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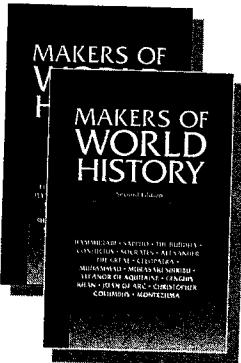
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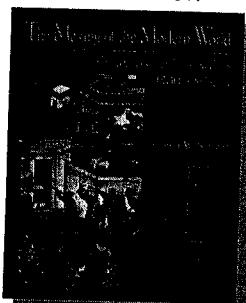
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WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

Newsletter of the World History Association

THE SPHINX CONTROVERSY

David P. Billington, Jr.
University of Texas

A research team has discovered physical evidence that the Great Sphinx of Giza, Egypt, is at least half again and more likely is over twice as old as it was assumed to be. A date of between 5000 and 7000 BC or earlier overturns the accepted chronology of civilization in Africa. In response, archaeologists have thrown mud at geologists, historians have been caught in the middle, and the Sphinx, having revealed one secret, challenges us to unravel even greater ones.

The discovery originated half a century ago in the work of a French scholar, R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz (1891- 1962). Between 1937 and 1952, Schwaller undertook a survey of the Egyptian Temple of Luxor. His measurements of the floor plan and other detailed observations of the ruins disclosed geometrical relationships not previously suspected. These were confirmed by French archaeologists. Schwaller found similar relationships at other sites. He reported his findings in 1949 and gave a fuller account in 1957.¹ A reviewer for the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* urged his colleagues to pay serious attention to Schwaller's work, which challenged the notion of Egypt's mathematical inferiority and suggested a new dimension to Egyptian religious belief.² But Schwaller stirred up opposition by the speculative meanings that he assigned to Egyptian architecture and inscriptions, and other scholars dismissed his findings.

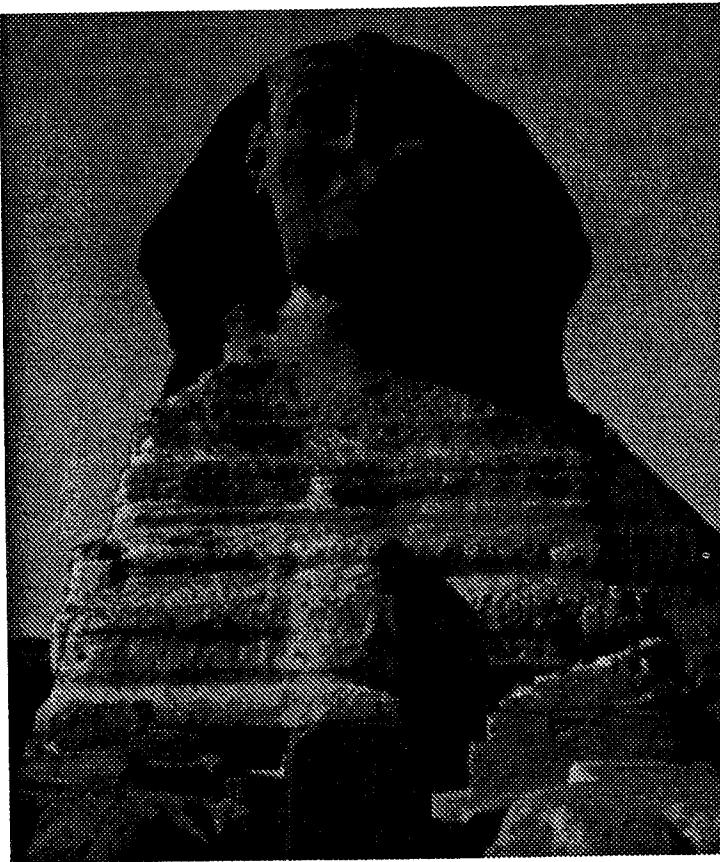
Schwaller observed a curious physical anomaly in the pyramid complex at Giza. The erosion on the Sphinx, he noted, was quite different from the erosion observable on other structures. Schwaller suggested

that the cause of erosion on the Sphinx was water rather than wind-borne sand. At the time, nobody understood the implications of this observation and it went largely unnoticed until the 1970s, when the independent Egyptologist John Anthony West took up the question.³

What is now the Sphinx head was probably at one time an outcrop of rock. The 240-foot body of the monument, in the shape of a recumbent lion facing east, was excavated from the limestone rock of the Giza plateau, forming an open enclosure around it. A small temple in front of the monument (the "Sphinx Temple") and an adjacent temple to the south (the "Valley Temple") consist of huge blocks quarried from the enclosure and refaced with Aswan granite.

Some 1600 feet to the west lies the mortuary temple attached to the Pyramid of Khafre (Chephren). To the northeast of Khafre's pyramid lies the Great Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) and to the southwest lies the Pyramid of Menkaure (Mycerinus). Archaeologists attribute the Sphinx to the Old Kingdom fourth dynasty ruler Khafre, who reigned about 2500 BC.⁴

West compared the erosion on the Sphinx, on its temples, and on the enclosure walls to the erosion of other structures on the Giza plateau. On the Sphinx and its nearby walls, the rock was worn badly, giving it a sagging appearance. Edges were rounded and deep fissures were prominent. On structures elsewhere on



The Great Sphinx at Giza

the plateau, the surfaces showed only the finer abrasion of wind and sand. Egypt experienced torrential rainfall in the millennia that marked the post-glacial north wind shift of the temperate zone rain belt. With some interruptions this period lasted from about 10,000 to 5000 BC, turning the Sahara from green savanna into a desert. A shorter period of rainfall lasted from about 4000 to 3000 BC, tapering

off by the middle of the third millennium.⁵ West thought that flooding from the post-glacial transition caused the distinctive weathering on the Sphinx complex, which meant that the Sphinx must have been carved during or before the transition.⁶ Orthodox archaeologists refused even to consider West's hypothesis. But in 1990 West persuaded Robert M. Schoch, a geologist at Boston University, to examine the question. Curious, Schoch agreed and the two visited Giza in June 1990.

Archaeologists agreed that the Sphinx complex stood close to earlier flood levels and that flooding probably reached the base of the Sphinx on occasion. However, flood levels have declined since Old Kingdom times.⁷ Schoch observed that erosion was heaviest on the upper parts of the Sphinx and enclosure walls, not around the base, where flooding should have undercut the monument. This upper surface weathering was typical of damage by rainfall, as were the undulating impaction pattern and fissures on the Sphinx and nearby walls. Schoch noticed that the limestone blocks on the Sphinx and Valley Temples were similarly eroded and that the refacing stones had been form-fitted to the eroded blocks behind them. Inscriptions suggest that the refacing stones dated from the Old Kingdom, which meant that the original walls must have eroded long before.⁸

On a second trip to Giza in April 1991, West and Schoch brought Thomas Dobecki, a geophysicist from Houston, Texas, to carry out a seismic survey of the enclosure foundations. Schoch wanted to determine whether the underlying rock showed evidence of precipitation damage. The degree of subsurface weathering could be measured by bouncing sound waves off of deeper layers of rock. With the permission of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, the team carried out sound-wave tests through the floor of the enclosure. Schoch and Dobecki discovered that the enclosure floor in front and alongside of the Sphinx had weathered to a depth of six to eight feet. They also discovered that the back of the enclosure had weathered only half as far. Schoch concluded that the floor behind the Sphinx may have been excavated during the Old Kingdom but that the

sides and front of the monument were twice as old. Assuming a linear rate of weathering, Schoch estimated the date of the Sphinx and most of the enclosure to between 5000 and 7000 BC, far earlier than the date of 2500 assumed by archaeology. Schoch noted that weathering could have been non-linear, slowing as it got deeper because of the increasing mass of rock overhead. On this assumption, the Sphinx could have been significantly older than 7000 BC.⁹

Egyptologists dated the Sphinx to Khafre from several kinds of evidence. A stela from the New Kingdom reign of Thutmose IV (1401-1391 BC) stands in front of the monument, and an inscription that has since flaked off contained the first syllable of Khafre's name. Statues of Khafre buried in the Valley Temple also seemed to associate the complex with Khafre, and the Sphinx head was assumed to be his as well. Finally, a causeway connected the Valley Temple to Khafre's mortuary temple.¹⁰

There was some uncertainty about the date even before West opened the question. Egyptologists agree that repair work to fill in fissures or to protect corroded areas on the monument took place in the New Kingdom no later than about 1400 BC.¹¹ This gave little over a millennium for the erosion on the Sphinx to have reached such proportions as to require protective mortaring and partial covering. The causeway to Khafre's mortuary temple was not weathered like the Sphinx complex, and the other evidence linking Khafre to the complex was circumstantial. The syllable *khaf*, for example, could have had other meanings.

West exploded one piece of supposed evidence. With the help of a New York City police artist, Detective Sgt. Frank Domingo, West compared the head of the Sphinx with a known head of Khafre. Sergeant Domingo generated profiles of the two heads by computer and by hand and found a very different facial structure of the Sphinx compared to the profile of Khafre. The difference is easily seen in photographs of the two heads. The Sphinx head resembled that of an African.¹²

West and Schoch presented their evidence with

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considerable trepidation before the Geological Society of America meeting in San Diego on October 23, 1991.¹³ Instead of finding some obvious flaw in their results, the scientists supported Schoch and West and many came up afterwards to offer their support. In newspaper interviews and private correspondence, however, other scientists raised two objections. One asked if the seismic refraction data coincided with a natural fluctuation in the rock layer itself. In fact, the seismic profile did not follow the natural dip of the rock.¹⁴ Another geologist proposed that the entire Sphinx, and not just the head, was a natural outcrop of rock. Such an outcrop, known in geology as a "yardang," could have eroded for millennia before being carved. But the Sphinx body and nearby temple blocks matched the stratification pattern of the excavated bedrock. They had clearly been carved out of the plateau along with the enclosure floor. Only the head could have been an outcrop.¹⁵ As publicity for the findings began to appear, some archaeologists denied the possibility of an earlier date. "There's just no way that could be true," countered one scholar, who pointed to the absence of known government and civilization from the earlier period.¹⁶ "There are no big surprises in store for us," declared another scholar.¹⁷ But Robert Schoch stood his ground. Or more exactly, the ground stood under him.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science scheduled a session to debate the issue at its annual meeting in Chicago on February 7, 1992.¹⁸ A leading authority on the Sphinx, Mark Lehner, director of the American Research Center in Cairo, led the attack on an earlier date for the Sphinx. He was joined by a geologist, K. L. Gauri of the University of Louisville, who had studied the Sphinx for a decade. Robert Schoch and Thomas Dobecki defended an earlier dating.

After reviewing the standard reasons for dating the Sphinx to Khafre, Lehner asked the basic question raised by his colleagues in archaeology: where was the civilization that had to have existed to carve the Sphinx and build the temples so many millennia before the Old Kingdom? Archaeology had found no evidence of civilization in Egypt that far back. The Egyptians of the post-glacial transition were primitive "hunters and gatherers" who could not have built such a monument.¹⁹

Dr. Gauri circulated a short paper that attributed the erosion on the Sphinx primarily to geochemical effects associated with either an upward seepage of ground water or with atmospheric condensation and evaporation, which occurred even in the dry climate of the area.²⁰ But in his own paper, Schoch addressed this objection. Until recently, the water table lay too far below the enclosure floor to be a factor. There was evidence of condensation damage to the Sphinx and its temples, but such damage was common to all of the structures on the Giza plateau and was the least serious kind of weathering. It could not account for the nature and severity of the impaction patterns on the Sphinx and its temples. Nor could it have

occurred while the Sphinx complex was buried in sand, as it was for much of its known existence.²¹

Lehner rested his case on the lack of archaeological context for an earlier Sphinx. Schoch replied that urban centers had existed in the Eastern Mediterranean at Çatal Hüyük from the seventh millennium and at Jericho from the ninth millennium BC.²² At Jericho there were large stone walls and a thirty foot tower. No such settlement had been found in Egypt itself but clearly there was civilization in the region. More evidence could be under millennia of Nile river silt. Dobecki presented the team's seismic results, showing how inexpensive sonar technology could scan wide areas for underground evidence.²³

The stone blocks at Jericho were smaller than the 100-200 ton blocks used to build the Sphinx temples. But the Sphinx temples were of simple post-and-lintel construction. The prehistoric inhabitants of Britain were able to erect Stonehenge, lifting 40-50 ton stones with only the building technology of a Neolithic society.²⁴ A very early date for the Sphinx and its temples is not implausible. In denying the Sphinx an earlier date, Egyptologists have unintentionally denied to the people of late prehistoric Egypt an engineering ingenuity that no one has denied to the people of late prehistoric Britain.

The AAAS meeting broke up in words that, according to the N. Y. Times, "skated on the icy edge of scientific politeness."²⁵ A writer for the AAAS magazine *Science* wrote that Schoch "hadn't convinced many archaeologists" of his findings.²⁶ But in fact Schoch *had* convinced geologists the previous October. Even some archaeologists accepted his geological findings without conceding the conclusion to which they pointed.²⁷ West spent the next eighteen months producing a documentary for television that attracted thirty million viewers when it aired in the United States on November 10, 1993.²⁸ Schoch and West will soon present their findings in a book.

The Giza monuments have long been a subject of mystery and speculation. Arabs called the Great Sphinx the "Father of Terrors," while many Western writers have seen in the Pyramids everything from tombs to secret wisdom.²⁹ John Anthony West has suggested that an ice age date for the Sphinx raises anew the question of a lost ice age civilization, possibly the Atlantis of ancient legend.³⁰ Robert Schoch has disassociated himself from such unorthodox claims. In 1974, a younger Mark Lehner edited the Egyptian readings of the American psychic Edgar Cayce (1877-1945). These readings included the information that the Sphinx was carved in 10,500 BC and contains a vault of records from Atlantis under its paws.³¹ Lehner has since disavowed these claims.

The controversy has not ended but some observations are in order. The evidence dating the Sphinx to an earlier time does not prove the Atlantis legend but does call the known chronology of African, and indeed world civilization into question. At minimum, the dating of the Sphinx must now be

treated as an open question. Scholars have been premature to dismiss the restricted and testable geological data that John Anthony West and Robert Schoch have found. The Great Sphinx deserves the kind of scientific study that West has had the vision to seek and that Schoch has had the courage to provide.

The evidence for an earlier Sphinx raises even deeper questions of its own: If the Sphinx complex is so much older, who built it and why? Should we be more tentative in what we assume about the first half of the last ten thousand years? If so, how should that affect what we teach about the second half?

There is one more puzzle to solve about the Sphinx. The sound-wave tests carried out by Schoch and Dobecki in 1991 confirmed the existence of three subsurface cavities, one on either side of the Sphinx and a third in front. The one in front appears rectangular in shape, which is not typical of a natural deformation in such rock.³² If the Egyptian Government grants permission, West, Schoch, and Dobecki hope to carry out further seismic research on the Sphinx complex and other sites. It can be hoped that Egyptian archaeologists will investigate the cavity under the front of the Sphinx. Until then, the monument challenges us to rethink our history and keep an open mind.

END NOTES

1. R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le Temple dans l'Homme* (Cairo, 1949) and *Le Temple de l'Homme* (Paris, 1957). Schwaller's stepdaughter, Lucie Lamy, conducted the measurements at Luxor.
2. Review by Bernard V. Bothmer of R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le Temple dans l'Homme* in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (April 1952), pp. 151-152.
3. John Anthony West presented Schwaller's work and raised the question of the Sphinx's erosion in *Serpent in the Sky: The High Wisdom of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1978; Wheaton, Illinois, 1993).
4. For an overview of the Giza monuments, see I.E.S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (New York and London, 1961, 1985).
5. On the holocene climate history of Egypt, see R. Said (ed) *The Geology of Egypt* (Rotterdam, 1990), pp. 487-507.
6. West, *Serpent in the Sky* (1993), pp. 186-189.
7. On flood levels in ancient Egypt, see Karl W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago and London, 1976), pp. 27-28.
8. Schoch's preliminary report was Robert M. Schoch, "How Old is the Sphinx? A Draft Status Report as of 10 January 1992," sent by Schoch to this author, 28 January 1992. A published version appeared as Robert M. Schoch, "Redating the Great Sphinx of Giza," *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer 1992), pp. 52-59, 66-70.
9. For the seismic results, see Schoch, "How Old is the Sphinx?" pp. 17-19, and Thomas L. Dobecki and Robert M. Schoch, "Seismic Investigations in the Vicinity of the Great Sphinx of Giza, Egypt," *Geoarchaeology*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (1992), pp. 527-544.
10. Selim Hassan, *The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo, 1949), pp. 88-91 still provides the best summary of the evidence for a Khafre attribution. Hassan cautions that the evidence is circumstantial.
11. For the history of repair work on the Sphinx, see Mark E. Lehner, "The ARCE Sphinx Project: A Preliminary Report," *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter*, No. 112 (1980), pp. 3-33.
12. For Sgt. Domingo's findings, see West, *Serpent in the Sky* (1993), pp. 230-232. For photographs of the two heads, see John Anthony West, *The Traveler's Key to Ancient Egypt: A Guide to the Sacred Places of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1985), pp. 148-149.
13. For an abstract of their presentation, see R.M. Schoch and J.A. West, "Redating the Great Sphinx of Giza, Egypt," Annual Meeting, Geological Society of America, Vol. 23, No. 5 (1991), p. A253.
14. See Schoch, "How Old is the Sphinx?" pp. 37-38.
15. See the comments of Farouk El-Baz of Boston University and Schoch's reply in *Boston University Today*, 11-17 November 1991, p. 7.
16. See the comments of Carol Redmount of the University of California at Berkeley in *The Los Angeles Times*, 23 October 1991, p. A18.
17. See the comments of Peter Lacovara of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in *The Boston Globe*, 23 October 1991, p. 8.
18. Topical Debate: "How Old is the Sphinx?" Abstracts of Papers, 1992 AAAS Annual Meeting (Washington, 1992), p. 202. *The New York Times*, 9 February 1992, p. 34. "Sphinx Riddle Put to Rest?" *Science*, Vol. 255, No. 5046, 14 February 1992, p. 793.
19. *The New York Times*, 9 February 1992, p. 34.
20. Abstracts of Papers, 1992 AAAS Annual Meeting, p. 202.
21. Schoch, "How Old is the Sphinx?" pp. 6-10.
22. For Çatal Hüyük, see J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (London, 1967), and for Jericho, see Dame Katherine Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 4th ed. (London and New York, 1979). For an overview of late prehistoric Egyptian settlement, see William C. Hayes, *Most Ancient Egypt*, ed. Keith C. Seelye (Chicago and London, 1964-65).
23. Abstracts of Papers, 1992 AAAS Annual Meeting, p. 202.
24. For a reconstruction of how Stonehenge could have been built, see R.J.C. Atkinson, *Stonehenge* (London, 1956), pp. 125-135.
25. *The New York Times*, 9 February 1992, p. 34.
26. "Sphinx Riddle Put to Rest?" *Science*, Vol. 255, No. 5046, 14 February 1992, p. 793. The article reports that radioisotope dating of the Sphinx is not possible. In fact, radioisotope analysis of surface interactions with cosmic radiation, a new technique, would date the rock's first exposure to the sky. The Egyptian Government has not permitted the taking of microsamples from Giza monuments for radioisotope dating.
27. See the remarks of Lanny Bell of the University of Chicago in *The Boston Globe*, 23 October 1991, p. 8, and John Baines of Oxford University in *The Independent* [London], 14 October 1991, p. 17.
28. Broadcast on the NBC network at 9:00 PM EST. The documentary won a 1993 Emmy Award for research.
29. For a survey of speculation about the Giza monuments, see Peter Tompkins, *Secrets of the Great Pyramid* (Harper and Row, New York, 1971).
30. See West, *Serpent in the Sky* (1993), pp. 215-220.
31. Mark Lehner (ed) *The Egyptian Heritage* (Association for Research and Enlightenment, Virginia Beach VA, 1974).
32. See Thomas L. Dobecki and Robert M. Schoch, "Seismic Investigations in the Vicinity of the Great Sphinx of Giza, Egypt," *Geoarchaeology*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (1992), pp. 539-540. The frontal void appears partially collapsed. These voids were detected in the 1980s by two other teams, one from Stanford Research Institute and the other from Waseda University. The geological debate over an earlier Sphinx continues. See the articles by Mark Lehner and Zahi Hawass in *Archaeology*, Vol. 47, No. 5 (September/October 1994), pp. 30-47, which are answered by Robert Schoch in *ibid.* Vol. 48, No. 1 (January/February 1995), pp. 10-12.

A WORLD HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Theodore H. Von Laue
Clark University

I. World history, assessing the human experience through time, is a novel and urgent challenge in this age of wide-open post-modernity. It inspires a lively variety of approaches among a growing number of history teachers in schools, colleges, and universities, for good reasons. As we face worldwide uncertainties, we need to experiment with historical interpretations that convey a sense of control over the present and the foreseeable future.

The future is always to be part of our lives, especially in times of profound change like the present. Let us never forget: we live at a unique turning point in human affairs. Never before have all the peoples of the world, deeply divided by millennia of diverse cultural conditioning, been compressed into such a tightly competitive interdependence. Never before have they interacted in such inescapable intensity. And never before have the still growing human multitudes drawn so recklessly and ignorantly on the natural resources of their earthly habitat. The human interaction within earlier "world systems" and "ecumenes" has been rather superficial; it has not prevented the rise of profoundly different and antagonistic cultures.

