts, and "the alchemical arts" of secondary importance.⁶ One way of asking "how are you?" in China is to inquire of someone whether they have eaten or not (*chi le me?*). While the necessity for human beings to eat is obvious, putting food policy explicitly at the top of an enlightened ruler's priorities appears to be a characteristically Chinese trait. How have China's shifting relations with the outside

world affected food policies and dietary habits? For Chinese today, how do their memories of past shortages, or lack of food and other goods shape their present behavior and attitudes toward the future? As the PRC rushes headlong toward the 2008 Olympics, what are the implications of China's ongoing cultural and economic transformations for the world that our students will inhabit as adults?

Zhang Qian, the Han Emperor Wu Di's long-suffering envoy to the West, was the first to establish recorded trade relations with foreign states that brought new foods and other items from Central Asia into China. The ensuing high volume of West-East trade enriched Han life to such an extent that the abundance of new goods threatened Confucian values of moderation: "excessive consumption of food and liquor was considered a sin so serious that it could even bring down a dynasty."⁷ Famously, the Tang witnessed the importing of many rare and exotic goods and people into China.⁸ And despite the reluctance of Marco Polo's fellow Venetians to believe his "million lies," the wealth and brilliance of Chinese capitals observed by him during the Yuan were due to the annual double-cropping of a new variety of southeast Asian rice that had been introduced in the preceding Song. Marco was particularly impressed by the abundance in China of one especially desirable product: sugarcane. In his 13th century Mediterranean world, "sugar manufacturing was not a local tradition, but migrated from China and India, respectively, to Persia and then to other Islamic countries."⁹ He was undoubtedly familiar with candies made of refined sugar, already famous in Cairo, and he observed that at "Unken" (Fujian province) "an immense quantity of sugar is made."¹⁰ Marco's "astonishment" at the extent and wealth of China's trade, especially in foodstuffs, has been described as "proverbial."¹¹ European appetites for Oriental tastes that were both fed and further stimulated by Polo's travels along the Silk Roads lingered well into modern times, as evidenced by the candy and jam-bearing caravan merchants, leading pilgrims "sweet to ride forth," of poet James Elroy Flecker's (d. 1915) "The Golden Journey to Samarkand."

What was of major interest to Christian Europe was no less important to readers of the *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, who, by the time of his visit to China, had seen just about everything. This greatest of Muslim voyagers visited some cities along China's coast in 1346, also under Mongol rule. He wrote that he did enjoy a banquet in China (Dunn 1986:260), but what he ate is anyone's guess due to his disgust at "the Chinese infidels eat[ing] the flesh of swine and dogs."¹² Americans plying the China trade in the early decades of the 19th century similarly condemned "the alleged Chinese propensity for eating dogs, cats, and rats" and "expressed anxiety over dishes proffered by their Celestial friends" to the extent that "nothing was more firmly implanted in the American cognitive map of China than...culinary aberrations."¹³ Those to whom they told their tales of travel did not find it difficult to picture tables full of such imaginary Chinese delicacies as "worm soup, stewed kitten, roasted puppies, [and] young entrails fried with batter and bird's nest dressing."¹⁴ Mark Twain, who is known to Chinese junior high-school students from a humorous piece on "Running for Governor" in which he has himself wrongly accused of attempting "to rob a poor [Chinese] widow and

her helpless family of a meager plantain patch," had, earlier in his journalistic career, eaten "chow-chow with chopsticks" in Virginia City, Nevada, but declined the sausages fearing that each "contained the corpse of a small mouse."¹⁵ In Hartford, where Twain later befriended Yung Wing, director of the Chinese Educational Mission there between 1872 and 1882 (the year of Exclusion), local children refused to taste a Chinese cake that had been sent to the students "because they couldn't imagine the ingredients that went into the confection."¹⁶ Two prominent literary figures who unwittingly promoted negative stereotypes despite their sympathy for the victims of prejudice were Bret Harte and Ambrose Pierce. Harte's poem, "The Heathen Chinee" (1870), roundly condemns "Ah Sin" for "ways that are dark," while Bierce, even while satirizing the anti-Chinese sentiments of fellow Californians who detested "John Chinaman" no matter what he did, presented the latter with the choice to "Eat rat unspiced, or mutton spiced, / And worship Joss, or Jesus Christ. / (Man's creed depends, and much beside. / On what he eats, and if it's fried)." Such obvious links between perceptions of cultural identity and collective cuisine reached its apogee in Samuel Gompers' co-authored pamphlet, published in 1902 by the American Federation of Labor and entered into the Senate's official documents, entitled "Meat vs. Rice: American Manhood Against Asiatic Coolieism."¹⁷

Just as many of the dishes best known and consumed in the U.S. by non-Asian-Americans are commonly understood to be "not really Chinese," or at least not ordinarily consumed by most Chinese, neither is Chinese consumption of Western-style food necessarily an "American" experience. McDonald's, which at the time of this writing has nearly 100 restaurants in Beijing alone and seeks to add 100 franchises per year in the country as a whole, is "the only [multinational corporate franchise] in the world with a Communist Party secretary."¹⁸ Its customers tend neither to eat fast nor alone, and seem more inclined to use the restaurant routinely (and not just for children's birthday parties) as a "popular site for personal rituals and group activities."¹⁹ The chain has been successful "not because of the food," but because it is the place to see and be seen.²⁰ Yet, in some cases the culturally new cannot easily be adapted to fit the old, as when a KFC restaurant was closed and evicted from an imperial park in Beijing for being "extremely out of harmony with its surroundings,"²¹ and a Starbucks Coffee outlet was forced to relocate from a too-conspicuous location near the gaze of Mao's portrait at Tiananmen Square (Stanley Rosen, personal communication). Still, the chains proliferate, and one may even order "Kung Pao Chicken Pizza," with a side of fried chicken at Domino's in Beijing.

These examples show how processes of cultural borrowings work in complex ways and travel in multiple directions. More than one-third of China's current food supply is derived from such hardy New World crops as corn, peanuts, and sweet potatoes that were planted extensively throughout the 19th century, during which the Qing dynasty's stability was threatened by a population explosion and the resulting imbalance between land, food resources, and mouths to feed. In China such troubles, culminating in the long Taiping Rebellion,

were always a sure sign of Heaven's displeasure with the Emperor's rule. With Western help, the Manchus restored order but could not control the food shortages, culminating in the death of 13 million people from three years of drought by 1876. It was not long before the Boxers spread the idea that the arrival of "foreign devils" in China was a direct cause of the lack of rain in Tianjin in 1900, which, along with the fear of hunger throughout the North China plain were the main reasons for the growth of the uprising.²² In the 1920s, the American agronomist John Lossing Buck led a team that made detailed surveys of China's agriculture, anticipating that Western science might spare the country of periodic starvation. *The Good Earth*, written by his Pulitzer and Nobel prize-winning wife Pearl Buck, shaped Americans' images of Chinese for several decades. Following the Nanjing Massacres of 1937, Americans saw newsreels showing the image of a boy "desperately need[ing] American food, clothing, shelter, and medical aid."²³ Individuals and institutions like United China Relief, Henry Luce's Time-Life publishing company, and missionaries of various denominations all began to argue that Americans needed to make common cause with China against the Axis, soliciting sympathy and support for the Nationalists led by Chiang Kai-shek and, above all, for a well-fed "Free China."²⁴ Despite the promise of liberation in 1949, it took less than a decade for China to be plunged into one of the worst man-made human catastrophes of modern times. "The Great Leap Forward," which kept Chinese busy making useless backyard steel at the expense of agricultural improvement, led to the death by starvation of an estimated 30 million people. During what was later officially attributed to "natural causes," and euphemistically referred to as "the three bad years," *People's Daily* published doctored photos of wheat growing so thickly that children could sit on them, and the government claimed that China had surpassed the U.S.A. in wheat production.²⁵ Students are intrigued to learn that not long afterward, in an attempt to suppress opposition within the Communist Party, Mao Zedong gave teenagers the leading role in "Cultural Revolution." So empowering was this experience to an entire generation that for a time in the mid-90's, adults who as relatively privileged urban youth had been "sent down to the countryside and up to the mountains" to be "re-educated" by peasants went to special restaurants where they dined on the dishes that remind them of the little food they had, a "hardship-retro" fad that had former Red Guards choosing to eat from "famine-era menus of fried locusts and boiled weeds."²⁶ Today's urban youth are once again taking the lead, but this time it is the global marketplace rather than the Party that directs them. Chinese urban teenagers are increasingly independent in their food choices, and it is, after all, the single-child *xiao huang di*, or spoiled "little emperors and empresses" who drag their parents and grandparents into "Uncle McDonald's Playhouse." In these and so many other ways, China is changing radically and rapidly even as it retains its uniqueness as a culture that is "confident of its own identity — so confident that outside influences do not compromise China, they become part of China."²⁷

While Chinese consume 80% of the world's sweet potatoes (a fact unknowable from

Chinese restaurant menus!), it is soybeans and crops indigenous to China, which in one way or another provides about 40% of the fats and oils in today's American diet. Growing disposable incomes in China put increasing pressure on both Chinese and world supplies of more desirable cereal grains (other than rice) for consumption by both themselves and their livestock. This, in turn, affects demand for water and brings with it "adverse human nutrition effects, since corn's protein value is less than that of rice or wheat."²⁸ Thus, "in only two decades, China has moved from a diet rich in grains and vegetables to one laden with red meat, sugar, and edible oils."²⁹ And as is the case in the West, in many processed food products, high-fructose corn syrup has replaced the use of the cane sugar about which Marco Polo so marveled.

As China's population of middle-class consumers, "floating" migrant workers, and displaced peasants grows larger, who will feed them? Overindulgences and obsession with foreign goods and habits now so evident (and marvelously satirized in the recent film *Big Shot's Funeral*) among a portion of China's "post-ideological" elites contrast starkly with the Communist Party's "Great Leap Forward" of forty years ago, during which an estimated 30 million Chinese starved to death. Chef Chu's complaint of "everything tasting the same" acquires new meaning in such contexts, including, for example, KFC's reported refusal to use Chinese-grown potatoes because they did not have the same taste and texture as Idaho-grown spuds.³⁰ Perhaps, because it is such a prominent feature of American youth culture, our students will enjoy investigating how "The Whopper Effect" — which is seen to lend "an impure, junky, hybrid quality to all spheres of Chinese life" — has become the hallmark of globalization not only in China but elsewhere as well.³¹ China's recent launching of a man into space poses an apposite question: Will its future continue to look more and more like *our* present, even as *its* present becomes more and more like *our* past?

