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WORLD HISTORY bulletin

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World History Association 2001 Meeting – Salt Lake City – June 28 - July 1

WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION, 2001 MEETING
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, JUNE 28 - JULY 1, 2001

The University of Utah will be hosting the 2001 Meeting of the World History Association. The featured themes for the conference are:

The World History Association
2001 Meeting

Globalizing
Regional/National
Histories;
Exchanges and Encounters:
Biological and Cultural;
and
Women in World History.

Plenary speakers will address these major themes. In addition to panel and individual paper proposals on these topics, we welcome submissions on any and all world history themes and topics. We wish to encourage both teaching and research proposals. Please send your proposals to:

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The closing date for submission of papers and/or panels is February 23, 2001.

Salt Lake City stands at the crossroads of the west and will be the site of the 2002 Winter Olympics. A Delta Airlines hub, it is well serviced by all the major U.S. airlines. North of the city (and there is much to do in and around Salt Lake) is Yellowstone; to the south lie Zion National Park, the Arches National Park, Bryce Canyon, and the Grand Canyon.

Housing will be available at reasonable cost at the future site of the 2002 Winter Olympics Village, Fort Douglas. At this historic site (an old fort), the University of Utah has recently built a University Guest Hotel and a number of new dormitories. We expect the hotel tariff to be about $70 and the residence hall rate to be about half of that modest price.

Details on registration and accommodations will be publicized soon.

Fall 2000 *Volume XVI Number 2*

WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN
Newsletter of the World History Association

DR. RAYMOND M. LORANTAS
February 1, 1928 – April 14, 2000

A remembrance by WHA Executive Director Dick Rosen

Dr. Raymond M. Lorantas, Professor Emeritus of History at Drexel University, was born in Elizabeth, Pennsylvania on February 1, 1928, the youngest of seven children of Justin and Agnes Lorantas. His students and colleagues will remember him as an outstanding and innovative teacher.

Dr. Lorantas joined the U.S. Air Force in 1946 immediately after his graduation from high school. After his military tour, including some time in East Asia, he took advantage of the G. I. Bill to attend Grove City College, where he earned his B.A. in history in 1953. Two years later, he received a master's degree in history from the University of Pennsylvania. He returned to Grove City to teach history for six years while he was earning his doctorate in history from Penn. He left Grove City amid some controversy when a colleague was terminated in an academic freedom case. Ray quit his position there. Grove City was ultimately censured by the AAUP and it remains on the AAUP censure list even today (the longest-standing college on that list).

Dr. Lorantas came to Drexel University in Philadelphia in 1962 and remained there until his retirement in 1995. Known for his excellent teaching, he was the recipient of five teaching awards from Drexel student organizations in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1968 he won the coveted Lindback Award for Outstanding Teaching.

From 1970 to 1973, Ray served as senior lecturer in world history and chairman of the history department of Chung Chi College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Eleven years later, he would return to China as an exchange professor at the Tianjin Foreign Languages Institute in Tianjin, China.

This vast international experience led him to champion the concept of world history and after a trip to the Cameroon in 1982, he, along with his fellow African travelers, became a founding member of the World History Association. He served the WHA as Board member (1983-1985), Vice President (1990-91), and President (1992-3). For all those years (1983-1994) he was also editor of the *World History Bulletin*. He served as co-chairman of the first WHA International Conference held in Philadelphia in 1992.

Throughout his career, Dr. Lorantas worked as a consultant to numerous university history departments and lectured to students in the Philadelphia schools about the joy of history — especially from the non-Western perspective. In 1990, at Drexel, the Raymond M. Lorantas Scholarship in World History was endowed in his honor. The award is given for an outstanding essay in a world history topic written by an undergraduate student.

Dr. Lorantas is survived by his wife of 30 years, Barbara Bradshaw Lorantas of Flourtown, PA, and a son, Glenn S. of Port Washington, NY. Also surviving him are three sisters, Agnes Michalski of Glassport, PA, Sophie Zakel of Clairton, PA, and Della Yacanelli of Clairton, PA and six nieces and nephews.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
Carter V. Findley

Dear WHA Members:

As if privileged by destiny to mark the new millennium as fireworks could not, the field of world history has flourished mightily in the year 2000. In the United States, the launching of the new Advanced Placement course in world history marks the most momentous change to occur in history teaching in decades. Internationally, the International Congress of Historical Sciences (ICHS) meeting in Oslo, Norway in August, devoted its opening, day-long plenary to "Perspectives on Global History." At the closing session, the president of the ICHS, Professor Juergen Kocka of Germany, called for the ICHS to reach out to historians beyond Europe and North America. As Executive Council member David Christian observes from Australia, world history is now emerging as a "key area of advance for the discipline as a whole," a field that will "link history teaching and research critically to emerging global issues" to "globalization in all its forms."

So far in 2000, members of the World History Association have responded to the biggest opportunity and challenge in our history. So it seems to me. The opportunity was unique: preparing American teachers for the new AP course. During the summer, world history teachers came together in workshops at 10 sites around the U.S.A. to develop new courses and prepare for the more than 30,000 students soon expected to take these courses each year. All friends of world history owe thanks and praise to everyone who collaborated in these workshops, especially to Heidi Roupp for raising the funding and carrying through this great project, her account of which appears on page 3 in this *Bulletin*.

Responding to our greatest challenge — the state of WHA finances — became the task of the Executive Council. Operating as the Committee of the Whole for Financial Reorganization, the Executive Council devoted the first half of this year to financial reorganization. With the field of world history growing as it now is, the WHA has to have the ways and means, organizationally and financially, to meet the reasonable expectations of a clientele that is increasing rapidly in numbers and expectations. The mom-and-pop-scale organization that we inherited from our small beginnings has served us long and well; and we are more indebted than most of us realize to the heroic souls who have kept it going on a shoestring for as long as they have. However, change is overdue and would have become more painful if longer deferred. The purpose of the remainder of this letter is to present to all WHA members the Executive Council's decisions about financial reorganization, the reasons for them, and — most important — their long-term goals.

The result of the financial reorganization that members will notice first is an increase in dues. After remaining at $30 per year for several years, dues will increase to:

$45 for calendar year 2001 and
$60 for calendar year 2002, and following.

To provide help where help is needed, students and independent scholars will continue to receive greatly reduced rates. Another reduced rate has been introduced for "new professionals" who are no longer students and are still within the first five years of their paid professional work at any level.

There will again be discounts, based on the new rates, for multi-year renewals. Members are also invited and encouraged to contribute to the WHA Fund introduced last year: either its Annual Account, which funds current projects like our book prize, or the Endowment Fund, which will remain in a capital-accumulation mode until it can produce enough income to support special projects.

Now let me tell you why these changes have been made and what their long-term goals are, particularly the most important one glimmering on the WHA's horizon. WHA finances were almost beyond the point of viability when this review began. Fiscal conservatism had been carried to such a point that the future of the WHA and its ability to provide consistent and reliable services to present and future members were in jeopardy. Reluctance to raise the dues materially had become so ingrained in WHA culture that receipts per member barely covered costs and left no margin for new initiatives. Largely for that reason, a search for ways to economize rather than raise dues proved fruitless. Equally ingrained was the preference for volunteerism as the way to get the job done; yet the workload was becoming unsustainable for some of those doing the most essential jobs. We also faced growing needs for professional services such as bookkeeping, accounting, and legal advice, which cannot reliably be obtained on an unpaid basis. These are problems that have, in the words of WHA Secretary Marie Donaghay, "no ouchless solution."

Before setting an amount for the dues increase, the Executive Council analyzed and reanalyzed the problem from all angles. We considered costs per member, overall budget projections for both the coming year and the next several years, and the comparisons between the WHA and other professional organizations in terms of the dues paid and what their members receive in return. That comparison pointed to $60 as the appropriate level for a full dues-paying WHA member. The budget projections likewise pointed to $60 as the dues level needed to meet the long-term objectives discussed below. In keeping with our tradition of populism and fiscal conservatism, however, great concern was expressed about raising the dues suddenly; Maggie Favretti in particular kept this point before us. Many questions were asked about the ability of those just beginning their careers and others in less-advantaged professional situations to support higher dues levels. The result of these concerns was the decision to introduce the dues increase in stages, while retaining reduced rates for students and independent scholars, and to create the special rate for "new professionals" as a further incentive. For those able to pay more, we encourage continued giving to the WHA Fund, which has already proven itself a very important resource for the WHA, and we will require institutions and corporations to pay higher rates. This year's dues form incorporates these decisions.

The need to prepare our organization to support its future growth is what necessitates this change and makes it important for every WHA member to support it. Alan LeBaron deserves the credit for crystallizing a key point for other members of the Executive Council: WHA members will be more willing to support a dues increase if the money goes, not just to pay bills, but to move the organization forward decisively. Some of the proceeds will, indeed, have to be used for getting our house in order and assuring essential services that we cannot get without cost. However, we do have a long-term goal in view, and it is a big one.

This goal is to create for the WHA a larger infrastructural core, essentially a new Executive Directorate with a half-time executive director and paid staff support, sited at a major academic or research institution, and capable of providing enhanced services, in a sustained, ongoing way, for our growing membership. To be able to negotiate with potential host institutions, we have to be able to show that we are in a position to cover half the costs; informed estimates place these in the range of $40,000 to $60,000. Our old dues structure prevented any such negotiation completely. The results of this year's study give us confidence that dues of $60 and at least the present membership of roughly 1,600 will enable us to achieve this vital step. This is why it is essential for all members to continue to support the WHA as we move toward this goal.

What benefits will we gain from creating such an organization? In his Open Letter, reproduced on page 1 of the Spring 2000 WHA *Bulletin*, William H. McNeill hit the nail on the head when he called on all WHA members to support raising "membership dues high enough to pay for a modest core staff needed to manage everyday routine and carry out future initiatives." Elaborating on this in the light of my experience to date as president, I can add that this "core staff" is needed to assist our elected officers and certain key committees in activities such as managing our finances (engaging expert services when needed), coordinating grant applications, implementing grant-funded projects, and assuring continuity and progressive refinement of procedures for recurring operations such as nominations and conference planning. The WHA is reaching the point where we can no longer risk hurting people's feelings or slipping backward because this year's committee does not know what last year's committee did. The "core staff" of the new Executive Directorate will help to assure administrative continuity and prevent such missteps. The executive director will report to the president and Executive Council, and the new Executive Directorate will be governed by a contract between the WHA and the host institution. Depending on exactly which host institution is selected and what it has to offer, the executive director may also acquire an important role in activities such as sponsoring lectures and symposia at the host institution and in producing publications such as conference volumes. Finally, fundraising or coordinating a fundraising project in which many WHA members participate may become an important function of the new Executive Directorate. The National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington offers challenge grants, for example. A successful application for one of these could be used to endow or partially endow the Executive Directorate. That is a really big, long-term goal: the NEH requires that any such grant be matched three-to-one from other sources.

This is a good time for the WHA to think big and look far ahead. However, as Helen Grady concisely stated, "The WHA has to pay its own way." No credible host institution is going to house our enhanced Executive Directorate if we are not prepared to pay our part. Our income from sources other than dues, whether the WHA Fund or outside grants like those used to fund the AP teacher training workshops, is restricted to specific purposes and therefore cannot be used to offset the shortages in our operating budget. The financial reorganization that we have undertaken will enable us to provide our growing membership with the level of consistent service that they are entitled to expect and to advance toward the creation of a new Executive Directorate as our next major goal. As we do so, the WHA will need both ongoing support from all its members and thoughtful initiative from its leadership. My next step will therefore be to create a Special Committee to consult widely within the WHA about how best to implement the Executive Directorate project, to establish orderly procedures for approaching potential host institutions, and then to take the initiative in doing so and reporting the results to the Executive Council for its decision.

With your continuing support, I look forward to seeing this search brought to a successful conclusion as early as possible. However, I would like to ask for patience as well as support: this is a job better done well than hastily.

Thank you,

Carter Findley

TEACHING WORLD HISTORY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Heidi Roupp
Past President of the World History Association, 1998-2000

From the Pacific coast to midtown Manhattan, 250 history teachers and professors across the nation gathered this summer at ten regional institutes to create a new teaching field in the humanities: world history. "Establishing a New Teaching Field: World History for the 21st Century," a project funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, addressed the acute need for faculty development and curriculum design in the new, rapidly expanding field of historical study. The project was developed by the World History Association in collaboration with the College Board to help world history instructors develop new subject matter as well as educational practices. These institutes were dedicated to the memory of Raymond Lorantas, former president of the World History Association, and Theodore Von Laue, a noted pioneer of research in the field.

Interest in the field has steadily increased since the founding of the World History Association in 1982. Last year marked another milestone in the growth of the field, with the College Board's development of an Advanced Placement program in world history. Like biological research, the field continues to expand and change, yet much remains to be learned.

The need for world history studies has grown as globalization has raised new questions about the past. For example, students might be asked to analyze the effects of the world wars outside of Europe or to compare the fur trade, frontier settlement, and building of transcontinental railroads in Russia and the United States.