Now in the early global age these cultures have become interlocked to the point of cultural disorientation or even dissolution. Traditional guidelines developed in the isolated cultural and linguistic envelopes of the pre-global age are outdated in the relentlessly advancing global interaction. Under these conditions we have to try out novel approaches to human reality, in our political and economic affairs, in our lives, and in our historical interpretations as well. In order to come to grips with the new globalism, we have to work toward a "universal directional history" covering all aspects of life that can give us some understanding, in sound empirical knowledge, of where we have come from and where we are going worldwide. Given the pervasive shortage of human energy, however, we cannot afford to get immersed in the infinites of the past. We need a forward-looking sense of command over human destiny.

The following essay offers an innovative suggestion of a world history for the future, designed as an introduction to the existential challenges we and our heirs are going to face in our lives. Allowing ample room for detailed implementation by specialists, it goes beyond current efforts in the field—admittedly foremost as an effort to gain a reassuring overview over the extraordinary times through which the generations of the twentieth century have lived. Lightly skipping over mountains of scholarship and avoiding the maze of post-modernism, it searches for the essentials guiding

both human behavior and the course of history to the present and foreseeable future—with a moral concern oddly lacking in most accounts of world history. When we deal with human affairs, we are obliged to participate responsibly and constructively; it is morality that keeps societies and cultures functioning.

One inspiration for this venture comes from a comment by Arnold Toynbee: "The historian's profession...is an attempt to correct a self-centeredness that is one of the intrinsic limitations and imperfections, not merely of human life, but of all life on the face of the Earth."¹ Rising from the self-centeredness of daily routines to a time-spanning global overview is a risky endeavor, calling for intellectual daring in simplifying and abstracting the complexities of ground floor existence. This essay

"This essay on world history resembles an apprehensive glimpse of the earth as from a space capsule."

on world history resembles an apprehensive glimpse of the earth as from a space capsule. What indeed are the human beings down below doing?

II. I start with an assessment of the basic motivation of human nature, the motor of history. Human beings everywhere and at all times are prompted by an urge for power, for dominating the setting in which life is conducted. In order to overcome the perennial uncertainties of life they crave to expand human control in all directions, an unending and highly complex effort.

One major target is the natural environment, to be dominated for the sake of providing food, shelter, raw materials for tools and weapons, or sources of energy assisting human beings in their effort to survive. Nature furnished fire, explosives, wind for windmills, cotton and silkworms for textiles, water for steam engines, copper and iron for tools and later for machines, and with the rise of science and technology the forces that carried men to the moon. There is no lack of opportunities to prove the power of human beings over physical nature, with due awareness of the damage inflicted. Consider what happened to the cedars of Lebanon or the tropical rain forests; think of air pollution and global warming. Power over nature does not mean power against nature.

Next an even more crucial form of human power: shaping human behavior at the deepest level of human motivation. How in the persistent insecurity of life can the human psyche be trained to maximize individual resilience and working capacity? How can human beings, as social creatures forever dependent on community support, be socialized in the depths of their subconscious, so as to increase spontaneous social cooperation? The power skills conditioning the innermost core of human behavior have been

most effectively developed in the form of religion, a subject never fathomed in its depths by rationalist historians. Properly understood, religion is the crucial technique guiding, in the name of an all-powerful divinity mystically experienced, the relentless power struggles in the human conscience between uncontrolled bodily promptings and the search for psychic harmony and wholeness, and also between selfishness (or sinfulness) and submission to the harmonizing rules guiding the supporting community—or even preserving the natural environment.

Throughout history the awareness-raising techniques guiding the life-long inward power struggles have been perfected, advancing from polytheism to more potent and ascetic monotheistic creeds. The founders of the major world religions shaping human motivation at the core have been the most powerful figures in history, dominating individual lives and collective destinies through generations. What could be more central to human survival than tuning weak and fallible individuals to maximum creativity in facing both the adversities of personal life and the responsibilities of social cooperation? A responsible world history has to emphasize at all times the crucial role of religion in the human effort to affirm life by transforming the instinctual bodily promptings into spiritual and intellectual energies. The transnational skills of religion have been the central guarantee of human survival through peaceful human cooperation—set into the ceaseless social and political competition for power within their communities.

Sinful human beings forever compete for power under ever more demanding rules promoting social cooperation, in communities ranging from tribalism to modern nation-states. They cooperate under compulsion as in tyrannies and dictatorships, or, at best under democratic rule, compelled by their own civic consciousness. Inevitably the intensity of civic discipline increases the more populous the community; a modern state with tens of million citizens has to exert extensive social controls for the sake of civic cooperation. With all their obvious flaws, functioning modern democracies are built on a massive unconscious civic docility enforced by a minimum of compulsion, even when they are caught in the largest context of power struggles, in the international—and now the global—arena.

In international relations power has traditionally assumed its rawest form in wars for domination—with visions of global domination from the eighteenth century onward.² The perpetual competition within regional or worldwide “systems” has led to the perfection of military skills and state power, affecting the spiritual and intellectual underpinnings of society and its socio-political organization, the key factor in human evolution. Devotion to the community based on religious values has always constituted a superior source of strength for survival, as is most

impressively demonstrated in the history of the Jews.

But international relations also have peaceful components, in trade and commerce, in cultural relations; enemies learned from each other even in war. Religions crossed over political boundaries; respect for human dignity softened hostilities. That complex outermost framework of human interaction has always played a crucial part in shaping societies and even individuals down to their core. We now need a heightened alertness to its significance, all along aware of the diverse dimensions of power.

In human relations power takes many forms, ranging from raw force to kindness and love. Life may appear nasty, brutish, and short; but let us not forget the power of the saints, or even of ordinary good people. Different societies present a different mix of the extremes—lucky are those peoples among whom power is exercised peacefully through self-restraint; they possess an advantage over rivals ruled by compulsion. Competitive strength grows from peaceful civic cooperation. World history therefore has to pay close attention to that crucial capacity, with special emphasis on the moral values sustaining it.

Considering the human craving for power in all its forms as the motor of history, we can perhaps draw some hopeful conclusions. Admitting the high human costs of all struggles for power, we nevertheless observe a remarkable refinement of human capacities in the course of history. Human power over nature has phenomenally increased; civic skills in the leading states have been impressively advanced, together with a sense of humanness. Huge challenges remain, but the historic record of power-driven human perfectibility, taking into account the wide range of human creativity with due emphasis on religion, inspires some confidence.

Starting a world history course with reflections on the broad scope of human nature in the concentric layers of social interaction should sensitize us and our fellow citizens to the complexities of historical developments around the world.

III. With this new sophistication I turn next to the physical settings of the human power struggles (all too often overlooked by historians and social scientists). Using a globe for illustration, I point out the great variations in the earth's land surfaces and their climates, each shaping the lives and the cultures of the local people; world history has to proceed from a strong dash of geographic determinism. The influence of climates deserves special emphasis.

“The influence of climates deserves special emphasis.”

Cool climates stimulate human energies and ambitions; the northerners have been the most active and cerebral agents in global power politics.

Hot and humid climates create more sensuous and passive ways of life. Geography also shapes routes of communication and transportation, thereby promoting human interaction; fertile soils and mineral deposits furnish valuable assets; deserts impede human contacts; land-bound peasants are at a disadvantage compared with sailors living along ocean fronts. For millennia the inhabitants of the vast Eurasian plains lived dangerously on open highways traversed by armies as well as merchants, both disseminating vital skills of power.

Different geographic conditions, in short, prompted a bewildering variety of cultural responses, of different languages (6,170 by a 1990 count), and different histories. Viewed in all-inclusive historical perspective, the "world systems" described by various theorists have not prevented the creation of a geographically determined profusion of human association often at bitter war with each other: consider the cultural-political tensions within the present "world system" described below.³ Geography is at work also at present and in the future, resisting the growing uniformity of the new globalism.

IV. With a clearer sense of the geographic diversity of the human habitat and its influence over human lives I turn next to an outline of the history of the different power centers and the cultural resources developed in different parts of the world. Here our accounts should proceed comparatively, with an eye on the power-mobilizing interaction between nature and fellow humans in a given geographical area, always searching for the totality of factors at work in shaping human cooperation. I would begin with the Fertile Crescent, its power politics and religious creativity leading up to the Roman Empire. Next I would shift to the Far East, to the glory of the Chinese Empire, and thence to the states and empires rising and falling in the wide open Afro-Eurasian space, with due emphasis on the spread of Islam and Islamic states. As for India, why did it not turn into a power center? The peoples in sub-Saharan Africa and in pre-Columbian America (as well as their descendants) deserve special attention, considering their weakness when confronted with conquerors trained in the merciless Afro-Eurasian power competition. But they too pursued ambitious policies of expanding their power; think of the Aztecs or even Indian tribes in North America, or the Zulus in South Africa.

And now come the winners in the global power competition, the peoples of Western Europe (eventually allied with their kin in North America, both legitimately called "the West" in the large perspective here used), aided by uniquely favorable conditions beyond human control. Security from alien invasions, access to the oceans, and easy international communications combined to create in a relatively small area a network of intensely—and often brutally—competitive interactive communities. Thus

Western Europe turned into an unprecedented cultural hothouse, stimulating from the fifteenth century onward a rapid advance in all power skills to the point of dominating the rest of the world by the end of the nineteenth century. Their skills, increasingly drawing on the wealth and cultural accomplishments of all humanity, covered the full gamut of human creativity, including respect for human dignity (a subtle form of power); the Europeans took the initiative in abolishing slavery (a topic deserving impartial discussion in inter-cultural comparison).

Their most important achievement, however, was not capitalism, nor science and technology, nor industrialism, but the largely subconscious (and therefore commonly overlooked) spiritually based discipline of social cooperation on which all accomplishments leading to their global preeminence were premised. All analyses of the rise of European and Western power must stress the perfection, under constant social tensions, of the largely voluntary social cooperation embodied in constitutional government and a market economy. Admittedly, after the Age of Enlightenment the hold of organized religion declined, but religious values remained a part of civilized life, invisibly perpetuating themselves, up to a point, by the benefits of peaceful cooperation. Under the banner of freedom and liberal democracy the Western Europeans (like their American descendants) turned into the most intensely socialized human beings on earth, reaffirmed in their civic docility by their belief in "progress" and their pride in their worldwide preeminence; freedom is a highly complex molecule. Yet by any all-inclusive analysis they remained the products of exceptionally favorable circumstances not of their making, not of their conscious design.

To drive home this point essential in any meaningful world history: in all parts of the world human beings aimed at power and domination, subject to the conditions imposed by nature and setting which in Western Europe and North America advanced human capacities to unprecedented heights. Let us always remember our dependence on forces beyond human control and thereby diminish the bitter indignation over human inequality in the contemporary world; it was "Mother Earth" who created that inequality. But at the same time, let the Westerners become aware of the moral responsibilities derived from their undeservedly privileged conditions. A world history for the future needs moral reflection.

It also calls for an acute awareness of the obstacles to inter-cultural understanding. People cannot help but judge the world and their neighbors near and far according to their own cultural conditioning; they universalize their historic experiences. As a result, they have no comprehension of, or liking for, cultural otherness; it threatens their own identity and tends to make the others into enemies. Teaching how to cross

cultural barriers and to view the others realistically as legitimate products of alien circumstances should be an essential part of world history. Compassionate cultural relativism is a moral obligation and a precondition for understanding the problems of the next phase of world history concerned with the confluence of the world's cultures under Western domination.

And so attention turns to the outpouring of European peoples and their ways around the world, to global Westernization progressing since the days of Columbus and ominously culminating in the early global age of the twentieth century.

V. Nowhere else in the world had nature and the power competition created cultural resources matching those of "the West"; by the end of the nineteenth century European and American imperialism had subdued all political resistance to Western domination. The opening phase of the global era therefore deserves special attention, viewed here from perspectives that are still controversial but essential in a world history aiming at guidance for the future. We have to recognize that the ascendancy of the West initiated the most frightening conflicts in the history of the human race.

"The twentieth century surpassed all previous centuries in wars and mass atrocities."

The twentieth century surpassed all previous centuries in wars and mass atrocities. What else would you expect, given the abysmal ignorance among political leaders and their followers—indeed among all generations born after 1870—under the impact of the rising globalism, an unprecedented experience in human existence?

The Western expansion around the world, led in the name of freedom and democracy by the two countries most favored by geographical circumstances—Great Britain and the United States—precipitously enlarged the traditional European power competition to global proportions. The British Empire together with American imperialism served as a model for global expansionism, arousing worldwide anti-Western ambitions with unforeseen explosive consequences. The Germans, prompted by the British example to seek "a place in the sun" of global prestige, sparked the first "world" war. The victory of the Western democracies in that war further escalated the descent into political confrontation and human misery. It not only incited political ambitions around the world to extravagant heights, but also stirred up the irrationalities of mass politics in countries defeated or otherwise disorganized by the war and unprepared by history and geography for democratic government. The West thus ignorantly provoked the rise of communism and fascism, thereby sharing the responsibility for their inhumanities (an impartial

world history, aware of the new worldwide visibility of power, should emphasize the revolutionary influence of the Western model over unprepared peoples).

With the Western superiority always prodding their minds, Russian communists guided by Marxist dialectics were eager to raise their backward country from political collapse to universal leadership; fascists in Italy and Germany suffering from a feeling of inferiority wanted to expand their national power globally. Meanwhile alert intellectuals around the world enlarged their perspectives Western-style for anti-Western aims. In the Far East Chinese and Japanese leaders geared their national ambitions to the global scale, proceeding with the advanced cruelty copied from communism and fascism. Japan eventually joined Hitler in the second world war, committing its own atrocities. When the scale of power competition was raised to global proportions, what did human lives count?

The prescription for organizing limited indigenous resources for the global power struggles was revealingly outlined by Lenin: "What is to great extent automatic in a politically free country must in Russia [and by implication in all unprepared countries] be done deliberately and systematically by our organizations."⁶ Put differently, the totality of civic accomplishments achieved over centuries in the geopolitically most favored countries had to be artificially matched as soon as possible by refined political compulsion. Under highly adverse conditions at a time of national crisis traditional attitudes were to be drastically changed.

Lenin's blueprint of totalitarianism, applicable to both communists and fascists (as well as more recent dictatorships), took the most refined form under Stalin, driven by admiration of American industrial power. He was determined, in an utterly unprecedented large-scale experiment of forcible reculturation, quickly to transform his backward peoples in their huge country into citizens capable of overcoming at last both the dangers of external aggression and the humiliations of backwardness, whatever the human costs. If Hitler had conquered Russia, the inhumanities would have been even greater than those committed by Stalin and his henchmen, a fact overlooked by Stalin's detractors oblivious to the global context of his policies.

Fascist totalitarianism was perfected by Hitler, a master of domestic mass politics yet totally ignorant of the larger world. Plotting to enhance national resolve by racial purity on the road to territorial aggrandizement, he started the Second World War, admitting at the end his utter failure by committing suicide. His most tormenting atrocity was the Holocaust, best understood as the climax of evil tendencies prepared since the late nineteenth century. It combined rabid territorial expansionism with the widespread political racism escalated by anti-

semitism, the product of long-standing ethnic and religious hostility especially vicious in Central and Eastern Europe. Again, given the explosive tensions of the times, the new technological methods of genocide, and human ambitions raised to global extremes, what else would you expect?

After the defeat of Hitler, the war ended with the explosion over Japan of two atomic bombs, the deadliest instruments of mass destruction imaginable. The development of nuclear weapons capable of crushing all civilized life was another landmark in the evolution of globalism, a fatal threat overhanging the

"At any rate, the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki terminated globalism."

future, countered by uncertain global cooperation. At any rate, the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki terminated globalism. The Western preeminence and its humanitarian ideals had been strengthened, introducing a yet more intense form of global interaction, somewhat calmer though still perilously violent.

The American-inspired guiding vision of the new era was embodied in the United Nations, a global agency designed "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights, for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."⁷ It was to prevent a repetition of the tensions responsible for two world wars by diplomatic negotiation — a pious long-range hope for a peaceful globalism. Yet it promoted some practical advances toward that goal in the face of major obstacles, foremost the Cold War, a prolonged but subdued third world war.

Thanks to Stalin, the Soviet Union had matched the United States as a nuclear power. In raw competition involving bitter repression and futile local wars, the two "Super Powers" offered conflicting goals for the human destiny: was it to be a free market economy under liberal democratic government, or a social order designed to provide the benefits of Western society by social planning and political compulsion? In the power competition of invidious comparison promoted by increasingly effective mass communications the outcome was foreordained: Soviet organizations were not able to arouse the creative energies furnished by voluntary cooperation in the privileged "politically free" countries; the Soviet system became thoroughly discredited at home and abroad.

Meanwhile, the intensified globalism was extended to the many new states created by decolonization. The newcomers in the world's political arena were pressed into the forms of statehood copied from their former masters, without experience of self-government; adjustment to statehood was in most cases a bloody process. Yet henceforth much of the

world's cultural diversity was cast into a political shape; the number of states rose to 184 (measured by 1993/4 UN membership). The complexity of global politics was further increased by the advancing status of Japan and the "little dragons" of the Pacific Rim, extending the traditional global balance of power to the Far East. By the end of the twentieth century the whole world with its multitudes of actors had become a hothouse of competitive interaction, forcing the leaders, even the United States, to keep up with their rivals, while overburdening the lesser countries.

Thus after two world wars and the collapse of Soviet communism at the end of the twentieth century—or rather, phrased with more sensitivity for human suffering: after the unprecedented worldwide atrocities, inhumanities, and agonies indicative of the transition to the new globalism—Western ascendancy was complete. Under American leadership the world had become "Westernized" in global interdependence, a totally new phase in world history.

VI. And now a look at the conditions shaping the present and foreseeable future, in what is becoming "global" history. In the past half-century the West, by the persuasion of an enviously admired model, has imposed upon the rest of the world universal standards of power in weapons, political institutions, economic and financial organizations, science and technology, and ideological orientation, supported by a network of global agencies including the United Nations, MNCs, and NGOs (like the International Red Cross), all using the English language as the preferred means of communication. Western tastes dominate urban architecture, fashionable clothing, and lifestyles generally. Envious comparison encouraged by worldwide communication systems ranks everybody against everybody else around the world: who does not want to be at the top and enjoy the good life advertised by Americans? In addition, the ideals of freedom and democracy propagated around the globe have everywhere politicized collective life as never before. Yet lifted out of the restraining contexts of civic discipline these ideals tend to promote anarchy. Westernization, alas, does not spread the invisible spiritual underpinnings of civic discipline that have bestowed global leadership to the West; it even undermines the traditional discipline of non-Western cultures.

Westernization, now generally decultured and universalized as "modernization," proceeds by its own momentum (even if the United States, its chief source, is losing its glamour) as a source of profound worldwide cultural disorientation. The West has imposed—and continues to impose—its own cultural standards as absolutes upon the diverse non-Western cultures. The latter continue to throb underneath the Western surface, humiliated, discredited, embattled, and yet still legitimized by their past creativity in response to local conditions. Nowhere around the

world do we still find cohesive original civilizations; all have lost their original integrity, admittedly to varying degrees. Some people — foremost the Japanese — possessed a measure of cohesion and resources of civic discipline enabling them to absorb Western achievements while preserving their cultural continuity.

"Nowhere around the world do we still find cohesive original civilizations."

The majority of non-Westerners, however, were shaken to their depth, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Suspended between the discredited norms of their past and the uncomprehended realities of Western ways, where are people to find effective guidance for their personal lives and collective existence? Corrupt political leaders aim at Western lifestyles, complete with Mercedes-Benz cars; ambitious intellectuals emigrate to the West, often creating, with the help of compassionate Western scholars, a Westernized version of their traditional cultures. The bulk of the people are caught in civil unrest bordering on violent anarchy, most prominently so in West Africa,⁸ but increasingly also in other parts of the world, including south Asia and most alarmingly the peoples of Eurasia. Held together all through their past by dictatorial authorities, how can the latter — and the Russians foremost — suddenly manage to conduct their affairs by themselves?

Cultural disorientation is even invading the heartlands of the West, wide open as they are to the diversity of the world and caught in their labyrinthian post-modernism. The upward-bound migration of non-Western people into the developed countries has introduced cultural pluralism, a trend reinforced by the agitation for recognition among African Americans and American Indians, all weakening the traditional democratic consensus. The dynamics of Western life introduced additional tensions, as in the feminist protest against masculine domination or the controversy over abortion and homosexuality. The customary civic discipline and its religious foundations obviously are declining; crime and anti-social behavior are growing.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the growing disorientation is what may be called the "global overload." People are overwhelmed by the discordant profusion of stimuli and information thrust at them by life locally, nationally, and globally. In danger of losing their identity and sense of purpose in the vast unstructured new openness, they desperately seek refuge in narrow traditional bonds like nationality, ethnicity, religious fundamentalism, or even small-scale gangs—in any available form of human bonding no matter how primitive. Globalism is a source of widespread psychological helplessness, which leads from shrinking intellectual and social

awareness to civic discord and violence.

VII. In this culturally disoriented world, so my future-oriented global history now argues, the eternal power struggle continues, in some ways more subtly. Global interdependence affirms the dominance of Western ways now supported by Westernized allies in the Far East. In the age of nuclear weapons, it seems safe to predict, world wars are outdated. Within global interdependence the rivalry between the major power centers—North America, Europe, the Far East—is essentially economic. Worldwide economic relations demand peaceful methods of competition (as under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and enlarged frameworks of regional cooperation (as under the expanding European Community, NAFTA, and comparable associations on the Pacific Rim, in Africa or South America, each an arena of subdued power struggles).