SUGGESTED RESOURCES AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Ask students to read the socially critical verse from Han times, "The Salt Merchant's Wife"³² and "Reasons for the Decline of the Han" in the *Historical Records* of Sima Qian.³³ Note the references to food. Discuss issues of wealth and poverty in society, and the obligations of those who have more to those who have less.
2. View the film *Yellow Earth* (*Huang Tu Di*, directed by Chen Kaige, 1984, available in VHS Video format). The story is set in 1937, during a drought that affected the upland plateau of Shaanxi Province, some 200 miles from the Communist base of Yan'an. Students can be asked to write about or discuss the following themes, as seen in the film: geographical cause and effect relating both to food shortage and social inequalities of both class and gender (the girl who wishes freedom states, "of all us poor folk, girls are the saddest"); the Communist line toward land and peasantry, and their success at establishing a popular rural base; the pathos of hunger (especially evident in scenes featuring the lines "grain is never wasted," "they're made of wood, just to give the idea of fish," and "a poor family will take care of you")
3. Ask students to read Chapter 8, "When

Famine Hit," from *Spider Eaters*, Rae Yang's memoir of growing up in China.³⁴ Discuss the following questions/problems/issues: What was the cause of food becoming scarce? If you could only get what you wanted with ration coupons, how would your life change? Would you eat frogs? What effects did ration coupons have on people's freedom and sense of belonging to a community? Why did the authorities call the famine the "Three-Year Natural Calamity," when it was, in fact, man-made? Were ration coupons ever used in the United States? When, and under what circumstances? Compare and contrast how people dealt with shortages both here and in China. Students may also respond in writing to the following quotes/questions: "Some food in our stomachs was always better than a few cold bank notes." "Father was not sorry for having bought so little with so much money." "With such a rumbling stomach, the dream of communism was forgotten." Rae's parents scold Aunty for her illegal behavior, but do nothing about it. Why not? Possible questions for research regarding the realities of Communist China at the time: To what extent were they the result of China's poverty? To what extent were they the result of the Chinese government's own unrealistic policies? To what extent were they the result of China's isolation and/or alienation from the West? To what extent did American and Soviet trade policies affect China's development and/or food supply?

4. Ask students to read a short excerpt from *Iron and Silk*, Mark Salzman's memoir of his experiences while living and teaching English to Chinese English teachers in Changsha.³⁵ "Teacher Zhu's Happiest Moment" appears on p.58. The excerpt consists of Teacher Zhu's verbatim composition about his wife telling him, "again and again," of what it was like to eat in a famous Beijing "Peking Duck" restaurant. The main point is simply that even though Teacher Zhu himself did not eat Peking duck, just hearing about how much his wife enjoyed it made it his happiest moment. Students may be prompted to write about memorable food experiences of plenty that they have had, and to compare their experiences with those of people in 20th century China. Do we take food for granted in our society and culture? How? When? Why? With what consequences?

5. Ask students to read, respond to in writing, and discuss "The May 13 [1989] Hunger Strike Declaration" made by members of "the student democratic movement" at Tiananmen Square.³⁶ The students request that their "dear fathers and mothers...not feel sorry for us when we are hungry" for food, and describe themselves as "hungry only for truth." Questions may include the following: What realistic effects did the hunger strikers think their actions would have? In light of the importance of food production to China's history, what do you think the response of ordinary Chinese people would be to a hunger strike? Why would anyone, in China, willingly starve themselves? How is expressing "hunger for democracy" an example of Western influence? In Jan Wong's witty and incisive memoir, *Red China Blues*, the Tiananmen hunger strikers are presented from the point of view of a foreign journalist who is also a China "insider." From her perspective, the hunger strikers appear less noble than as they were portrayed in Western media. How

and why?

6. Ask students to conduct research on the world's expanding demand for food, and whether the earth's resource base and natural systems are up to the task. Membership in the WTO, urbanization and the loss of cropland, and the siphoning off of water for cities and industry are leaving Chinese farmers with fewer and fewer options. A key early source for debating the potential threat to world food security posed by developments in China is the work by Lester Brown.³⁷

7. Investigate the traditional Chinese diet and habits of eating. What is consumed? How is it consumed? Compare and contrast "ordinary" cuisine with what is served on special occasions. How do Chinese philosophies influence what people eat? (notions of *yan* and *yang* applied to hot and cold, ethnomedicine, etc.) Ask students to research and present on the practice of vegetarianism in Chinese traditions. Conduct a survey of students' own food preferences, or of the presence of Asian food products (tofu, etc.) in local supermarkets. Why is there an avoidance of dairy products? (lactose intolerance) Research the regional cuisines of China and how they differ. Explore the influence of the imported religions of Buddhism and Islam on what people eat and don't eat. Research both the native and imported foods of China. Students may create an exhibit or a map of the world showing the "routes" of Western and New World foods that were adopted into Chinese cuisine. Examples of New World foods in China include: sweet potato, corn (maize) from the Philippines via Spanish Mexico, peanuts, chili peppers, white (Irish) potatoes, tomatoes, red and green bell peppers, broccoli, asparagus.

Examples of Western and South Asian foods in China include: eggplant, onions, garlic, and carrots. Native or Neolithic Chinese crops include, principally soya bean and the "five sacred grains" of wheat, barley, rice, millet, and sorghum. Students may approach even the most mundane-seeming acts from a "problem-solving" or practical perspective through the posing of such questions as: Why is Chinese food cut up into small pieces? (to save precious fuel resources) Why are chopsticks used? (for picking up the small pieces effectively) Why are pork and chicken preferred over beef or lamb (pigs and chickens are cheaper converters of grain to meat; influence of Hinduism and the greater value of cattle as draught animals)

8. Ask students to write an ethnographic description of a typical evening and/or family meal experience at their homes. What is served? How is it consumed? What "rituals" of the table are followed? What dishes do people share in common? Who prepares the foods and how is responsibility for cooking, preparing, and cleaning distributed? Compare the results with descriptions of both typical and special-occasion Chinese meals.

9. Read the short excerpt from *Roughing It*, by Mark Twain,³⁸ in which the author describes his travels to Virginia City, Nevada, where he encountered Chinese for the first time. Ask students if they or people whom they know are suspicious about the ingredients of Chinese food, as Twain was so long ago. How open-minded are we about what we are and are not willing to eat? Explain to students that eating preferences are cultural, and are therefore learned.

10. Conduct a survey of local Chinese restau-

rants. Do their menus vary? Are there any that are patronized mainly by Asian customers? If so, how do their menus differ? What conclusions do you reach from this difference? Is there a great deal of turnover in ownership of these restaurants? Who is working in these restaurants, and what are their plans? Are the workers related to each other? Do the owners come from the same place, originally, as the workers? Do any of the people plan on returning to China soon? Have they left relatives back home, and visit periodically? Conducting such "field research," with discretion, would be a valuable experience for students if it is at all possible.

11. Research the history of Chinese immigration to the United States. Research conditions in the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian over the past 150 years, noting both the "push" and "pull" factors that drew Chinese away from their homeland and toward the "Gold Mountain" of the United States. Are the 19th century conditions in Guangdong, and the current conditions in Fujian similar? What is life in an urban American "Chinatown" like?³⁹ Where, in China, have most immigrants come from? Compare and contrast past immigration streams and trends with those of the present. To what extent are the immigrants and their children "Americanized?" What is "Americanization?" Ask students to read the short, wonderful cross-cultural piece by Lan Samantha Chang on her family's experience of Thanksgiving in America.⁴⁰ Have any students or their parents had similar experiences?

12. Ask students to research and present on the health consequences of eating industrialized fast food in the U.S. Compare and contrast the findings with what can be learned about health and disease in China.

ENDNOTES

1. Portions of this paper first appeared as a curriculum project submitted to fulfill the requirements of the 2001 Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar in China. I am grateful to Dr. Stanley Rosen for his insights and wit during the Seminar, to Miss Li Ma of Yunnan University International Exchange Programs and Dr. John V. Boyer of Hartford's Mark Twain House for the information about Twain, to my teaching colleague Dr. William Silva for his encouragement, and to Steven Snyder of Leading and Learning Consultants for his comments during my participation in Connecticut's Teacher Leadership Center in 2001-2002

12. cited in Adeline Yen Mah, *A Thousand Pieces of Gold: My Discovery of China's Character in its Proverbs*. New York, HarperSanFrancisco/Harper Collins, 2002, p. 197.

3. Nicholas D. Kristof, "Billions Served (and That Was Without China)," *The New York Times*, April 24, 1992, p. A1.

4. Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2000, p.636

5. Sidney W. Mintz, "Food and Eating: Some Persisting Questions," in Warren Belasco & Philip Scranton, eds., *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*. New York, Routledge, 2002, p. 29

6. Swann, *Food & Money in Ancient China*, pp. 116, 156-57

7. F. J. Simoons, *Food in China: A Cultural and Historical Inquiry*, Boca Raton, FL, CRC Press, 1991, p.18

8. Edward Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of Tang Exotics*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985 [1963].