World history offers a global perspective which is neither European history with a cursory review of Asian and African cultures nor is it a parade of "great" civilizations. World history narratives deal with global themes like ecological change, the expansion of the market economy, the spread of religions, or the diffusion of technology — themes that stretch well beyond the history of a specific nation or region. For example, Columbus in world history is not simply the story of Columbus discovering a "new world.". Instead it is the "Columbian exchange," a story of human migrations, transatlantic trade, and the exchange of plants, animals, diseases, art, and technology between the Eastern and Western hemispheres.

As more and more educators at both the high school and college levels are asked to develop world history courses, it has become clear that very few models exist. In addition, many history educators assigned to teach world history have never taken a world history course themselves.

A major goal of this summer's regional institutes was to acquaint history educators with the extensive new scholarship in world history. Two important challenges face world history instructors. One is to help American students understand how their lives are linked to the historical realities of a world shaped by globalization. The other is to help students develop critical thinking skills addressed specifically in rigorous world history courses. Because world history involves testing historical hypotheses from multiple points of view, students learn to see global patterns over time and space, to analyze cross-cultural exchanges, to connect local change to global developments, and to compare societal reactions to global processes.

The summer faculties at the ten sites ensured that each institute was a huge success.

Alan LeBaron hosted an early session in June at Kennesaw State University, where Marc Gilbert and Tom Mounkhall taught the program. Steve Rapp, Jonathan Grant, and A.G. Adebayo were guest lecturers. In the Dallas-Ft. Worth Metroplex, Richard Golden, Carole Buchanan, and Harold Tanner were the academic leaders at the University of North Texas. The month ended with the Fairfax County Schools hosting the institute led by Bernie Glaze and Hank Dillon. Bob Bain, John McNeill, Peter Stearns, and John Voll led seminar discussions.

After the Fourth of July, Ken Curtis and Tim Keirn began their summer institute at California State, Long Beach with special sessions led by Tara Sethia, Ken Pomeranz, and Steve Topik. The University of Illinois at Chicago was the site for the world history program led by Paul Buelow, Gerald Danzer, and Kirk Hoppe. Margaret Strobel and Jim Blaut were the visiting faculty. In Austin, Molly Reina of St. Edwards served as the site coordinator. Michele Forman, Jacky Swansinger, and Steve Goldberg taught the program. In a special half-day session Jonathan Lee introduced the participants to world history through the Web. A reporter and photographer from *Education Week* attended the institutes at Fairfax County Schools and at the University of Illinois at Chicago to prepare a feature article which will appear nationally in its back to school issue.

In August, sessions were offered in New York and California. Sam Gellens and Tom Mounkhall were the instructors at Horace Mann School, where Richard Bulliet, Colin Palmer, Barbara Tischler, and Lawrence Weiss were visiting faculty. Tom Martin and Bill Issel hosted the summer program at San Francisco State. Sessions led by guest faculty included Ross Dunn, Arturo Giraldez, Dennis Flynn, Bin Wong, Mazia Behrooz, Jack Goldstone, and Steve Grannucci. In New York, the American Forum for Global Education hosted the last August session. Each of the two weeks was led by a different team. Maggie Favretti and Loyd Lee taught the first week; Elisabeth Sperling and Michael Seth taught the second, with Kevin Reilly as a guest lecturer. From June to August Marilynn Hitchens taught the summer institute online through the University of Colorado, Denver campus.

This summer's institutes sought to break down the division between teachers and professors, an artificial barrier inhibiting badly needed discussions between thoughtful professionals. Daily seminars between professors, teachers, and research historians featured intense discussion of recent scholarship. Conceptual articles written specifically for the seminars included Terry Burke's "The Environment in World History, 1500-2000"; Richard Lyman's "Themes, Strings, and Bundles"; Markus Vink's "The 'New' or 'High' Imperialism, 1870-1914" (published in this issue of the *World History Bulletin*); and Robert Strayer's "Communist Reform in Comparative Perspective." Discussions concerning how to teach new content resulted in new mechanisms for ongoing collaboration between world history professionals at all teaching levels.

The product will be new course designs. After two weeks of extensive reading and discussions ranging from practical teaching issues to the conceptualization of a global history, participants have returned home to develop their own courses.

A committee of noted world historians, both master teachers and scholars, will review the drafts of the courses in September and return them to the instructors with suggestions for revisions. In November, William McNeill, chairman of the review committee, will issue a report with recommendations concerning future faculty development and needed teaching materials to develop the field. After a year of class testing, peer review, and more revisions, institute participants will meet once more to present their revised programs to their colleagues.

This program was possible because of the administrative support of Lee Jones and Frederick Wright at the College Board, Larry Beaber and Despina Danos at the Educational Testing Service, Bruce Robinson at NEH, and Jacky Swansinger at SUNY – Fredonia, as well as the many members of the WHA who have donated so much time and effort to establish the field of world history.

There is much more work to be done in developing world history studies as a teaching field, but the concentrated efforts this summer have provided an auspicious beginning to a new adventure in history.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: "GLOBALISM IS THE NATURAL STATE OF HUMANKIND"

Carter V. Findley

Delivered at the Ninth International Conference of the WHA

Northeastern University, Boston

24 June 2000

I was what my mother and her friends called an impressionable child. They did not realize that there was something "two-way" about being impressionable, or maybe I should say, something "interactive" about it. It may be a while before you understand what I mean.

When I was still barely big enough to see over the counter, she took me to the local Carnegie library, as we still called it in those days, to get my first library card. When I was about eight, my parents bought a set of *Compton's Encyclopedia*, and I would come home from school, open it at random, and start reading. Living in what was then one of America's most boringly non-ethnic cities, I wanted from the age of five to learn languages, but had so few opportunities that I was jealous when I learned that the Jewish kids got to go to Hebrew school late in the afternoon, while the rest of us were supposed to just go outside and play. I at least had my encyclopedia, in which "India" was nearer than "Indiana," and "Africa" came before "Alabama." And I had two branch libraries within walking distance, stocked with stuff like Andrew Lang's version of *The Arabian Nights* or the *Boy's King Arthur*, which was so big that I once threw it at my little brother — a nerd's revenge. With this mix of stimulus and deprivation, the impressionable child could build up quite a head of steam.

One day, looking at the "Connecticut" article in the encyclopedia, I saw a picture and asked my mother, "What's that?" She said, "That's Yale University. Maybe someday you can go there." So I did. I'm skipping some of the details about high school, college board exams, and scholarship applications. Going to Yale was not something that a whole lot of people in my family had done. However, once you start encouraging the impressionable child, it is not easy to put a stop to it. The Yale of those days was not exactly a picture of globalism. Literature programs were serenely canonical; history was hegemonically Euro-American with some "other" history around the edges. It was Donald Kagan's kind of place; he just wasn't there, yet. He was probably still working on his Ph.D. at Ohio State. However, the variety and quality of language programs were dazzling. And in such a supercharged cultural environment, not everything could be corseted into a canon. In a sophomore political science course, I heard one of the worthies of the day, Gabriel Almond, lecture about political development, discussing examples all over the world, without working up a sweat, turning red, or getting out of breath. He didn't say anything memorable, but at least he didn't make globalism look hard. By graduation, I was stoked with French, German, and European history and ready to branch out into what later became known as area studies. This took me to a Ph.D. program in Middle Eastern history, with research specialization in Turkish studies and Ottoman history.

By that time, other things seemed to have been left far behind, except that it is not really possible — is it? — to launch a scholarly career where you use only what you learned in graduate school. And what about the "life experience" of someone who was born in the *Southeast*, studied in the *Northeast*, traveled in the *Middle East*, and settled in the *Middle West*, not to speak of having an incidental expense-paid tour of Southeast Asia on terms you couldn't turn down. There's a lot of cognitive dissonance and de-centered subjectivity in all that. Being from the South was not "cool" on the Yale campus of the early 1960s, although the reasons were not always the same; no kind of American was popular in Turkey in the late 1960s; when I first set out to travel to the Arab countries (summer of 1967), you could not go there at all with a U.S. passport. Be that as it may, it sounds like time to leave out some more stuff. We still haven't gotten to either world history or the "two-way" part about being impressionable. This was not supposed to be a talk about my life anyway; in fact, if you think I am going to stand up here and really tell all these people about my life, you're crazy.

Sometime about 1979, in a faculty meeting at Ohio State, a vote was taken to create a course on the world in the 20th century. It was done for farcically bad reasons. An aging British historian had just seen his pet course on modern Britain abolished in an effort to thin out an over-population of introductory courses. He had decided to create a new course on world history and carry on teaching modern Britain under that cover because, after all, what's the difference? Given the worries of the time about declining history enrollments, however, others soon took an interest in this course. If students didn't value anything else about history, maybe the 20th-century world would grip their attention. Those who thought this way decided to head off their colleague at the pass. The next motion presented at that meeting was for the new course to be team-taught by a Westernist and a non-Westernist. "Aha," I thought, "when did you ever see creation *ex nihilo* in a faculty meeting?" The department had never taught world history before at all. A valuable intellectual property had just come into existence out of nowhere, as far as our department was concerned. Despite my conditioning to do the opposite, I rushed forward to volunteer as the founding non-Westernist in the course. John Rothney was going to be the founding Westernist.

Over the next year or so, we worked intensively to create a course that would be innovative in content and method. Both of us wrote and spoke about this a number of times in the early 1980s, and there is not time to recount it all here. What is worth re-emphasizing is that both of us, as products of the 1960s, when the theoretical stimulus to historians was coming out of the social sciences, thought it essential to define specific themes for our course, to state them as its introduction, to emphasize them every way possible after that, and to use them as criteria of selection so that we could choose empirical examples to develop, without turning our course into another *Compton's Encyclopedia*. That kind of selectivity would also enable us to do something like zoom-lens photography, defining our themes in abstract terms and then zooming in to illustrate them at the grassroots level in particular locales, about which we would actually say something, rather than trying to list examples everywhere. Developing the themes turned into an extremely interesting exercise. As far as we could discover, the problem of devising a thematic framework specifically for 20th-century world history had not been addressed in that way before. Our hunch was that the 20th century was different enough from what had gone before that it merited that kind of attention.

As we finished teaching the course the first time, I was wondering what to do to make it better the next time. This is about when the two-wayness of being impressionable set in. Scarcely had I asked myself this question when a representative of Houghton Mifflin materialized in front of me and asked if I had thought of publishing a book about world history. "Aha," I thought, "what better way to improve my course than to write the book." So we did write that book, and the first edition came out in 1986. Being responsible for all of the non-Euro-American and the future-oriented parts of the book, I don't want to make it sound as if this was easy. I certainly discovered how little I knew about Latin America, Africa, and much of Asia, not to speak of the future-oriented issues — nuclear weapons and environmental and resource questions — that I wanted so badly to understand better. Writing on all these subjects, especially the first time, I endured one ordeal after another. Eventually, amidst all that suffering, astonishing things happened. One night, I went to bed very late, in despair over my inability to wind up the section on India since 1945. The next morning, as I was eating

my cereal, I glanced at the paper, and it said "Indira Gandhi Assassinated." This was the first sign that my solitary, scholarly struggles had given me psychic powers over world history. Just think: the Sikh bodyguards who pulled the trigger probably thought they were free agents! I now had the perfect ending for my section on India. But had the impressionable child grown into an adult with awesome powers that it would be a constant struggle to use only for Good?

The first edition of our book, *Twentieth-Century World*, appeared in 1986, with succeeding editions at four-year intervals. If you don't already, perhaps you may be interested to know how we stated those themes I mentioned. Discussing them shows how our book relates to the idea that globalism is the natural state of humankind. In the first three editions, these themes evolved incrementally, until by 1994 they were:

global interrelatedness, in patterns that have changed over time and progressively tightened;
disequilibrium among cultures in an era of accelerating change;
the rise of the mass society, including both pluralistic democracies and mass-mobilizing authoritarian regimes; and
technology versus nature, the ambiguous triumph that has culminated in humankind's power to destroy the earth.

All but the second of these themes had been stated already in the same words in the first edition. Their survivability has been a source of satisfaction. Especially, the fact that we fore-grounded "global interrelatedness" in 1986 has made us feel like harbingers of what is now called "globalization," about which more below. The first two editions had also had a fifth theme, "the search for appropriate values," or, more succinctly, "values for survival." That was a way of asking whether the values that had shaped the most dominant societies of the contemporary world were those most conducive to human welfare. In practice, however, we found that we did not develop this as an independent theme so much as pose it as a question in concluding the discussion of the other themes. In the third edition, we therefore reduced the number of themes to four.