The prosperity of the industrial leaders intensifies the Western impact on the world in the name of "development." The major states try to expand their sway by "developing" "under-developed" countries in their own image, yet with all too limited comprehension of the obstacles. Geography and

"Inequality, therefore, will persist; modernization cannot reshape the earth's surface."

climate irrevocably stand in the way, reaffirming the validity of traditional ways. Inequality, therefore, will persist; modernization cannot reshape the earth's surface. Can the gap between the rich and the poor be narrowed?

Not surprisingly Westernizing modernization provokes continuous resistance, as tradition-oriented disoriented people try to affirm their customary ways, especially where they retain a measure of sovereignty, as in China or in post-Soviet Russia. Yet the outcome of the cultural power struggle seems predetermined: who can resist the lures of Western wealth and self-indulgent lifestyles, or of freedom, or of advanced technology?

The biggest challenge to Western domination is currently mounted by Islamic fundamentalists, who have declared war on the Western Satan with a persuasive message: A simple lifestyle based on religious values is a sounder foundation for social stability and spiritual satisfaction than materialist self-indulgence. Yet even these fanatic crusaders are vulnerable. Engaged in a power struggle with the Western Establishment, they need the latest weapons and technologies for their terrorism. They also cannot allow too great a contrast in lifestyles and cultural sophistication between their followers and the Western world. In addition, their violence hardly fits the spiritual message of the Koran.

Other long-simmering power conflicts promoting violence are in the foreground of contemporary news:

ethnic or religious minorities assert themselves in the name of freedom and self-determination: Irish Catholics in British Northern Ireland; Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Muslims in Yugoslavia; Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran; Tatars (and many other ethnic minorities) in Russia; Armenians and Azeris (together with smaller ethnic groups) in the Caucasus area of the former Soviet Union; Tibetans in China; Tamils in India and Sri Lanka; Muslims and Hindus in India; and tribal groups in many parts of Africa. While the grand contest between the two Super Powers has come to an end, a profusion of unmanageable local conflicts derived from the cultural diversity of the world's peoples testifies to the intensity and complexity of contemporary global power politics. Who is not entitled under the Western definition of human rights to self-assertion?

Looking at the global power politics at the turn from the twentieth to the twenty-first century we can discern two conflicting major trends. On the one hand global interdependence linking the major political and economic centers promotes a reasonably peaceful style of competition. On the other hand, cultural disorientation combined with the search for equality and human dignity is promoting a worldwide surge of traditional identities, which often provokes anarchic violence threatening the peaceful global interaction that alone can guarantee an improvement in the human condition. The contest between these two trends will continue for a long time.

Add now for a realistic grasp of the future, a brief reference to the non-political consequences of the Westernization of the world: 1) the over-rapid population increase starting in the past century and ominously carried into the future, and 2) the resulting drain of the earth's vital resources evident in the disappearance of tropical rain forests, the shortage of water in dry lands, the pollution of the air, global warming—to mention but a few items under anxious current discussion. Huge problems loom ahead; we are certainly not headed for the end of history.

VIII. What then, in the light of the mounting challenges and the record of world history generally, are the prospects for the foreseeable future? A present and future-oriented world history certainly does not want to attempt any forecasting. It merely wants to sketch realistically, unspoiled by shallow optimism, the totality of factors shaping the human development in the past and the present, thus offering a guide for our inescapable yet always risky concerns regarding what lies ahead, with due emphasis on the essentials.⁹

As for my own concerns: first a positive view. Global interaction is bound to test, under Western auspices, cultural achievements from all parts of the world for the common benefit, such as medicines, foods, agricultural methods, artistic qualities, or

spiritual techniques; as a result all people will become more resourceful. But, for a more apprehensive view, these boons depend on peaceful interaction, which cannot be taken for granted.

Indeed, on the way to the integrated globalism of the distant future I foresee a major crisis of anarchy and violence. In a world geared to the progress of science and technology as well as to the mindless pursuit of pleasure radiating from the metropolitan centers, the most essential skills are neglected. In order to promote peaceful interdependence we need effective command over the global realities; we need the most careful study and detailed awareness, free of national or cultural bias, of the totality of factors shaping the lives of the growing human multitudes. For that purpose we must increase our cerebral energies, the source of human intelligence.

Next, and even more important, we must revive and advance the religious resources that tune people peacefully to their new interdependence. The available spiritual techniques are in dispute, contained in preglobal symbolisms and institutions, sometimes hardened into religious fundamentalism. Where do we find trans-cultural formulations of the spiritual techniques needed for containing worldwide disorientation and the drift toward anarchy and violence? How can we mix the moral cement needed for consolidating the ever tighter global interdependence?

Peaceful global interaction—our long-range goal—requires heightened moral sensibilities and expanded intellectual capacities. At the deepest level of human consciousness we need to evolve universal values promoting global cooperation, while also respecting the continuing cultural relativism with the affirmation of global absolutes guaranteeing peace and justice for all. A morally alert future-oriented global history, as all-too-briefly outlined here, should help us move toward the transcendent universal truth of loving all our neighbors—and our natural environment—as we love ourselves. The human experience through time teaches one supreme lesson: human life and happiness depend on the moral skills promoting peaceful cooperation. A global history without moral reflections, however controversial, is an irresponsible venture.

Looking back over the long course of world history as here sketched, I would like to offset, in conclusion, my prophylactic pessimism by repeating an encouraging message suggested earlier. Let us keep in mind the advance of human skills through the past millennia. Despite continuous crises and wars, despite outrageous inhumanities, human beings have developed impressive resources for sustaining life, honing their sensibilities and skills, refining their humanness. In times of profound crises their desire to exercise power over their destiny is bound to reaffirm the priority of the spiritual techniques that have advanced human cooperation in the past. I am

confident that in the future human beings will be able to perfect these techniques for constructively meeting the awesome challenges of the utterly novel global phase of human existence. There is encouraging evidence around the world of human efforts working in that direction.

END NOTES

1. Arnold Toynbee, *A Historian's Approach to Religion*, Oxford University Press (1956), p. 4.
2. In 1725 the archbishop of Goa, Ignacio de Santa Teresa, said: "God has deliberately chosen the Portugese out of all other nations for the rule and reform of the whole world, with command, dominion, and Empire, both pure and mixed." Quoted by C.R. Boxer, *The Portugese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (1991), p. 374.
3. All world system theories seem to ignore the basic fact that the achievements which they stress depend foremost on all-inclusive social cooperation, on effective culturally-shaped communities. It is the latter that deserve our attention in the past as well as in contemporary politics.
4. In some ways the Japanese may seem to surpass the Western practice of social discipline. But they have never been so open to outside influences as the Westerners; nor have they had their cohesion tested by an ideology of freedom.
5. The study of African cultures especially is conducted very much on Western terms. Even Afrocentrists shy away from the sensuality of African life, for fear of offending Western sensibilities.
6. *The Lenin Anthology*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (1975), p. 83.
7. Quoted from the preamble of the *Charter of the United Nations*.
8. According to Robert D. Kaplan's article "The Coming Anarchy" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994.
9. Two prominent statements of concern have been published in 1993: Zbigniew Brzezinsky's *Out of Control: Global Turmoil on the Eve of the Twenty-first Century*, and Paul Kennedy's *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century*. For a critique of these books, see E.L. Jones' article, "World History and World Forecasting," in the *Journal of World History*, vol. 5, no. 1, spring 1994.

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To C or Not 2C?: Using Equations To Teach About Civilization

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Over the past three years, we have developed a unit of study, "To C or Not 2C?," which is designed to introduce high school world history students to the concept of civilization. Students create mathematical models which represent the relationships among the historical processes and social systems which, when taken together, might define a civilization. Specifically, the students are asked to solve that equation: $C[\text{civilization}] = x$ in which x represents the various factors that combine to shape a civilization.

"To C or Not 2C?" begins a few million years ago, before the appearance of the human species on the planet. Too often, these eons are either ignored or compressed into one or two day's teaching. This urge to rush forward is often misguided. Students are deprived the opportunity of encountering the work of geologists and physical anthropologists who have information students can use to develop their understanding of early cultural groups and societies when they first appear. The story of early human beings also challenges the students to abandon present mindedness when they discuss family structure, religious and political elites, and social role, among other issues. Moreover, thinking about the factors which helped to shape paleolithic societies prepares the students to consider the larger issue of the formation of civilization.

The procedures for the unit's centerpiece — the creation of the equation — are as follows. The class sessions involve two instructional techniques: inductive thinking, which helps students create knowledge about civilization; and a review of information from scholars about civilization, which students apply deductively as they develop their equations. Students can work cooperatively in small groups or as individuals. All students, however, are required to maintain their own "Thinking Log" where they sort out their ideas as the equation takes shape. Students also write a brief essay in which they present their rationale for the arrangement of the factors in the equation. Finally, as individuals or in a team, the students prepare and deliver an oral presentation about their models and display the finished equations on large sheets of paper, approximately 3' x 5'. The time constraint for completing the equation, the essay, and prepare the oral presentation and display.

The procedures are designed to facilitate several student outcomes. As the teacher works inductively with the class, the students learn to exercise the free play of their imaginations as they begin to think about civilization. The students' early mathematical models are then conditioned, deductively, as the perspectives of historians, sociologists, and anthropologists are provided by the teacher and through assigned or optional readings. Students demonstrate their command of this information, as well as their informed judgment and analysis of that material, in the two principal writing assignments. Students demonstrate their ability to synthesize information when they create the algebraic equation and in the oral presentation. Final assessment of the students' work is made by asking questions and examining work in progress; by evaluating student portfolios — the Thinking Log, the final essay, and the equation; and by observing their performance during the oral presentation and in the subsequent interaction with an audience of their peers.

The students begin the work with their textbooks (McKay, Hill, and Buckler's *A History of World Societies*, second edition, 1987; and Wallbank and Taylor, et. al, *Civilizations Past and Present*, 1987), which they come to use as a resource, to read about the history of Mesopotamian civilization. Factors that shaped that civilization are inventoried. Then students review other civilizations covered by the text to see how they are portrayed. Meanwhile, the students are provided with ringing quotes or short excerpts of readings from anthropologists and sociologists about class structure, theory of leisure, power elites, the role of intellectuals, and more. We also provide students with several historians' ideas on the construct of civilization. Students learn about Jacob Burckhardt's triad of the state, religion, and culture; Oswald Spengler's assertion that every civilization is a unique experience; Arnold Toynbee's idea about the transfer of cultural traits by mutation and diffusion; Georg Hegel's ideas about the power of economic forces in the development of stages of civilization; Fernand Braudel's insistence on the *long duree*; and McNeill's ideas about the interaction between large urbanized centers and the agricultural regions on their periphery.

As the students weigh the information from the historians and social scientists, they record their thoughts in the "Thinking Log," which quickly becomes the crucible for the entire project. As the students think, their equations become more complex. They fuse together two or more factors; and they break down factors into smaller component parts. Students have a great deal of fun with this part of the assignment.

The students must decide, for example, if the factor, T (technology), is strong enough to stand on its own, or should it appear in the equation in a more detailed manner, as: I (innovation) + D (demand), divided by E (energy supply) + M (Materials) + L (labor supply).

What about the role of religion? Or should the equation also include ethics and values? Do some factors, perhaps war — especially if a civilization can be crushed — always have a negative effect on civilization? What if the army is powerful and generally wins? How should these variables appear in the final equation? Are some factors so influential that they must have exponents? For example, what is the importance of communication in a civilization? Must there be a written language? Can there be non-literate methods of communication in a civilization? If so, how do we show that variety in the equation? What about the chance of natural disasters or the failure to prepare for disasters that might happen? How, the students wonder, can our group use some irrational numbers in the equation? Slowly, the equations assume their final shape.

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate how some students developed various competent parts of their equation. The two excerpts in Figure 1 are taken from one individual's Thinking Log and show his team grappling with the factor of technology.

Figure 1
Technology
 $T = In(Cm \times R)$

In this equation, technology (T) is equated to innovation (In) times the quantity of the creative minority (Cm) times the resources (R). These are the factors which we consider important to the definition of technology as it relates to civilization. Without the creative minority to utilize the resources, there would not be any type of advancing technology; all knowledge and innovation would remain stagnant.

[The student continues in this section of the log to consider the importance of resources and the geographic and environmental features of a region.]

$$R = A(a + f + v + an + m)$$

Resources, as defined above, means the relationship between geographic area (A) and its secondary factors: air (a), food (f), vegetation (v), animals (an), and minerals (m). As the area of a civilization increases, the amount of resources also increases. We consider this to be a direct relationship.

Figure 2 presents the Thinking Log of another student as she described the work of her group. For these students, no food supply = no civilization; more food = changes in civilization.

Figure 2
Pretty much the most important factors of civilization were domesticated plants and animals. The way we see it, unless humans can

control their food sources, they cannot have surpluses for an extended period of time. As higher yield per farmer comes about, less people are needed to work the fields, which lead to the rise of artisans and more time to develop tools and metallurgy, which in turn leads again to an increase in crops. More time, more miscellaneous items such as clothes and jewelry, which gives rise to trade. Trade, then, stimulates contact, shared knowledge, development of language, other languages. As a people sees that others have greater resources, war comes about and metallurgy receives a second boost.

As students reflect and write and discuss their thinking about civilization and as they consider the thoughts of the famous historians and social scientists, the differences among the many constructs start to emerge. For some students, the realization that there is no set definition for civilization is liberating; for others, it is scary.

After the students are satisfied with their exploration of the various factors that make up civilization, they move on to create the full equation. Figure 3 provides a typical example because most of the factors the group identified have two or more component parts.

Figure 3

What is Civilization?

Factors of Civilization

1.) Time	T
2.) Change	Ch
3.) Population	P
4.) Technology	Ty
5.) Creative Minority	CM
6.) Agriculture	A
7.) External Forces	Ext
8.) Energy	E

- 1.) *Time* – time to develop the other factors of civilizations.
- 2.) *Change* – result of other factors over time (e.g. revolution, deterioration, elimination).
- 3.) *Population* – increase/decrease of number of people in a population.
- 4.) *Technology* – level of sophistication of tools (e.g. knife vs. power saw).
- 5.) *Creative Minority* – that part of the population that contributes most new ideas to the society.
- 6.) *Agriculture* – crops grown and amount of surplus/deficit.
- 7.) *External Forces* – natural disasters, man-made disasters (e.g. macro-parasites, ultimate weapon).
- 8.) *Energy* – per capita energy required by the civilization.

Factors Excluded

- 1.) *Area* – civilizations adapt to limitations of land space and overcome them.
- 2.) *Masses* – fits within population, does not have substantial effect by itself to alter civilization.
- 3.) *Language* – inherent to the most basic of societies, man cannot progress to civilization without language, therefore language is a given factor:

$$C = (Ext^*T) - 1 \{ [Ch(A^*(P+CM))] (E^{TY}) \}$$

Figure 4 provides an example of a student's summary ideas as recorded in her Thinking Log, in which she concludes that some civilizations have a better chance of survival than others.

Figure 4

What is a Viable Civilization?

$$C = C \times E \times P \times Tech \times Area \times Communication$$

This equation is meant to have numerical values assigned to it which will produce a number which represents the "viability" of the civilization:

C = Change: Change is a necessary part of civilization, it allows people to adopt to different situations and challenges and helps them to grow in technology as well as in "enlightened" human values.

E = Energy: Energy is the basis of everything in a civilization, from the necessities of life itself to the growth of technology. Without energy there is no civilization. (This factor is in units of kilocalories.)

P = Population: The greater the population of a civilization the greater the likelihood of survival, especially if it has a wide genetic base.

Tech = Technology: It says it all. Technology is what has brought us to control our world; without it we would be intelligent animals. For humans at least, technology is a necessity, whatever its form, from simple stone tools, to the space shuttle.

Area: What civilization can survive without a place to stand: with a lever and a place to stand we can move the earth, but without it we are nothing.

Communication: Civilization is communication, I don't just mean vocal, a civilization could be based on a manual language, but the people must interact or else there is no civilization, by definition.

(Note: If any of those variables drop to zero the civilization will not survive.)

Approximately 75 equations have been developed since 1991 when this unit first took shape. All the students realize that no two models will be exactly alike, although one model may turn out to be similar to others. The important point is that the students learn not to accept a particular construct as the definitive one. The students also learn, however, that paradigms do exist, and that they shift over time. This insight into historical interpretation will be reinforced later on in the world history course's treatment of such constructs as feudalism or colonialism and almost any other "ism" that depends for its definition on either the analysis of only a few historical examples or a dogmatic interpretation. With this understanding in mind, the students come to understand the value of thinking carefully about historical problems — trying to define a civilization is one of them — as well as the limitations of reductionist thinking. There are other important outcomes as well. The students begin to build the mental apparatus — the habits of mind — which they will need to analyze change and continuity in the human experience across space and time as well as understand and appreciate the common bonds that make us one people on the planet. The unit also has the benefit of demonstrating to students the power of history as the integrating discipline for processing information gathered from the social sciences, humanities, and mathematics. Finally, because much of the unit depends on inductive thinking, the unit places students at the center of their learning. They have the power to solve a complicated historical problem on their own terms.

An expanded version of this essay will be published in Heidi Roupp, ed., *Teaching About Civilization* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1994).



WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Minutes

San Francisco
January 1994

President elect John Mears called the Executive Council meeting to order with Rosen, Donaghay, Adas, Beck, Johnson, Bentley, Gosch, Croizier, Von Laue, Reddell, and Zinsser present. The Council welcomed Armita Jones of the Organization of American Historians, Sue Robertson of Mills E. Godwin High School, Dorothy Goodman of Friends of International Education, David Smith of Cal-Poly Pomona, Ross Dunn of San Diego State University, and Joseph Rahme of the University of Michigan.

John Mears began the meeting by a review of the voting members include the officers and nine council members. Michael Addas, Theodore Von Laue, and Judith Zinsser are completing their three year terms. Members who will serve one year include Carter Finley, Gladys Franz-Murphy, and Daniel Hedrick, and Jean F. Johnson, Roger Beck, and Ralph Croizier will serve two years. The Executive Director Richard Rosen and the Editor of the *Journal of World History*, Jerry Bentley, are ex officio members of the council. The Past President is a voting member of the Council for one year.

Minutes were read and approved.

Election results were announced. Judith Zinsser was elected Vice President (President Elect); Secretary, Lawrence Beaber; Marie Donaghay, Treasurer; and three new council members, Steve Gosch, Simone Arias, and Tara Sethia. The Constitution requires that two members of the council be teachers. Future ballots will include annotation of that requirement. If an additional teacher is needed on the Executive Council, the teacher receiving the largest number of votes will be elected. John Mears is writing a letter thanking those who ran for office.

Armita Jones proposed a potential collaboration between the OAH and the World History Association. This began as the result of a conversation between Jerry Bentley and Gary Nash. He was interested in working more closely with this organization and with pre-collegiate teachers. The audience for the *Magazine of History* is basically junior and secondary teachers. The reason for its existence is to bring scholarship to teachers in a form they can adapt readily to the classroom. It is thematic. Each issue focuses on a particular topic, whether it is reconstruction, Civil War and provides lessons to go along with a short scholarly article. Over the years the magazine began the practice of using a guest editor so the issues are thematic. That has worked very well. However there is a desire to broaden the magazine's perspective. The *Magazine of History* has a subscriber base of about 2000 and another 500 or 600 members of OAH who fall into the category of teachers. It doesn't quite pay for itself but it is doing okay. What OAH would like to do is propose two ways of collaborating. The magazine has two areas which need improvement. One is to get the magazine out to more than 2500 people. One issue a year focuses on National History Day topics and that organization purchases several thousand copies, but the OAH would like to expand the base and get more coverage. That is the area where OAH needs help. Perhaps this is another advisory board or taking responsibility for one or two issues a year or helping with each issue. The staff in Bloomington does the layout and it is published there.

Zinsser asked, "Are the comparative lessons comparative with the United States? That will tend to narrow the way the magazine might be useful. What

has been the marketing plan? The problem with the *Magazine* is that it was started with high hopes for it but it failed to take off." Jones responded that the OAH hasn't done much marketing which is one reason why some collaboration would be valuable to increase the visibility. The focus of the magazine is high school. However, the needs of junior college teachers are being considered. Zinsser asked, "How many high school teachers are members of OAH?" Jones answered that the OAH has about 500 who are members in the teacher category. As members the publication they get is the magazine and not the journal. Zinsser commented that there was a proposal to AHA to collaborate but it just didn't fit. Other issues concerning collaboration? Managing editor is Michael Regoli, who is on the staff. The production and structure of the magazine are integrated into the staff of the OAH. The board expressed interest in further discussion of the proposal. John Mears suggested that a formal proposal be submitted for further discussion. Perhaps the OAH could send a draft proposal for further discussion.

The OAH is going through an internationalization process to address the problem of American History and its lack of connections. The *Journal of American History* is trying to expand its concerns. The *Journal* has put together a board of contributing editors from dozens of countries around the world. The focus is still American history but the organization is trying to bring into the content of the *Journal* the work of scholars overseas who are interested in American history. An international clearinghouse which is both print and an electronic newsletter has been organized to provide connections and that is the name of the project, Connections. The OAH is sponsoring it and is looking for partners. Currently there are 25 partners. There are forms available for postings. The first of these will go out in March.