9. S D.Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in The Documents of the Cairo Geniza Volume I. Economic Foundations*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967, p. 81.
10. Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1993 [1903-1920]. Vol. II, p. 226
11. E.N. Anderson, *The Food of China*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988, p. 89
12. cited in Douglas Bullis. "The Longest Hajj. The Journeys of Ibn Battuta," in *ARAMCO World Magazine*, July-August 2000. pp. 3-39.
13. Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant. The American Image of the Chinese 1783-1882*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969, pp. 27-28.
14. Russell M. Magnaghi, "Virginia City's Chinese Community," in Arif Dirlik, ed., *Chinese on the American Frontier*, Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, p. 138
15. Mark Twain, *Roughing It*, Chapter 54; <http://www.mindspring.com/~eliasen/twain/roughing/roughing.html>
16. Rachel Gottlieb. "Twain, Grant, and the Chinese: Historic Student's Subject of TV Series," *The Hartford Courant*, October 22, 2002, p. B1.
17. Excerpts from the writings of Bierce and Gompers may be found in S.T. Joshi, ed., *Documents of American Prejudice*, New York, Basic Books, 1999.
18. Jianying Zha, *China Pop: How Soap Operas, Tabloids, and Bestsellers are Transforming a Culture*, New York, The New Press, 1995, p.111.
19. Yunxiang Yan, "McDonald's in Beijing: The Localization of Americana," in James L. Watson, ed., *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1997, p.58
20. Conghua Li, *China: The Consumer Revolution*, Singapore, John Wiley & Sons (Asia) Pte. Ltd., 1998. p. 8
21. *The Times* (London), "China Evicts KFC," May 15, 2000, p. 12.
22. Paul Cohen, *History in Three Keys. The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1997, pp.87-95.
23. T. Christopher Jespersen, *American Images of China: 1931-1949*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1996, p.55.
24. See Jespersen, *American Images of China*, for a reproduction of the remarkable wartime poster showing Uncle Sam feeding a Chinese child with chopsticks, holding the child on his lap.
25. Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts. Mao's Secret Famine*, New York, The Free Press, 1996.
26. Philip Shenon, "Chinese Sup on the Sweet and Sour Days of Mao," *The New York Times*, July 25, 1994: see also Jan Wong, *Red China Blues My Long March from Mao to Now*, New York, Anchor Books, 1996, p. 357.
27. Li, *China The Consumer Revolution*, p. 8.
28. Lianzheng Wang, "The Rise of Corn," in Sylvan Wittmer, et al., *Feeding A Billion. Frontiers of Chinese Agriculture*, East Lansing, MI, Michigan State University Press, 1987. pp. 169-181.
29. James L. Watson, "Food as a Lens: The Past, Present, and Future of Family Life in China," in Jun Jing, ed., *Feeding China's Little Emperor: Food, Children, and Social Change*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, p. 209.
30. *People's Daily Online*, July 20, 2001.
31. This phrase was coined and used by Jianying Zha in *China Pop*.
32. The poem may be found in Stephen Owen, ed. and tr., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1996.
33. Included in Ssu-ma Ch'ien [Sima Qian], *Records of the Historian, Chapters from the Shih Ch*, translated by Burton Watson, New York, Columbia University Press, 1969.
34. Rao Yang, *Spider Eaters: A Memoir*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997.
35. Mark Salzman, *Iron and Silk*, New York, Random House, 1986.
36. Available online at <http://www.indiana.edu/~easc/pages/easc/curriculum/china/1996/eacpworkbook/gov/hungar.htm>.
37. Lester R. Brown, *Who Will Feed China? Wakeup Call for a Small Planet*, New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1995
38. available online at <http://www.mindspring.com/~eliasen/twain/roughing/roughing.html>
39. Excellent sources for this are by Gwen Kinkead, *Chinatown A Portrait of a Closed Society*, New York, HarperCollins, 1993, and Peter Kwong, *The New Chinatown*, New York, Hill & Wang, 1996.
40. Lan Samantha Chang, "Pass the Turkey, and the Stir-Fry," *The New York Times*, November 26, 1998.

Fall 2003 Election Results

The votes are in from this year's WHA Executive officer and Executive Council elections. The winners are:

For Vice President (President-elect), 2004- 2006

Michele Forman, Middlebury Union High School, Middlebury, Vermont

For Treasurer, 2004-2006

Roger B. Beck, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Illinois

For Secretary, 2004-2006

A. Jacqueline Swansinger, SUNY College at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York

For Executive Council, 2004-2007

Linda Black, Cypress Fairbanks Independent School District, Cypress, Texas

Kenneth Curtis, California State University, Long Beach, California

John F. Richards, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

The races were close quite close, reflecting the excellent slate put together by Nominating Committee members Tim Connell, Thomas Davis, Ross Dunn, Maggie Favretti, James Overfield, and Heidi Roupp.

Many thanks to those who were nominated but did not win this time around. Previously unsuccessful nominees should not hesitate to stand for office again

should they wish—as numerous past and present officers and Executive Council members can attest, it can sometimes take running multiple times before securing a spot on the WHA governing board.

If you are interested in nominating someone for WHA office or Executive Council, or would like to run yourself, please contact the Nominating Committee, in care of thewha@hawaii.edu.

Warmest of thanks to outgoing Executive Council members Ane Lintvedt, Howard Spodek, and Robert Strayer, as well as to outgoing Nominating Committee Chair Tim Connell and his fellow Committee member, Jim Overfield, for their conscientious and generous service to the WHA!

NEWS

Internet Colleague Finder Database

Pete Burkholder of the University of Wisconsin-Stout is putting together a web-based resource to facilitate virtual linkups of classrooms around the world. Tentatively called the "Internet Colleague Finder Database" (ICFD), the site will serve as a connection point for scholars who want their students to collaborate directly with other students across the country or around the world. Such collaboration might be as simple as American students having an informal online chat with their peers in another part of the country, or it could be as ambitious as an ongoing telecommunications linkup between foreign classrooms throughout an academic year. The project is supported by the University of Wisconsin System under its Plan 2008 Diversity Program, as well as by the World History Association.

If you have had your students engage in any distance-collaborative projects like those described above (or anything on the spectrum in between), Pete would be interested in posting an informal short story about your experiences on the website, once it's up and running. Please contact him directly at burkholderp@uwstout.edu for more information.

Book Reviews

Wendy Kasinec and Michael Polushin, eds. *Expanding Empires: Cultural Interaction and Exchange in World Societies from Ancient to Early Modern Times*. Scholarly Resources, 2002. 243 + xxii pp. \$19.95 (paper).

Anthony Pagden. *Peoples and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration and Conquest, from Greece to the Present*. The Modern Library, 2001. 206 + xxv pp. \$19.95 (cloth).

Peter Dykema
Arkansas Tech University

'Empire' is one of the most common terms found in any world history textbook, and perhaps also one of the most slippery. No one would deny empire status to ancient Rome, Han China or British rule in the 19th century, but what about the Abbasid caliphate, or Byzantium in its waning years? Textbooks address "Hellenistic Kingdoms" yet also "the Antigonid Empire." I have used one that refers to Cesare Borgia's 15th-century "empire," even though the lands he briefly held never amounted to more than a portion of central Italy. Today, a clear concept of what exactly constitutes an empire is all the more relevant as newsmagazines and academic conferences alike debate whether or not contemporary America qualifies as a global cultural, military and economic empire. Two recent books analyze empires in western and world history yet each approaches the theme from a distinctly different perspective.

Expanding Empires is the second volume in The World Beat Series from Scholarly Resources. Each book in the series is a collection of articles, some previously published, intended to offer students a rich supplement to a general textbook while making it easy for "professors to 'globalize' their courses in one stroke" (i). *Expanding Empires* contains 16 chapters and 8 supplements (short presentations of primary texts and images) analyzing imperial rule in Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas, and ranging chronologically from ancient Assyria to 17th-century Spanish colonies in the New World.

In their editorial introduction, Wendy Kasinec and Michael Polushin

argue that in order to understand how empires came to be forged and maintained, historians must pay close attention not only to military conquest and political administration, but also to how beliefs and values were negotiated by rulers and ruled, that is, how culture was imposed, resisted and/or embraced. In some cases, conquerors forcibly imposed their culture on subject peoples but more often a complex reciprocal relationship unfolded whereby the defeated peoples actively embraced some aspects of the victor's culture while the imperialist aggressor absorbed certain beliefs and behaviors of the vanquished (xii-xiii). The analysis of this "cultural interaction and exchange" is the primary focus of the volume and is intended to encourage readers to make comparisons across continents and across time. A secondary theme is the role played by imperial officials in the process of cultural exchange (xxi). Officials were called upon to impose and execute imperial decrees on the local level, whether in the core lands or out on the periphery. Methods employed by officials reveal how imperial authority was articulated for local reception and how local realities could, in turn, shape imperial policy. The level of success points to the attractiveness of the ruling regime and to the limits of hegemonic control.

Each of the chapters is either an excerpt from a scholarly monograph or a reprint from an academic journal. All present a highly sophisticated and nuanced view of imperial rule. Four essays address empires in the ancient/classical Near East, another four deal with Asian steppe cultures and their interaction with settled societies to the south and west (Mongols and China, Mongols and Russia). Exchange along imperial borders is also a key theme in articles on the Roman-Germanic Danube frontier and the shifting (and porous) line separating Muslims and Christians in Spain. Because of the editors' specific interest in cultural exchange, a clear strength is the focus on material culture, religion, and trade. One example must suffice. Moreland and van de Noort's essay shows how Frankish rulers borrowed a "particular set of symbols" (92) from the late Roman Empire and then, in turn, used churchyard burials, relic shrines, new monasteries and palatine palaces to stamp their newly-conquered lands as "Carolingian" and thus symbolically integrate their empire via ritual, religion and architecture. Several of the editors' supplements also stress the evidence for interaction provided by material culture:

Alexander portrayed as a pharaoh, Buddha in a toga, the distinctive mosques of west Africa, and Turkish Muslims selling carpets on the streets of Russian Gorky.

As a collection showcasing high scholarship, drawing from all corners of the globe and tied together by a keen methodological approach, this volume achieves its goals. It is, however, intended as a reader for undergraduate courses and on this point I refrain from full praise. Each of the chapters appeared originally in a format where the authors could assume from their readers a high degree of familiarity with specific terms, geography, names and concepts. Many (most?) undergraduates, however, will find it difficult and tiresome to negotiate untranslated terms from Latin, Greek, Mongolian, Chinese, Arabic and Nahuatl sources, all in the same book. This is not a reader for an introductory World Civ course! As an anthology for an upper-division methods or 'themes in world history' course, however, it could serve admirably. I will continue to draw upon it as an excellent background resource for my own lectures.

A contribution to Random House's revitalized Modern Library series, Anthony Pagden's *Peoples and Empires* focuses on the Western world and presents how the Roman, Carolingian, Habsburg and British empires established and maintained rule. But he also elaborates on the ideology behind imperialism, on the belief—deeply held in the Western tradition—that a unified empire would convey great advantages to its subjects.

Pagden defines empires as governments that ruled over vast territories whose peoples embraced a wide variety of customs and beliefs. Thus, even as they imposed stability and rule, empires needed to have broad tolerance for diversity, so that every past European empire "offered subject peoples a combination of opportunities and restraints." Large empires both encouraged and demanded migration, bringing people-groups into contact with one another, creating new peoples and new cultures while sometimes obliterating the old (xvii-xxv).