The second theme was the one that changed the most in successive editions. In the first edition, the best formulation I could yet come up with was "the contrast between change-oriented and culturally conservative societies." If you think that is a hang-over from 1960s modernization theory, you are right. In its day, that was a subject that I knew well; modernization theory had a comparatively high degree of fit to late Ottoman and modern Turkish history; and my thinking about what happens at the grassroots level as the world becomes increasingly interrelated was not yet fully detoxified from this theoretical influence. Trying to escape the essentialist implications of assigning different rates of change to different cultures, I came to the wording used in the second and third editions: "disequilibrium among cultures in an era of accelerating change." Still I was not satisfied. Something had to be described as the reaction to growing global interrelatedness; I just did not have the right words for it yet. Part of my problem was that the sites of theoretical production that most influenced historians had shifted. I was living through the default-option empiricism of a historian who has seen an old theoretical paradigm collapse but is still fumbling to connect with new ones. Moreover, even my psychic powers over world history did not always enable me to penetrate the opaque writing of the Homi Bhabhas and Homi Mamas of the world. The fact that I spent most of my time doing deeply empirical research in Turkish studies was another problem in this regard. That field opens up fascinating vistas, but has never been the fast way to find out what is going on at the commanding heights of theoretical production, neither the social scientific theorizing of the 1960s nor the culturalist theorizing of the 1990s.

Finally, when I was working on the fourth edition of the textbook, the fortuitous intersections of my original research in Turkish studies and my thinking about world history led me to a new formulation of the second theme, which had so far hovered around issues of cultural conflict and change. In the mid-1990s, I was working on a study of an Ottoman travel narrative of the 1880s, a study that eventually appeared in the *American Historical Review* (Findley 1998). A lengthy account of how an Ottoman man and a Russian woman met at an Orientalist Congress in Stockholm in 1889, traveled around Europe together, visited the World Exposition of 1889 and other sites, and commented on everything — always comparing to conditions in Russia and the Ottoman Empire — the book offered a great deal for analysis. It took a vast empirical effort to identify and verify countless references and comparisons. It was an entirely different project to identify a suitable theoretical site for discussion of a generalist work that had elements of orientalism, occidentalism, gender analysis, and alteritist representation, but without any one of those being the top note. The lack of anything funny in this suggests that I had better do something to save this as an after-dinner talk, so if you want to know more about how I solved the problems of that article, kindly read it, or, better yet, its Turkish translation, in which we clarified the explanation and in fact diagrammed it.

For now, let me catch you up to date about those psychic powers, which you may well have begun to doubt by now. At the end of the 1980s, when we had a really big curriculum review, I managed to "psyche" my colleagues into expanding our world history program by creating a comprehensive survey, which is how I think that ought to be done, as well as graduate courses. In my textbook revisions and my teaching, more remarkable episodes continued to occur. In October 1987, we were lecturing about the 1929 crash just when the stock market dived again. In 1997, as I was revising my account of China since 1945, it occurred to me that Deng Xiaoping was getting to be quite a bore. You can't guess what happened to him just about that time. In April 2000, I was lecturing about the 1929 crash again, just between the time of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton's ill-starred comments on gene patents and the "Tech Wreck" that broke the bubble in biotech and Internet stocks soon after. This time I saw what was coming. As I worked my way through my Power Point slides, I kept repeating the mantra "Use those powers for good!" But it's hard to focus on your mantra inwardly while you have to talk about something else outwardly, isn't it?

Getting back to globalism as the natural state of the educated person, my work on this travel narrative and the theoretical works I needed to read in order to analyze it at last broke the invisible barriers that had seemed to keep me from catching on to some recent developments in culture theory, notably post-colonial or anti-colonial nationalism. As my understanding of the mutability and contestedness of culture expanded, I began to sense that the right formulation for the second theme was "Identity and Difference," and so it became in the fourth edition. I was afraid that renaming the second theme in this way might wreak havoc with the rest of the book. However, the consequences of the change proved amazingly benign. To show you what I mean, let me quote for you the way the first two themes were described in the fourth edition.

Global Interrelatedness. Especially in a time of "globalization," world history is not just the sum of the histories of the world's parts. There is, instead, a pattern of global interconnectedness, which has grown and tightened over time at an accelerating pace. Understanding world history first of all requires analyzing this pattern and how it has changed.

Identity and Difference. Global integration has increasingly challenged the autonomy of individual communities. Global interrelatedness has not, however, produced sameness. Peoples all over the world vie to assert their distinct identities, using the very processes and media of globalization for this purpose. Conflict ensues over many issues, including race, ethnicity, religion, class, and gender.

The earlier formulation, about disequilibrium among cultures, invited illustration with issues like imperialism and nationalism. The new formulation, "identity and difference," finds illustration far more widely, in all the kinds of movements and conflicts that have opened up since the late 1960s, not only at the aggregate level of "cultures" and "nations," but also at all levels on which identities and interests are articulated. With our old formulation, the racial and women's struggles of the 1960s and later in the United States did not exemplify one of the themes of the book; now they do; and so it goes, around the world. Moreover, events everywhere made clear that there was an interactive relationship between globalization and identity politics, a fact well enough illustrated by some of the astonishing photographs one can find nowadays of people using cell phones: a Bedouin woman talking while herding sheep in the Negev desert, a Gaucho talking while riding horseback in Argentina, an Orthodox Jew holding a cell phone to the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem.

The period between the publication of the third edition in 1994 and that of the fourth in 1998 was also roughly the time span when "globalization" began to loom in my awareness. At first it seemed to me like a vague slogan uttered by people like Bill Clinton or Al Gore. Before going further, let me say that I have not found it helpful to use "globalization" as a synonym for the many forms of global interconnectedness that have been developing for centuries. What has been happening in the last several years is an intensification of those processes, to a point that has produced a revolution, not just in everyday lived experience, but in social theory as well. I prefer to use the term globalization for that phenomenon. Let me cite some examples to show how different scholars have articulated ideas of this kind.

Publishing about "World History in a Global Age" in the *American Historical Review* in 1995, Michael Geyer and Charles Bright pointed out how "the progress of global integration and the attending struggles among would-be hegemons have persistently set loose contests over identity." "Processes of global integration have not homogenized the whole [world] but produced continuing and ever-renewing contestations over the terms of global integration" (Geyer and Bright 1995, 1044-1045). For them, processes of global integration have been accompanied by "world-wide processes of unsettlement." The global spread of industrialization has "shattered the fragile unity of the Third World," for example. What they call "regimes of order" likewise have reconfigured from patterns dominated by states and empires into "largely anonymous transnational practices, carried on in international organizations..., information corridors and segmented networks of exchange"(Geyer and Bright, 1995, 1053-1054). Through these processes, finally, "humanity" has ceased to exist only as an object of thought and become a practical reality, not just "the dream of sages" but "the daily work of human beings."

Writing about the Zapatista rebellion of Chiapas province in Mexico and its interactions with national and international politics, Adolfo Gilly visualizes this interaction of the global and the local with another arresting image:

> [W]e cannot think about the globalization of communications and exchangeas a linear and successive process; rather it presents itself as an arborescent reality in which the unlimited hybridization of both worlds continues unrelentingly. The modern world subverts and disintegrates traditional societies. But in the process of doing so, it interiorizes them as well, unknowingly receiving their practical and silent forms of critique; and this presence alters the modern world's manner of being. Combat, conflict, and suffering preside over this blind, unequal, and (today) universal process.... What the results of that process will be... [is] unknowable and unforeseeable. (Gilly 1998, 319)

For John Comaroff, globalization is the revolution that ended the 20th century. It is, as well, a "crisis of representation" for the social scientists because it is so difficult to define its circuits and networks — the world-girdling bonds that hold it all together (Comaroff 1996, 162-83).

Arjun Appadurai has, however, tried to do just that with his memorable "five dimensions of global cultural flow": ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, and ideoscapes (Appadurai 1996, 27-47). If you get into the swing of it, you can imagine others — enviroscapes or epidemioscapes, just to toss off a couple. The third and fourth themes of my coauthored textbook — the rise of the mass society (both demographically and politically), and technology versus nature — clearly lend themselves to this kind of visualization. And just imagine the exam questions you could make with these concepts. "Compare the Pope's ideoscape with the Dalai Lama's."

Wherever you look, then, the contemporary world is not an orderly global system, but a global disorder, in which identifiable entities — for example, the individuals, markets, corporations, and nations emphasized in Alain Touraine's *Critique of Modernity* — recur, and through which identifiable networks and circuits — migratory patterns, electronic communications — run (Touraine 1995). Bits and pieces are not hard to identify, but trying to understand the whole thing overtaxes our psychic powers, at least so far. Facing this disorder, to borrow another quip from Appadurai, many of us look back to a world we never lost. But you can't go back to a world that you only imagine. The branch library where you got that first library card at age four is the place where you discovered the world whose complexities have grown faster than you ever did. The childhood environment whose seeming monotony made you want to see the world has, if it's like mine, become part of the global disorder itself and now reminds you of places in far parts of the world when you go back there. The family photograph also changes: the latest from my wife's family includes a new cousin, born into an indigenous ethnic group in Mali and adopted into the family by his stepmother. Understanding globalization may be challenging. But all historians who are interested in the contemporary period must concern themselves with this topic today. And all teaching historians must concern themselves with educating students to become responsible citizens of such a world.

Nowadays, globalism is the natural state of the educated person. Globalism is the natural state of humankind.

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WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW GRANTS REVIEW COMMITTEE

In order to assist members in preparing grant applications for projects that will promote the goal of the WHA to encourage teaching and research in world history, the Executive Council has approved formation of a new committee. Made up of Vice President Ralph Croizier; Treasurer Roger Beck; and Annette Palmer, chosen from the Executive Council, the committee has the following mandate:

1. To ensure that all grant proposals which have official WHA endorsement reflect the values and purposes of the WHA and will bring credit to the association.
2. To ensure that the WHA is prepared to assume any fiscal or administrative responsibilities that endorsement of a given grant may entail for the organization.
3. To assist WHA members in finding suitable granting agencies and preparing successful proposals.

Grant proposals should be sent to the chair of the committee (the WHA vice president) at least two weeks before the grant application deadline. The committee will then make a recommendation to the Executive Council, which shall vote (usually by e-mail) on the proposal.

The grant applicant shall receive a copy of the Review Committee's report and have the right to make an appeal to the president and the Executive Council.

Members wanting WHA endorsement for their grant applications are urged to correspond with the committee at the earliest possible date. It is highly desirable that an earlier draft be sent to the committee well before the two week deadline. Upon request, all information will be kept confidential.

For more information, contact committee Chair Ralph Croizier: ralphc@uvic.ca

SUMMER INSTITUTES & SPEAKERS BUREAU 2001

Interested in hosting a world history institute during the summer of 2001, or becoming part of the WHA Speaker's Bureau? Contact Heidi Roupp for information about the summer programs at roupp@csn.net or at Box 816 Aspen, Colorado 81612. For information about the Speaker's Bureau write to Jacky Swansinger at Swansinger@fredonia.edu, or at History Department-Thompson Hall, State University of New York at Fredonia, Fredonia, New York 14063.

JUMP START MANUAL

Order A *Jump Start Manual* to start the fall on the right foot. The popular Jump Start features the following articles:

"Where are the Kids?: Students' Pre-Instructional Thinking in and about History," by Bob Bain
"Embracing the Paradox: Research and Instructional Design in History," by Bob Bain
"Developing a Conceptual Base for Secondary World History," by Marilynn Jo Hitchens
"Teaching the 'Doing World History' Method in the World History Survey," by David R. Smith
"Writing to Learn and Learning to Write in a World History Class," by Bernadette Mulholland Glaze
"A Basic, Briefly Annotated Bibliography for Teachers of World History," by Jerry H. Bentley

To order a copy, please send a $10.00 check payable to the World History Association to Heidi Roupp, 17576 North Amberwood Drive, Surprise, AZ 85374; or contact her by e-mail <roupp@csn.net>

ROGER BECK BECOMES WHA TREASURER

Roger Beck assumed the duties of Treasurer of the World History Association in April 2000, replacing Ed Davies of the University of Utah. Professor Beck, who teaches at Eastern Illinois University, will serve in an interim capacity until this year's WHA elections.

MEMBERS' NEWS

DICK ROSEN APPOINTED DEAN AT DREXEL

Richard L. Rosen, Professor of History and Politics at Drexel University and Executive Director of the World History Association, has accepted an interim appointment as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Drexel for 2000-2001.

DAVID CHRISTIAN MOVES FROM MACQUARIE TO SAN DIEGO

David Christian, currently of Macquarie University in Sydney and a founding member of the Australasian (now Asia-Pacific) World History Association regional affiliate, has accepted a position at San Diego State University, beginning in 2001. A pioneering proponent of "Big History," Professor Christian spoke at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, in October 2000, and will soon publish a new book, *A Modern Creation Myth: Introducing Big History.*

JACKY SWANSINGER RECEIVES AWARD

A. Jacqueline Swansinger of the State University of New York at Fredonia has been awarded the New York State Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Teaching for 1999-2000.