Executive Director Dick Rosen reported that membership as of January 1, 1994, is 1,267 with members in 49 states. The WHA is growing slowly. The New England affiliate organized in the fall. Dues have gone up for students and retired members. They are \$15.00 this year. Renewal process has been changed to a personalized letter with the name of the member. Within a year the association will be able to set up an account through e-mail.

The WHA received \$600.00 in donations this year. Of the new members the largest turnover is high school teachers and while the association has not done a survey, \$25.00 may be a little too expensive for them. Perhaps the *Journal* does not fulfill the needs of high school teachers. Perhaps the organization should consider a membership category for teachers which would entitle them to one publication, the *Bulletin*, at a lower price of ten or fifteen dollars. There about 280 high school teachers who are members.

Judith Zinsser suggested that the association

explore an institutional rate for high schools which includes both the *Journal* and the *Bulletin*. Sue Robertson and Roger Beck discussed a bulk mailing, a table at NCSS, letters to state departments of education, and the need for a glossy brochure to catch the attention of teachers who may not be acquainted with the organization. Sue Robertson thought that if the membership were ten or fifteen dollars, more teachers would join. Roger Beck pointed out that the NCSS dues are \$60 or \$65 a year and the WHA dues at \$25 are a bargain.

Along with the treasurer's report, Marie Donaghay reported that in 1993 the WHA financial picture is getting worse. This year the WHA went over budget by \$324. Every year the difference between income and expenditures narrows. This year the association took in less money than was spent. In 1993 the World History Association reported receipts of \$33,900 and \$33,600. The WHA began with a balance of \$11,700 and ended with \$12,400. Unfortunately the plus came from an anonymous donation of \$1000 for a travel subsidy. Additional money was not forthcoming and the \$1000 had to be returned leaving the Association with \$324 more than we took in. The WHA spends most of its money on publications. The WHA has about \$5000 left over. What the organization needs to do is establish priorities. The treasurer submitted along with her report a review of income and expenditures from 1989 to 1993 and reported that the federal government reaffirmed the tax exempt status of the organization.

President John Mears suggested that the WHA will need to reconsider fees and fund raising and to be more judicious about expenditures. Another suggestion was to target sites for conferences where there is a concentration of high school teachers.

In response to the WHA letter requesting that the World History Association be represented by a focus group, Lynda Symcox of the National Center for History in the Schools included a number of teachers and professors of the World History Association as part of the writing and review process. The World History Association provided a focus group for the review of the world history standards. Ross Dunn provided an update on the standards and described the review process. The motion was made and seconded that Ross Dunn and Heidi Roupp be made co-chairs of the focus group committee and should organize the activities of the focus group. The motion was amended that John Mears will work with Ross and Heidi to form a focus group. Ideas for formulating a World History Institute were discussed.

Heidi Roupp reported that China, a Cultural Exchange, a Fulbright Exchange application was submitted for funding. The Council expressed their appreciation to Gene Howard and Heidi Roupp for writing the grant.

Carl Reddel presented the plans for the Rocky

Mountain Conference. The Rocky Mountain Steering Committee selected Jeanne Heidler as program chairman. The conference will be held October 8, 9, and 10 of 1994 at the Aspen Institute. Ideas for panels include Native Americans and the Environment, the Environment in Colorado, 20th Century and Catastrophe, Developing Nations and the Environment, Concepts of Gender and the Environment, Religion and the Environment.

An all day session for teachers is planned for teachers on the world history standards. After some discussion the motion was made and seconded to

should proceed with negotiations on the basis of five major concerns: the theme, that the conference be self supporting, that at least \$10,000 in seed money be raised, that there be no liability, that Dick, Marie, and Stuart can work out the logistics, and that any profits would be returned to the organization. The motion was seconded by Roger Beck. The motion passed.

The association, in fact, is at the beginning of working on certain criteria for international meetings. The goal of a world history conference is to include as many perspectives as possible. What does the theme say about the WHA? What is the purpose of going to

WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Minutes

World History Association Annual Meeting
Hosted by the Rocky Mountain
World History Conference

The Aspen Institute, Aspen, Colorado
October 7, 1994

President John Mears called the Executive Council meeting to order with Simone Arias, Lawrence Beaber, Roger Beck, Jerry Bentley, Marie Donaghay, Steve Gosch, Marilyn Hitchens, Jean Johnson, Carl Reddell, Heidi Roupp, Tara Sethia and Judith Zinsser in attendance. Visitor: Christine Compston, Director, National History Education Network/The History Teaching Alliance.

The minutes from the last meeting of the WHA Executive Council at the American Historical Association annual meeting in San Francisco, January 1994, were read and approved.

The Treasurer's Report: Marie Donaghay reported that the WHA has received approximately \$21,500 in receipts to date and now has a bank balance of \$15,927.66. Part of this balance comes from the generosity of an anonymous donor who requested that a donation of \$1,000, originally designated as a travel subsidy for a world history teacher from abroad who was going to give a paper at a WHA conference, and then was unable to come, be applied to the general fund. The Executive Council expressed its gratitude to this anonymous donor.

The WHA received a grant of \$10,000 from the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, to cover travel and other expenses for the ten-person WHA Focus Committee's review of the draft of the National Standards for World History held in Chicago. After all expenses for the Focus Committee were paid, there was a balance remaining of \$3,819.47, which was added to the WHA general fund. After bills for the editing and printing of *The Journal of World History* and *The World History Bulletin* are paid, there is a balance of approximately \$7300 left in the World History Association account. Receipts from renewal notices, which have just been sent, should help replenish the account.

The WHA provided a prize of \$250 for the 1994 National History Day student who prepared the best world history entry. As soon as John Mears receives the name and address of the student from Dorothy Goodman, a check will be sent.

The Treasurer's Report was accepted by the Council, and the WHA's gratitude conveyed to Marie Donaghay for a job well done.

World History Bulletin: Ray Lorantas was unable to attend this meeting. Marie Donaghay reported on a telephone conversation with Ray 10/5. Ray told her that the belated Fall/Winter 93-94 issue of the *WHB* was in the mail and should be waiting for WHA members when they return from Aspen. Ray's major surgery last winter is the cause for the delay in turning out the *Bulletin*. He has included an apology to our readers in the first delayed issue. The Fall/Winter issue of the *WHB* is now being edited and will be ready to distribute on the regular schedule early in the new year.

The Journal of World History: Jerry Bentley reported on the *JWH*. Under Jerry's editorship the *JWH* has really blossomed; every issue has been of a consistently high quality and the *JWH* is now widely read and quoted both here and overseas. Jerry reported that he continues to have a steady stream of superior manuscripts to choose from for each issue. Our conferences are an important source of manuscripts, supplemented by a healthy number of fine, unsolicited articles from historians in many countries. The *JWH* has found its own valuable niche among academic history journals. The Executive Council expressed its gratitude to Jerry for his fine work here.

This is the final year of Jerry Bentley's five year term as *JWH* editor. The Executive Council offered him another five year term. Jerry said he has enjoyed the work, and would be pleased to serve again. He did tell the Council, however, that he would not want to serve beyond 2000, and felt that it should begin to plan for an orderly transition when he finishes this second term. Roger Beck suggested that in order to ensure the long-term future of both the *JWH* and the *WHB*, the editors and the Council should consider adding associate editors for both publications: these persons could assist the current editors when needed, and "learn the ropes" in preparation for a time in the future when they would carry the full load. Marilyn Hitchens was asked to call Ray Lorantas, and discuss this possible change with him. Marilyn will then contact John Mears, and he will have Judith Zinsser draft copy for the next issue of the *WHB* advertising for applicants for the two positions.

Nominating Committee: Tim Connell, chair of the Nominating Committee, was unable to attend the meeting, but sent a letter to John to share with the Executive Council. As Tim's group works to assemble a panel of candidates for the upcoming election, it asked for clarification on the WHA constitutional requirement that at least two members of the Executive Council be currently engaged in secondary school history instruction. Because of the difficulty many secondary school teachers have obtaining the release time and the financial support necessary to attend meetings of the Executive

Council, the Nominating Committee asked if the constitutional requirement referred to above could be interpreted in such a way that one of the two people could be a person who has had recent secondary school experience, but is currently otherwise engaged. The committee discussed this at length, with two of our secondary school members, Simone Arias and Jean Johnson, noting that they were secondary school teachers when elected, but are both now doing different things; Simone in graduate school and Jean directing student teachers at NYU. Heidi Roupp and Judith Zinsser expressed the opinion that we need to continue to have significant numbers of precollege teachers involved in the decision-making within the WHA, and to have these teachers ready to help defend and interpret the *National Standards for World History* to other teachers. They felt that we should maintain the current pattern. John was advised to inform Tim that the Executive Council is sympathetic with the problem the Nominating Committee is having, but would like it to do everything it can to identify secondary school candidates who are currently teaching. The Executive Committee expressed its gratitude to the Nominating Committee for the work it has done, and continues to do, preparing a slate of candidates for the upcoming election.

National Standards for World History: WHA Focus Group: Heidi Roupp and Ross Dunn reported on the continuing role of the WHA vis-a-vis the National Standards for World History Project. Heidi had the responsibility for organizing the WHA Focus Group that did a detailed critique of a final draft of the Standards this past June. Serving on that ten-person panel were: John Mears, Southern Methodist University, chair; Roger Beck, Eastern Illinois University; John Bentley, University of Hawaii; Tim Connell, Laurel School; Darlene Fisher, New Trier Township High School; Steve Gosch, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire; William B. Jones, Southwestern University; Donald Johnson, New York University; Jeannine Marston, Castellaeja School; Patricia O'Neill, Central Oregon Community College; Sue Robertson, Mills E. Godwin High School; Heidi Roupp, Aspen High School, and Lynda Shaffer, Tufts University. Ross, who spent most of the summer working at the National Center for History in the Schools helping with drafting and revisions, thanked the WHA for their review, and told the council that the WHA's review and endorsement served as a wonderful corrective at a critical point in the process. Looking beyond the publication of the Standards in November, Ross and Terry Burke of the University of California, Santa Cruz, are exploring the possibility of establishing a National Institute for World History. Ross is also planning to hold a World History Policy Conference next fall that would involve 30-40 key policy makers, leading historians in the world history

field, and world history precollege teachers who have had experience in educational policy discussions, to design a strategy for greatly expanding the teaching of world history nationally at both the collegiate and the precollege levels. Selected participants would draft papers prior to the meeting, and out of the final papers approved at the conference would come a handbook describing how to effectively obtain mandates for world history. The WHA was asked to co-sponsor the conference, and would be involved via mail and telephone both before and after the conference. The Ahmanson Foundation has provided partial funding for this effort; Ross is currently contacting other foundations to obtain the rest of the funding needed to bring this conference together. The WHA executive Council unanimously agreed to serve as a co-sponsor for both the conference and the handbook, and expressed its gratitude to Ross for his efforts to expand the role of world history at all levels.

The World History Association reviewed the World History Standards and provided a detailed critique of the final draft in June. Individuals may purchase copies of the World History Standards from the National Center for History in the Schools, University of California, 10880 Willshire Boulevard, Suite 76, Los Angeles, CA 90024-4108.

WHA Panels for the 1996 American Historical Association Meeting: January 1996 may seem far away, but February of 1995 is the deadline for filing proposals for panels for the 1996 AHA Atlanta meeting. Judith Zinsser, who serves on the committee reviewing panels for that meeting, is anxious to increase the number of WHA-sponsored panels at the Atlanta meeting, and urged everyone to begin thinking about possible topics. Carl Reddell and Marilyn Hitchens agreed to begin the spade work for a panel that would focus on the institutionalization of world history; it would feature some of the giants of world history as participants, i.e., William McNeill, Peter Stearns, and/or Arnie Schrier. The Council asked for the other Executive Council members to bring more proposals to Chicago. The WHA has much to gain from having a substantial number of sponsored panels on every AHA program.

Fourth Annual WHA Conference, Florence, Italy, June 22-25, 1995: John Mears reported that planning is well underway for the Fourth Annual WHA Conference June 22-25 in Florence Italy. The conference will be organized around three themes: Europe and the Wider World: the Construction of Identities in World History, Renaissances in World History, and Water and Water Management in World History. Abstracts of proposals need to be filed no later than January 2. Applications were made available at the conference, and Dick Rosen will shortly be making a mailing advertising the conference to all WHA members. Because of the size

of the facility where the conference will be held, attendance will be limited to 200-300 participants. Stuart Ward of the European University Institute, Florence, has done a masterful job of preparing for the conference. He has obtained a very reasonable package price for the conference facilities, accommodations and meals. All registration and housing fees will be received and processed by Dick Rosen at the WHA. The Council also asked that Dick place ads/notices in other academic publications; David McComb has the list of these publications. Marie Donaghay was instructed to send Ward a check for \$1,000 to cover preliminary expenses. Assuming the conference is a success, there may possibly be modest profits from it that would be remitted to the WHA after all expenses are paid. The WHA has no liability should expenses exceed the fees collected from the participants.

Possible Future Conferences: John Mears is in communication with Roger Westcott of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations (ISCSC) regarding a possible collaborative conference, sponsored jointly by the ISCSC and the WHA, to be held in Hong Kong in the summer of 1996. By January 1995, when the Executive Council meets in Chicago, John should have more details as to whether the ISCSC is still interested in pursuing a joint conference.

Judith Zinsser presented a proposal for a "Whither World History?" (tentative theme) conference that would be held in either June of 1997 or June of 1998 at the Conference Center at Miami University in Ohio. This would be a "world history think tank" conference similar to the one held at Wingspread that launched the WHA. Judith has a number of foundations in mind which she feels would be interested in providing partial funding for the conference. There will be further discussion of this at the January 1995 Executive Council meeting.

Heidi Roupp is in contact with Morris Rossabi and Tim Connell regarding the possibility of organizing a 1996 conference in collaboration with the Cleveland Museum of Art, which, in conjunction with the Metropolitan Museum, is organizing a major ancient textile exhibition. Heidi will have more details on this at the January meeting.

John Mears has received a request from the world history faculty at the University of Wisconsin at La Crosse to have the WHA co-sponsor a national conference with them as hosts. Members of the Council felt that this would be a difficult location to draw people to, and suggested that John advise them to think about organizing in collaboration with their regional WHA affiliate.

The Executive Council reaffirmed the policy that national meetings should be restricted to the summer, and regional meetings be held in the fall, to avoid scheduling conflicts. It was also suggested that

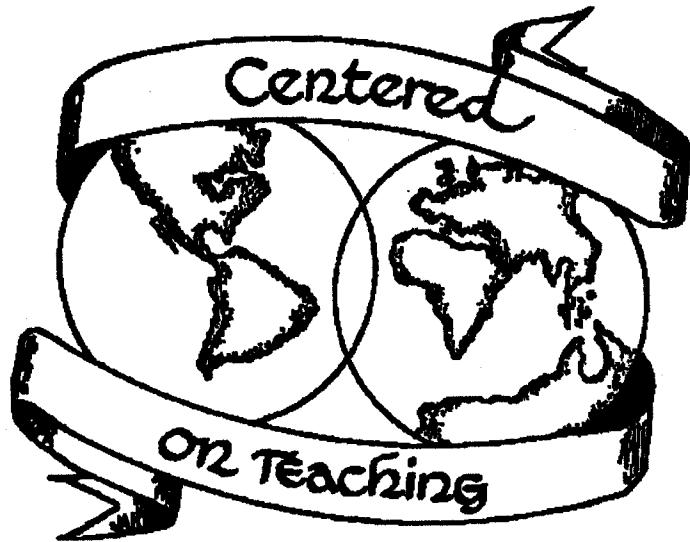
procedures be developed for better communication between the Council and the regional affiliates to coordinate conference dates.

Cooperation with the OAH on THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY: John Mears reported that the Organization of American Historians would like the WHA to cooperate in the production of the *Magazine of History*. Cooperation would not involve any financial commitment on the part of the WHA. The WHA will help identify world historians who can serve as occasional guest editors for issues of the *Magazine* devoted to global themes. If the arrangement goes smoothly, it might lead to even closer collaboration between the OAH and the WHA in the future.

WHA and the National History Education Network/The History Teaching Alliance: Christine Compston, director of the National History Education Network/The History Teaching Alliance, thanked the WHA for its continued support, and told the group how impressed she was with the secondary school/college linkages that the WHA has established and nurtured. She reported that recently passed national legislation expands the Eisenhower Grant Program for professional development of teachers to include all of the core disciplines, including history. Up to this time these grants were restricted to science and mathematics. \$220 million is still reserved for mathematics and science projects, but \$100 million will now be available for new professional development programs in other subjects, including history. WHA members should be thinking of program proposals and be ready to act when applications for the next round of grants become available. Chris has developed a contact in the Department of Education who is informed and eager to help historians interested in developing pilot projects. For the future, Chris thinks it is vital that the WHA, and other history professional groups, organize and lobby to insist that a larger percentage of these professional development funds be shared with disciplines outside of science and mathematics. Finally, Chris told the Executive Council about a workshop she will offer at the AHA meeting in Chicago to provide the latest information as to how to go about planning and setting up teacher institutes, and how to set up and maintain vigorous college/secondary school collaboratives. The results from the Chicago meeting will be later published in a handbook.

The next meeting of the WHA Executive Council will be held in conjunction with the AHA meeting in Chicago.

Respectfully submitted,
Lawrence Beaber
Secretary
October, 1994



Interior Dimensions of World History A Process Approach

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Introduction

Meeting the World History Association has been like coming home. Just as the association has branched from the American Historical Association, to achieve an emphasis on comparative and cross-cultural research, I have reached outward from traditional forms by utilizing the offerings of the social sciences, and of peace education, futuristics, and learning theory.

However, simultaneously as I have sensed immediate kinship with world historians, I have perceived a split between research and pedagogy. At conferences and institutes integrative ideas course the air. Yet dialogue about teaching seems muted, tending toward reliance on the habitual forms of western civ — this in spite of the availability of interesting models of instruction.¹ This discrepancy between modes of thought and teaching methods is accentuated by frequent calls for a paradigm shift in education. It suggests that the new wine of world history may be splitting the skins of old.

Intrigued by this impression, I have surveyed the literature of world history instruction in *The History Teacher* and the *Journal of World History*. The writing not only confirms that a dichotomy exists, but it shows a path toward resolution. The new direction is to be found in the interior language of the writers, whereas attention has been concentrated heretofore on externals. This essay will identify some shared ideas, and affirm an approach. The first section, on "theory," is intended for readers who like to get right to the point. The second, on "practice," will amplify the ideas and illustrate possible applications.

Theory

Exterior Dimensions

In the sources reviewed the question of content receives the most frequent attention, and it arrives framed in nearly identical terms

each time it appears: writers express the desire to broaden instruction, but immediately lament that they do not know "what they can leave out." This formulation is not only a negative one — what to omit, rather than what to include — but it assumes that what we presently teach is important, even though we are aware that over the years our lenses have been honed by the stones of dominant cultures.

Next in order of frequency come calls for an "organizing framework" — for one idea which may make world history "intelligible, and hence teachable." Yet it seems to this writer regressive for historians, who affirm the challenge of multi-dimensional thinking, to search for a single idea which will render the world intelligible.

An array of other external features follow. In discussions speakers tend to make little distinction between world history and a world history *course*. Resultant discourse centers on how to teach a course, even though all parties realize that what they care about is more than an introductory course. The course is usually assumed to be a *survey* course. Next conversations turn to *textbooks*, perceived as fundaments of courses. Thence to lists of what a student *ought to know*. One such, from the College Board, specifies that students should understand:

The basic features of major societies and cultures in the contemporary world: their geography, major economic and social structures, political systems, and religions.

The historical developments underlying present connections and similarities among the world's peoples, and the major differences dividing them.

The chronology and significance of major events and movements in world history (for example the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution, and the spread of Islam).

The international context of contemporary diplomacy and economics.²

Most responses to such imperatives have been, either to use an area-studies method, or to pattern information according to concepts. Both approaches, usually packaged in one-year formats, involve pitfalls. In the area-studies model there is an overemphasis on memorization, and in the conceptual one, excessive abstraction, leading to such phenomena as textbooks with two-page descriptions of the French Revolution.

Interior Dimensions

It seems to this writer that what is essential to world history is not to be revealed in the surface aspects described above, but in the values expressed and implied by the writers. These ideas shine through so brightly that it is surprising that they have yet to be articulated as the basis for a pedagogy:

The writers decry the reductionism of modern scholarship, and they affirm that history in a post-modern era must be more than a process of detached analysis. They seek connections between parts which have been denied a broader context.

They affirm diversity, but, more than that, a certain passion — a rejection of the "cognitive imperialism" implicit in so many curricula, and a call for justice on a scale not yet exhibited by the academic community at large.

They emphasize critical thinking, and they imply that there resides within it the capacity for a higher conception of human dignity.

They suggest that by studying more broadly, we may become more human.

They perceive the study of world history as a journey without a map, and they affirm that it is best to travel so, without a preconceived destination.

We suggest that this may be the tie that binds world historians. These shared values constitute an *approach*. If what we share is an approach, that is what we should teach. We do not need to teach all of the world, nor to encompass the panoply of human experience within a concept or two, but merely to assist students to think globally.