The difference between the approach of *Expanding Empires* and *Peoples and Empires* is both clear and instructive. While Kasinec and Polushin present the theme of empire in current social-scientific terms of culture, exchange, and negotiation, Pagden sticks more closely to the language of the historical actors who justified imperial expansion. The sub-title to his book implies a study of migration, exploration and con-

quest, yet the real focus of his analysis is the development of European imperial ideologies, whereby Europeans from Alexander the Great to modern times have promoted the "civilizing mission" of benevolent universal empires. This may well have been the dream of Plutarch, Cicero, and Edmund Burke (for whom empire is described as "a sacred trust"; 98), as well as the goal of apologists for the spread of Christianity ("a truly universalizing creed"; 63), Habsburg imperial rule, or global trade ("a new form of universalism"; 86). It is to Pagden's credit that he quotes so extensively from the sources, bringing a richness and clarity to the arguments that have, in the past, justified imperial ventures. And, it must be noted, Pagden is himself no apologist for imperialism, describing the British Empire as "among the most aggressive, the most rapacious, of imperial powers" (98). But, his critique of Britannia and his substantial treatment of Las Casas notwithstanding, we hear little from the victims of empire, and even less of any sort of interaction whereby rulers and subject peoples negotiated cultural formation along a two-way street. In Pagden's description—and it is a description firmly grounded in his chosen sources—empires act while subject peoples are acted upon.

Thus the two books present nicely the differences between the older master narrative of Western civilization and the newer global approach to world history. Pagden's rich source-based work presents descriptively the views of those who created, promoted and remembered fondly the empires of the past while Kasinec and Polushin's collection presents analytically the dynamics of interaction and exchange in world societies.

Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler. *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*, 2nd ed. McGraw-Hill, 2003. 1169 + xxii pp., glossary and index.

Peter Dykema
Arkansas Tech University

When it first appeared in 2000, Jerry Bentley and Herbert Ziegler's *Traditions and Encounters* was a welcome addition to the small number of textbooks that truly took a global and comparative approach to world history in contrast to western civilization textbooks that had been expanded and revised but still read as though the 'world' chapters had been merely grafted onto an older master narrative. Building

on the strengths of the first edition, Bentley, Ziegler and McGraw-Hill have produced a new edition that is an improved teaching tool and, in some subtle ways, well addresses changes in how globalization has come to be understood by many since September 11, 2001.

Traditions and Encounters achieves a coherent narrative by explicitly offering "a global perspective on the past—a vision of history that is meaningful and appropriate for the interdependent world of contemporary times" (vol. 1, xix). Thus the authors present how today's global society is predicated on a long historical development of trade systems and communication networks linking various peoples at different times in the past. These rich historical *encounters* make up one key theme of the book and their development over time organizes the narrative into seven parts, each addressing an identifiable stage in global history: early complex societies, 3500-500 BCE; classical societies, 500 BCE – 500 CE; the transitional postclassical era, 500-1000; the age of Eurasian/African cross-cultural interaction, 1000-1500; early global interdependence 1500-1800; the age of revolution, industry and empire, 1750-1914; and contemporary global societies, 1914-present. I have found especially beneficial a set of chapters devoted to long-distance cross-cultural exchange, tying together societies across continents and oceans (ch. 12 on the ancient silk roads; ch. 22 on trade, travel and exploration throughout the eastern hemisphere; ch. 23 on transoceanic encounters and ch. 34 on global empires). The other key theme, *traditions*, focuses on political, social, economic and cultural developments within individual societies.

The second edition of *Traditions and Encounters* has been improved in some very basic but important ways: more maps, more illustrations and more photographs (often of higher quality than in the 1st ed.). Every instructor will appreciate that the new edition presents twice the number of primary document excerpts as did the first, making possible at least a basic discussion of historical sources.

The most significant changes to the text itself can be found in the rearranging of the opening and closing chapters. Material on ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, originally treated in a single compact chapter, now appears in two expanded chapters, with the added content addressing migration and religion. The authors present the beginnings of Egyptian society as a result of climactic change necessitating the migration of African peoples out of the ancient Sudan and towards water sources to the south and at the Nile. Thus Egypt becomes a Mediterranean, Near-Eastern and African society. The section on the Hebrews has grown from three paragraphs to four

pages, a bow perhaps to more traditional narratives (and the traditional interests of many American college students) even as Hebrew religion is placed squarely in the context of Mesopotamian life and culture. A thousand pages later, the three chapters addressing the world after the Second World War have also seen substantial reorganization. Chapter 38 now focuses on the Cold War in Europe, the military conflicts it spawned around the world, and the fall of Soviet communism. Chapter 39 describes independence movements, decolonization, and political experimentation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, while chapter 40 looks at the contemporary impact of globalization in all its forms.

A common complaint of the western civilization narrative is that it focuses too exclusively on elite Europeans and their exceptional ideas, neglecting the lives and values of common folk in the west and around the world. A similar critique of exceptionality can apply to Bentley and Ziegler's treatment of cross-cultural encounters in the centuries prior to 1500. A student could read the stories of Paul, Zhang Qian, Ibn Battuta and Marco Polo and assume that long-distance travel was common, when, in fact, these men and their travels were truly exceptional. Yes, the encounter theme is a corrective to other approaches that tend to focus on cultures in isolation. We know the ancient and medieval world was far from static. Roman roads, silk roads, migratory, trade and pilgrimage routes all moved a great number of soldiers, merchants and the faithful from place to place. John of Montecorvino illustrates both the possibilities and the exceptional nature of trans-Eurasian travel. An Italian friar who served as a missionary during Mongol rule in China, John tells of his friendly encounters with the great khan but also bemoans his isolation and need for even "two or three" brother Franciscans to aid in his ministry (583). The authors speak of a surge in long-distance travel during the 13th and 14th centuries, yet also admit that only "hundreds of others, mostly Italians" followed in the wake of John and the Polo family (578).

Because Bentley and Ziegler argue that a global perspective is "meaningful and appropriate" for our times, it is fair to ponder how their vision of history functions in a post-9/11 world. By definition, a global perspective demands multiple perspectives, examining "the roles of all in the making of a world inhabited by all" (vol. 1, xix). This need for a neutral authorial voice could have led to an overly optimistic, even progressive view of globalization in which more interaction is more modern and thus always better. Certainly such attitudes were popular during the years the authors prepared their original text. Even though *Traditions and*

Encounters places its heaviest stress on trade, transport and communication advances over the past 5000 years, the downside of global encounters—conquest, slavery, epidemic disease—was always present in the first edition. Still, it is interesting to note that in the second edition, Bentley and Ziegler have added a new major section on “Global Problems” (1146-58), accurately reflecting, I would argue, a more cautious approach to globalization common among the American public. A few paragraphs on population pressures and environmental problems have been greatly expanded to include discussions on poverty, labor servitude, new global diseases and, of course, global terrorism.

Traditions and Encounters is a fine textbook, presenting current scholarship and a sophisticated methodological foundation. Its approach is eminently teachable and, in my classrooms, has served as the basis for many fruitful discussions.

MISC

Global History at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London Spring and Summer 2004

All seminars meet Mondays at 4 pm in the Pollard Room

THE PEARSON PRENTICE HALL SEMINARS IN GLOBAL HISTORY

The generous sponsorship of Pearson Education and Prentice Hall enables the IHR to bring leading practitioners in global history from the USA to talk to the seminar over the next five years.

March 22, 2004: Kenneth Pomeranz, topic tba

Kenneth Pomeranz, Professor of History at the University of California, Irvine, and author of *The Making of a Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1853-1937*, won the John King Fairbank Prize from the American Historical Association, and, with Steven Topik, edited *The World that Trade Created*. His famous book, *The Great Divergence*, is generally regarded as the most important available synthesis of work on the origins of the modern world economy. Andre Gunder Frank called it ‘bar none, the biggest and most important contribution to our new understanding of the causes and mechanisms that brought about the great divergence’

between the West and the rest’.

April 5, 2004: Jorge Cañizares, “Colonial Representations of Nature in the Americas” Professor Cañizares teaches a popular world history course at SUNY, Buffalo. *How To Write the History of the New World* won The American Historical Association Prize in Atlantic History and the John Edwin Fagg Prize for Best Publication in the History of Spain and Latin America. The Forum for History of Human Science awarded its essay prize for 2001 to “New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Spanish and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650,” published in the *American Historical Review* in 1999.

April 19, 2004: Mauricio Borrero, “Soccer and Civics: the Social History of a Global Game”

Professor Borrero teaches the World History course at St John’s University. His research interests are in modern Russian history and the history of food. His acclaimed *Hungry Moscow: Scarcity and Urban Society in the Russian Civil War* appeared in 2003.

May 10, 2003: Gayle Brunelle, topic tba

Professor Brunelle’s courses on World History and Women’s History, among other things, at California State University, Fullerton, have earned her renown as a cutting-edge practitioner in the classroom. Her book on *The New World Merchants of Rouen, 1559-1630* is a major contribution to Atlantic studies.

For more information, please see: <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihrseminars/global.html> Or contact the Convenor of the Global History Seminars, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, at: Institute of Historical Research, University of London -- Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU Tel: 44 (0) 20 7862 8740 Fax: 44 (0) 20 7862 8745

NCSS UPDATE

For the last 3 years, there have been substantial numbers of World History panels at the annual NCSS (National Council for the Social Studies) conventions. Last year in Phoenix, under the direction of Heidi Roupp, the WHA teachers organized a SIG (Special Interest Group) within NCSS, which will give World History panels special designations in the programs for the annual conventions. Last year approximately 4000 teachers attended the NCSS meeting. This year, over the

weekend of November 14-16, 2004 in Chicago, there were 13 World History panels, organized under the auspices of the WHA by Ane Lintvedt and Heidi Roupp. These WHA panels presented both historical content and teaching ideas and methodologies for new and experienced k-12 teachers of World History.