CCWH-PRELINGER AWARDED TO RICKIE SOLINGER

The Coordinating Council for Women in History is pleased to announce that Rickie Solinger has been awarded the third CCWH–Prelinger Scholarship Award of $10,000. An independent scholar, Solinger has recently completed a book entitled *Beggars and Choosers: How the Politics of Choice Shapes Abortion, Adoption, and Welfare in the United States.* The award committee was impressed by Solinger's publications and by what this work indicates about her commitment to reproductive and economic justice for women. Solinger is the author of *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race Before Roe v. Wade* (Routledge, 1992), which won the first Lerner-Scott Award given by the OAH, and of *The Abortionist: A Woman Against the Law* (The Free Press, 1994) and *Abortion Wars: Fifty Years of Struggle, 1950-2000* (University of California Press, 1998). In addition to numerous scholarly articles, Ms. Solinger has also produced art installations, working with sculptors, photographers, and other activists. She is a founding member of Women United for Justice, Community, and Family, a Boulder, Colorado-based cross-class coalition of women committed to welfare justice. She has served on the Boulder County Welfare Review Committee and frequently speaks and writes on matters of poverty, welfare, and economic justice.

Applications for the 2001 CCWH-Prelinger Scholarship Award are now available. For further information on the scholarship or Rickie Solinger, please contact Dr. Marguerite Renner, Chair, CCWH–Catherine Prelinger Award Committee, Glendale College, 1500 North Verdugo Road, Glendale, CA 91208; phone 818-240-1000, ext. 5461; e-mail: prenner@glendale.cc.ca.us

WHA AWARDS ANNOUNCEMENTS, 2000-2001

WHA PRESENTS ITS SECOND BOOK AWARD IN BOSTON

The World History Association presented its second annual Book Award at its conference at Northeastern University in Boston, held June 22-25, 2000. The winner was *Science and Technology in World History: An Introduction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999, available in paperback), by **James McClellan III** and **Harold Dorn**, both of whom teach at the Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey. The authors were able to attend the WHA banquet, where Jerry Bentley, Editor of the *Journal of World History*, presented each of them with a certificate of award and a check for $150. He also explained the WHA's choice, as follows.

The jurors for the WHA Book Award ranked this book highest among those 1999 publications nominated, because it best fulfilled the criterion of "history from a global perspective." More than any other work on the history of science in recent decades, the authors have written what one juror described as "a global history survey text with science and technology as the central theme." Another juror called it "the best survey text in the history of science, and probably the first to be taken seriously by the profession, since...1956." And still another said it is "the first dedicated treatment of themes familiar to historians of science, for a general audience of world historians."

They particularly commended the authors for their breadth of coverage, with treatments of regions as far afield as China, the Muslim world, and pre-Columbian America, as well as the West; a nice balance among ancient, medieval, and modern periods; and clear language and illustrations. The book provides a valuable point of departure for the comparative analysis of a major marker of change in human history that is used by archaeologists and historians: technology. The historians of science among the jurors thought that a bit more could have been said about modern, Western science, while the world historians among the jurors thought that even less could have been said on that subject. The difference of opinion is not surprising, and in the opinion of the Chair of the WHA Book Award Committee, it added up to just about the right balance we were looking for!

The winning book is already being used as a textbook in college classes. Last year's winner was Andre Gunder Frank's *Re-Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (U.C. Berkeley Press, 1998, available in paper).

David Chappell
University of Hawai'i

WHA

THE WHA TEACHING PRIZE

One of the most important functions of the World History Association is to foster the development of a strong link between the research we do and the way we teach it. This year, the WHA introduced its first Teaching Prize, given for the best lesson or series of lessons based on recent scholarship in world history.

Our winners this year were selected from a pool of submissions which included representation from both high school- and college-level educators. The winning series of lessons, inspired by and based on recent scholarship, developed the concept of imperialism and debates about it in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and the Philippines. The high school students developed a variety of skills, from public speaking and close reading of various types of sources, to argumentation and comparative historical thinking.

The two creators of this exciting unit of study are **Tony Hurt**, of Heritage High School, Littleton, Colorado, and **Andy Aiken**, of Boulder High School, Boulder, Colorado. Andy Aiken received the award for the team at the WHA Conference.

Tony Hurt has been teaching for 18 years, in Canada and the U.S. He is on the steering committee for the Colorado Geographic Alliance, where he met Andy. He has been the recipient of the Distinguished Teaching Award from the National Council for Geographic Education. His teaching unit on the world landmine crisis was recently published by Denver University, with a grant from the U.S. State Department.

Andy Aiken began teaching world history 23 years ago. He is active in both the Colorado Geographic Alliance and the Rocky Mountain chapter of the WHA. His lessons on "Diversity and Nationalism in the former USSR" were recently published by *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Andy has been the recipient of a Fulbright Scholar grant to study in Japan, and a Freeman Foundation Fellowship to China. He has also won the Colorado International Studies Teacher of the Year Award. With professional histories like these, it is no surprise that Tony Hurt and Andy Aiken are deserving recipients of the WHA's recognition for excellence in combining scholarship with teaching.

WHA

THE WHA TEACHING PRIZE 2000-2001

The World History Association is committed to working across all grade levels to maintain a high level of current world history research in classroom practice. We are seeking lessons either inspired by or directly related to world history scholarship published within the last 10 years.

The winning lesson will be published in the *World History Bulletin*. The designer of the winning lesson will receive a $200 cash award and recognition at the WHA Annual Meeting in June. Educators may have a letter announcing the award sent to their supervisors and local press.

DEADLINE: APRIL 15, 2001. For more information, write to Maggie Favretti, at favretti@pipeline.com

Maggie Favretti
Scarsdale H.S.

WHA

WORLD HISTORY PAPER PRIZE

The World History Association and Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society in History are cosponsoring a student paper prize in world history, with awards to be made in the summer/fall of 2001. An award of $200 will be given for the best undergraduate global history paper composed during the academic year of 2000-'01, and an additional award of $200 will be given for the best graduate-level world history paper written in that same period.

A world history paper is one that examines any historical issue with global implications. Such studies can include, but are not limited to, papers that consider the exchange and interchange of cultures, papers that compare two or more different civilizations or cultures, or papers that study in a macrohistorical manner a phenomenon that had a global impact. By way of example, a study of the Silk Road in the time of the Roman and Han empires, a comparative study of Irish immigration in two or

Prize announcements continued on p. 8

more areas of the world, a comparative study of the Ottoman and British empires, and a study of the global impact of the Influenza Pandemic of 1919 are all world history topics.

To qualify for this competition, students must be members of either the WHA or Phi Alpha Theta and must have composed the paper while enrolled at a fully accredited college or university during 2000-2001.

All submitted papers must be no longer than 25 typewritten (double-spaced) pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography. All pages must be numbered, and all endnotes must conform to standard historical formats. Parenthetical notes are not to be used. The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper. A separate, unattached page identifying the author (along with the title of the paper) and providing that person's home address, collegiate affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student) and the association (WHA or PAT) to which the person belongs is to accompany each submission packet. Additionally, a letter from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the chair of the department, or the PAT Chapter advisor) must attest to the fact that the paper was composed during the academic year of 2000-'01. Each packet must contain four (4) copies of the paper and must be postmarked no later than 31 July 2001.

Packets should be mailed to:

Professor Alfred J. Andrea
Department of History
The University of Vermont
Burlington, VT 05405-0164

Winning papers are eligible for consideration for publication in the various journals of the World History Association and Phi Alpha Theta, but no promise of publication accompanies any award.

WHA

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Send notification as soon as possible to Dick Rosen, Executive Director, World History Association, Dept. of History/Politics, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA 19104, or send FAX to 215/895-6614.

WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL PROJECT COMPETITION
Academic Year 2000-2001

In an attempt to encourage student engagement in world history on both the middle and secondary school levels, the WHA this summer launched its first Project Competition. As might be inferred from its title, the competition hopes to encourage not only the vital and traditional formal research papers which are such a hallmark exercise of the craft, but also to encourage and reward sophisticated projects which might call upon many different skills and intelligences — graphic design, dance, musical composition, database creation, costume design, and a host of other projects which demand historical imagination, research, and authenticity.

In order for a project to be submitted:

1. The student was required to be enrolled in a year-long course entitled World History, World Cultures, Global History, History of Humanity, or a similar designation, in an accredited school; and,
2. The teacher of the student needed to submit a full description of the proposed project for approval by the WHA's designated authority by November 1st.

When an approved project has been completed, it will be submitted in an appropriate form — e.g., written copy, videotape, photograph — with a description of the process followed, the teacher's evaluation, and an endorsement by the principal of the school. This must be submitted by May 1st of that academic year.

Criteria for judging final projects include geographical breadth; bibliographical depth; historical accuracy; interpretive validity; and technical skill, discipline, and precision.

Winners of the awards of letters of citation and a first prize of $100 will be announced next fall. The teachers of the students submitted the students' project proposals to:

World History Association
Middle and High School Paper Prize Committee
John A. Betterly
285 Pawling Ave.
Troy, NY 12180-5294

Inquiries concerning this or future competitions may be sent to the above address.

WHA

WORLD HISTORY BULLETIN

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Publications Director • Richard L. Rosen

Book Review Editor • Christina Michelmore

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The *World History Bulletin*, newsletter of the World History Association, is published twice per year: Winter/Spring and Summer/Fall. The *Bulletin* is sent to all members of the World History Association. Dues for 2000 are U.S. $30.00 per year for regular members (U.S. $15.00 for students, unemployed, disabled, and senior citizens) and should be sent to Richard L. Rosen, Executive Director, Department of History/Politics, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA 19104. The World History Association is a scholarly, nonpolitical, nonprofit, professional association and is open to all persons interested in world history. Book reviews and short articles should be sent for consideration to Charles A. Desnoyers, Editor, *World History Bulletin*, Department of History, LaSalle University, 1900 W. Olney Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19141-1199. Notices, announcements, and members' and affiliates' notes should be directed to Ross Doughty, Department of History, Ursinus College, Collegeville, PA 19426. The editorial committee and staff reserve the right to edit all material submitted for publication.

NEWS FROM AFFILIATES

SOUTHEAST WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION

The Southeast World History Association (SEWHA) held its 12th Annual Meeting on November 16-19, 2000, at the Baton Rouge Hilton Hotel. H. Micheal Tarver (McNeese State University, LA) served as the program chair. The themes of the conference were "The Americas in World History" and "The Art of Teaching World History," with several papers supporting the dual themes. Among the more well-attended presentations were "Darwinism, The Idea of Progress, and World History" by Thomas Keene (Kennesaw State University, GA); "African-American Inventors in Virginia: Some Revisionist Findings" by Patrick McHenry and Alice Pate (both of Columbus State University, GA); "World History Out of Time: Does the Non-Chronological Approach Work?" by Dorothea A.L. Martin (Appalachian State University, NC); "Thirty Years of World Civilization: What Goes Around Comes Around?" by Howard Barnes (Winston-Salem State University, NC); "They Locked God Out of the Iron Curtain: Country Music Images of the Soviet Union" by Kevin Fontenot (Tulane University, LA), and "Building Bridges: LBJ's Approach to the Soviet Bloc" by Robert Forrest (McNeese State University, LA). The meeting also featured a session comprised of international scholars. A session chaired by Alfredo Angulo Rivas (Universidad de Los Andes, Mérida, Venezuela), Paul Rich, and David Merchant (both from the University of the Americas–Puebla, Puebla, Mexico) featured a presentation entitled "Is There a North American History: Prospects for Incorporating Post-NAFTA North America into the World History Syllabus."

In its ongoing effort to service the secondary school teacher audience, SEWHA also hosted a workshop for history teachers, which focused on the Advanced Placement Examination in World History. Presented primarily by Jay Harmon (Catholic High School, Baton Rouge, LA), the four-hour session covered various aspects of the course, including new approaches to teaching world history, course content, sample examinations, and grading practices.

The conference ended with a Sunday breakfast session and presentation by SEWHA President Raymond Hylton (Virginia Union University), on the year ahead for SEWHA.

ASIA-PACIFIC WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION

The Australasia affiliate of the WHA held its first meeting at the University of Wollongong in April, 2000. The first order of business was an official name change, to the "Asia-Pacific World History Association." Officers were elected and a constitution approved. An education committee was established to study the question of the teaching of world history in schools in Australia and New Zealand. The next conference was scheduled for mid-2002, at the Australian National University in Canberra. For more information, interested parties may access the new A-PWHA website at:

http://www.ezy.net.au/~gonzoj/ WHAHomePage.html

WHA EUROPE OSLO ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING
11 August 2000

A meeting to organize world historians in Europe was included in the program of the 19th Annual Congress of Historical Sciences in Oslo. The European members of the WHA had been informed of the meeting well in advance, but very few were able to come to Oslo or attend the meeting. However, three Europeans representing key areas of world history attended. These were Stein Tønnesson of the University of Oslo, Poul Duedahl of the University of Copenhagen, and Luigi Cajani of a division of the Ministry of Public Instruction in Rome.

Introductory remarks were made by Carol Adamson, who had organized the meeting. Members of the WHA Executive Council were introduced, and then President Carter Findley made introductory remarks about the WHA, its goals, and the need to form links with European scholars and teachers interested in world history. (Other council members and former officers in attendance were Ralph Croizier, Judith Zinsser, Roger and Ann Beck, and Jerry Bentley.)