If our aim is to teach a mode of thought, it follows that for the purposes of course design we should focus, not on content, but on the mental processes of our learners. Of course, the idea that processes are as important as content is not new. Teachers agree on it routinely — but often only parenthetically, after which their conversations revert quickly to content. Content is familiar, and much of graduate training is defined by it. It is also well served by language, because it is concrete, whereas processes, which involve the inner dimensions of thought and creativity, may be only imperfectly articulated in words.

Nonetheless, if we recognize that it is no longer possible to achieve our aims by "covering the important material," we will need to discuss processes intentionally. Instead of asking which topics we should cover, we should ask: What do we mean by global thinking? Which processes are conducive to learning it? And how should we teach them? To focus thus on processes is both natural and radical. Natural, because all teachers know that what they have to offer is something deeper than the content, most of which will be forgotten by the students over time. Radical, because this orientation goes to the foundations of educational practice. We all agree that education should be for the welfare of students and not for the convenience of teachers, but in the press of the hour, the day, the term, we slip into the areas of content with which we are most familiar. A commitment to learning processes involves making a whole course, or a whole curriculum, work for the students. This requires a plan, an architecture, which will enable the processes which we say we believe in. It means that the instructor must shape content to the plan, and refer to the plan periodically. Concomitantly, it will involve the instructor's asking the students for their ideas about whether the plan is working. A student-centered format is easy to discuss, and, since it operates more closely to the students' interests, it is also more rewarding to teach, but it does involve reflection on a different plane, experimentation, and the giving up of some accustomed forms of power.

In arguing thus, we acknowledge that it is difficult for some instructors to set content aside, even temporarily for the purposes of design. They may be thinkers who incline naturally to information. They may have entered the profession because they were stimulated by the coverage-oriented formats of their first history classes. They may be less interested in the art of communicating with students, than in marshaling data and presenting it artistically. Nonetheless we suggest that in the information age, when we find ourselves at the point of designing a course or a curriculum, there is a divide before us. The path of content leads to excessive concern for coverage, to crowded educational formats, and to competition with other programs, which may in turn be over-extended. Such pushing and shoving is the accepted condition of most schools today. The path of process enables a less encumbered design. It facilitates winnowing and integration, and it can suggest ways of working with other programs in a synergistic fashion. We believe that the instructor who is willing to delay thinking about content, until one has

achieved an architecture of processes, will emerge with a structure to which one can attach the content, will be able to enjoy teaching at a relaxed and reflective pace, and, ultimately, will be able to teach the content more effectively.

In the method suggested in Appendix I we "plan backwards," by setting goals in the right column. In the middle column we juxtapose learning processes which conduce toward the goals. In the left column we break these processes into smaller, more teachable, units termed themes. The themes will constitute the architecture of a course. We select the content, displayed in Appendix II, only after the themes have been established. From the students' perspective the course will appear to consist of the content, and indeed, on a daily basis most of the instructor's attention will be directed to it. But the fundamental organization of the course will derive from the themes, and the instructor will return to them recursively. The purposive reintroduction of themes will have a cumulative effect, as individual students catch on to the processes at different times.

Practice

Which teaching methods may match and amplify the ideas implicit in a process-based format? There is no set formula, but the following elements may assist the reader in assembling a bag of pedagogical tricks.³ Within each of the following sections the argument is accompanied by examples which are printed in italics. Readers who wish to follow the argument alone may omit the italicized sections.

Inquiry

All of the writers surveyed emphasize critical thinking, but they do not specify why. We believe that the particular force of critical thinking lies in the fact that, in the act of thinking for oneself, one experiences power in relation to information. Our guide is Paolo Freire.⁴

Freire taught literacy to Brazilian peasants in the 1960s, with the conviction that education could be a source of liberation. He distinguished between libertarian education, and what he called "banking" education. In banking education, the teacher chooses the content, and then makes deposits in students' minds, in the form of lectures and reading — which deposits the teacher withdraws periodically in the form of examinations. Banking education, he noted, is used by all oppressive governments as a means of control.

Freire relied on a student-based and thematic method. Teams of instructors would visit a village, ask the peasants about their lives, and, from the information gleaned, choose themes which made up a schematic description of their lives. Freire called this collection the "minimum thematic universe" of the peasants. Subsequently the team presented the peasants with information connected to the themes — always in the form of problems to solve. With practice in problem-solving, the peasants learned to see their world with new eyes, and to envision exerting power in it. Freire's work was so invigorating that the Brazilian government saw fit to imprison him briefly, and expel him from the country! So he went to Harvard.

Although our students are not oppressed in the ways that peasants are, the complexities of a technical society, and the perception that change derives from forces beyond their control, renders education through inquiry a liberating experience for them as well. Presented with orchestrated problems to consider, they achieve power in reference to complex information, and they are able to glimpse the possibility of acting on their convictions.

Learning Theory and Diversity

We live at a transition, when a veritable science of learning is emerging. Just as we may use inquiry techniques as a source of engagement with the world, so we may use the varied ways students learn as a *praxis* for diversity. The classroom is part of the world of our students, and relationships within it provide experiential opportunities.

In practice a reading assignment and a day's discussion may suffice as an introduction to learning styles.⁵ Students are relieved to discover that their varied styles are not flaws. Awareness of their strengths opens up greater choice in tackling academic tasks, and it enables the teacher to assist the class, when specific types of material are difficult for some students. Given affirmation of individual talents, students bring enthusiasm to their projects, and the quality of the work which arrives at the instructor's desk is greatly improved. Most important, a mutual understanding of how different people learn creates a more understanding relationship among students. This experience of compassion in reference to learning can then be extended to ethnic, religious, and gender differences within the institution, and then outward to a consideration of other cultures.

More broad, and more fundamental than learning styles, is information about multiple intelligences. Given the theoretical base achieved in the past decade, practitioners are devising methods of tailoring assignments to enable the application of several intelligences at one time or in appropriate sequences.⁶

All this has many implications. While survey courses with lectures and textbooks may suit some learners, these students constitute only part of any classroom population. A course which is assessed only by mid-terms, specified papers and a final exam would probably not tap the talents of the majority of the students. This is not to say that instructors should abandon these forms, but it might suggest inclusion of other techniques — division of classes into small groups, oral reports, exhibits, journals, portfolios, exams without time limits, the "Believing Exercise" described below, and assignments which allow broad choice. Jerold Starr describes a method for teaching, entirely without lectures or discussions, by using extended and sequenced role-playing exercises.⁷

Methodological Belief

Teachers have long understood that to ask students to view information from more than one perspective is a valuable way to teach altruism. Peter Elbow has extended this idea in a now-classic essay, by developing a technique for systematic belief as well as for systematic criticism. He has fashioned this into a procedure called the "Believing Exercise." The idea is that there is an over-emphasis on criticism in education. Although we say that we believe in open-mindedness, in fact, halls of learning so emphasize critical faculties, that we do not give an equal hearing to ideas with which we disagree. In the very act of listening we are accustomed to formulating a response, which means that we do not attend completely to the other person's argument. In the believing exercise, a group suspends criticism and devotes all attention to trying to understand a point of view. After a presentation, the moderator limits questions to those which will help students to understand the presenter. The exercise can be used with readings, films, or speakers. Sets of opposed statements may accompany each other for several sessions in a row, or in sequences over long periods.⁹

The believing exercise is especially challenging for people with strong opinions. In any classroom the task of moving students away from recitals of ideas uncritically absorbed, to a

reformulated personal value system is a slow process. One of the way-stations to this is reaching a new level of open-mindedness. The believing exercise is especially effective in this regard. Participants initially experience a sort of terror, that, if they listen to so many perspectives, they may "lose their values." With time and experience they discover that they are able to become more flexible. They realize that accepting uncertainty is essential to taking a subject to a level of complexity, and they find that the conclusions on which they settle are not only more meaningfully based, but also more accessible to revision, if new information should warrant a change.

In administering the believing exercise, it is important to set guidelines beforehand, and to make clear that discussions after the presentations are not free-form. Some specific questions: What is the thesis of this presentation? What sort of documentation does the presenter utilize? What are some believable elements of this argument? What are some of the values and assumptions on which this argument is based? Questions which withhold criticism tease the participants for later reflection and discussion, at the same time that they induce the discipline of paying attention. The believing process is also a method of conflict resolution. By listening, by asking to explain, one encourages reflection on the part of the speaker. Students who practice the believing exercise, treat each other's ideas with increased respect, and class dynamics change for the better.

Systemic Thinking

Systems analysis holds a useful position in fields as diverse as computer programming, ecology, and psychotherapy, and it can be applied in history as well. One may teach the habit of viewing information in terms of wholes as one proceeds, and this becomes an avenue to understanding information which does not make sense in other ways. In the course described in Appendix II we move from small to larger systems — from indigenous cultures to the plantation system to parliamentary systems, and then to topics which require more sophisticated thinking, genocide and ecology. By expanding the scope gradually, we enable students to manage each system, yet also to experience a cumulative effect.

As students learn to think systemically, they discover that systems are interconnected — that plantation economies link with industrial ones, that ecological realities have to do with systems of exploitation and racism. Students come to realize that all parts inhere in larger wholes, and they begin to look for underlying systems when they meet specific data. Their thinking thus moves naturally toward an inquiry into the how's and why's of history. Students report that they remember information learned within a systemic context better than that acquired in more isolated formats. Another advantage of systemic study is that once acquired as a skill, it is readily transferable. This fits with Howard Gardner's definition of education at a level of understanding, as learning in such a way that one is able to apply acquired information in a new situation.¹⁰

Conclusion

We must remember, when we discuss the mental processes of students, that our focus is on the minds of the students, and not on those of instructors. It is an occupational hazard of teachers as they increase in age, in familiarity with content, and in the capacity to associate broadly, that these strengths may draw them away from the world of the students. It is of the essence of process-based instruction that teachers enable students to consider ideas personally and in their broadest significance at the same time. This conforms with Piaget's idea that education at all levels is a matter of learning about oneself and one's world.

APPENDIX I:		APPENDIX II		IV. INTELLECTUAL CHANGE	IX. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Goals, Processes and Themes for a Tenth Grade Course		Syllabus for Tenth Grade Course		Content Themes	Content Themes Origins of World War I Perspectives
Themes		I. THE WORLD		Social contract theories Abstraction Liberty	World War I Versailles Treaty Uncertainty
Processes		Content Themes Cultural values Culture Systemic thinking Liberty		Locke Rousseau Authority above the law?	X. GENOCIDE
Goals		The world in 1400 Globalism		French philosophers Liberty Choice	Content Themes Introduction
Reading Patterning Abstraction Analysis		II. THE WEST AND THE WORLD		V. POLITICAL CHANGE	Decision-making Motivation
Historicity		Content Themes		Contents Themes	Anti-semitism Prejudice
Transmit culture		1492: The expulsion of Jews and Moors from Spain Perspectives		French Revolution Abstraction Uncertainty Choice Complexity	Weimar
Culture Multiple perspectives Responsibility Openness		Anti-semitism		Revolution in Haiti	Liberty Abstraction Uncertainty
Altruism		Exchanges of flora, fauna, and diseases		Interdependence	Nazism
Multi-cultural understanding		Interdependence		VI. ECONOMIC CHANGE	Choice Prejudice
Justice Prejudice Migrations Violence Peace Wealth		The plantation system and slavery		Content Themes	Fascist aggression
Synthesis		Systems Interdependence Migration		Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions Systems	Second World War
Systemic thinking		III. RELIGIOUS CHANGE AND STATE FORMATION		The Social Question Liberty	Holocaust Liberty
Globalism Ecology Humanity		Religious pluralism under the Ottoman Empire Openness		"New Imperialism" Racism Interdependence	Nuremberg Tribunal
Objectivity Bias Paradigms Acceptance of uncertainty Sources of motivation Choice		Reformations in German states, France and England Liberty		VIII. PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS	Complexity Choices
Inquiry		Stuart England Liberty		Content Themes	XI. ECOLOGY
Thinking at a level of complexity		Absolutism in France Systems		English Reform Bill Abstraction	Content Themes
Social responsibility Citizenship		Prussia, Russia and Austria		German politics under Bismarck Liberty	Tropical commodities in North-South economic relations Interdependence Wealth
					Ecology
					Liberty Choices

END NOTES

1. Kevin Reilly, *World History*, (New York: Marcus Wiener 1991) is a collection of syllabi, rich in suggestions. George Brooks, "An Undergraduate World History Curriculum for the Twenty-first Century," *Journal of World History 2* (1991): pp. 65 - 79, is a stimulating proposal for a two-year program. David Christian, "The Case for Big History," *Journal of World History 2* (1991): pp. 223 - 238, includes the history of species other than humans.

2. Douglas D. Alder and William F. Lye, "Dare We Teach World History? Dare We Not?" *The History Teacher* 20 (1987): p. 328.

3. My lens for these suggestions is that of Educators for Social Responsibility, an organization founded at the same time as the World History Association, which has focused on engaged citizenship at local and global levels. The pedagogical techniques which they have developed appear ideally suited to the intellectual thrust of world history. For insights into the work of a number of instructors who use these techniques see: Sheldon Berman and Phyllis La Farge, eds., *Promising Practices in Teaching for Social Responsibility* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993).

4. Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1970).

5. Kathleen Butler, *It's All in Your Mind: A Student's Guide to Learning Style* (Columbia, CT: The Learner's Dimension, 1988) is a manual for students which is also very helpful for instructors. It includes a self-examination which is

sufficient to introduce a class to the basic ideas. Her manual for teachers, *Learning and Teaching Style in Theory and Practice* (Columbia, CT: 1984) is replete with ideas for instruction.

6. Howard Gardner, *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences* (New York: Basic Books, 1983) is the standard statement. For applications in classes see: Campbell, Bruce, Campbell, Linda, and Dickinson, Dee, *Teaching and Learning through Multiple Intelligences*. (Stanwood, Washington: New Horizons for Learning, 1992).

7. Jerold Starr, *Lessons of the Viet Nam War: Teacher's Manual*, Pittsburgh: Center for Social Studies Education, 1988)

8. Peter Elbow, "The Doubting Game and the Believing Game — An Analysis of the Intellectual Enterprise," in *Writing Without Teachers*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 149 - 191.

9. For descriptions of how three teachers have used the Believing Exercise see, Berman and La Farge, pp. 152 - 157, 169 - 171.

10. *The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach* (New York, Basic Books, 1991). The author maintains that most education does not take place at a level of understanding. He explains why, and suggests methods for education at a deeper level.

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At the 53rd meeting of the New England Historical Association held at the University of Hartford on 22 October 1993, WHA members presented papers on "Southernization as a Framework in Early World History": John Voll (University of New Hampshire) on the "Southernization as a Construct in the Post-Civilization Narrative" and David Northrug on the "Deconstructing Southernization." Gerald Herman (Northeastern University) was the chair; Lynda Shaffer (Tufts) gave the Comment.

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Intersocietal History. The Georgetown University Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service seeks an assistant professor of intersocietal history. The successful candidate will demonstrate an ability to publish scholarship and teach courses on the historical interaction of two or more major world cultures. Tenure track. Possible joint-appointment with History Department. Full dossiers by 17 November, 1995 to: Intersocietal Search Committee, School of Foreign Service, ICC 304, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057. Georgetown University is an equal opportunity employer.

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AN APOLOGY

The WHA apologizes for the long delay in the publication of this issue of the Bulletin. Our editor, Ray Lorantas, has been ill and unable to bring this Bulletin to press sooner. Our goal is to publish another two issues within about six months and to catch up by the middle of 1996. We hope that this hiatus has not inconvenienced our membership too much and we thank you for your patience in this matter.

**WORLD HISTORY:
LEARNING IT; TEACHING IT;
PREPARING FUTURE TEACHERS**
**THE PHILADELPHIA HIGH
SCHOOL-COLLEGE COLLABORATIVE**

Howard Spodek
Temple University
Project Director

Since the fall of 1993 and continuing on through the summer of 1995, forty teachers of world history, all working in the Philadelphia region, twenty at the high school level and twenty at the college level, with the support of the National Endowment of the Humanities, are meeting regularly to find better ways of teaching world history and better ways of preparing future teachers. We reported the initiation of the project in the *World History Bulletin*, Fall/Winter 1993-1994.

How Far Have We Come?

Bi-Monthly Plenary Sessions

The full group of 40 meets once every two months, on the first Saturday of every second month at the University (of Pennsylvania) Museum. The topics of these ten plenary session were, and will be, sequentially:

October 1993: An introduction to the Philadelphia world history project and the curriculum and pedagogy it created. This project of staff development for and curriculum revision by history teachers in the School District of Philadelphia was the catalyst for the present project.

December 1993: Textbooks: An examination of three leading textbooks in world history at the college level, their strengths, weaknesses, and general usefulness.

February 1994: Sequencing of instruction. How do we teach a common topic — for example, the Columbian exchange, the global impact of the French Revolution, or colonization and decolonization — at different levels? In what ways are the content and pedagogies similar, in what ways different?

April 1994: Preparatory to this meeting, each high school teacher visited at least one college class in world history taught by a member of our collaborative, and vice versa. At the plenary session we de-briefed.

June 1994: Values in world history. In small groups and large we discussed the study of values as central to the study of history: the values of the people studied; of the historians writing about them; of the classroom teacher; and of the students. Each will understand the past in his/her own framework.

October 1994: Multiple perspectives: The contributions and the perspectives of all people and peoples should be included and acknowledged, within the time available: women, minorities, colonized groups, underclasses, subalterns, and slaves, as well as powerful males. World history is less likely now to be a triumphal narrative; more likely an analytical account.

December 1994: Interdisciplinary history: Three members of our group, two high school and one college, spoke of the usefulness of interdisciplinary history in their work and the problems of the task. All identified administrative turf problems, not intellectual issues, as the key obstacle to interdisciplinary research and teaching.

Future sessions of the plenary group are scheduled.

February 1995: Accessing and using museums for studying and teaching world history, focusing on actual, local museum collections as well as computer accessibility of world museums.

April 1995: Studying and teaching comparative history: What are the advantages, potentials, and difficulties of comparative history? How does it intersect world history?

June 1995: Sequencing history teaching, K-20. Sequencing among these levels and within them. What is appropriate graduate training in world history? appropriate teacher training?

Bi-Monthly Small Group Sessions

The intellectual core of the program and the maximum personal interaction between high school and college teachers centered in five small discussion groups which met every second month, alternating with the large group sessions. Five themes in world history were selected by the participants: Historiography, Gender and Family, Cultural and Economic Exchange, Urbanization and Empire Building, and Technological and Political Revolution.

Each group chose its own texts for discussion. The first and largest component was a general discussion of the content, construction, place in the literature, validity, and usefulness of the text — the usual dimensions of a graduate school seminar. In addition, each member of the group was to indicate how s/he might use the concepts and information of the text in his/her own course in world history. Finally, time permitting, each person might discuss pedagogical methods for introducing the materials.

A Week of Concentrated Work at the End of June

Our plenary and small group sessions met monthly throughout the academic year. A week of concentrated work at the end of June 1994 consolidated our achievements. Each study group completed its discussions and produced materials which participants might use in their own teaching and also in sharing with others what we had accomplished. Some groups produced year long syllabi, at both high school and college levels, comparing the levels as they went. Some produced shorter units. Some cast the materials they had created into collective bibliographical essays. We had debriefing sessions in which groups shared with one another what they had learned and how they had structured their learning.

What Have We Learned in the First Year and a Half?

From reading and discussions we have learned a great deal about the content, interpretations, and pedagogy of world history. We have gained from one another the courage and confidence to try new content and methods in our teaching. As Sue Rosenthal, High School for Creative and Performing Arts, observed:

We teachers think the dialogue between our two groups has motivated some of the professors to think more, or differently, about student learning and their responsibility in this process. They now recognize that being concerned only about the content of a course is not sufficient.

Lynn Lees, University of Pennsylvania, echoed

I have been forcefully reminded of the multiple skills historians need to foster among their students and of the great limitations of an approach that stresses the passive acquisition of "knowledge" from the expert.

In evaluations at the end of our first year, several college teachers reported: "I will never teach the same way again."

In the process of preparing to train future school teachers of world history, college teachers discovered that they were in fact teaching themselves both the content and pedagogy of this new field. World history must be thematic and comparative in organization. It must show interactions among different groups of people in different parts of the world and demonstrate the complexity of multiple interconnections in multi-cultural settings. Students and teachers of world history must find new kinds of comparisons across cultures and across cultural exchanges. Because the scope of potential content is

so vast, the usual problems of deciding what to include and what to exclude are multiplied. Particularly because the field is new and not yet fully defined, its historiography must be part of the subject matter. As noted above, world history seeks to be comprehensive, restoring to the record peoples who have been omitted.

In addition, most of us rededicated ourselves towards helping our students learn the historian's "habits of the mind": building models (synthesizing); framing hypotheses and testing them (analyzing); highlighting various methodologies; thinking critically; writing; reading diverse materials in diverse ways to seek diverse kinds of information; thinking chronologically; drawing inferences; selecting what is significant, deciding what to include and what to exclude; identifying causes, effects, relationships, and contingencies; developing historical imagination.

The college world history course should be an introduction to historical thinking as well as content. Its students are most likely not history majors. This may be the only history course they ever take in their college years. Such a course must include: "habits of the mind," interpretation, and general academic skills, as well as a rich knowledge base. It must demand that students master all these elements to the extent possible during a single introductory course. Such training will be especially useful to future teachers.

Where Do We Go from Here?