The WHA-sponsored panels and presenters at the November 2003 NCSS meeting are listed below. Information about the NCSS can be accessed at <http://www.ncss.org>

1. Developing A Global Perspective through Maps (Tim Keirns, James Akerman, Gerald Danzer, Paul Buelow)

2. Teaching Africa With Film (John Leary, Jeremy Liebowitz, Ernestine Austen, Steve Goldberg)

3. One Among Many: Exceptional Individuals in Chinese History (Gary McKiddy, Terri Sheldon, Mark Behling)

4. Using Music to Teach World History (Tim Keirns, Sigrid Reynolds, Tom Laichas)

5. Buddha, Jesus and Muhammad: The Power of their Lives (Karima Alavi, Carol Vogler)

6. Teaching About Imperialism: Women React to Colonial and Imperial Legacies (Ane Lintvedt, Patricia Lopes Don, Karima Alavi)

7. Animals and plants in World History (Maggie Favretti, Susan Douglas, Ane Lintvedt)

8. Foundations of World History (Despina Danos, Linda Black, Arna Margolis, John Mears)

9. Using Docs to Teach World history (Ken Curtis, Sharon Cohen, Jean Fleet, Arna Margolis, Merry Weisner Hanks, Frank Doeringer)

10. Korean Pioneers in America (Yong Jin Choi, Marjorie Bingham, Mary Connor, Ethel Wood)

11. Scoring the 2003 AP World History Essays, (Monty Armstrong, chair)

12. Teaching Contemporary South Africa (Louise Forsythe, chair)

13. Technology in World History (Eileen Orzoff, chair)

Ane Lintvedt
History Department
McDonogh School
Owings Mills, MD 21117
alintvedt@mcdonogh.org

A Look Back

The following was originally published in the World History Bulletin ten years ago (W.H.B. X-1). It is being republished so that a new generation of teachers can benefit from Ms. Hitchens' work.

GLASNOST, PERESTROIKA AND NATIONALISM IN RUSSIAN AND WORLD HISTORY: AN ANALYSIS

Marilyn Hitchens

When Leonid Brezhnev died in 1982, he left behind a host of internal and external problems. The internal legacies included a large and languishing bureaucracy, food production and distribution problems, a lingering war in Afghanistan, and pressures for change built up by the coming of age of the first post World War II generation who had no memory of either Bolshevik dedication or World War II sacrifice and deprivation. On the external front, the U.S. presidency of Ronald Reagan and the Star Wars program necessitated continued heavy military outlays, in Eastern Europe an approaching changing of the guard was attended by pressures for more independence in the satellite system, and the world telecommunications revolution carrying the liberal consumer message had bitten into a dysfunctional imperial system. Into this smoldering cauldron came Mikhail Gorbachev as General Secretary of the Communist Party in March of 1985. Gorbachev began immediately to regularize relationships with the outside world prior to his announcement of "glasnost" and "perestroika" in 1987. He had four summits with Reagan which resulted in the INF Treaty essentially allowing Gorbachev to turn his attention to the home front.

"Glasnost" or "openness" was reflected in a series of statements regarding change, in relaxation of the press, open debate on problems, trips abroad and creation of new political structures like the National Lecture delivered at the World History Institute, Aspen, CO. July, 1992. Parliament. To the West, glasnost took on the meaning of democracy, pluralism, liberalism and ethnic freedoms. To Gorbachev it meant something quite different. First of all, it meant controlled debate on problems. On the one hand, this debate was intended to find new answers to problems, primarily economic, impinging on the political control of the Communist state. On the other, it was a tactic whereby Gorbachev, in the best tradition of both communist and republican politics, was trying to discredit former leadership in an effort to secure his own. The debate was intended to drive home the point that problems were of someone else's, not Gorbachev's making. Second, glasnost became a part of Gorbachev's foreign policy whereby in place of military confrontation and challenge, the Soviet Union was trying to gain acceptance in the world community through liberal policies. Such acceptance gave Gorbachev a means of protection in lieu of military outlays. This approach is reminiscent of Foreign Minister Litvinov's "collective security" policy with the West in the interwar period when a

weakened Soviet Union faced a hostile and menacing Germany and, therefore, needed Western support.

Third, and most important, glasnost was an attempt to secure political legitimacy and power in a system where there is no accepted method of political inheritance. Since Lenin, every leader in the Soviet Union has had to dismiss the previous leader and his players in order to gain such legitimacy. Stalin purged the Leninists and created a new gentry of his own much as Ivan IV (Terrible) had done during his "Oprichnina" (in which the old nobility or "boyars" were purged and replaced with a new service class loyal to Ivan). Likewise, Khrushchev, in order to gain power, had to dilute Stalin's core of Communists. This he did by trying to elevate the power of the local communist elites at the expense of the central government officials and party. A peasant himself, Khrushchev tried a "going to the people" strategy which was reflected among other ways in his development programs in agriculture like the Virgin Lands project. In part, Khrushchev was deposed by the central party leaders when such projects began to flounder. Brezhnev, meanwhile, tried another avenue to legitimacy. He began to rely, not on central party leaders or local party leaders, but on bureaucratic elites like governors, city mayors, and so on, much as Peter the Great had done during his creation of an imperial bureaucratic state. But the very bureaucracy Brezhnev relied on became entrenched and privileged, scuing in motion the lethargy which greeted Gorbachev when he came to power. Gorbachev's road to legitimacy began to look like that of Catherine the Great's or Alexander the II's. He looked to the "intelligentsia" or that group of party/government privileged class who thought in progressive terms. These were the educated urban, Western-looking members of society who yearned for more freedoms and a better lifestyle for themselves. They were sympathetic to the West and could provide Gorbachev with the brains he needed to carry out his perestroika program.

Public support of Gorbachev via the vote to a new political superstructure, the National Parliament, was intended to seal Gorbachev's legitimacy. Western-style. The National Parliament had several advantages for Gorbachev. First, it emphasized to the West Gorbachev's seeming new allegiance to democracy. Second, it circumvented other political structures packed with cronies of earlier leaders, like the Party and government upon which Gorbachev wished no longer to rely. Third, the National Parliament voted Gorbachev to the presidency giving him a new independent power base. In 1990 it extended the presidency to 5 years. Finally, the Parliament tended to be filled with a core of intelligentsia upon whom Gorbachev now wished to rely.

Thus, the meaning of glasnost to Gorbachev was a political one in which he intended to woo the West and having done that, to secure his own power base in Russia. At no time did Gorbachev suggest that glasnost was to do anything but maintain the power of the Party and ideology of communism. He stated on many occasions that glasnost was intended to achieve "broad progress as long as it is not incompatible with the existing order." In a world context, glasnost meant a "breathing space," a "peredishka," for Russia which democratic themes could give him. It was a breath-

ing space from the pressures of Third World politics which were disillusioned with socialism and shifting to the West. It was a breathing space from Western military and economic pressures with which Russia could not keep up. And it was a breathing space from a satellite system under pressure internally and technologically.

"Perestroika" means "restructuring" and is most often thought of in terms of economics rather than politics, though there is a heavy element of the latter necessary to reorder economics. Like glasnost, perestroika also began in earnest in 1987 and was reflected in statements on the economy, a willingness to engage in capitalist theory and debate, in economists floating ideas for change, stabs at cooperative ownership, and economic exchanges and entrees to the West. To the West, perestroika began to take on the connotation of free enterprise, free market and private property. To Gorbachev, however, it meant the perfecting of the socialist system, a little capitalism in the best tradition of Lenin's New Economic Policy of the early 1920s. It is important to note that capitalism has played a major role in historical Russian economic thinking and not just in the anti-capitalist sense of communist dialectics.

Many Russian historians from Kliuchevsky to Tugan-Baranovsky have made the point that all societies are capitalist in the sense that all must accumulate profit in order to "progress." The question, according to these Russian historians, is who owns the capital and in Russian history, they assert, it has been the state. State capitalism, therefore, was the milieu within which Gorbachev was making his perestroika initiatives.

Empirical evidence suggests that economic restructuring along Western capitalist lines has been meager. Attempts at cooperative ownership have been stifled by a market system which is still essentially in state hands. Thus, cooperatives have been able to produce items at cost and priced to the market but have been unable to obtain raw materials or distribute their goods within the state system still run by bureaucrats who have no interest in giving up their power or privilege. More ominous, transfers of state property to private individuals have occurred along privileged lines. In the privatization initiatives, former bureaucrats are first in line with money access. "Now the bureaucrats will steal not rubles, but huge enterprises," argued Anatoli Zelenchuk, an adviser to the Party of Economic Freedom. "There's no denationalization going on, just a kind of re-nationalization." (*Wall Street Journal*, July 28, 1992, A-10) Likewise, the currency is still in the hands of the V-Bank (*Vnesheconombank* or state bank which has exclusive rights to deal with other countries.) Nor has perestroika altered the view of state debt as an essentially government problem. Debt in the former Soviet Union stands at 14% of GNP, four times the U.S., and continues to support 18 million bureaucrats. This is debt which Gorbachev, and now Yeltsin, wished to bankrupt from the West instead of diminishing government. Growth in the Black Market reflects the essential failure of perestroika to replace the practices and policies of former leaders with a new system out of state hands. Jokes abound in the former Soviet Union as to the facade of perestroika. "What is the next stage after perestroika?" one goes. Answer, "perestrelka" or "shoot out." Another is a parody of the old communist joke, "We pretend to

work, they pretend to pay." The new joke is "We pretend to buy and they pretend to sell." Hailed of Gorbachev in the cities and wariness in the countryside was the perestroika the West did not see or wished not to see.

In the context of Russian history, glasnost and perestroika reflect basic themes of Russian history. One is the theme of change from above. Christianity in the tenth century came from above, secularization in the eighteenth century by Peter the Great came from above, imperialization in the nineteenth century came from above, industrialization in the twentieth century under Nicholas II came from above and so did glasnost and perestroika. In such a context, change was halting and partial, intended to support rather than alter the fundamentals of the state. The second theme is that the primary interpretation of change in Russian history is connected with the maintenance of internal power as a means of strength against the outside world, of the momentum of expansionism, and, in turn, the survival of the Russian nationality. The Russian national identity has survived, not by cultural superiority or attraction, but by strength, size and political maneuvering.

In the world context, perestroika was an attempt at detente with the rest of the world to protect from externalities and periods of territorial retrenchment. In 1988 the disaster at Chernobyl and the furtive Soviet response focused foreign eyes on the dark side of Soviet communism adding pressure on Gorbachev to reorder the political and economic structures of the Soviet state. In the same year, Gorbachev began withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, both the symbol of failed past policies and a statement to the world about new directions. In 1989 as perestroika and glasnost proceeded, Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe ended. This was both a cause and result of glasnost and perestroika. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania ended old-style communist regimes and embarked on new directions reflective of the Gorbachev pattern. In November, 1989 the Berlin Wall fell, signaling a point of no return for Gorbachev's initiatives, the impact of which until then had been more profound outside Soviet borders than within. Now, however, the policies led unwittingly to nationalism, again from above because the initiatives were a Russian debate on maintaining power over an empire and from below too because the initiatives opened a floodgate of unrest unknown under a controlled empire.