These were the ideas that came from the meeting:

1. A listserve should be set up to facilitate the exchange of information in Europe. Carol Adamson will send messages via her private e-mail address until a better solution is found.
2. Members were encouraged to sign in at H-World, and new links should be established.
3. Members should encourage each other to organize sessions and roundtables during the meetings of already existing European organizations.
4. EUROCLIO is a key organization for European teachers of history.
5. Inquiries should be made with the recently founded World Culture Museum in Gothenburg.
6. Carter Findley invited European institutions to serve as institutional homes for the WHA, as the organization does not claim to be permanently rooted in the United States.

Copies of the new Advanced Placement World History handbook were given to the section of didactics, whose meeting was scheduled at the same time as the WHA meeting.

MID-ATLANTIC WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE
MAWHA 2000
October 13-14, 2000
Brookdale Community College, Lincroft, New Jersey

The Mid-Atlantic World History Association held its fifth annual conference (MAWHA 2000) on October 13-14, 2000 at Brookdale Community College, in Lincroft, New Jersey. Lincroft is two miles west of the Garden State Parkway, about 40 miles south of New York City. The conference was entitled "Encounters in World History: Teaching and Research." Sessions on Friday, October 13 included cultural encounters, new approaches to teaching world history, world history in high schools, and war and revolution in Japan and Vietnam. Beate Gordon, author of *The Only Woman in the Room*, a book about her role in the post-WWII remaking of the Japanese Constitution, gave a luncheon address. A session on the teaching of the Vietnam War in world history was followed by a visit to the Vietnam Memorial near Lincroft. Saturday's sessions included the modern Middle East, regional approaches to world history, Western imperialism, and environmental history. The conference program was posted on the website:

http://www.brookdale.cc.nj.us/fac/history/program.htm

This year MAWHA has developed its own constitution. We invite members from the mid-Atlantic region to consider serving in one of the leadership positions in MAWHA. We need people who would like to serve in the following offices: secretary, vice-president, and president. If you would like to be nominated for one of these offices, please contact: Jon Iannitti, President, MAWHA; phone: 315-824-2446 or e-mail:

iannitje@morrisville.edu

WHA

MEMBERS' AND AFFILIATES NEWS WANTED!

The *Bulletin* welcomes news from WHA members regarding their academic activities. Please send news of academic promotions, new positions, awards, elections to office, publications, papers presented, etc., to the editors at <rdoughty@ursinus.edu>

MINUTES OF THE WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND GENERAL BUSINESS MEETINGS Boston — June 2000

WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION
Executive Council Meeting Minutes
333 Curry Student Center
Northeastern University
Boston Conference, 22 June 2000, 9 a.m.-12:35 p.m.

Members present: Carol Adamson, Alfred Andrea, Roger Beck, Ralph Croizier, Marie Donaghay, Maggie Favretti, Carter Findley, Alan LeBaron, David Northrup, Annette Palmer, Heidi Roupp

Non-voting members/guests: Ann Beck, Jerry Bentley, Jon Iannitti, Patrick Manning, Kevin Reilly, Richard Rosen

Members absent: David Christian, Lydia Garner, Helen Grady

Approval of Minutes:
Minutes for the January 2000 meeting were approved as circulated.

Acting Treasurer's Report:
Roger Beck handed out a report on current fund balances and discussed establishment of the Vanguard Account for the Endowment Fund. World History Association bank accounts were reviewed. The acting treasurer explained that a bookkeeper had been retained.

Grants Received:
Heidi Roupp reported on the four grants that the WHA has received:

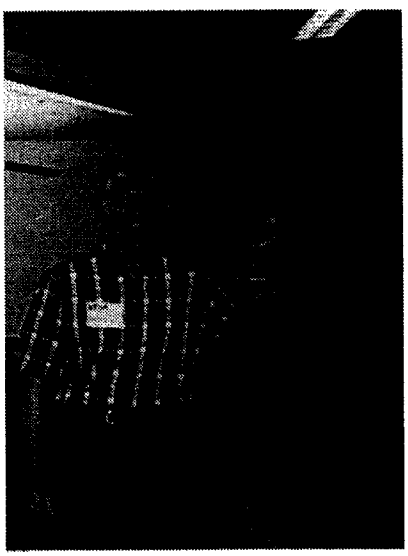
1. A small grant from the Longview Foundation
2. A $20,000 College Board Grant providing operational funding for regional teaching institutes
3. A National Endowment for the Humanities Pre-Service Teaching Grant administered through the University of Illinois–Chicago with the World History Association subcontractor
4. The Summer Institute Grant of $200,000 plus $50,000 matching grants from College Board and NEH supplemented by $500 participant fees

The total amount of these grants is $450,000, well over the $300,000 threshold. This requires an audit. Through auditing procedure, NEH will ascertain how far the World History Association has progressed in meeting federal accounting standards.

The World History Association established an electronic basis for financial reporting this year as required by NEH and must guarantee that the two NEH funds are kept separate and discrete. Each institute site is treated as a separate subcontract, thus separate accounts must be maintained for each. College Board operational funds ($20,000) must be kept separate from the matching grant ($50,000).

Financial Reorganization:
Financial reorganization involved raising dues to meet the needs of a rapidly growing organization whose operations are becoming more complicated as discussion of grant administration well illustrated. On behalf of the Committee of the Whole for Financial Reorganization, Carter Findley moved that dues be set at $60, except that students and independent scholars would pay half that amount. The floor was then opened to discussion during which a series of amendments was offered. Al Andrea suggested that a third category of $45 be established for new professionals (first five years of employment) to help entry-level faculty. David Northrup offered a friendly amendment that the dues increase take effect 1 January 2001. Maggie Favretti moved that the motion to raise dues be amended to phase in the increase over a three-year period, but Ralph Croizier felt that this would be too long and would create more uncertainty at a time when the WHA needed to negotiate an institutional base and acquire the support it so desperately needs. He recommended a two-stage approach of $45 for 2001 and $60 for 2002. Annette Palmer moved to amend Maggie Favretti's amendment accordingly. The motion was seconded by Ralph Croizier.

Some members argued that there was no "ouchless" solution and called for an immediate increase, while others urged caution and the need to prepare the membership for change. Heidi Roupp and Maggie Favretti were the most vocal advocates of a prolonged phase-in. Both were concerned that the World History Association was pricing itself out of the market with regard to school teachers — a market that the World History Association was just entering. Here the major competition was the National Council for the Social Sciences. In many schools, NCSS membership was mandatory for those holding social science (including history) positions. The second choice for membership was the American Historical Association with the World History Association extracurricular. Heidi Roupp pointed to the huge opportunity for recruitment of school teachers presented by implementation of Advanced Placement in World History across the country. She needed all the time she could get to recruit and hold these members. If the World History Association could hold teachers for five years, teacher membership would become a habit. She estimated that it would take two to three years to get such members used to the organization. Access to good world history material could be used to maintain teacher memberships. If, however, the World History Association priced itself out of the market now, a large number of people in the teaching profession would not have access to our research. There was a great demand for the services the World History Association provides. "If we do not fill the void," she warned, "others will move in." While Heidi Roupp focused on recruitment, Jerry Bentley was concerned about retention of present membership.



Roger Beck, Richard Rosen
(Photo by Marie Donaghay)

Jon Iannitti, president of the Mid-Atlantic World History Association, expressed concern over the impact of the dues increase on affiliates as this would raise the cost of membership in both to $70 or $80. Alan LeBaron called for a three-year phase-in or delayed implementation to prepare the membership and get feedback.

Richard Rosen was asked about membership. He indicated that current membership stands at 1,580 with 800 members up for renewal this year. 346 or 22% of the members are school-teachers. He discussed the realities of retention and membership drives.

Annette Palmer opened another aspect of the debate by asking how the World History Association planned to present the dues increase. Ralph Croizier and David Northrup pointed to the need to focus on opportunity: increased dues are tied to the ability to offer more services to the membership. Carter Findley noted that the present dues structure precluded negotiation for an

institutional base as the first question asked was "what are your dues?" The institutional base was needed to provide permanent paid staff and enable the World History Association to expand its activities. The constituency was growing and the World History Association needed more structure for panels, conferences, grant applications, etc. He suggested options and inducements to attract new membership, such as an introductory rate.

Council voted on the two-year phase-in amendment first. Eight voted for the amendment, 1 opposed, and 1 abstained. The motion to raise dues to $60 was thus amended to read:

> Dues shall be $45 for 2001 and $60 for 2002 except that student and independent scholars shall pay half those rates.

The motion to raise dues in two increments carried 7 to 3.

Amendment on WHA Affiliates:

As the membership had unanimously ratified the affiliates amendment this spring, Alfred Andrea moved that it be inserted in the constitution as the first amendment. The motion carried 10 to 0. The World History Association Constitution was duly amended as follows:

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

AP World Resolution:

The Council discussed a resolution concerning coverage of AP World that was drafted and circulated in advance by Al Andrea, Jerry Bentley, and Maggie Favretti. Maggie Favretti moved that the resolution be adopted, and it was seconded by Al Andrea. While some members were not opposed to beginning intensive coverage of world history in 1000 C.E., others felt that the Classical Period was too important and needed to be discussed more fully. Jerry Bentley pointed to the universal admiration for the thematic approach adopted by AP World. The only point of controversy was the starting point which was thought the best date to bring these themes into focus without turning the course into a watered-down survey. However, the starting date violated a basic principle that AP courses coincide with what is offered in colleges. There was concern that the course would look at the world through modern lenses. The call for a five-week foundations segment was un-teachable. These were the three main objections. Heidi Roupp proposed a friendly amendment addressed to Lee Jones rather than the College Board and Maggie Favretti agreed. Jerry Bentley reported that Jones would prefer a public resolution put in the minutes. Alan LeBaron suggested a letter of concern instead. The Council voted 9 to 1 to send the resolution to Lee Jones, Executive Director of the Advanced Placement Program, and attach and publish the resolution with the minutes. The resolution reads:

> The Executive Council of the World History Association applauds the efforts of the College Board and the Educational Testing Service to establish an AP course in world history. The Executive Council also commends the committee that developed the proposed course for its judicious selection of themes to emphasize and approaches to take in the AP course.
>
> On one point, however, the Executive Council disagrees with the design of the proposed AP course in world history. The proposed course begins proper historical analysis only in the year 1000 C.E., relegating all previous historical experience to a brief "Foundations" section of the course. Members of the Executive Council believe this *is* a mistaken procedure for three main reasons: 1) By definition, AP courses reflect current practice at the college and university level. But we know of no year-long survey of world history at the college or university level that begins proper historical analysis in 1000 C.E. To the contrary, the clear standard for year-long survey courses in world history is that they begin proper historical analysis with prehistory or the ancient river valley societies. 2) Beginning proper historical analysis in 1000 C.E. yields essential course in modern world history. But one of the prime purposes of teaching and scholarship in world history is precisely to place the modern world in its proper historical context. The proposed design of AP World History makes it impossible to accomplish this purpose effectively. 3) The "Foundations" section of the proposed course in fact does not deal with foundations of world history in any proper sense of the term. Rather it calls for dehistoricized and indeed anti-historical treatment of selected issues. Thus it becomes a huge residual category that makes an extraordinarily weak introduction to the study of world history.
>
> For these reasons, the Executive Council hereby recommends that the College Board and Educational Testing Service carry out a revision of the AP course in world history so as to extend proper, thematic, historical analysis to the period from prehistory or the ancient river valley societies to 1000 C.E., as well as to the past millennium. The Executive Council makes this recommendation in the firm belief that it reflects the judgment of the vast majority of world historians.

During the afternoon session, Patrick Manning asked the secretary to read to the Council this letter:

22 June 2000
Dear Colleagues,

I had hoped to participate in the discussion on AP World History, but must now attend to conference registration. I made up one page of notes on the issue for your perusal. My main points are these:

1. I think the views of the APWH Development Committee should be articulated in the discussion. I don't think this has happened yet.
2. I think the feasibility of the course, as taught by existing high school teachers, argues for giving primacy to breadth in thematic and analytic exploration over depth in time frame.
3. Most important, I urge close attention to the probability and the consequences of a delay in implementing the APWH course. I urge you to read and consider the three options I pose at the end of my page. I seriously doubt that a major change could be made in the course without causing a year delay, and urge that this issue be addressed explicitly. [See the attached "Comment"]

Pat Manning

Comment on the proposed WHA resolution to extend the time frame of the APWH course.
Pat Manning, Northeastern University

I. THE TWO COMMITTEES

1. Advisory Committee on Social Studies (College Board) and AP World History Development Committee (ETS).
2. Discussion between the two committees has gone on at some level since April of 1999.