The Next Six Months

Our plenary sessions and small group discussion sessions continue. In addition we have a major project to undertake:

Linking with Colleges and Departments of Education: Until now we have been training ourselves, teachers teaching teachers. We recognize now that if our findings are to have influence beyond the two years of our project, and on teachers outside our own group, we must establish links with the education faculties of our institutions. They have the formal responsibilities for training future teachers and we must establish new procedures for working with them. In particular, we are eager to establish some form of mentoring procedures in which intending teachers of world history take college level courses with our participants and do their student teaching in the classrooms of our high school teachers. We are seeking ways in which we can complete this loop.

Beyond the Grant Period

We are also discussing ways of sharing what we have learned with others, exchanging with them

suggestions for improvements in the study and teaching of world history and for the training of future teachers. We are discussing the possibilities of convening a national seminar in Philadelphia. We are seeking ways of translating what we have learned through reading and discussion into print materials and perhaps other media which will enable us to share with others effectively. During this year's sessions in the last week in June we will be formulating appropriate strategies for inviting history teachers and perhaps education faculty members from across the country to join us. We will begin seeking funding to make that possible.

Video Documentation of Our Processes

We have produced a 30-minute video, edited from the proceedings of our plenary session of October 1994, opening the second year of our project. The tape illustrates the kinds of issues we typically discuss and the flow of our conversations and deliberations. Discussions captured in the video touch on some twenty-five different issues on study, teaching, and preparation of teachers in world history, from the teacher's need to have a clear sense of personal values, to the habits of the mind necessary for students to cultivate, to the need for historiography as an integral part of the course. The discussion is free flowing and the topics are not covered systematically, so we have prepared a brief outline which clarifies and systematizes the issues. Teachers who are considering similar dialogues or programs might find the video and print materials useful. They are available at cost, \$20, from Howard Spodek, Department of History, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

WHA

MAKING SENSE OF HISTORY

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As teachers of history, we look forward to that first week of class, whether it be middle school or undergraduate level. Grand schemes may have been thought of during the summer, innovative strategies for sparking interest, new films to be shown, new textbooks to explore, posters, handouts, and of course, new students who may someday teach history. Young, unjaded minds open to all the wonders that are history.

Then, as is sometimes the case, apathy sets in. The same events, the same cast of characters, the same sameness. The students fail to get it. They fail to understand the richness, the importance, the absolute gravity of history. The story of humanity becomes a

monotonous string of dates, names, and wars, bereft of meaning and relevance to their lives.

Having said this, I am not unaware of the efforts by many to inject life into our past. Local histories are investigated, family trees are developed, and interviews are conducted with local citizens who have a story to tell. Studies are done on various ethnic groups, with emphasis on their cultures, languages, and customs; much of this is very good indeed, and works quite well with younger children. With this approach, I have no complaints. Youngsters need these kind of activities in order that history come alive. However, as we approach high school students and the undergraduates, these strategies clearly lack a certain finesse. Something more is needed to avoid the same sameness spoken of above.

"Context" is the buzzword of our times. Do not simply explain the French Revolution; put it into context. Do not simply study the Great Depression; put it into context. My understanding of context is that if the French Revolution is being studied, study it in the context of the American Revolution, in the context of the evolution of democratic ideals, and in the context of French history to that point. Context is like Saran Wrap; it keeps history fresh while the student is able to see the ingredients. So far, so good; context has been achieved.

"Context is like Saran Wrap; it keeps history fresh while the student is able to see the ingredients."

Or has it?

No, it has not been achieved, because to be thorough, one must now put the American Revolution, the evolution of democratic ideals, and the development of the middle class into context. And once that is done, and if no one has lost his or her mind, more contexts are needed. History in its essence is contextual. Everything is connected in some way, even if the most astute of us is unaware of the connection; and herein lies the problem. Given the need for context, and given that this need is nearly impossible to attain in the most recommended way, what are we to do?

We should begin every course in world history (and perhaps all history courses) with a thorough investigation of theories and philosophies of history. This should be mandatory for all high school and undergraduate courses.

I teach twentieth century history at the undergraduate level. Before I even hint at the origins of WWI, before I mention anything at all about the 1900s, I spend at least four class periods discussing the theories of Hegel, Marx, Spengler, P.R. Sakar, and Toynbee. I also discuss the Judeo-Christian view of history. I have found this absolutely essential if my goals are 1) to lend meaning to history, and 2) to persuade students to realize that historical events are strands in an all-encompassing web. All mature

disciplines have theories.

During the past several decades, the search for patterns in history fell out of favor, the reasons for which I choose not to comment on at this time. The admittedly arcane and dense theories of the great historical philosophers were obviously based on a certain amount of generalizing, and inherent in many of them was a then-acceptable yet nonetheless repellent racism. Yet at the core of these grand schemes was a valuable vision; namely, that all historical events are somehow tied together, and that the future could be predicted, albeit in an incomplete way. As I see it, incomplete prediction is preferable to no prediction at all.

So I begin with Hegel. It must be understood that in no way do I cover all of what Hegel wrote because I'll be the first to admit that I have not read him in totality, nor would I comprehend it all without spending half of my life in the library. Yet certain key ideas of Hegel are obvious, and should be entertained. I speak in classes of his theory about "recognition." This is the idea that individual humans and individual civilizations demand recognition from those around them. In Hegel's mind, when two warriors engage in battle, it is not so much over wealth, or women, or land, but out of a need to be recognized, to be given respect. We discuss this in class. Personal experiences are brought up, and we attempt to entertain the possibility that Hegel's idea of "recognition" may really have a lot to do with the behavior of individuals in history and their civilizations. Personified Germany in 1930s obviously wanted to be recognized. The idea that Germany has always felt landlocked, squeezed, and unrecognized holds a certain validity. These examples of recognition can be brought up during a twentieth century course as discussion turns from Korea to Vietnam, or from the Civil Rights Movement to the Woman's Movement. There is such rich fare from which to select topics of discussion on this simple yet provocative idea that the need for recognition is a driving force behind history.

I turn next to Marx. I do not wish to belabor the ideas contained in his writings, but it should be clear that a discussion of economics and class "warfare" as a driving force behind history is not only valuable but is interesting to the students as well. Why wait until the chapter on the Russian Revolution to discuss Marx? Again, personal experiences are brought up in class, and it is not very difficult to shift discussion of personal economics to the arena of civilizations separated by time.

"Why wait until the chapter on the Russian Revolution to discuss Marx?"

At this point I stop and review, allowing the students to dwell on the possibility that if one, or both, of these ideas has driven history in the past, is it

not then logical that we might be able to predict what could happen in the future if we are able to identify current situations and conditions that enjoy a certain similarity to past situations and conditions?

At this point, my students are invariably sitting there, silent; yet the expressions on their faces indicate that they are thinking deeply about ideas that had never occurred to them....

We then confront Spengler, in all of his strange energy. The idea that I emphasize is his idea that civilizations are very similar to organisms, bound to the earthly cycle of birth, growth, maturity, and decline. His idea that civilizations are made up of organisms, i.e. humanity, and therefore must be organisms themselves is a thought that most twenty-year-olds simply do not generate on their own.

As one proceeds by pointing out that all the great civilizations have died off, and have gone through changes that roughly correspond to the birth-death cycle, Spengler's notion can ring a few bells. If one can know enough history, and identify when and where a given civilization evolved into its growth period, or maturity period, is it not possible that, say, we as Americans might be able to go back through our history in search of these specific periods as well? What are the characteristics of a civilization in its birth period? Its growth and maturity periods? And most important of all, what are the symptoms of a civilization in decline? These are readily pointed out in textbooks concerning the fall of the Roman Empire, or the collapse of the British Empire in the mid 1900s. This is context writ large, and is sadly lacking in our current approach to history. Why this is so I cannot say. The ideas described here are not complex, or difficult to grasp. It all depends on whether a person decides that they are valid ideas; but how can that decision be reached if the student is not exposed to them? My goal is not to lobby for a given theory, but rather to lay them out on the table, as it were.

"My goal is not to lobby for a given theory, but rather to lay them out on the table, as it were."

The next theorist discussed is P.R. Sakar, a Hindu philosopher and economist. Again, we are confronted with a man whose ideas span many disciplines; yet his ideas on how history works are quite illuminating. Sakar sees all civilizations progressing through four specific stages, similar to but in no way identical with the four stages of Spengler. Sakar first identifies a Laborer Era, wherein the people of a given group work at building a civilization, creating a modicum of infrastructure, and laying down the prerequisites for educational, political, and belief systems. As time passes, a Warrior Era evolves, a class of men and women whose job it is to protect the infrastructure from enemies, both from within and without. This creates the need for a system of taxation, and there begins that problem. Over time, the third stage, the

Intellectual Era, becomes necessary. These Intellectuals are the ones whose job it is to convince the masses that taxes are necessary, that what they have built over the years is a viable civilization, and that pride should be expressed in all these achievements. These could be interpreted to be politicians and civic leaders. By now the civilization has all the elements that can lead to continuation and success. Unfortunately, Sakar identifies the fourth state as the Acquisitive Era, or materialistic period wherein values erode or are displaced by other values, traditions lose meaning, and an overall apathy sets in. I call this the "fat and happy" stage. Life can proceed only so long with this kind of deterioration, according to Sakar. Soon, another civilization in its Laborer or Warrior Era looks upon the eroding civilization as easy prey, and attempts to conquer it. Sakar sees this happening time and time again in history, but one must know history well to perceive this. Class discussion of this theory is engaged, and the fruits are bountiful.

Finally, Toynbee. His idea of "challenge and response" being the catalyst for history is one with which students can immediately relate. In life, one is constantly challenged, whether by school, relationships with others, the workplace, etc. Each of

us must respond correctly to these challenges, or life becomes difficult. Sometimes, we do fail to respond correctly; usually, most of us choose the right response, and move on. Toynbee claimed that civilizations face similar challenges, and either respond correctly or do not. Since all of the great civilizations of the past are for the most part gone from the face of the earth, bad decisions were made. If one can identify the situations and conditions that led to a crisis in decision-making in a given past civilization, one then might be able to predict the future of his or her civilization in light of historical knowledge. Again, it takes an almost encyclopedic knowledge. The most we can do for our students is expose them to yet another historian's theory, and allow them to make of it what they will.

* * * *

The need for context is now fulfilled. As history is taught today, there is little possibility for students to put events into meaningful patterns. They may come to understand why WWII occurred, or why the French colonized Vietnam, or why the United States supported Chiang kai-shek instead of Mao tse-tung; but will they be able to squint into the future and foresee the possible?

WHA

THE THREE PILLARS:

Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism and the
Emergence of a Complex Chinese Popular Religion

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Graduate Student

As instructors of world history and culture, we are continuously faced with the difficult task of interpreting non-Western world views to students raised in the Western cultural paradigm. This paradigm has been informed for millennia by the exclusive nature of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic traditions. Raised within the well-delineated parameters of these traditions, students often find the *inclusive* nature of non-Western religious traditions perplexing, especially those of China. This is understandable if one considers the dichotomous nature of Western monotheistic traditions and the cultural filters Western students use to comprehend Eastern cultures.

It is essential for instructors of world history and culture to inform students entrenched in a Western mind-set of the emergence and syncretistic nature of Chinese popular religion in order to help students interpret and integrate different world views for themselves, developing analytical skills in the process and perhaps initiating a life-long change of reference. It is hoped that the following discussion of the emergence of Chinese civilization's three pillars of

religious thought will assist teachers of world history in their endeavor to interpret and integrate Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism into their curriculum in a more meaningful way.

Western monotheistic religious traditions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) have taken great pains to create cosmologies which are exclusive, not inclusive, in their membership criteria. It seems inconceivable in this exclusive environment to be a Christian who considers Mohammed a prophet or a Muslim who believes in the Holy Trinity. Western monotheistic religions have spent so much of their time and energy defining themselves against and above one another that we sometimes forget that the religious dialectic on the other side of Eurasia may have had different results over the millennia. The religious experiences of China, the longest continuous civilization on earth, produced a spiritual amalgamation quite foreign to the West's perception of what religion should be. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in modern Chinese popular religion.

Chinese popular religion today is an exotic mixture of past belief systems, a product of vigorous intellectual

exchange and religious syncretism over 2½ millennia in the making. This becomes readily apparent when the inside of a community temple is viewed. There, a deified Confucius and Laozi may find themselves in the company of numerous Buddhas, bodhisattvas and local gods and goddesses with worshipers offering gifts and prayers to one or all depending on the spiritual needs of the moment.

Two of the major players in this exchange, Confucianism and Daoism, are of Chinese origin, while the third, Buddhism, came to the Middle Kingdom from India via central Asia centuries later. Known now as the three pillars of Chinese religion, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, like the monotheistic religions of the West, grew to maturity with one another, but unlike their Western counterparts, the Chinese pillars, utilizing the Eastern ideas of balance and harmony, developed a more inclusive relationship toward one another over the centuries, especially at the village level. So inclusive did this relationship become that it is only with great difficulty that they have been separated in modern times by religious historians. More importantly though, is the fact that the complex Chinese popular religion that was the product of two and a half millennia of mixing still serves its adherents today in mainland China and the diaspora regions. Below, we will survey the development of each of the three pillars of Chinese religion, Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, paying particular attention to how they interacted with one another in the first millennium of the Common Era and how they produced a uniquely Chinese popular religion.

China Before Buddhism: The Two Pillars — Confucianism and Daoism The endemic warfare and growing political decentralization in China during the Spring and Autumn periods of the Zhou dynasty (8th-6th centuries BCE) was a significant era in the formation of Chinese culture. This time of steady disintegration was especially troublesome to the Chinese people, a people for whom harmony and order held great importance. During this historical period and the Warring States which followed (late 6th century-221 BCE), many thoughtful individuals attempted to cope with the endemic chaos by formulating philosophical strategies. So prolific were these strategies that this period became known as “the age of a hundred philosophers.”¹ It was during this chaotic time that two out of the three pillars of Chinese religion emerged, *Confucianism* and *Daoism*. Both came to address the needs of this period by tapping into the deep well of Chinese tradition, though both did so in their own unique way.

Kongzi or Confucius (ca. 551-470 BCE) saw the answer to his era’s problems in the ritualization of life. Central to this ritualization were the concepts of *li* and *wen*. *Li* was the most important term in Confucian thought, encompassing the ideas conveyed

in English by separate words like ritual, custom, propriety and manners.² *Li* was the means by which life should be ordered and proper harmony established. A person of *li* was thus good and virtuous; a state ordered by *li* was harmonious and peaceful. The Confucian concept of *wen*, or humaneness, was the measure of individual character and, as such, the goal of self-cultivation.³ Self-

“Li was the most important term in Confucian thought, encompassing the ideas conveyed in English by separate words like ritual, custom, propriety and manners.”

cultivation could be attained just by conforming to *li*, thus *li* and *wen* were two sides of the same coin. Confucius himself said, “If a man is not humane (*wen*), what has he to do with ceremonies (*li*)?”⁴

Confucianism’s preoccupation with distinguishing between ritually proper and improper behavior has been called a form of social engineering. Confucianism’s extensive rules covered most aspects of interpersonal conduct, paying particular attention to funerals and coming-of-age ceremonies. Central to interpreting interpersonal conduct are the “Five Correct Relationships” (subject-ruler, son-father, wife-husband, younger brother-older brother, and friend-friend). An individual’s identity was defined in relational terms, with behavior varying as a function of role and hierarchical status.⁵

Confucian ideology would grow in stature slowly in Chinese civilization by conscious state policy. Han Wudi (144-87 BCE) founded an imperial academy in 124 BCE educating talented men in the Five Confucian Classics. By the mid-second century CE, 30,000 students were reported at the academy.⁶ Chinese rulers would increasingly learn to utilize these scholars in their bureaucracies, gradually replacing the landed aristocracy with a civil service recruited through examination. By the tenth century, thirty percent of the imperial bureaucracy were recruited in this manner.⁷ From the Song dynasty (960-1278) onward, Neo-Confucianism would monopolize imperial sponsorship, fully displacing both Daoism and Buddhism as the state philosophy/religion. Though Daoism and Buddhism would both cease to have official sanction, elements of each would continue to influence Neo-Confucianism at court, while Daoism and Buddhism would intertwine to create a popular religion still evident in China today.

The disruption and anxieties of the Warring States period also produced the second pillar of Chinese philosophy, *Daoism*. *Daoism*, which aims at individual salvation through unity with the *Dao*, gains its name from the central importance it gave to the concept of *Dao* or the Way. The mysteriousness of the *Dao* meant that it could not be adequately described or conceptualized.

The Tao that can be told of is not the real Tao;
 The name that can be named is not the real name.
 This nameless thing is the origin of heaven and earth;
 One may call it the Mother of all things.⁸

This Dao is not a transcendent ultimate removed from the world, but is immanent, active and present in all things, including human beings.⁹ Philosophical Daoism sought a goal similar to Confucianism, harmony, but conceived of it and pursued it in a different way. While Confucianism addressed social harmony, Daoism urged individual harmony within nature.¹⁰ Unlike Confucianism's emphasis in conforming with ritualized *li*, philosophical Daoism emphasized acting naturally beyond the confines of social obligation. This action within the Dao was often translated as *wu-wei* or non-forced action. Acting in accordance with *wu-wei* was to follow one's True Ruler, which was the Dao within each individual.¹²

Philosophical Daoism lost ground to Confucianism during the Han dynasty because the latter was able to relate social harmony to the natural world using an emperor-centric cosmology. Han officials consolidated their power by affirming the family cult of ancestor worship and filial piety by building it into their own system of ritual and hierarchical social relationships.¹³ Furthermore, the Han dynasty also supported some of the many popular cults of local mountain and agricultural deities by awarding their shrines and temples imperial grants and temples.¹⁴ By this means, the Confucian government was able to enlist these deities in the promotion and prosperity of the state. Worship of these various deities would continue whether a Confucian dynasty was ruling or not because these deities were never the sole property of Confucianism. Daoism, and later, Buddhism, would often appropriate these gods and goddesses for their own uses.

Rise of Popular Daoism In the first centuries of the Common Era, the Chinese aristocracy appropriated more and more wealth and shielded it from taxation, shifting onto the small landowners and tenant farmers the burden of financing the Han imperial and provincial governments. These poorer groups were not interested in the idealistic rituals of Confucianism's social harmony or philosophical Daoism's concern for cosmic balance. Prevented from any realistic hope of sharing social or economic power, the powerless and poor sought remedies in rebellion and religious fervor.

One product of the chaos at the end of the Han dynasty was the emergence of popular Daoism. Popular Daoism was centered first in rituals asking the gods and goddesses for a share in the good life, and second in an ultimate Dao that was mysterious yet accessible to human appeal through magical ritual. Popular tales of immortals (*xian*) and adepts with

supernatural powers gave credence to the hopes of the people while charismatic leaders lured thousands into rebellion against the Han dynasty. The most famous of these popular Daoist sects were the *Yellow Turbans* who led a bloody rebellion which began in Shandong province and eventually controlled eight provinces in China before being put down at the end of the second century.¹⁵

It was during this period that the ancient quest for a long life and even immortality became associated with the popular Daoist sects. The cult of the immortals and the practice of alchemy were now incorporated into organized Daoism. Advances in alchemy were matched by those made in medicine. Refined diets, gymnastics, and elaborate sexual practices were also part of the new religious Daoist repertoire.¹⁶

At the beginning of the third century, the Han dynasty collapsed and China was plunged into a long period of political disunity and cultural syncretism (220-589). The failure of the Han government discredited Confucianism both as a philosophy of government and a way of life for the cultured and educated elite. Many among this group turned instead to the Daoist tradition of Laozi and Zhuangzi. This educated elite did not simply embrace philosophical Daoism, instead they adapted it to suit their new outlook. The result was a form of Daoism known as the *Dark Learning*, which combined both elite Daoism and Confucianism.¹⁷ At the same time, popular forms of Daoism continued to flourish and would continue to do so throughout the period of disunity. Both Dark Learning and popular Daoism were further impacted by the coming of Buddhism to the Middle Kingdom. To better understand the emergence of popular Chinese religion, the story of how the third pillar entered China must be surveyed.

Buddhism Before China Gautama Siddhartha (ca. 563-483), the founder of Buddhism, was roughly a contemporary of Confucius, but his teachings did not take hold in China until the collapse of the Han dynasty in the early third century weakened faith in the imperial Confucian orthodoxy and fueled the flames of Daoist rebellion. Between the fall of the Han and reunification under the Sui in 589, Buddhism sank its roots deep into Chinese soil, forever altering the cultural landscape of the Middle Kingdom. At the time of the Common Era, it had transformed from the spiritual quest of a small group (*Theravayda* or tradition of the *theras* or senior monks) into a universal faith (named *Mahayana* or "Greater Vehicle" to distinguish itself from the Theravayda tradition, which it named *hinayana* or the "Inferior Vehicle").¹⁸ A third school of Buddhism, the *Vajrayana* or "Diamond Vehicle," is of Tibetan origin and does not impact China significantly.