There are several ways to interpret the connection between glasnost and perestroika and the rise of nationalism which occurred beginning in 1989. This rising nationalism occurred not only within the fourteen imperialized republics, but within Russia itself. Russian chauvinism returned unattended by communism. At one extreme, it could be said that glasnost and perestroika caused the nationalist explosion and at the other extreme that it was the inevitable result of a worldwide decolonization movement which had no borders. In the middle is the view that glasnost and perestroika sped up the tempo of latent nationalist sentiments which had been nudged along by internal Soviet policies and external Politics. The historical context of the nationalist movement in the Soviet Union is helpful in interpreting the nationalist explosion which ended in the break-up of the Soviet empire in 1992.

The problem of rule in a multinational state

is as old as the history of empire itself. The Greeks and Romans, Aztecs, Persians, Moslems, Chinese and so on have faced such a challenge. It is of some interest in world history to note the varieties of responses to this challenge. In the West, political structuring had dominated the scene. The Greeks tried a league of states, the Romans experimented with extensions of citizenship and the regularized institutional formats such as governors, and the Hapsburgs used political balancing. Meanwhile, in the Middle Eastern states, especially the Moslem states, religious structuring has predominated as in the millet system under the Ottoman Turks. In Latin America, demographic restructuring has played a part in the imperial rule, and in the Orient, monoethicnicity has predominated either through isolation as is the case with Japan or ethnic and cultural absorption as is the case in China.

The nature of the imperial nationality problem in Russian history is wrapped up in its long and grandiose history of expansionism. The original twelve Eastern Slavic tribes called "rus" which settled in the Dnieper basin in ca. fifth century A.D., gradually spread out throughout the Eastern European plain and then into Siberia. But expansionism has not been a steady march. Rather it has been marked by fluctuating borders. In ca. thirteenth century, the Mongols overran a large area of Kievan Russia. During the Time of Troubles 1598-1613, Russia lost much of Ukraine to Poland. During the Russian Revolution and Civil War, all of the republics were lost. For the most part, fluctuating borders to the west and south have been dominated by relationships with outside states often more powerful than Russia. In this case, national minorities have been caught between great powers, often choosing to go with the weaker Russia. To the east, small pockets of tribal nationalities were largely overcome but not incorporated or assimilated into the Russian culture. Except for the Tartars, there has been little ethnic mixing in Russian history, but an abundance of Western acculturation. In the sixteenth century, the upper classes imitated the Byzantine and Italian style, in the seventeenth and eighteenth the German, and in the nineteenth the French. Besides fluctuating borders, the history of Russian expansionism has been haunted by invasions resulting in a psychology of Russian ethnicity under siege. Both the savior and siege psychology of Russian history has become part of the Russian mythistory in its relationship to nationalities.

The czarist approach to the nationalities included absorption, Russification, territorial displacement and imperial rule. The 200-year Mongol yoke essentially changed the ethnicity of the Russian upper classes. At the time of the "mestnichestvo," ca. A.D. 1475, over half of the nobility could trace its heritage to the Tartars and thus were absorbed into the Russian nationality. As the czarist state spread across the Russian plain, indigenous groups with strong ethno-cultural bonds like the Cossacks, were coopted into the Russian defense system and then finally forcibly displaced from the Dnieper to the Don and the Volga areas. In other areas, like Ukraine, attempts at Russification, primarily religious, took place, though in Siberia religious conversion was not forced. The most potent of pre-Soviet approaches to the nationalities was the extension of imperial state rule. No effort was made to draw boundaries around national

groupings, but areas with indigenous peoples were simply drawn into the state system mostly for military defensive consideration and only sometimes for economic reasons as for example in Siberia and Alaska where furs were important.

The Soviets approached the rule of the world's largest multinational state in an ideological, empirical and practical way. Marxist theory, observations of the experience with Indians in America and other imperial states, and the needs of the Soviet state dictated the policies which were practiced until the end of Gorbachev's reign. Lenin, of course, set the pace and every other leader after him followed his basic prescript with modifications. At the theoretical level, Lenin believed that the nationality problem would be solved by socialism. After the Bolshevik Revolution at the end of 1917, he announced the national right to self-determination and right of secession to all nationalities within the former czarist state. Lenin believed that as socialism overtook Russia, there would be "sblizhenia" or a coming together and the "sliyanie" or merging into the Soviet nation. But in making the pronouncement, Lenin cautioned that the right of secession was like the right to divorce, wherein wives were not allowed to leave their husbands! The net result of this policy was that all the republics did declare their independence during the Civil War and only later were incorporated back into the Union by force (Ukraine, Caucasian republics, Baltic). fear of outside powers, or recognition of the advantages of being within the Union (Asiatic). As a tactical matter, Lenin often altered socialist jargon to fit the scene, shifting the emphasis from bourgeois capitalist to capitalist imperialist as the enemy, especially in the Asiatic parts of the former Russian Empire in order to woo them into the fold. As a practical matter of rule, by 1922 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed within the bounds of the 1918 Constitution (giving all power to the working classes). The Ukraine, White Russia and Transcaucasia and later three Central Asian republics came in as "Union Republics," essentially republics based on nationality and linking ethnicity with territory and representational rights in the national Supreme Soviet. By the 1936 Constitution, smaller national groupings were "nativized" or encouraged to learn to rule themselves. These areas came into the national order by means of "autonomous republics," that is self-ruling, but meant to improve on the U.S. model of Indian reservations because they were given representation in the Supreme Soviet. Many of the autonomous republics are in Siberia and some are very large, for example the Yakut which covers a major portion of northeastern Siberia. In addition to autonomous republics, there are small national groupings called autonomous oblasts, krais and okrugs (loosely translated regions, districts and areas). These areas are self-governing but who had no representation in the formal Soviet structure of government.

The results of the Soviet nationality program were like those in many of the imperial states. The system created nationalities and national identities where none had been before. The lines drawn were often along administrative territorial lines not matching ethnicity, or along the major ethnic lines forcing others to fit in. Administrative and state structures began to shape a new national culture based on a predominant language or native culture. But one

of the key components to nationality was lost, that is, the liberal aspect whereby consensus and experience in democratic rule could develop. Instead, Soviet commissars ruled from the center through the native or local elites much as the Mongols had done through the Russian princes, allowing the natives to build up power bases accompanied by ethnic chauvinism.

Leaders after Lenin adapted his approach, but the essentials remained the same. Stalin's repertoire of tactics included divide and rule, forced deportations, communization, economic imperialism and Russification. All served to intensify national identity and feeling. Divide and rule pitted one against another, shaping national identity much as the 100 Years' War shaped English and French national identity. Forced deportations introduced foreign ethnicities into areas of relative homogeneity, further shaping national identities. In efforts to Russify, Stalin encouraged folk dances to be done in Russian ballet style and he introduced economic techniques like collectives to change former indigenous habits and create new Soviet nationals. Khrushchev's approach was called "ratsvet" or "flourishing of nations" which dovetailed with his decentralization policies. One element of "ratsvet" was to pour money into local projects like the Virgin Lands agricultural development project in Kazakhstan. The effect was to inflate the nationalities that Stalin had begun to create. Brezhnev followed with a "corporatist" approach whereby the nationalities were to form part of a large enterprise in which all parts played a role. One element of this was his "affirmative action" programs wherein he tried to lift up republics which were considered backwards by giving additional funds for education and development (primarily the Asian republics). This empowered certain nationalities and bred resentment in others.

Gorbachev's nationality policy was in line with his political strategy which went back to vintage Lenin, i.e. NEP. He began to talk about communist ideology being fulfilled by "sblizhenie" and "shyanie," that is, the gradual coming together of all nationalities in a Soviet union. Thus, he did away with affirmative action, and during the riots in Kazakhstan in 1986 he replaced local leaders with Russians. As a result the very nationalities which had been created by the preceding Soviet regimes felt threatened, and the lid came off of anti-Russian feeling, both of which led to the dissolution of the Soviet Empire. Now Yeltsin talks about "imperial fatigue" and Russian culture without the republics is beginning once again to be identified with the Siberian east, not the European west. What was once a "millstone around Russia's neck," a frozen dungeon, is now the Slavophile "salvation" of Russia.

Whereas the czarist state ruled an empire, the Soviet state created a multinational empire. It created nationalities by drawing lines and administering them on an ethnic basis, but without liberalism and democracy much as had been done by all the nineteenth- and twentieth-century European empires. The result was that when decolonization came in 1992, the nationalities were there but without statecraft mechanics to rule themselves. Furthermore, class structure was fractured by Soviet policies of ruling through local elites and intelligentsia who were so discredited when liberation came, that those with expertise in rule could not. The result has been internal unrest and failed new national regimes. Another result of the Soviet

empire was that the failures of communism began to be connected with the Russian nationality. The most potent liberation battle cry was of environmental rape of the land and economic disaster. In Kazakhstan where farms had been turned into cotton plantations of "white gold," Kazakhs became dependent on food from outside and pesticides led to the fourth highest infant mortality rate in the world. Poverty in the national republics was also blamed on the Russians who, it was believed, had used their territory as an economic hinterland for their communist state. Within this context, perestroika seemed only like some new kind of Russian communist tinkering. Thus, "Russian" and "communist" became synonymous.

One of the most important elements of glasnost was the encouragement and possibility it gave to local intelligentsia to create the necessary national mythologies to sustain national identities. In picking through the past, the new histories focused on past national struggles, sacrifices and heroism. Often these stories were connected with neighbors and involved longstanding old feuds. Armenian national history revived memories of the Holocaust at the hands of the Turks and their deliverance by their Christian Russian brothers. This pitted them against the Azerbaijanis who found their roots in arch Russian enemy Persia and in the displacement by Russians when the discovery of oil was made at Baku. National Ukrainian memory dwelled on the Christian Uniate Church as distinct from the Russian Orthodox, on Russian coal exploitation and environmental disaster at Donets, on Nazi persecution at the hands of the Russians during World War II, and on the recent disaster at Chernobyl. Belarus has unmasked Stalin's terror in the graves at Minsk and elevated it to the national memory, while the Tadzhiks are reviving their Persian language roots.