3. Members of AP World History Development Committee (ETS):
Chair: Peter Stearns (George Mason U.)
Teachers: Linda Black, William Everdell, Diego Gonzales, Peggy McKee
Professors: Patrick Manning, Judith Tucker, Anand Yang
Staff: Larry Beaber, Despina Danos.
4. One main area of contact between the two committees: Jerry Bentley was invited and agreed to give the opening presentations in the APWH National Training Workshop.

II. A COURSE **REPRESENTATIVE** OF WORLD HISTORY

The current course strives not for coverage of the full temporal extent of world history but for broad thematic and critical analytical emphasis within a representative segment of world history. It is an attempt to do a better job of giving students a vision of how to do world history, rather than an attempt to do all of world history.

III. A COURSE **FEASIBLE** FOR TODAY'S TEACHERS

1. Most prospective teachers of APWH have minimal training in world history. Even with the best of help, they will simply fail to give a rigorous college course in 2001-2002.
2. Covering a shorter period of time makes it possible that teachers will give adequate emphasis to thematic breadth and analytic depth, rather than political narrative.

IV. INTELLECTUAL **ACCOMPLISHMENTS** OF THE CURRENT COURSE

1. Emphasis on debates
2. Range of themes — environmental, social, economic, and religious history
3. Emphasis on interregional connections, not just a succession of regions

V. EXTENDING THE TIME FRAME DOES NOT SOLVE ALL EXISTING PROBLEMS

1. Adding Classical Era and river valley civilizations is an important addition, but....
2. Farming and pastoral peoples outside the great centers, pre-1000, may not be added. Development of agriculture, formation of major linguistic groups are not addressed.
3. History before the Neolithic is not included.
4. Teaching materials for early times are not as strong or as global as for later times.

VI. EXTENDING THE TIME FRAME ADDS **NEW PROBLEMS**

1. Adding extra time will squeeze time for later periods and cut thematic breadth.
2. In the additional hurry teachers will tend to focus on politics and a civilizational approach, rather than on other themes and on global interactions.

VII. **OPTIONS** FOR FACING POSSIBLE DELAY IN THE START OF APWH

1. **WHA Option 1:** call explicitly for a 1- or 2-year delay in implementation of APWH, on the grounds that the current course is inadequate.
2. **WHA Option 2:** support the current course at present, and call for active WHA involvement in monitoring, evaluating, and revising the course.
3. **WHA Option 3:** call for substantial revision of APWH course within the existing time frame. This requires explicit direction on the nature of the revision, how new exam questions will be prepared and evaluated, and on funding of the additional meetings, staff, advisor time, and brochure printings.

Funded Projects:

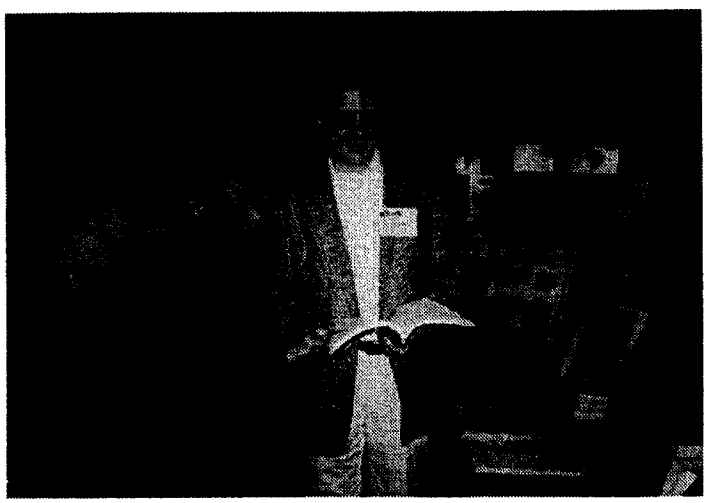
Heidi Roupp reported that the two NEH grants had established the World History Association as the authority in the field. People want to see our grant applications and ask for more information about the organization. The last grant helps affiliates through holding regional teaching institutes. The Speaker's Bureau is a way to offer expertise and develop the field. The NEH is publicizing this as it sees the World History Association as a grassroots organization. A reporter has been sent to the Chicago Institute and *The New York Times* is checking the On-Line Institute. The World History Association is beginning to provide services needed by teachers. She commended the work of Edward Davies, who had to withdraw from the treasurership for personal reasons, and asked the president to write him a letter thanking him for a job well done in computerizing World History Association financial records. The computerized records showed NEH that the World History Association could handle grant finances. Due to the recent changeover of treasurers, Summer Institute finances will be processed at Fredonia. Record keeping must be up to federal standards and the first quarterly report *is* due this July (2000).

Several members raised concerns about in-house supervision and administration of the grants. Ann Beck, who has managed grants, expressed concern about compliance and argued for accountability. There was a need for written guidelines for grant applications, articles, etc. Who speaks for the World History Association? she asked. Then there is the matter of cash flow: it was not good business practice for individuals to pay for things. The World History Association needed a clear discussion about the three C's: communication, compliance, cash flow. She ascribed the current problems to growing pains.

Heidi Roupp responded that the quarterly report is due and is part of an ongoing process in which the World History Association must demonstrate its financial competence. Unfortunately, the treasury has been beset by problems: the resignation of the treasurer elected last fall, computer incompatibility, etc. So Jacky Swansinger has hired a bookkeeper at Fredonia to do grant bookkeeping. If deadlines are not met, the grants could be lost. NEH does program announcements, and reporters operate through them. In light of this discussion, the president agreed to set up a subcommittee of the Executive Council to review grant applications.

The morning meeting of the Executive Council was adjourned at 12:35, members told to return at 1 p.m. when unfinished business would be taken up.

(Editors' Note: The Spring 2001 issue of the Bulletin *will contain a forum discussion presenting several viewpoints concerning the A.P. World History course. Critics and defenders of the c. 1000 C.E. base point of the course will present their views and respond to each other's statements.)*



Annette Palmer and Carter Findley review World History text at Booth Exhibit — Boston WHA, June 2000
(Photo by Marie Donaghay)

Executive Council Meeting Minutes Afternoon Session, 440 Curry Student Center, 22 Northeastern University Boston Conference, 22 June 2000, 1:15-5:15 p.m.

The Council was joined by Joan Arno, Chair of the Nominating Committee; Ross Doughty, co-editor of the *World History Bulletin;* and Tony Florek, president of the Texas affiliate.

Directory:

During the morning session, the secretary had distributed a prototype directory to each member of the Council present at 9:15 [copies have since been sent to all but David Christian (global mail is a prohibitive $9.00)]. Discussion centered on production — how to get data, costs, use of a disk rather than hardcopy, possible impact on mailing list sales. Jerry Bentley proposed establishment of a committee to review directory publication and it was the sense of the meeting to appoint one.

Funded Projects:

Heidi Roupp discussed grants for teaching a global perspective. Goals include creation of program models that were not textbook driven, program review by leading world historians, publication, and implementation as university courses. This summer, 10 institutes are being held to develop program models with plans to extend training into next year. The program was designed in memory of two fallen fathers of world history: Theodore Von Laue and Raymond Lorantas. Maggie Favretti noted the opportunities for enhancing membership, while Annette Palmer suggested that college-level institutes be considered.

Membership:

Carter Findley remarked that until now Heidi Roupp had been a one-person membership drive and wondered how best to help her. Membership mailings raised the issue of a bulk mailing permit. To secure such a permit, the organization must be incorporated in the state where it does business. Unfortunately, the World History Association is incorporated in New York State but operates out of Philadelphia. Joan Arno suggested that the World History Association establish a database to facilitate membership outreach and Carter Findley noted that higher dues would mean more money for membership promotion.

The Constitution:

Richard Rosen pointed out that the constitution was very loosely worded. There were no bylaws, no operating rules, no definition of such terms as a quorum. Art Hoene, the accountant/attorney who has been advising the organization on an unpaid basis, had suggested regulations. Constitutional revision meant addition of amendments and bylaws.

Change in Taskforce Title:

Heidi Roupp requested a change in the title of the body she heads as the NEH regarded "Taskforce" as a temporary body and was reluctant to fund its projects. Jerry Bentley suggested that the title be changed to "Committee on Educational and Curricular Development."

Nominating Committee:

Joan Arno reported that 14 had sought office and that 6 were nominated to run for 3 council seats this fall. Also on the ballot will be the acting treasurer, Roger Beck, who needs to be elected for the final year of the treasurer's term. Joan called for strengthening representation from the southeast.

Editors' Reports:

World History Bulletin

Ross Doughty discussed coordination with Heidi Roupp's committee on teaching for "Centered on Teaching" materials and reported that the publisher (Macreations) will be retiring at the end of 2001. He would like to keep operations in the Philadelphia area if possible. Change in publisher offered the opportunity to review design. Finally, the backlog of articles will soon be drained: there is enough material for two more issues. The *WHB* needs features on anything. There have been few submissions regarding affiliates and members. Maggie Favretti suggested that the institutes might be a good source for articles, etc. Carter Findley proposed that there be open bidding for a new printer as he was unhappy with the quality of recent work. Heidi Roupp suggested that printing bids be renegotiated every two years. Al Andrea suggested formation of an oversight committee.

Journal of World History

Jerry Bentley discussed forthcoming articles and what the increase in dues meant in terms of institutional memberships. At present, individuals pay $30 while institutions subscribe to the *Journal of World History* directly through the University of Hawaii Press for $40, which will now be raised. Institutions that want the *World History Bulletin* join as individual members through the Executive Director. Both use agents. He asked how rates should be raised.

Conference Planning:

Carter Findley discussed the need to examine procedures for conferences and asked Ralph Croizier to work with the existing committee on site selection. There is a need to look into how the World History Association relates to local organizing committees, how proceeds are split. Ralph Croizier proposed a broader mandate that included creation of a set of procedures to follow in conference planning, site selection, host responsibilities, financial arrangements. It was asked if enough members could afford to attend the Korean conference scheduled for 2002. Roger Beck pointed out that international meetings increased international membership. Heidi Roupp noted that the Korean conference chair wanted to meet at the Oslo Conference this summer to discuss the conference theme. At present the World History Association has a verbal agreement with the Koreans. The financial report from the Victoria Conference that they requested has not yet been sent. Carter Findley argued that the problems associated with the Korea conference were an example of why the World History Association needs infrastructure. Who, he asked, was the ground person for the conference? There needs to be one continuous intelligence on conference planning. Maggie Favretti suggested that for the short term something be put in writing. Then a set of procedures needs to be drafted and a record made of how things were done. Ralph Croizier offered to work with Pat Manning to draft a financial agreement and beef up the site committee. He urged creation of a checklist and pointed out that 500-plus registrants are needed to generate sufficient revenue to pay for things. Annette Palmer proposed that those who ran conferences be required to write an exit report. Heidi Roupp discussed the need to put together a successful formula for conferences.

Affiliates:

Alan LeBaron reported on the state of World History Association affiliates. The World History Association has amended its constitution and adopted bylaws regarding affiliates. He has asked each affiliate to write a letter of compliance and is working on a manual on how to become an affiliate, how to write a constitution, how to have a successful conference.

The Executive Council afternoon session was adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

WORLD HISTORY ASSOCIATION
General Business Meeting Minutes

Boston, 23 June 2000: 5:15 p.m.-6 p.m.

Dues Increase:

The president of the World History Association opened the business meeting with discussion of the need for organizational infrastructure and measures taken to fund it.

After intensive study, the Executive Council had decided to raise dues in two increments to $45 in 2001 and $60 in 2002 while maintaining the current structure of lower dues for students and independent scholars. The World History Association needs professional help and that requires more money. Dues format will be discussed this summer with finalization set for 1 September 2000. The World History Association is interested in offering attractions and inducements particularly to members and potential members in difficult professional situations. For example, Al Andrea had proposed a new professionals category designed to benefit those at the lower end of the pay scale and on short-erm contracts (first five years). An introductory rate was discussed as were multi-year membership discounts, voluntary higher dues, airmail fees, and donations to the Annual as well as the Endowment funds. As there were concerns about loss of schoolteacher membership, Maggie Favretti had urged lower dues for teachers. There were strong arguments against this in the name of unity as well as concern about establishing tiered memberships. The new professionals category will cover entry-level schoolteachers as well as new college faculty. The World History Association will offer institutional memberships in addition to subscriptions for libraries, etc.

Rationale For Dues Increase:

The Executive Council has tried to strengthen the organization in a way that is reasonable, fair, and prudent and thus guarantee the quality and consistency of service to the membership as the World History Association grows and expands its activities. The new website, for example, costs money on an hourly basis to run and maintain. At a recent conference, William H. McNeill told the president that the World History Association needed to raise dues for a permanent organization with paid staff and followed that conversation up with the open letter published in the current issue of the *World History Bulletin*. The growth of the World History Association has created the need for a larger infrastructural core and a permanent institutional home. Universities will not take on an organization looking for handouts: the World History Association will have to negotiate a cost-sharing agreement. The NEH is interested in offering matching grants, but that will require the World History Association to be able to produce great applications and match such grants three to one. The World History Association is also seeking endowment funding. Additional dues are needed to pursue these long-term goals as well as pay bills.