The distinction between the Theravayda sects and

the Mahayana schools is the result of a major division in Buddhism that occurred in the immediate centuries after the Buddha's death. For the practitioner of Theravayda Buddhism, salvation was up to the individual, promising Nirvana for those dedicated enough to fulfill the rigors of monastic life. "Emphasizing rationality and self-discipline, Theravayda promised salvation for the religious elite."¹⁹ Mahayana Buddhism broadened the appeal of Buddhism to draw in "those people who did not have time, training, or inclination for abstract speculation."²⁰

The Theravayda and Mahayana branches of Buddhism also differed in their interpretation of the Enlightened One's essence. The Theravayda sect emphasized the central importance of the historical Gautama and represented him as a *mahapurusha* (great person) who had in the course of his many lives achieved liberation from the cycle of reincarnation or samsaric cycle through his own efforts. The Theravaydins recognized the existence of other Buddhas, each mortal, and all having reached enlightenment through careful and persistent dedication to the Four Noble Truths.²¹ The Mahayana schools, on the other hand, emphasized devotionalism directed at the Buddha, deifying him and placing him at the head of an expanding pantheon. Besides the Buddha, there were numerous lesser gods, but more important than these were the celestial *bodhisattvas*, who postponed their own entry into Nirvana in order to help other beings. Bodhisattvas themselves became objects of veneration and worship. The most famous of these bodhisattvas was *Avalokitesvara* (Guanyin in Chinese *Kannon* in Japanese), initially important as a god of mercy, but who was gradually transformed in China into a feminine figure.²²

The Third Pillar: Buddhism Enters China The history of Buddhism's journey to China begins in central Asia when Ashoka dispatched missions to the area that is now Pakistan in the third century BCE, and by the first century BCE it was well established there. During the first and second centuries CE, three significant developments occurred to solidify Buddhism's presence. First, a dynasty of central Asian origin known as the Kushana came to rule an empire that extended from central Asia into the India subcontinent. Second, major trade routes known as the Silk Roads extended from northwestern India through the pacified Kushana domains on into China. Third, Kushana kings and many of their subjects were converted to Buddhism. The Kushana's patronage of Buddhism, initially of the Theravayda variety, but increasingly replaced by the more universal Mahayana beliefs, provided for the safe passage of Buddhist missionaries and the foundation of merchant diasporas where the converted could prosper in oasis communities. Mahayana Buddhism entered China via

the Silk Roads. Missionaries followed the trade routes across central Asia during the Han dynasty and soon founded centers of Buddhist learning in northern China. After the fall of the Han, Buddhism flourished under the patronage of the various kingdoms established by the non-Chinese conquerors of northern China.²³

When Buddhism first arrived in China, neither the common people nor the intellectual elite could fully comprehend this exotic foreign religion. Many saw Buddhism, with its elaborate rituals, meditation, complex philosophies, and withdrawal from the world, as a variant of Daoism. The tendency to identify Daoism with Buddhism during this period eventually led to considerable borrowing between the two groups. Thereby, Buddhism lost much of its foreign flavor and Daoism was enriched by assimilating foreign ideas.

The Three Pillars Interact: Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism As we have seen, China had developed two interrelated and complementary systems of philosophy, Confucianism and Daoism, during its "age of hundred philosophers." The first pillar of Chinese thought, Confucianism, was a rational, secular religion primarily concerned with personal relationships, politics and society, and secondarily concerned with more abstract matters such as the place of humans in the universe. The second pillar, Daoism, focused on the individual and nature and only secondarily on politics and society, fracturing into both a philosophy and popular religion as time went on. Buddhism informed and criticized both systems.

Centered on the family and the state, Confucianism regarded the stability of both as extremely important. Buddhism allied with Confucianism by stressing kindness and generosity, especially to one's parents, while its elaborate funeral services appealed to the Confucian idea of ancestor worship. However, Buddhism struck at the heart of Confucianism with its doctrine of rebirth. The Indian notion of a noble life meriting reincarnation into a higher position on the samsaric cycle contradicted the Chinese view of an ancestor's eternal stay in heaven. Moreover, a son or daughter who became a Buddhist monk or nun had to take a vow of celibacy, an act which went against Confucian principles by denying the family its continuity.²⁴ Also, initiation into the Buddhist monastic order involved shaving the initiate's head, an act considered unfilial by Confucian scholars. Xiao Jing states in his *Book of Filial Piety*, "Seeing that our body, with hair and skin, is derived from our parents, we should not allow it to be injured in any way. This is the beginning of filiality."²⁵

Buddhism sided with Daoism against Confucianism's subordination of cosmic harmony and immortality to matters of the state. Indeed, the Chinese at first mistook Buddhism for a variety of

Daoism, believing that the Buddha had been a student of Laozi.²⁶ It seemed Buddhism had a recipe for immortality that might be superior to that of Daoism in that it did not require the ingestion of toxic elixirs.

Buddhism sided with Daoism against Confucianism's subordination of cosmic harmony and immortality to matters of the state.

Still, Daoism's search to prolong life and prevent death was considered counter-productive to Buddhists because they sought not immortality on earth but a final and joyous release from the samsaric cycle to the everlasting bliss of Nirvana.

Buddhism's Golden Age and Persecution

During the fourth through sixth centuries, Buddhism spread in China far beyond the ruling elite, both in the north and the south. Buddhist monks, acting as teachers of the Dharma and as experts in magical practices, converted large numbers of people in town and countryside. Monasteries were established, pagodas (Chinese stupas) were constructed and devotional cults spread far and wide.

When the Sui and Tang dynasties (sixth through tenth centuries) unified China, they turned to Buddhism as a religion that could help promote geographical and social cohesion. For more than two-hundred and fifty years (589-845), Buddhism, especially the Mahayana variety, experienced its golden age. During this period, Buddhism enjoyed substantial support from the imperial power, the aristocracy and common people. Buddhist texts were translated from Indian and central Asian languages, producing a Chinese Buddhist *Tripitaka* (Three Baskets), a compendium of Theravayda, Mahayana and Vajrayana texts.²⁷ Many Buddhist schools flourished, including many distinctly Chinese schools that would influence all of east Asia. Buddhist influence was felt in every aspect of Chinese culture and art, from architecture and sculpture to painting and literature.

Although Buddhism experienced great success in its first eight centuries in China, it was never able to overcome completely the perception that it was a foreign religion, nor was it able to negate the accusation that its growing monastic orders were a threat to family continuity and a drag on the economy. Because of these perceptions, anti-Buddhist movements were able to periodically challenge Buddhism's favored position in the Chinese court and countryside.

The most devastating of these anti-Buddhist persecutions took place between 842-845. The Emperor Wuzong, a Daoist personally hostile to Buddhism, could not resist the temptation coffers. Monastic lands and monasteries were confiscated, monks and nuns defrocked and slaves and dependents were released. Wuzong himself claimed to have

returned 260,500 monks and nuns to tax-paying status. Perhaps 4,600 monasteries were seized and 40,000 temples destroyed, with imperial regulation allowing for only 49 monasteries with around 800 monks left in all the empire. Irreparable damage was done to Buddhist texts, bronzes and architecture throughout the empire. Although this persecution was short-lived, the monasteries suffered an economic and cultural blow from which they never completely recovered.

Wuzong's confiscations and forced laicizations terminally weakened the institutional independence of Chinese Buddhism and never did it enjoy official state sponsorship. Only two forms of Buddhism survived these persecutions; Pure Land, with its emphasis on the recitation of the name of Amitabha Buddha, continued as a popular religion with the laity, and Chan (Zen in Japan), with its emphasis on meditation. Presumably, these two sects of Mahayana Buddhism survived because neither one placed emphasis on textual investigation, making them more accessible to the general population.

Beginning in the Tang and completing the process in the Song dynasty, Confucianism slowly regained its old position of prominence. Yet Chinese Buddhism had made such a lasting contribution to Chinese religious life that even this new Confucianism or Neo-Confucianism was significantly influenced by the long centuries of Buddhist domination.

Neo-Confucianism combined elements of Confucianism with Buddhism and Daoism. Deriving its emphasis on moral principles from the older Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism still valued properly ordered harmonious human relationships, but reevaluated these relationships against a Buddhist and Daoist background. All thought, ordinary experience and performance of ritual were no longer grounded in the present, secular world, as Confucius had advocated, but were instead intimately connected to what Neo-Confucians called the *absolute Li*, a term different from the *li* discussed earlier.²⁹ In the older Confucianism, *li* referred to the means by which life should be ordered and proper harmony established. Absolute *Li* raised the concepts of reason, principle, and order to a metaphysical level, making it reality itself, similar to how Buddhists perceived Buddha nature and how Daoist perceived the ultimate Dao. From the Song dynasty onward, Neo-Confucianism would be the official state-sponsored religion of the cultured man, though elements of Buddhism and Daoism remained as part of his education.

Emergence of a Complex Chinese Popular Religion After the ninth century persecutions, Chinese Buddhism increasingly merged with Daoist notions of longevity, balance, and nature, especially at the village level. As this syncretism continued, many Chinese came to believe in karmic retribution,

reincarnation, multiple hells and heavens and a number of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, all derived from Buddhism. Yet, the Chinese had little sense of themselves as Buddhists. Instead, they practiced (and practice) their unorganized religion within the family or at the community temple without the driving concern for enlightenment that inspired Buddhist monks or the obsession for immortality that preoccupied Daoist priests.

The emergence of a complex Chinese popular religion thus took place. From the tenth century onward, this popular religion tended to be an eclectic mixture of Daoist and Buddhist beliefs and practices, ancestor worship, and the persisting, age-old traditions and superstitions of the peasantry. Confucian influences were present in this mixture also, spread by popular morality dramas and a rich repertoire of proverbial sayings.³⁰

The Chinese, preferring to pull the best of all worlds to their own cosmology, created a rich and diverse religious tapestry, unique in world history. Today's Chinese religious mosaic undoubtedly persists in the People's Republic, Taiwan, Singapore and the diaspora regions. And though the Western religions of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity have been present for many centuries in these areas, they have always had a difficult time converting the Chinese wholesale to their exclusive belief systems. Even powerful modern forces like the Chinese Communist Party and Western capitalism have been unable to mute two and a half millennia of religious fervor. The three pillars continue to exist in the Chinese world, intimately intertwined, and posed to meet the spiritual challenges of the coming millennium.

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WHA

OBITUARY

Darlene Fisher of Evanston, IL, a long standing member of the World History Association, passed away on March 25, 1995. A mainstay of the history faculty of New Trier Township High School, Winnetka, IL, Darlene promoted the study of world history at both the local and national levels. She served on several WHA committees over the years, most recently on the Membership Committee. She seemed to always be recruiting for the WHA, requesting membership brochures to carry our message to various national meetings. We send our condolences to her husband, William, and her sons, Al and Kenneth. The WHA has lost a true friend.

NON-WESTERN ART AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*

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This paper is a preliminary report on an investigation of one dimension of international relations, namely, the role of visual art objects in forming impressions of an alien people. The topic represents a combination of my academic specialization, American diplomatic history, and my interest in art and the collecting of non-Western art.

Different cultures usually generate distinctive art styles, and art constitutes a method of communication which, being direct and immediate, eliminates the intermediary, whose depictions of foreign lands and peoples, whether through oral or written reports, or sketches, or paintings, tend to be colored by his or her own preconceptions or interests. Perceptions and attitudes can be important and, at times, decisive in determining relations between and among nations and peoples. Art can express what words cannot, and the objects produced by the various cultures have contributed to the projection of images leading to misunderstanding and, at times, eventual conflict. My investigations have embraced the spectrum of non-Western art in four major geographical areas—Asia, the Americas, Oceania, and Africa—and its impact on opinion in diverse culture groups. Today my speculations will be confined primarily to the Western reaction to the visual output of these other portions of the globe.

The most common methods of intercultural contact, occasionally distinguished by their motives, have been trade, warfare, exploration, missionary zeal, and inadvertence. Inadvertence—the lost mariner—may have been responsible for much of the discovery and transmission of art and art styles across those seas that provided both a barrier and a highway for contacts between diverse cultures. But war, conquest, and curiosity provoked Alexander the Great to venture into India in the fourth century B.C., and trade was the motive that induced Rome and China to exchange products in the first and second centuries A.D. via the "Silk Road," although neither encounter provided lasting relationships. Direct contacts between Europe and Asia occurred in the thirteenth century when China, under the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1260-1368), opened its doors to the outside world. Until then the Near or Middle East had been "the meeting point of Western preconceptions and actual observations" of the Far East.¹ But the accounts of the initial European emissaries reflected the purpose of their missions: two friars reported on the prospects for conversion to Christianity, and Marco Polo on commercial opportunities.

In the fifteenth century European oceanic enterprise, inspired by a variety of motives and aided by new maritime technology, found the route to the "riches of Cathay" and exploited this source of goods and condiments not available at home. Portuguese, Dutch, and British trading companies successively enjoyed a monopoly of this trade. The nobility and the rising middle class of Europe were avid consumers of the elaborate ceramics and lavish silks that filled the holds of company vessels. The image of Asia in the minds of these elites — those who could afford the commodities and who controlled the governments and economies of the more powerful European states — was formed by these visual objects from the mysterious East which adorned the homes of the old and the new aristocracy.

Meanwhile, over a period of centuries the spread of Buddhism and Chinese art throughout much of Asia produced a similarity of art styles which, to many Westerners, reflected what seemed to be one culture pattern and, therefore, one classification of peoples. The art forms accompanying the introduction of Buddhism into China, Korea, Japan and other Asian countries offered a visual image of an alien culture that written, oral, or doctrinal communication could not provide. But the enthusiastic reception of Indian and Chinese art by other Asian countries, and the consequent beneficial impact on relations among them, was not repeated by Westerners. Most Europeans were contemptuous of the native cultures of Asia, for the art did not meet their aesthetic standards. The ethereal atmosphere, spatial relationships, and subtlety of line

"Most Europeans were contemptuous of the native cultures of Asia..."

in Chinese painting, especially in the landscapes, were beyond Western comprehension. Conditioned by the lushness of the representational convention featured by the various continental schools, Westerners viewed this strange artistic output as crude sketches by untutored dabblers.

Much of the Asian subject matter, usually representing "heathen" religious concepts, was repugnant to Europeans. The erotic Hindu sculptures, especially those of the Shiva "cult," offended Western sensibilities. The sexual act as a manifestation of ecstatic religious experience, as portrayed in Hinduism and Tantric Buddhism, violated Christian precepts and, to Westerners, seemed to reveal a depraved, almost subhuman nature. The profound beliefs expressed by the artists and craftsmen through these visual objects were lost on the foreigners, who saw only the superficial and the obvious, without an awareness of, or even an interest in, the iconography. Europeans were not offended by the portrayal of religious figures as such, as were the Muslims. But they were offended by what was depicted as religious and divine by this "pagan" society.

* A paper read at a conference, Sichuan University, 1989.

Europeans and Americans did not share the Asian love of ceramics as a major art form — as not merely pretty and functional objects, but as a medium for conveying ideas and emotions, of expressing the ultimate in creativity by transforming clay through fire with skill and aesthetic sensibility into a masterpiece to be caressed and enjoyed with ecstasy.

Many Westerners found certain Japanese objects repulsive. The grotesque temple guardian figures, the hideous Bugaku and Noh masks, and the aesthetic veneration of the Samurai sword, gave the impression of a fierce, warlike society which seemed to glorify brutality and armed conflict. Moreover, much of Japanese painting, like the Chinese, distorted reality, and the bright colors of the wood block prints that certain nineteenth century European painters admired, did not compensate for some of its subject matter. As James Michener observed, "No art of which we have record produced more sex pictures than ukiyo-e."² Obscenity, depravity, and fighting were characteristics which many observers found in the art of Japan, characteristics that coupled with the "heathen" religious figures suggested a nation with beliefs and aspirations wholly incompatible with those of the West.

Before proceeding to the other categories of non-Western art I want to mention the main sources for the material on which this study is based. Aside from secondary works, I have used the reports, journals, and letters of explorers, traders, travelers, missionaries, naturalists, ethnographers, geographers, anthropologists, and naval and military officers, as well as the visual representations made by artists visiting these areas. Further, I have used the writings of Western art critics, the reactions of Western artists, and the commentaries in catalogues of exhibits. Numerous museums and sites have been visited and objects have been collected to gain understanding of the visual manifestations of these cultures and their milieu. The material on this subject is virtually inexhaustible, at least in this person's lifetime.

"The terms 'primitive,' 'tribal,' 'ethnic,' and 'primal' evoke protest."

The classification of art from the Americas, Oceania, and Africa defies satisfactory definition. The terms "primitive," "tribal," "ethnic," and "primal" evoke protest. "Pre-literate" also raises hackles, for the Maya had a written language. Of non-Western art, that of the Asian countries, traditionally, has been distinguished from that of the other three areas on the basis that they were "nation-states," with some political, material, social, and cultural organization roughly analogous to that of Europe. Some authorities, including Ignacio Bernal and Michael Coe, have protested that pre-Columbian civilizations met this criterion.³ But for simplicity I am going to use the term "primitive art" for the visual objects produced by those peoples who occupied the Americas, Oceania, and Africa.

The Americas were the first part of the uncharted world to fall victim to the West during the so-called "Age of Discovery." "Columbus," said Dr. Samuel Johnson, "gave a new world to European curiosity."⁴ As the Spanish conquistadors followed in his wake to loot the cities of Middle and Andean America in search of gold, glory, and converts, they and their accompanying priests were horrified and repelled by the visual images produced by these "barbarians." One priest viewed sculptures of human figures on Mexican temples as "the hideous reflection of their own souls," and another contended that the lack of iron tools prevented them from producing any "work in metal, worth looking at, no masonry nor architecture, engraving, nor sculpture."⁵ Bernal Diaz del Castillo referred to Aztec statues as "accursed idols,"⁶ and Spanish priests boasted of destroying thousands of these idols, temple decorations, and rolls of hieroglyphs.⁷ Numerous objects were brought to Europe by Hernando Cortez and his successors, and although most of those made of gold and silver eventually were melted down for bullion, many circulated throughout the continent as evidence of these backward peoples. These artifacts were displayed in what are known as "cabinets of curiosities," or "cabinets of wonders," to be joined later by artifacts from the Indians of North America. Thus the natives of the New World became known to Europeans during the Renaissance and subsequent centuries through adventurers' accounts, hearsay, and these visual objects, objects that provided Europeans with their only direct exposure to any dimension of these obscure cultures.⁸ These objects, whose appearance clashed with European norms of aesthetics and subject matter, helped form an image of a savage, depraved, heathen people whose beliefs and practices were so antithetical to those shared by Europeans that they were relegated to an inferior racial, cultural, and human status.

Europeans were provided a broader spectrum of New World artifacts as North America became an attractive area for exploitation by the competing governments and merchants of the Old World. The English explorer and navigator, Captain James Cook, wrote of the Nootka Northwest Coast Indian products, that "the general design of these things is perfectly sufficient to convey a knowledge of the object they are intended to represent, but the carving is not executed with nicety."⁹ The Russian 1791 expedition of Joseph Billings, we are told, "gave us the first record of the varied arts of Eskimos living north of the Aleutian Islands," and "from Otto von Kotzebue's voyage in 1816 we have the first published examples of Alaskan Eskimo art."¹⁰ As further evidence of European interest in North American Indian artifacts, "...the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad...contains the largest collection of early California ethnographic materials to be found outside the United States."¹¹ Yet a nineteenth century administrator of the British Museum is quoted as

saying, "it does not seem right that such valuable space should be taken up by Esquimaux dresses, canoes, hideous feather idols, broken flints and so on."¹² The emerging disciplines of ethnography, archaeology, and anthropology were finding these artifacts of primary scientific concern to provide insights into the investigation of "the origins of man." They were not considered proper objects for display in art museums, and they were regarded as crude expressions of a primitive and superstitious people. This perception was confirmed as wider audiences viewed these artifacts at fairs and exhibitions in the Western world during the late 19th and 20th centuries.

As recently as 1943, the French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss, could deplore the displaying of Pacific Northwest Coast Indian products at the American Museum of Natural History. "Surely," he wrote, "it will not be long before we see the collections from this part of the world moved from ethnographic to fine arts museums to take their just place amidst the antiquities of Egypt or Persia and the works of medieval Europe. For this art is not unequal to the greatest...."¹³ Only today has this prophecy been fulfilled.

To move from one part of the world to another, the exposure of the Western world to the art of Oceania was due primarily to the exploits of the intrepid Captain Cook, whose acquisitions came to rest in a number of European countries. Following predecessors into the Pacific, his three voyages made discoveries from Australia to Northwest America, and he collected "native manufactures" that today constitute the most accurately identifiable and datable. Cook himself wrote of "hideous carved wooden figures," and "great grinning images with nonseeing eyes."¹⁴ His most scathing criticism was reserved for the appearance of natives, whose bodies were luridly painted and from whose noses and ears

"Cook himself wrote of 'hideous carved wooden figures,' and great grinning images with nonseeing eyes."

bones protruded. Indignantly, he wrote, "we could very clearly see with our glasses that the woman was as naked as ever she was born, even those parts which I always before now thought nature would have taught a woman to conceal were uncover'd."¹⁵ Nor was his shock unusual. Similar reactions to the natives and culture of the Pacific Islands fill the journals and reports of successive waves of voyagers to these exotic lands, voyagers who returned with quantities of "artificial curiosities," to astonish, bewilder, and disgust the citizens of Europe and the new United States. Missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, with their evangelistic fever, destroyed native idols or brought them home to demonstrate the need for salvation. Even the twentieth century French art historian, Elie Faure, in his monumental *History of*

Art, could find no merit in Polynesian art. Their sculptures, he wrote, "are violently and consciously expressive, with their attributes of killing, with their cruel visages; and the colors that cover them are the symbols of their ferocity in combat and their ardor in love." He goes on to mention "grimacing faces," "monstrous and live," a "terrifying play of expression during moments of debauchery and cruelty," "horrible figures, impetuous and barbarous."¹⁶ The impact of this exposure to the products of Oceania at the most sophisticated level reinforced the general impression that these peoples were at the lowest echelon of humanity and could only be treated as wards by the "civilized" nations.