In the Russian context, perestroika and glasnost let the lid off the nationalisms that the Soviet system had created, but without mechanisms for self rule. Internal national strife has resulted. The policies also allowed the creation of new national myths and languages with the resulting national struggles between republics, within republics where there are national minorities, and between Russians and the other nationalities. Perestroika in great measure let loose feelings of economic and environmental rape, and served to rally all nationalities against Russians and communism. Finally, displacement of Russian control has led to a revival of Russian chauvinism. But, perhaps the last page in imperial Russia has not yet been written. Shifting borders are a part of this history, and it is possible that the future will see regional cooperation or Russian hegemony again. Geography itself dictates that Russia alone be neither European nor Oriental nor unimportant nor nationally homogeneous.

In a world context, the story of nationalities here presented is similar to that of modern European imperialisms in general. Like the African experience, the way nationalities were created, by arbitrary imperial boundaries, administration, and great power rivalries, has led to strife between new nations when liberation comes. Education has created national histories bound up with old feuds. Without liberalism, internal unrest is the rule when liberation comes. In addition, the 1992 Russian decolonization process mirrors worldwide decolonization problems, especially in the way

that economic pillage has led to backwardness. Lingering resentments at the imperializer have led to new regimes based on resentments and dependency, rather than on a boot-straps mentality of reform. Finally, world decolonization has led to extreme political fragmentation and strife worldwide. This is intensified, it seems, by cultural homogenization wherein jazz, Coke, blue jeans and air travel threaten national identities in general. The only route to national survival for many who seem destined to be swallowed up by global consumer secularism, is to cling to national identities with all their attendant rapaciousness. In such a way, the crucible of Sarajevo and of Nagorno-Karabakh seem not so distant from each other.

World History Connected: The E Journal of Learning and Teaching

World History Connected combines rapidly developing scholarship in World History with research on teaching and learning. The purpose of *World History Connected* is to become a leader in shaping the teaching field of World History by offering instructors sound approaches to teaching history from a global perspective. *WHC* is particularly concerned to provide models of exemplary teaching, to connect separate fields of study, and to end a century of division between secondary school teachers and university professors. The goal of *WHC* is to provide a rigorous intellectual environment designed both to assist new instructors prepare for teaching World History and also to enrich the teaching practices of experienced instructors. *WHC* intends to publish articles that present and digest the latest research in the field of World History, that engage educators in discussion about teaching methods and practices, that introduce pedagogical debates, and that offer readers rich teaching resources. All submissions are peer reviewed.

World History Connected is particularly interested in publishing articles addressing one or more of the following areas: Articles that address the state of the field and new scholarship in World History; Articles that address under-represented themes in World History such as gender, technology, demography, and social structure; Topical overviews that draw connections and comparisons linking various areas of the world; Articles that connect traditional U.S. and European survey courses with global processes; Articles that focus on under-represented areas of expertise and their connections to World History, including articles on African, Near Eastern, and Latin American history; Scholarship that expands the content provided in standard high school and college textbook coverage; Teaching essays that offer instructional plans regarding how students responded to activities or performed on assessments; Articles that treat specific classroom instruction as a historical event with careful documentation, analysis, and corroborating evidence to draw conclusions and build explanations about world history teaching and learning. *WHC* is available world wide, there is no subscription fee. The target audience for *WHC* includes world history instructors and leaders of teacher education programs; social studies coordinators; research historians; and librarians. The University of Illinois Press is the publisher. For further information please contact Heidi Roupp, Founder and Managing Editor [Heidiroupp@aol.com].

Why Should We Study Byzantine History?

Al Andrea
Professor Emeritus of History
The University of Vermont

Several years ago, a young high school teacher, Lorraine Lupinskie-Huvane, and I entered into a fruitful and enjoyable correspondence, initially as a consequence of my responding to a question that she had posted on H-World regarding a problem she had given her ninth-grade world history class. In the course of our correspondence, I composed an essay for her class by way of explaining to these novice world historians why I chose to concentrate a fair portion of my own efforts as a world historian on the apparently arcane and long-gone Byzantine World. More than just a defense of Byzantine studies, I hoped it would help them understand why we, as students and instructors of world history, must be open to and eager to study all historical cultures and eras and not just those that seem immediate to our current (and limited) concerns. What appears below is a slightly modified version of that essay. Perhaps you might want to share some or all of this with your class at an appropriate moment.

"Indeed, why should we study Byzantine history?" In essence, this is not a proper historical question or, put bluntly, it is not a question that a historian should ask. The answer is evident—at least to a historian. We study Byzantine history for the same reasons that we study any other area of the human past.

As the Roman playwright Terence wrote, "I am a human; I consider nothing that is human to be alien to me." So also, the historian should and must say and believe: "I am a humanist; therefore, I know that no era or aspect of the human

way, everything that any human or group of humans has ever done, said, thought, or believed is material that a historian should and must study—assuming evidence exists that allows the historian to recover and study those deeds, words, thoughts, and beliefs. Out of this study comes deeper knowledge of the rich varieties of the human experience and a fuller understanding of what it means to be a human being. For it is *understanding* that is the goal of historical study, and the wider our historical gaze the deeper our understanding.

Let me put what I just wrote another way. The great nineteenth-century German historian Leopold von Ranke wrote: "Every age is immediate to God." By that Ranke meant that every historical era and culture has its intrinsic worth and need not justify its existence beyond the fact that it is (or was). There is a lamentable tendency today in the teaching of history at all levels, but especially in the schools where history is subsumed under the amorphous heading of "social studies," to want to justify the study of any particular era or culture by pointing out its "contributions" either to our own world or to human society as a whole. That seems wrong to me. On one level it often leads to a misrepresentation of the past by trying to find contributions even where they never existed. A classic example of this is the quite mistaken claim that modern democratic institutions were born in fifth-century Greece. This is not the place to explore why that is a fallacy. It suffices to note that it is a claim that makes ancient historians wince, even though it continues to be offered as a textbook justification for studying ancient Hellenic civilization. The fact is, ancient Greek society or any society in the past, for that matter, existed for itself and had no thought of us (as unsettling as that might be to us).

Leopold von Ranke wrote: "Every age is immediate to God."

Although these people shared a basic humanity with us (which is what makes our study of them possible and compelling), they shared, as members of a distinctive culture, many attitudes and ways of perceiving and relating to the world about them that differed substantially from our own ways of thought and action. To deny them that uniqueness, and to look at them simply (and often wrongly) as building blocks on which the foundations of our own cul-

ture is based, is to rob them of their culture and their dignity as humans. It is our job as historians to understand all peoples in the context of their own worlds and, by doing so, to enrich ourselves as humans who are ever trying to become wiser by virtue of our fuller understanding of not only the world in which we live for this brief moment but of all the worlds that have preceded our own over the course of many millennia.

The study of any historical era or culture—no matter how removed from us by time, space, or just basic cultural values—also helps us sharpen our sensitivity to the dynamics of history. History as an academic discipline centers on the study of human societies evolving through time and within specific spaces. As these societies evolve (note: historians do not use the word *progress*, which carries with it overtones that are quite unhistorical and value-laden), they change, but they also exhibit deep-rooted continuities. Understanding the dynamic interplay between change and continuity of any society helps us better understand and appreciate the challenges and changes that confront us. What is more, the more fully we probe the historical dynamics of a wide variety of different civilizations the more we become aware of the fact that history does not move according to immutable laws. Unlike social scientists, historians do not believe that human actions and social changes can be explained by neat models, paradigms, or laws. We see the differences, as well as similarities, in human historical circumstances and consequences. For us, each moment in the past is unique, and each culture is distinctive. History does not repeat itself (but historians constantly repeat themselves). We also realize the role, one might say the pivotal role, that accident plays in human history. Of course, humans are intelligent and free-willed, but as our study of a wide variety of cultures shows us, more often than not dramatic changes took place largely as a consequence of unforeseen accidents. On the other hand, we learn of the innate conservatism of human societies, in which basic values and ways of life can continue for centuries or even millennia despite dramatic changes in the political and economic structures of a people. Anyone who doubts this proposition should devote

past is alien to me." Well, as a piece of prose, that is less pleasing than Terence's graceful Latin, but I trust the sentiment is clear. History involves the study of humans and their manifold ways. Arguably, of all of the branches of the humanities, it alone studies human action and thought in its totality. Put another

some time to studying the 3,000 years of Egyptian history that separated King Menes, the putative unifier of Upper and Lower Egypt, from Cleopatra VII, the last of Egypt's Macedonian rulers.

Well, all that is fine, I guess, and as students of global history you probably already have arrived at these or similar insights, but it does not address the issue of why the study of a particular civilization—that of *Byzantium*—is important to you—students of premodern world history. Let me try to do that now—as succinctly as possible.

As you probably already know, *Byzantine* is a modern word and historical notion. It was coined a few hundred years ago to allow historians to distinguish in a meaningful way between Greco-Roman civilization and the culture that followed it in the Eastern Mediterranean. In fact, the historian who created the term did so in order to underscore his notion that the postclassical culture of the Eastern Roman World was a degenerate mutation of the once-glorious Roman empire. For him, *Byzantine* had all of the odious connotations that *medieval* had for those eighteenth-century historians who looked up the so-called Middle Ages as the Dark Ages.

Byzantium was the Latin name for the ancient city of *Byzantium*, which was founded in the seventh century B.C.E. by Greek colonists settling on the European side of the Bosphorus, the narrow, dangerous, but strategically important strait that separates the Black Sea from the Sea of Marmara and, beyond the Sea of Marmara, the Mediterranean. Given the agricultural richness of the lands bordering the Black Sea and the fact that the Black Sea was the Ancient World's front door to Inner Asia, this city had great potential—a potential that, however, only began to be fully realized from the early fourth century C.E. onward.