Amendment to the Constitution:

The president discussed the amendment drafted to create an organic link with World History Association affiliates. Ballots were sent to members earlier this year and the amendment was unanimously approved. Affiliates have been asked to conform to a set of bylaws.

Other Projects:

A number of projects are under consideration. The Executive Council is meeting to clarify financial operations, list and record what officers do, discuss publication of a directory of the membership, and establish procedure so that a member could update his or her entry on the website at any time. Such projects will involve expense.

NEH Grants:

The Director of the Taskforce on Education, Heidi Roupp, discussed the two NEH grants. One grant funds development of program models for pre-service teaching. Drafts of models are being finished and will be discussed in the session on preparing pre-service teachers for the world history classroom Saturday morning. Facilitation of world history teaching is being done through institutes at ten sites. Each institute participant must develop a course of study that will be forwarded to a review committee where each member will critique seven proposals. This review board will then write a report on what needs to be done in terms of courses, teaching materials, curriculum, and teacher development. College Board has provided $50,000, NEH $300,000, and participants additional funding in terms of teacher's fees. Two hundred people are involved in this effort to ground good teaching in current research. Plans are to disseminate program models next year. Teachers are to address state standards and connect current scholarship to teaching. The director thanked World History Association members for their help. Teachers, she said, would now be introduced to new material and have a global conception.

Call For *World History Bulletin Articles* and News Items

Ross Doughty, co-editor of the *World History Bulletin*, requested contributions of all types, including news of members.

Funds Established:

Last fall, the World History Association established an annual fund to finance current projects and prizes. Financial reorganization has so far precluded soliciting requests for projects to be funded, except for the two book awards and the two teaching prizes which, as Acting Treasurer Roger Beck reported, have been awarded this year out of the Annual Account of the World History Association Fund. The Endowment Fund created at the same time has been invested in the Vanguard GNMA Fund. Fall renewal notices will include calls for donations to both funds.

Conferences:

Conference sites in Salt Lake City (June 2001) and Korea (2002) were reviewed. Asked to justify a meeting in Seoul, Korea, the president pointed to the need to internationalize membership and the offer made by Korea to hold a conference in Seoul. Larry Beaber noted that 2002 marked the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Historical Association. Heidi Roupp, who confessed that she had had a great deal to do with this site selection, followed up by saying that in addition to doing something special about this anniversary, the Koreans are curious about the growth of world history. The Japanese are becoming more interested in world history and Americans are interested in Asian history. Some years ago, the World History Association sponsored a meeting in China. The Koreans will offer cut-rate airfare and university housing. The Korean conference will be balanced by regional meetings. The acting treasurer noted that international meeting sites were a way to build memebership, be it in Europe, Canada, or Asia.

Thanking this Year's Treasurers:

Ralph Croizier, vice president of the World History Association, announced that the new treasurer, Edward Davies, had relinquished that post and that Roger Beck had assumed the position of acting treasurer. As the treasurer must be elected, Roger Beck's name will be on the fall ballot. Edward Davies was thanked for his service and Roger Beck for taking up the reins this spring. As there was no further business, the meeting was adjourned early.

Respectfully submitted,
Marie Donaghay
Secretary, World History Association

"NEW" OR "HIGH" IMPERIALISM, 1870-1914:
Process and Patterns*

Markus P.M. Vink
SUNY-College at Fredonia

The last and most extensive phase of Western expansion that engulfed the world between 1870 and 1914 has been variously called "New" or "High" Imperialism.[1] Compared with earlier forms of imperial expansion, "New" Imperialism differed from its predecessors in size, intensity, and nature. The areas directly and indirectly affected (Africa, Asia, and the Americas) were markedly more extensive due to the medical and technological revolutions including the development of new "tools of empire," such as quinine, vaccination, the machine gun, steamboat, railroads, and telegraph. The intensity of penetration increased dramatically due to the overseas projection of the power of the industrialized nation-state, and the further articulation of the modern world economy. The distinct nature of "New" Imperialism was the product of the Industrial Revolution and the associated political, socioeconomic, demographic, and cultural transformation of the West and the world. These particular features ushered in a new era in cross-cultural interaction.[2]

Until the 1950s, most of what was written on "New" Imperialism was Eurocentric, focused on white male, elitist, political, and military history. After World War II, the traditional celebratory account has been challenged by the coming together of three different processes: the rise of nationalist movements in and the subsequent decolonization of European overseas possessions; the establishment of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and beyond; and the "cultural revolution" in the West of the 1960s and 1970s. Peoples of the newly independent states of the Third World, communist governments in the Second World, and intelligentsia in the First World created a revisionist and highly critical account. Influenced by these developments, the "new history" of imperialism is globo-centric, emphasizing indigenous, non-elitist, socioeconomic, cultural, and gendered history, according visibility and agency to the "people without history."[3]

The following discussion of "New" Imperialism is multi-centered, allowing for mutual interaction between colonizer and colonized, and consists of four parts, reflecting a four-tiered model. It flows, in descending order, from the global, to the national, regional, and individual levels. Part one presents a general discussion of "New" Imperialism as a global process by looking at its origins and consequences. Part two contains a discussion of the patterns of "New" Imperialism as evinced by three case studies on the national level: Mexico, Indonesia, and South Africa. Elaborating on the same "cases," part three explores the impact of "New" Imperialism on the regional level: the Witwatersrand gold industry of South Africa; the East Sumatran tobacco plantation belt of Indonesia; and the northwestern Yucatán henequen zone of Mexico. Part four looks at the impact of "New" Imperialism on the individual level by exposing the complex relationship between imperialism and women, gender, and sexuality in Mexico, Indonesia, and South Africa as illustrated through the lives of Esperanza Martínez, Raden Adjeng Kartini, and Katie Makanya.

The methodological approach consists of a combination of systemic and comparative analysis.

The methodological approach consists of a combination of systemic and comparative analysis. Systemic analysis takes a comprehensive global or multinational view of a process as a whole, while comparative analysis looks at specific patterns at the case study level. As Freeman Dyson has pointed out, "the understanding of the component parts of a composite system is impossible without an understanding of the behavior of the system as a whole.... The progress of science requires the growth of understanding in both directions, downward from the whole to the parts and upward from the parts to the whole."[4] This dual methodological approach to world history offers a way to overcome some of the limitations of traditional Eurocentric history without losing sight of the importance of European developments to modern world history. Essentially, the comparative method entails identifying a general process (such as "New" Imperialism) and then selecting examples from different parts of the world to compare and contrast.[5]

There are three main virtues to the comparative method of studying world history: (1) When basing the comparison on a generalized model, we are obliged to make explicit the standard of comparison or judgment to be used. (2) By comparing and contrasting examples, we are led naturally to interpretation, argument, and theoretical insights. (3) Because surveying the entire globe is not possible, the comparison of a few carefully selected examples is a viable compromise, an efficient way to sample both commonalities and diversities. This article draws examples from all of the major continents — the Americas, Eurasia, and Africa — by looking at the case studies of Mexico, Indonesia, and South Africa. Each of the three "cases" were also sites of thriving indigenous societies and cultures prior to Western contact. Each involved a different (neo-)colonial power: the Spanish (and Americans) in Mexico, the Dutch in Indonesia, and the British in South Africa. Finally, they represent different forms of imperialism: dependency in Mexico, the "true" colony in Indonesia, and the contested settler colony in South Africa. Therefore, by using carefully selected case studies, one can address both the global ramifications of this "New" Imperialism and compare the effects this process had on national, regional, and individual levels. As in photography, "zooming in" from the big picture or global level to the close-up or individual level creates a progressively sharper focus and increasing attention for detail, putting a recognizable human face on larger impersonal forces.

I. "New" Imperialism as a Global Process

The systemic analysis of "New" Imperialism as a global process consists of two components. The first part starts with a brief historiographical essay on the various theories of imperialism, and provides a cursory overview of the socioeconomic, political, and cultural origins of "New" Imperialism. Rather than presenting history as a simple, single story-line narrative, both students and teachers need to be exposed to some of the complexities and the major debates and arguments among historians surrounding colonialism. The second part assesses the worldwide repercussions of "New" Imperialism, distinguishing regional variations and different interactions with the various societies affected. Reciprocal relations, asymmetrical though they were, between colonizer and colonized lay at the heart of "New" Imperialism.[6]

The theories about colonialism (in a rough chronological order) can be divided into classic (pre-1914) political and economic theories of imperialism; Marxist and Marxist-inspired theories of imperialism; dependency theory or neocolonialism; structuralism or the social formation model; "excentric" development theory or the Robinson-Gallagher thesis; world-system analysis; post-structuralism or post-colonialism; subaltern studies; and feminism or women's studies.

Classic (pre-1914) political theories of imperialism were formulated by distinguished historians....

Classic (pre-1914) political theories of imperialism were formulated by distinguished historians, such as Heinrich von

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GLOBAL HISTORIANS AND THE GREAT DIVERGENCE*

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> The great European trading network...spread into all parts of the world, destroying or fundamentally altering all societies.... How and why this happened remains a prime question of modern history, if only because the development was, in a way, so improbable. A neutral observer in the 1400s could hardly have predicted such an astonishing future. — Daniel Chirot[1]

At the beginning of the 21st century we take for granted that the world is dominated by the economic, political, military, and even cultural power of the United States and Western Europe, whose peoples generally enjoy the highest standards of living. Indeed, this has been largely the case for several centuries. For decades most Western historians believed that the European lead was longstanding, going back to post-classical (medieval) times if not even much earlier. But the increasing knowledge of world and non-European history has challenged, and perhaps even undermined, this somewhat triumphal view. Hence, how, why, and when Europe and North America — rather than China, India, or the widespread Islamic civilization — eventually came to dominate the world remain some of the principal and most controversial questions of modern world history.

In recent years there has been a heated debate among historians about the roots of Europe's rise to world industrial leadership, power, and wealth, what some historians call "the Great Divergence." This debate intensified in 1999 with the exchanges between David Landes and Andre Gunder Frank, among others, over the "rise of the West," generating wide interest that included many weeks of discussion on H-World, numerous conference panels, and several symposia.[2] To many historians the rise of Europe was surprising and needs explaining, because history could have turned out very differently. *The Great Divergence*, by Ken Pomeranz, is the latest salvo in this exciting dialogue.[3]

To understand this book, we need to first look at the broader issues that helped inspire it. The debate on explaining the rise of the West can essentially be divided into two broad questions. Did Europe develop a clear lead in many areas of life and thought over all other civilizations well before 1500? If not, when and why during the early modern era did some regions of Western Europe begin to diverge from other advanced and dynamic economies? This paper examines the debate among historians of Asia, Europe, and the world over these issues.

I

Before 1500, the configuration of world power and wealth looked very different from how it does today. Since the 1950s many historians have argued that the rise of the East was a major fact of the Post-Classical Era (ca. 600-1500 C.E.). An observer from the moon surveying the earth 750 or 1,000 years ago might well have considered the Chinese the most advanced civilization, with the dynamic Islamic world and perhaps India not far behind.

Some world and Asian historians view the years between 600 and 1200 (the Tang and Song periods), possibly even extending to 1500 (the mid-Ming), as the Chinese Millennium, with China as the largest, strongest, and most populous civilization in Afro-Eurasia. Mary Kilbourne Matossian contends that the technological breakthroughs of "the Chinese Millennium... made modern history possible."[4] Nobel Prize-winning economic historian Amartya Sen writes that "no country in the history of the world has had as much dominance in "hi-tech" as China had at the beginning of the last millennium.[5] Rhoads Murphey argues that Song China "looked like eighteenth-century Europe, with commercialization, urbanization, a widening [local and overseas] market, rising demand and ... mechanical invention."[6] Jonathan Spence claims that, in Tang and Song times, "there was nowhere else on the planet... that one could find such richness in both mental and material life, and in the ways that those two aspects intersected."[7]

But China was not the only leading Asian civilization.

But China was not the only leading Asian civilization. Some historians point to India and Southeast Asia as key influences through a process known as "southernization." According to Lynda Shaffer, "southernization changed Southern Asia and later spread to other areas, which then underwent a process of change."[8] It reached its zenith after 1200. Shaffer has traced how southern Asian influences — including science, technology, and agricultural techniques — spread to China and Islamic civilization, reaching the Christian Mediterranean by 1200. She describes the revolutionary implications for Eurasia of such innovations as Indian granulated sugar crystals, numerals, cotton plants, Malay lug sails, and fast-growing rice from Champa.