The nineteenth century found Africa south of the Sahara the last unexplored and "unexploited" area of the globe, and European nations rushed in for the spoils in what is called "The New Imperialism." Early travelers to the "Dark Continent" were contemptuous of the sculpture, both for the lack of skill displayed and the subject matter. Terms such as "wretchedly carved," "grotesque images," "very hideous efforts of native art," and "naive art, provoking laughter," were used to describe these objects.¹⁷ Christian missionaries destroyed numerous sculptures in public burnings as pagan idols, while in Europe and the United States they were stored in natural history museums for study by ethnologists.

The first popular interest in African artifacts resulted from the thousands of bronzes, ivories, and wood carvings sent to London by the British military expedition to Benin in 1887. Many were sold to museums and collectors at home and abroad. But the French poet and art critic Guillaume Apollinaire, who enthusiastically supported those Cubists who found inspiration in African sculpture, wrote: "It is with great audacity of taste that one comes to consider the Negro idols as true works of art."¹⁸ Perhaps there is a double meaning here, but the avant garde painters who began the Cubist movement did not admire the aesthetic qualities of these figures either, finding them merely a source for a new technique. Faure criticized both the form and content of African art. "In the art of the Negroes," he wrote, we find nothing "more than that still unreasoned feeling which merely obeys the most elementary demands of rhythm and of symmetry." In the African craftsman, Faure continued, "we must not look for metaphysical abstractions, for he gives us only his sensations, as short lived as they are violent — an attempt to satisfy the most immediate needs that spring from a rudimentary fetishism."¹⁹ According to these and other Western reactions, African art reflected a savage people who should be treated by the civilized world as children to be dominated and controlled as pawns in the game of global big power.

The reception of and reaction to the visual objects produced in Asia, the Americas, Oceania, and Africa, by Westerners has gone through several stages.

These exotic objects, first viewed with awe and repulsion, came to rest in natural history museums and private collections, to illustrate the nineteenth century doctrines of evolution of the species, and they gained prominence at fairs and international exhibitions. But intrinsic interest was confined to scientists who employed them to support their theories of human development. The churches regarded them as heathen representations of a pagan society.

Then avant-garde European artists began to see that these esoteric objects suggested new ways of visual expression. They were not interested in the iconography of these works, only in what they offered in escaping the conventions of Western art. Cubism, Dadaism, Surrealism, Expressionism, minimalism — art styles that incorporated some of the distortions of physical reality — helped prepare the Western audience for the reception of primitive objects as art. When art galleries and museums began to display these items they became fashionable as household decorations, and finally caught the attention of art historians, who produced costly coffee table books and taught courses on the subject, while special museums were constructed to expose them to the untutored. Reactions varied from a fascination with the objects representing these exotic lands to contempt and cultural condescension.

Herbert Read has written that "all creation of visual art is a conceptualization and therefore reflects a corresponding intelligible ideology."²⁰ The ideology projected in non-Western art provided an image of peoples and societies wholly incompatible with the institutions, values, and practices of the Western world. In spite of the acceptance of these products as "art" by connoisseurs, anthropologists, museums, and art historians, the visual objects created by non-Western societies have confirmed impressions that these peoples were not to be treated as equal members of the international community. Along with other factors they supported the contention that the "white man's burden" was, to paraphrase Rousseau, to "force these barbarians to be free" by imposing the benefits of civilization. Thus art helped form perceptions used to condone, justify, and even demand intervention, domination, and exploitation of these non-Western peoples. Negotiations took place in an atmosphere of suspicion, resentment, and hostility as attitudes and interests clashed with a resultant legacy of hate and ill will.

Western governments have conducted relations with non-Western nations and peoples consistent with the image projected by their visual products, and public awareness of this art has provided popular support for government policy. In sum, the conceptualization of the non-Western world through its art as perceived by the Western conditioned mind and eye has proved detrimental to relations between the West and the rest of the world.

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NOTE: Portions of this paper have been published in Raymond G. O'Connor, "Asian Art and International Relations," *Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Newsletter*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (September 1987), 1-16.

COMMUNICATION

TO: Members of the World History Association
FROM: John Mears
SUBJECT: Standards for United States and World History

You must be aware of the fierce public attacks on the National History Standards project that has been developed at the University of California, Los Angeles. Many WHA leaders are deeply disturbed by these attacks, not only because they distort the contents of the U. S. and World History Standards, but because they represent a serious threat to the kind of teaching in our nation's schools that our Association is trying to encourage.

The WHA participated in formulation of the World History Standards by organizing a focus group which reviewed the pre-publication draft of the manuscript. While registering concern over various inadequacies and suggesting substantial revisions that did influence the developmental process, the WHA focus group expressed overall support for what should prove to be an outstanding resource for teachers interested in improving classroom instruction. The group did not mean to endorse every facet of the document, to argue that its basic approach is inherently superior to all other possibilities, or to imply that it brings to a culmination present attempts to conceptualize world history. However, it did conclude that these standards represent a major step forward, directing teachers toward a genuinely global approach, and suggesting a host of stimulating activities while maintaining a generally flexible framework.

The materials printed below should answer some of your questions and clarify points of heated debate. If you want further information, please contact the National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, 10880 Wilshire Blvd., #761, Los Angeles, CA 90024-4108. I urge you to give careful consideration to this matter.

Lynne Cheney and a few conservative allies have launched a massive campaign of disinformation regarding WORLD HISTORY: EXPLORING PATHS TO THE PRESENT, the national standards developed by the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA. Indeed, these critics are attacking the entire enterprise of world history and its teaching practitioners.

We might all welcome a reasoned national debate on world history teaching. This attack aim, however, to discredit the standards as the work of "politically correct" operatives who "hijacked" the project after President Clinton was elected and Cheney's term as chair of the NEH came to an end. Since these critics have not been able to find much in EXPLORING PATHS TO THE PRESENT to

substantiate their claims that the standards represent radical revisionist history, they have resorted to flagrant misrepresentation of the contents of the book. They would like teachers and education officials to accept their erroneous accusations and never read the standards for themselves.

These attacks are being made by Cheney, various conservative columnists or talk show hosts (including Rush Limbaugh), one or two conservative members of the National Council on History Standards (individuals who largely remained silent when the council had its final major discussion on the drafting of the standards), and a scattering of conservative academics. Virtually none of these critics is a classroom teacher.

I will address a number of specific charges.

1) Mrs. Cheney has laid out her general position in a *Washington Post* article (Nov. 11): "If you look over history for the last 500 or 600 years, the rise of the West is the organizing principle, and the key to the rise of democratic standards."

Expressed this way, she is reiterating the well-known, essentialist notion that Western civilization, particularly the history of certain political institutions, is the Big Story to which all developments in other parts of the world may be linked or subordinated. She is urging American schools to return to the days when the rise of Western civilization and world history were regarded as largely the same thing. Such an intellectual position is no longer tenable among the vast majority of either K-12 or college educators and could never be the basis for development of national history standards.

The standards are designed to serve as flexible guidelines for developing or improving courses, not as a prescribed curriculum for all schools to adopt. They do not present any single idea as the organizing principle other than a commitment to genuine global-encircling history. They do offer a number of primary organizing ideas for eight chronological eras of world history. The standards presented under each of these eras emphasize study of large-scale developments in history (including those that cut across national or cultural boundaries) rather than study of "civilizations" as autonomous, self-perpetuating units.

2) Cheney has characterized EXPLORING as "incoherent...just a welter of details without priorities." She charges that "everything is the same as everything else — gender relations under India's Gupta Empire, political and cultural achievements under Shah Abbas in Persia, and oh yes, the Magna Carta." (*USA Today*, Nov. 11).

In fact the standards follow a lucid organizational plan, they are easy to read, and they include graphic presentations that can help teachers and curriculum specialists set subject matter priorities. Moreover, everything is not the same as everything else. The standards clearly guide teachers in periodizing world

history, in identifying unifying themes, and in making distinctions between large-scale developments and those of regional or national significance. Cheney would have to explain how she would rank order the study of classical India, Islamic Persia, the Magna Carta, and other developments of altogether different character that occurred in completely different parts of the world at entirely different periods of time.

3) In their effort to discredit EXPLORING PATHS TO THE PRESENT Cheney and Co. have made the bizarre charge that they fail "to give any emphasis to Western civilization" (*Washington Post*, Nov. 11). Gilbert Sewall (head of a small, conservatively funded textbook reviewing organization) has asserted that the standards are "imbalanced by diminishing the place of Western civilization in human history" (*Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 11).

The teacher task forces that drafted the standards were asked to identify what they thought were the most important events, trends, and developments that occurred within each of eight designated eras of world history. The focus was on identifying the most consequential patterns of change, not on allotting so much space to "civilization A" and so much to "civilization B." The standards are not primarily organized around the study of "cultures" as such, whether Western or otherwise. Rather they encourage critical inquiry into the question of how the world came to be the way it is. As the first chapter of EXPLORING makes clear, this world-scale approach aims "to encourage students to ask large and searching questions about the human past, to compare patterns of continuity and change in different parts of the world, and to examine the histories and achievements of particular peoples or civilizations with an eye to wider social, cultural, or economic contexts" (p. 4).

Building on these premises, EXPLORING gives a great deal of attention to European history but places it in a world context. Therefore ancient Greece and its achievements are presented in the context of Mediterranean and Middle Eastern history. Medieval Europe figures prominently in the standards but in relationship to contemporaneous developments in the Islamic world, China, and other regions. The standards are emphatic about the global importance of developments in Europe in the modern centuries. For the unit focusing on AD 1450-1750 more than half the specific standard statements are concerned either with Europe or Europeans abroad. The 1750-1914 era suggests three major guiding themes: Political Revolutions and New Ideologies, the Industrial Revolution, and the Age of European Dominance. These themes are all explored in global terms, but European history figures large. How could it not?

One can only conclude that when Cheney, Sewall, and others claim that the standards diminish "the importance of the West" (*Newsweek*, Nov. 14), they mean that world history is not defined largely as the

history of the United States and western and central Europe. On the contrary, EXPLORING is arguing that students are likely to gain a far better understanding of the importance of European ideas and action in history if the framework for their studies is the human community as a whole. If, for example, the ideals of popular sovereignty, constitutionalism, and inalienable rights that were given expression in Europe and North America in the 18th century had such power that they attracted intense public debate and experimentation among peoples of Latin America, Asia, and Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries, shouldn't students know this?

4) Cheney states that "there's nothing wrong with studying the rest of the world, but not through this massive amount of detail" (*Washington Post*, Nov. 11). Sewall complains that the standards stress the "arcana" of the past (*Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 11).

EXPLORING PATHS TO THE PRESENT is a treasury of recommendations, ideas, and classroom strategies for world history. (The content standards take up 249 pages of a 341-page document. There are 10 pages of critical thinking standards.) The teacher-scholar task forces that developed the book spent a great deal of time deciding what to exclude from it, recognizing that there is a great deal of world history that should not be part of the K-12 curriculum. Their work involved much sifting and boiling down. Their aim, however, was not to produce a list of 100 or 200 things that every child "needs to know." Could one even imagine history teachers reaching national consensus on such an enterprise? Rather, in producing this book educators are saying: "Here's what we mean by guideline for a rich, solid, world-class education in history." It is now the prerogatives of states, school districts, schools, and publishers to draw on them and select from them to develop courses, curricula, and textbooks — preferably within the framework of three years of world history studies between 5th and 12th grades.

When Cheney speaks of "massive detail" and Sewall of "arcana," they are likely referring to events and ideas that were not part of their own traditional education. One or two other media critics have implied that any subject matter dealing with Africa south of the Sahara before the 20th century should be automatically classified as "arcane." However, teachers and scholars of today who are conversant with the history of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are likely to find very little in these standards that they would characterize as recondite. Some of the suggested exemplary activities for students are challenging (which is to be expected in "world-class" standards), and many of them offer students opportunities to be introduced to new historical figures, new places on the map, and new concepts. But how could anyone suppose that the experienced, pragmatic teachers who developed this document

would be interested in cramming it with historical obscurities?

Cheney and a few others have combed through the standards to find passages that they think the public is likely to find "arcane." Then they have declared that American kids are going to have to learn "all this stuff" as the new "official history." This charge is outrageously deceptive since both the Bush and Clinton Departments of Education have made it perfectly clear that standards documents in all disciplines are to be regarded as voluntary. Moreover, the hundreds of student projects and activities included in EXPLORING PATHS TO THE PRESENT are represented as "examples of student achievement," not mandated elements in a rigid course of study.

5) Gilbert Sewall asserts that "significant issues are pushed aside to please interest groups" (*Newsweek*, Nov. 14).

Who are these presumably "politically correct" groups? What are their interests? Do they include organizations that participated in the standards process such as the Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod), the National Catholic Education Association, the American Association of School Librarians, or the NEA? Mr. Sewall should be asked to identify the "groups" he has in mind.

6) Cheney has repeated over and over in the media that the U.S. history standards fail to "mention" such important figures as Thomas Edison and Albert Einstein. She is alleging of course that radical revisionists are trying deliberately to strike Edison and Einstein from American history education.

Read Examples of Student Achievement on page 262 of EXPLORING PATHS TO THE PRESENT: "Investigate the life of a scientist or inventor such as Thomas Alva Edison, Marie Skłodowska Curie, Albert Einstein, or Guglielmo Marconi. How did the work of the person you selected change society?" Why would the authors "suppress" Edison and Einstein in the U.S. history standards but include them in the world history book?

7) Sewall alleges that in the standards "the Industrial Revolution is given short shrift."

The Industrial Revolution (in both European and world context) is one of three major guiding themes for study of the 1750-1914 era. One of six primary standards recommends student understanding of "The causes and consequences of the agricultural and industrial revolutions." Several other standards in this era recommend study of industrialization and its economic, social, and cultural consequences in Europe and around the world. These themes are also treated prominently in the 20th century era. The first of six standards calls for student understanding of "Global and economic trends in the high period of Western dominance."

8) In her effort to present evidence of radical revisionism in EXPLORING, Cheney has completely

misrepresented at least one passage to make it support her charges. According to the *Washington Post* (Nov. 11), "she cited the guidelines' suggestion that students study Michelangelo to learn about "oppression and conflict in Europe" during the Renaissance. 'What about beauty,' she asked?"

The passage (p. 177) actually reads: "Use books such as Irving Stone's *The Agony and the Ecstasy*, Claudia Van Canon's *The Inheritance*, and Barbara Willard's *A Cold Wind Blowing* to discuss social oppression and conflict in Europe during the Renaissance. How did such conditions conflict with prevailing humanist principles?"

Moreover, a student exemplar on page 43 of the U.S. standards reads: "Analyze examples of Renaissance art, such as Michelangelo's painting of the Sistine Chapel or the sculpture of David for what it says about the relationship between man and God and the position and power of the individual."

Cheney's method of making blatant, condemnatory generalizations from bits of language and scattered omissions suggests that the true p.c. fanatics (if they are out there somewhere) might use the same tactics to denounce the standards as monstrously Eurocentric!

9) Many teachers have been grieved to see Al Shanker, president of the AFT, weighing in on the side of the ultraconservative critics with an utterly unsupportable attack on the standards. He is quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* (Nov. 11): "[EXPLORING PATHS TO THE PRESENT] is a travesty, a caricature of what these things should be — sort of a cheap shot, leftist point-of-view of history.... Everything that is European or American, or that has to do with white people is evil and oppressive, while Genghis Khan is a nice sweet guy just bringing his culture to other places."

This statement is an offense to the dedicated and distinguished teacher-scholars who wrote the standards, and it is completely without foundation. To be specific, what does EXPLORING actually say about Genghis Khan [Chinggis Khan] and the Mongol empire?

"... the Mongol warlords intruded in one way or another on the lives of almost all peoples of Eurasia. The conquests were terrifying, but the stabilizing of Mongol rule led to a century of fertile commercial and cultural interchange across the continent" (p. 128).

"Describe the destructive Mongol conquests of 1206-1279...." (p. 146).

"Write a short story as told by someone your age about the siege of their home city in Persia by a Mongol army" (p. 146).

"Use the reported remarks of Chinggis Khan — 'Man's highest joy is in victory: to conquer one's enemies, to pursue them, to deprive them of their possessions, to make their beloved weep...' — to examine the record of Mongol conquests."

"Construct a historical argument explaining the relationship between military success and Mongol army organization, weapons, tactics, and policies of terror."

Gary Nash has challenged Shanker to retract his statement in the *Wall Street Journal*.

• • • • •

Under Lynne Cheney's chairmanship at NEH the National Council on History Standards charged the National Center for History to develop standards in world, not European history. They took the charge seriously, affirming along with the dozens of teachers and scholars who contributed to this project that high school graduates who are going to live their lives in an intricately interconnected world and pursue careers and vocations in the global market place require a fundamental understanding of the forces that have over the long span of time shaped our contemporary world. That means a solid world history education — not a tour of every culture and society but critical inquiry into the movements, trends, conflict, transformations, and cultural flowerings of greatest import and most enduring significance.

A closing anecdote: The other day I spoke to my brother-in-law, a southern Wisconsin dairy farmer with children in 8th and 10th grades. "Of course we need world history in the curriculum," he told me. "On a dairy farm you have to deal with the global economy every day. It isn't the Wisconsin market or the national market that sets the price of the commodities I produce. It's the global market. To understand the global market, you have to know a lot about the world." Amen.

I would like to urge all of you who feel as I do about the injustice of these fierce attacks and on the importance of world history in the schools to take active steps:

Order the standards from the National Center for History in the School and read them for yourselves. (National Center for History, UCLA, 10880 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 761, Los Angeles, CA 90024-4108).

Forward this message to colleagues and other lists.

Write letters to the press and op-ed pieces.

Organize departmental, school, or community discussions of the National History Standards.

I will be happy to hear from any of you.

Ross Dunn,
Past President, WHA
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San Diego State University
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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

I am responding to Dr. Nelson Edmonson's article "World History Education and the Politics of Agnosticism: A Program for Cross-Cultural Amity" that appeared in the Fall/Winter, 1993-94 issue of the *World History Bulletin*.

In his summary on page 13 Edmonson says:

...there emerges the further clear message that humans hold conflicting religious and philosophical beliefs, the validity of none of which can be established on a basis irresistibly persuasive to all people, while scientific knowledge, which is widely convincing, evolves, remains ever incomplete to an indeterminate degree, is characterized by competing interpretations on its frontiers, and is in any event incapable of resolving religious and philosophical issues. From a global standpoint, this inconclusiveness and incompleteness of human understanding is the one spiritual and intellectual situation that overarches all particular, parochial beliefs, and those individuals who consciously grasp this commonality of the human conditions, should, one may suppose, be in a favored position to think and act simply as *earthlings*, rather than as ethnically distinct, and religiously or philosophically, or even scientifically, arrogant enthusiasts. The final thrust of the set of world courses should be to foster a disinclination to such arrogance.

I generally agree, but how does a precollege world history teacher "foster a disinclination to...arrogance" when teaching in a specific community where such arrogance exists? Specifically, how does one successfully incorporate a study of world religions into a high school curriculum when the majority of people within that district believe they know "The Truth," elect their school officials, and expect them and their teachers to communicate this truth to children — or at least not contradict it?

Based upon my 30 years of teaching world history at Riverside-Brookfield High School, I suggest that Edmonson's goals can be best achieved if a teacher makes four basic distinctions when teaching about world religion. She or he clearly should distinguish between:

1. Scholarly understandings and moral training,
2. World Religions and folk belief,
3. Systems of belief and methods of persuasion, and
4. Particularistic factual assumptions and those from the natural and social sciences.

Sincerely,
Brant Abrahamson
3731 Madison Avenue
Brookfield, IL 60513

TOPICS IN WORLD HISTORY

NAPOLEON IN EGYPT

ABD AL RAHMAN AL-JABARTI; INTRO BY ROBERT TIGNOR, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

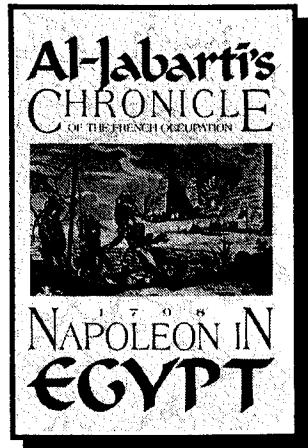
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"[Al-Jabarti] resents the French invasion, ridicules their claim to be a defender of the faith, rejects their belief in liberty and equality, despises their lack of morality and personal hygiene, but approves their efficiency, common loyalty and cooperation, and wonders at their technical and scholarly abilities. There was much he admired in these uncouth barbarians who even had a translation of the Koran in their luggage. . . . Al-Jabarti's work has been a treasure house" —*Journal of the American Oriental Society*

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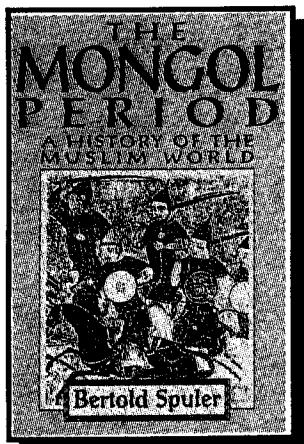
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The *Journal* is published each March and September; the *Bulletin* appears in May and November. (Apologies from the editor for the lateness of this and the next issue.)

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

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