As you all know, Constantine I, the first Christian Roman emperor, transformed the fairly small trading city of *Byzantium* into *Constantinople*—the capital of his new Christian empire in 330. Almost overnight, Constantinople became one of the great cities of the world. At its height, its walls, which stretch some seventeen miles, enclosed maybe as many as a million people, making it in the early eleventh century, the era of its greatest

prosperity, much larger than Baghdad in Iraq (which was on the decline), far larger than any city in Islamic Iberia, North Africa, Egypt, or Syria-Palestine, and at least the equal in population,

size, and wealth to any city in Early Song China. Because of its prime strategic location—both economically and militarily—Constantinople became by the mid fifth century, when Emperor Theodosius II completed the massive land walls that still exist today, a magnet for commerce, industry, and migrating peoples. It also became, in the course of the 1,123 years of its life as an Eastern Christian capital (330-1453), the most attacked and besieged city in human history. Everyone, it seems, wanted to capture Constantinople. Its attackers included (and here I simply enumerate a few of the better-known ones) Ostrogoths, Persians, Avars, Pechenegs, Arabs, Vikings, Russ', Bulgars, Seljuk Turks, Western crusaders, and Ottoman Turks. Of these, only two groups. Western European crusaders in 1203 and again in 1204 and Ottoman Turks in 1453, succeeded in capturing the city. As a bulwark against attack from Asia and Europe, Constantinople was without peer.

But I am getting ahead of my story. The fact is, in 330 Constantinople was the capital of the Roman empire, which was alive and still flourishing, although it was in the process of becoming a *Christian* Roman empire. When, therefore, did Constantinople become the capital of the Byzantine empire?

If one were magically transported back to the reign of Basil II (r. 976-1025), the man who presided over *Byzantium* at the height of its power and wealth (and who died about a half century before *Byzantium* began a downward spiral in the face of Turkish incursions into Anatolia), and asked a citizen of Constantinople this question, one would be met with incredulity. Although this citizen spoke Greek, he called himself a *Roman* and believed that his emperor was the God-anointed emperor of the Christian Roman empire. Although he also believed that the West had been taken over by barbarians (whose forms of Christian belief and practice were also a bit weird and sus-

picious in his eyes), as far as he was concerned, imperial Rome—centered in Constantinople, the *New Rome*—was alive and well. We, of course, know better.

By the middle of the sixth century, Constantinople and its citizens who called themselves *Romaioi* (Romans) had become the matrix of a new civilization that persisted and largely flourished down to 1453, when finally the city of Constantinople fell to the forces of Islam.

Or do we?

Anyway, historians largely trace the origins of Byzantine civilization to the reign of Justinian the Great (r. 527-565), the last emperor of Constantinople to speak Latin as his native tongue. During the Age of Justinian a number of changes were taking place which collectively led to a new cultural synthesis—Byzantine civilization. This new civilization resulted from the fusion of three key elements: the autocratic structure of the late Roman Empire; Eastern Orthodox Christianity; and the cultural heritage of the western Asiatic and Greek Hellenistic past.

In true Hellenistic fashion, the entire Byzantine World revolved around the *orthodox* (right-thinking) Christian emperor, who in theory was answerable to no one on Earth. As a Christian, he could not play the part of a god-king, but he was the next best thing: the anointed living image of God on earth, insofar as his imperial majesty was a pale reflection of the Glory of God. As such, the emperor was the link between the Christian Chosen People of this God-blessed empire and their God.

Under the leadership of these emperors, who styled themselves *isapastolos* (peer of the Apostles) and *autokrator* (sole ruler of the world), the Eastern Christian empire experienced close to a millennium of vitality. By the middle of the sixth century, Constantinople and its citizens who called themselves *Romaioi* (Romans) had become the matrix of a new civilization that persisted and largely flourished down to 1453, when finally the city of Constantinople fell to the forces of Islam. To be sure, over those nine hundred years *Byzantium* experienced inevitable fluctuations in fortune and creativity, but by and

large, Byzantine civilization was noted throughout its long history for economic prosperity and cultural brilliance. Moreover, long after 1453, Byzantine culture remained a living force in Russia and Eastern Europe's other Orthodox Christian societies, such as Bulgaria and Serbia, that adopted Constantinople's religion and many of its other traditions. But once again I am getting ahead of myself.

OK, so the Byzantine empire which dated from about 550 to 1453 was immense and impressive politically, militarily, and economically. But why study it, beyond the fact that we as historians should want to study and learn about all historical epochs and cultures? I mean, why do some people such as I devote so much of their professional lives to this particular civilization? Well, let me end this overlong and rambling essay by listing some reasons.

First, there is the fact that Byzantium flourished for about 900 years. Now that is an historical success story. But more than that (after all, we historians are not in the business of listing winners and losers), over those 900 years Byzantium experienced many ups and downs, periods of tranquility and crises, losses and recoveries. The vagaries of Byzantine history offer many insights for those who look upon the challenges of their own day as daunting, unprecedented, or insurmountable.

Second, as noted above, Byzantium had a profound impact on its neighbors. In addition to the various Slavic peoples who adopted Byzantine Christianity and culture, most notable of whom were the Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgars, Serbians, and Albanians (and one cannot fully understand these cultures as they exist today without knowing of their Byzantine roots), Byzantium also deeply influenced its Asian neighbors, including the Arabs and the Turks. After all, the heart of Byzantium lay in Southwest Asia—the Anatolian Peninsula (modern Asiatic Turkey). The Byzantine impact on Turkish history and culture is an oft-overlooked and little appreciated phenomenon. I know that I argued above that we should not study history primarily to uncover the roots of modern institutions and ways of thought, and I stick by those words. Here I am arguing something else. By studying the *interplay* between

Byzantine civilization and the cultures that it influenced (and even helped transform, as was the case in Russia and Ukraine), we can better appreciate the ways in which civilizations and cultures cross fertilize one another.

Third and last (This does not exhaust my reasons, but I do not want to exhaust you.), there is the fact that Byzantine civilization was neither European nor Southwest Asian (whatever the heck that means). It straddled both worlds. Its form of Christianity, which flourishes to this day in the Eastern Orthodox Churches (most notably the Greek and Russian Churches), is quite different in some interesting and important respects from the Christianity of the West. It is neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant. The growing division between Byzantine Christian (and by extension, Russian Christian) civilization and Western European Christian civilization that especially took shape from the eleventh century onward is one of the great stories of premodern history. As Pope John Paul II's recent trip to Athens and his apology for the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) illustrated, it is still a burning issue. We have much to learn from it.

Well, so much more can and should be said in defense of Byzantine studies, but really the main point that I want to make in this essay is not that you should immediately embrace the history of Byzantium as a subject of great intrinsic worth and your new-found historical passion. Rather, I hope that you approach all historical eras and cultures, no matter how alien and irrelevant they might initially seem, as opportunities for learning and growth. You will not be disappointed if you are willing to study them with an open mind.

All the best in your world history studies.

SUGGESTED READING: Robert Browning, *The Byzantine Empire*, rev. ed. (1980); Cyril Mango, ed., *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (2002); Speros Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe* (1967); Philip Whiting, *Byzantium: An Introduction*, new ed. (1981).

Book Reviewers are needed for several new items. Please contact Peter Dykema at peter.dykema@mail.atu.edu

Advertising in the World History Bulletin

Advertisements are accepted in the *World History Bulletin* at the rates and sizes listed below. To place an ad, please contact the WHA and send a check for the appropriate amount to the WHA Headquarters at:

The World History Association
University of Hawai'i at Manoa
Sakamaki Hall A203
2530 Dole Street
Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822-2383
Tel: (808) 956-7688
Fax: (808) 956-9600
thewha@hawaii.edu

Ad copy must be submitted directly to the Editor of the *Bulletin* in either .tiff, .eps, or .bmp format at 400 dpi resolution AND in print form (hard copy) for comparison. Email attachment and/or via disk are fine. The Editor's address is: H. Micheal Tarver, Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Arkansas Tech University, 407 West Q Street, Russellville, AR 72801-2222. Fax: (479) 858-6452 Email: micheal.tarver@mail.atu.edu

Ad dimensions must adhere to the specifications listed below. Odd sized ads will not be placed unless permission is granted in advance. The WHA reserves the right to refuse ads it deems inappropriate or in conflict with the WHA's objectives. The appearance of an ad in a WHA publication does not imply endorsement by the WHA. Questions about advertising should be directed to thewha@hawaii.edu or (808) 956-7688 at the WHA Headquarters.

The World History Bulletin's finished size is 8.5" wide x 11" high. The following ad dimensions and rates apply:

Size -- Dimensions -- Cost

1/4 page
4" wide x 5.25" high
\$65

1/2 page
8" wide x 5.25" high or
4" wide x 10.5" high
\$125

full page
8" wide x 10.5" high
\$200

Inside front cover
8" wide x 10.5" high (call for availability)
\$250

Inside back cover
8" wide x 10.5" high (call for availability)
\$250

Issue Deadlines

Spring: Reservation by January 30; camera-ready copy by February 15

Fall: Reservation by September 30; camera-ready copy by October 15



Photographs by Micheal Tarver

World History Association
Sakamaki Hall A-203
2530 Dole Street
Honolulu, HI 96822-2383

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
RIPON, WI
PERMIT NO. 100

The World History Association

President
Ralph Crozier
Mayne Island, Canada
ralphc@uvic.ca

Executive Director
C. Kieko Matteson
Honolulu, HI
thewha@hawaii.edu

Vice-President
David Northrup
Chestnut Hill, MA
david.northrup@bc.edu

Secretary
A. Jacqueline Swansinger
Fredonia, NY
j_swansinger@yahoo.com

Treasurer
Roger Beck
Charleston, IL
cfrbb@eiu.edu

Membership in the World History Association can be achieved by mailing your name, address, and institutional affiliation, along with the applicable membership amount listed below. The WHA accepts Visa, MasterCard, and Discover (please include the type of card and expiration date) or check payable to the WHA.

Regular Membership	\$60 per year
Two-Year Membership	\$110
Three-Year Membership	\$155
Students/Independent Scholars	\$30/year
New Professionals	\$45/year
Life Membership	\$1200

Mail to: Roger Beck, Department of History, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, IL 61920. Email: cfrbb@ux1.cts.eiu.edu

WHA dues are payable on a yearly basis. During each year, members will receive two issues of the *Journal of World History* and two issues of the *World History Bulletin*. Memberships run on a calendar year. Applications received before September 1 will receive that current year's publications. Applications received after September 1 will begin membership the following January unless otherwise requested. If your address has changed since the last issue of the *World History Bulletin*, please send notification to Roger Beck.

The *World History Bulletin* appears in May and December.