Like the United States, Russia, Germany, and Japan in the 20th century, China and India were the great pre-modern centers of world manufacturing, producing iron, steel, silk, cotton, and ceramics for both local and foreign markets. Together they accounted for well over half of all world manufacturing as late as 1800, compared to about a third for Europe and North America.[9] Their exports helped fuel the hemispheric trade system. William McNeill argues that it was Chinese commercial expansion that energized trade in Europe after 1000, as the Afro-Eurasian historical zone responded to Chinese innovations: "wealth and productivity shot upwards. New skills developed, making China the wonder of the rest of the world, as Marco Polo and other visitors from afar soon realized."[10]

Some historians would argue for the centrality of the Islamic world in the Post-Classical Era and even after. Marshall Hodgson wrote that "until the seventeenth century...the Islamic [civilization] ...was the most expansive force in the Afro-Eurasian hemisphere and had the most influence on other societies.... The culture of Islamdom offered a norm of international sophistication to many peoples as they were being integrated into the hemispheric commercial nexus."[11] Cosmopolitan, egalitarian, and flexible, Islam even rebounded from the disasters of the 13th and 14th centuries (especially the Mongol expansion and "Black Death") to establish powerful states such as Ottoman Turkey. McNeill agreed that Islam remained dynamic and expansive in the 15th century: "an intelligent and informed observer... could hardly have avoided the conclusion that Islam, rather than the remote and still comparatively crude society of the European Far West, was destined to dominate the world in the following centuries."[12] Even in 1500, "Muslims seemed likely to carry all before them," with Ottoman conquests in Eastern Europe and new dynamic Islamic states in Africa, Persia, India, and Southeast Asia.[13]

McNeill and many world historians contend that most of Europe was still a rather underdeveloped fringe area in the Post-Classical Era although beginning to show signs of renewed vigor and promise by 1400. But many scholars, especially historians of Europe, do not agree that Europe was very backward compared to China or Islam. David Landes, who believes Europe had many cultural and geographical advantages, concedes that Europe was well behind 1,000 years ago: "the

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Treitschke and Otto Hintze, and prominent politicians, such as Joseph Chamberlain, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, Sir John Seeley, and John William Burgess. These scholars and policymakers looked at "New" Imperialism from a state-oriented perspective and viewed it as a phenomenon and product of international power politics ideologically supported by nationalism, social Darwinism, and/or racism.[7] In contrast, classic economic theories viewed "New" Imperialism as predominantly an economic phenomenon. Radical liberal historians, such as John Atkinson Hobson and Joseph A. Schumpeter, focused on chronic "oversaving" and "underconsumption" resulting from protectionism, monopoly capitalism, and economic stagnation, combined with atavistic, feudal structures and non-rational inclinations.[8]

Whereas Marxist thinkers, such as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, viewed imperialism as a marginal process and transitional stage typical of early capitalism, V.I. Lenin (influenced, among others, by Hobson) considered imperialism to be the "highest stage of capitalism." With Joseph Stalin, the center of gravity of Marxist theory shifted from the center to the periphery. The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries against imperialism was viewed as the only road to their emancipation and the destruction of capitalism. While conservative Marxism- Leninism after 1956 embraced the notion of "peaceful coexistence," Mao Zedong continued to emphasize practice over theory along with revolutionary activism or "dealing imperialism direct blows."[9]

In a critique of modernization theory, neo-Marxist scholars in the United States (Paul Baran and Paul Sweezey) in the 1950s and, somewhat later, in Latin America (Silvio Frondizi, Sergio Bagú, Andre Gunder Frank, Theotonio dos Santos, and others) turned Marxism on its head. These proponents of dependency theory or neo-colonialism argued that economic backwardness in the Third World resulted from the presence rather than the absence of capitalism. The development of the West and the underdevelopment of Latin America, for instance, were not two distinct states but the product of a systemic relationship of unequal exchange between the metropolis (also known as "center," "core," etc.) and a number of satellites (the "periphery"). Indigenous elites played a crucial role in this process, acting as compradores or agents of foreign interests.[10]

In the 1970s and 1980s, Marxist anthropologists and economic historians influenced by Louis Althusser insisted that modes of production were ideal abstractions not to be found empirically. Instead, actual social formation combined a number of modes of production. Rather than simply representing a predetermined stage of one-directional development (as orthodox Marxism prescribes), a given social formation comprised a particular arrangement of several modes of production, articulated together in unpredictable ways that had to be reconstructed in each particular case. Of these modes of production, one merely predominated. Structuralism or social formation theory provided a powerful tool for analyzing the dynamics of complex societies, preserving their historicity, and identifying points of tension around which historical transformations could occur.[11]

Though recognizing the role of economic and political factors internal to Europe for "New" Imperialism, "excentric" development theory argues that these factors were insignificant compared with local, non-European pressures threatening imperial interests. Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher rejected the Marxist tradition, which represented imperialism as a contest between the major European powers for formal control of markets that capitalism had already opened up. In their opinion, European powers scrambled *in* rather than *for* Africa, their primary concern being to deny each other access rather than aggrandize themselves. Once they had acquired their African possessions, however, they were obliged to make them pay their way. Hence trade followed the flag.[12]

Proponents of world-system analysis trace the origins of a global division of labor back to the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th century (Eric Wolf), the late 15th-century Columbian voyages (Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin), the Mongol Peace of the 13th and 14th centuries (Janet Abu-Lughod), or the emergence of regular interregional exchange between Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Persian and Anatolian plateaus, and the Indus Valley in the mid-third-millennium B.C.E. (Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills). World-system analysis is defined by a single division of labor but multiple polities and cultures integrated via capitalist, proto-capitalist, tributary, and/or other forms of exchange. The unit of analysis can be the entire world (for example, Wallerstein's modern capitalist world economy) or groups of societies or regional systems (for example, Samin's Indian, Arab-Islamic or Mediterranean, Chinese, barbarian-Christian proto-capitalist regions).[13]

Post-structuralist or post-colonialist theory is closely associated with Edward Said. Borrowing Michel Foucault's concept of discourse combined with Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, Said presented Orientalism as a form of "hegemonic discourse" by the Western academy. Orientalist discourse was not merely the dissemination of misleading, essentialized, and a-historic ideas about the Islamic Middle East (and other parts of Asia), but "a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient... [an] enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage — and even produce — the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period." Discourse became one-directional, something that the colonizers wielded and, outside of academia, was further expressed in imperial mapping, museology, commercial fairs, and other parts of the "exhibitionary complex."[14]

Deeply influenced by post-structuralism, the members of the subaltern studies school (especially well-represented in India) challenged Eurocentrism and the "hegemonic discourse" of the colonial powers as part of their project of provincializing Europe, claiming "for us, the once-colonized, our freedom of imagination." Their professed approach was "to rectify the elitist bias characteristic in the field of South Asian studies" and to create "an autonomous domain in which the principal actors were not the dominant groups but the subaltern classes and groups constituting the mass of the laboring population and the intermediate strata in town and country."[15]

In the late 1970s, feminist scholars set out to correct the neglect of attention to European and indigenous women and the overwhelming presence of men in studies on "New" Imperialism. Their goals were to disclose the inherent gendered nature of colonialism and the roles of women, gender, and sexuality in the European empires in Africa and Asia. Feminist studies focus on the political and economic activities of indigenous and European women; the thoughts and daily domestic lives of individuals; the recognition of gender as a significant sociocultural category both for European colonizers and for African and Asian colonized peoples; and research of interracial sexual relationships as one of the defining features of empire.[16]

The history of "New" Imperialism has been deeply influenced by the other defining process of the period between 1750 and 1914, the industrial revolution. The socioeconomic, political, and cultural origins of "New" Imperialism are closely related to the "industrialization" of the West and the world. Starting in Great Britain and spreading to the European continent (Belgium, Germany, and France), the United States, and then Russia and Japan, the Industrial Revolution led to profound changes in population structures — including the demographic transition, urbanization, and migration — and social structures, especially the rise of new social classes, the industrial middle class and industrial workers.[17]

The demographic transition consisted of dramatic declines, first in mortality and subsequently in birth rates Industrialization also drew workers from populous agricultural regions, such as

The demographic transition consisted of dramatic declines, first in mortality and subsequently in birth rates.

southern and eastern Europe, to the new factory centers in Germany and France and overseas to the United States, Australia, Canada, Latin America, and elsewhere. As a result of population pressures, between 1800 and 1900 Europe's population more than doubled from 192 million to 395 million or 20 to 24 percent of the global population. The total population of European origins (including 50 million overseas migrants and their offspring) increased from 210 million (22 percent) to 560 million (34 percent) in the same period.

The African slave trade had been ended under British leadership early in the 19th century due to humanitarian considerations and the new abilities demonstrated by industrial and agricultural capitalism to organize "free" workers more effectively for production. Various immigrant patterns arose to replace the slave trade. European as well as Asian immigrants were recruited. New Indian and Chinese indentured laborers became important in various parts of the colonial world. Though not slaves, most "coolies" were poorly paid and often restricted by harsh contracts and extensive employer controls. Between 1820 and 1914 about 2.5 million indentured laborers from India, China, and Africa left their homes to work in distant parts of the world.[18]

The rise of industrial capitalism produced new social divisions between the industrial middle class and the industrial workers. The wretched working and living conditions of the factory workers in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution initiated various forms of collective actions by workers, such as the formation of labor unions, the destruction of machines, and the attempt to achieve political democracy through the organization of socialist parties. As socialist movements became more powerful and influential in the late 19th century, the liberal and conservative establishment in the West attempted to alleviate tensions resulting from the "social question" through government legislation at home and diplomatic successes abroad. These imperialist tendencies were reinforced by a series of recurrent economic depressions in Europe and the United States in the last decades of the 19th century. Some political theorists argued that colonial possessions could serve as safety valves to release the pressures building up in times of industrial slump. Overseas territories were viewed as destinations to which unemployed workers might migrate, potential markets for surplus goods and capital, and suppliers of raw materials.

Next to socioeconomic changes resulting from the Industrial Revolution, a "revolution in politics" further contributed to "New" Imperialism. Between 1850 and 1914, Western politics were dominated by the forces of nationalism and conservatism. Conservatives realized that they could allow parliaments with limited powers, appeal to workers through moderate social reforms, and even extend the vote without losing power. The national unification or "Risorigimento" of Italy (1861-1870) centered on Piedmont and the creation of a new German empire (1871) based on Prussia added to the sense of competition between the nation-states of the West. Germany's newfound muscle along with the growing strength and assertiveness of post-Civil War United States made rivalries for empire and trade

In addition to socioeconomic and political causes, "New" Imperialism also resulted from a cultural transformation.

more intense. More than politicians, however, were involved in late-19th-century decisions to expand the colonial empires. The jingoistic "penny" or "yellow" press and the extension of the vote to the lower-middle and working classes through much of industrial Europe and the United States made public opinion a major factor in foreign policy. Empires were no longer the personal properties of private trading concerns and ambitious individuals. They were the property and pride of the nations of Europe and North America.[19]

In addition to socioeconomic and political causes, "New" Imperialism also resulted from a cultural transformation. Cultural changes consisted, first, of the growth of scientific rationalism, represented by a marked expansion in the size of the intellectual and artistic community. There was also a growing audience for various intellectual and artistic products and an increased emphasis on secular activities. Second, the rise of mass consumerism was manifested in the department store and advertisement. Third, mass education and mass culture were new phenomena, including the emergence of popular newspapers. Fourth, 19th-century imperialism was closely tied to nationalism, social Darwinism, and racism. Social Darwinists, such as the British philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), applied Darwinian notions to the spheres of inter-state and inter-racial relations. In the struggle between nations, Spencer and others argued, the fit are victorious and survive. Superior races must dominate inferior races by military force to show their strength and virility, the distinction often being between the white man and the other races. Compared to this blunt racism, some Europeans took a more religious-humanitarian approach to imperialism when they argued that Europeans had a moral responsibility to civilize "savage" peoples. Notions of the "white man's burden" (British), "mission *civilisatrice*" (French), "honor debt" (Dutch), or "manifest destiny" (United States) helped at least the more idealistic individuals to rationalize imperialism in their own minds. Nevertheless, the belief that superiority of their civilization obliged them to impose modern industry, cities, and new medicines on supposedly primitive non-white peoples was yet another form of racism.[20]

The global impact of "New" Imperialism between 1870 and 1914 assumed regional variations and evoked different responses from and forms of interaction with indigenous societies, groups, and individuals: assimilation, represented by the immigrant societies or settlement colonies of the United States, "White Dominions," and contested settler societies of South Africa, Algeria, Kenya, and Hawaii; incorporation, represented by the "true" colonies of Africa and Asia and the dependency of Latin America; traditionalism and crisis, represented by China and the Islamic Middle East; and successful modernization, represented by Russia and Japan.[21]

In several regions of the world, because of sparse previous settlement compounded by the continued ravages of Western-imported diseases, Western expansion meant an extension of Western society itself. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the United States and the White Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand all filled with immigrants from Europe. The main characteristics of these "neo-Europes" were (in varying degrees) political systems dominated by parliamentary democracies, vigorous commercial economies, recognition and imitation of European cultural styles and intellectual leadership, and copying of common Western social patterns.[22]

In some areas where large numbers of Europeans had migrated, a major variation on the settlement colonies developed.

In some areas where large numbers of Europeans had migrated, a major variation on the settlement colonies developed. In South Africa, Algeria, Kenya, and Hawaii large indigenous populations survived and then began to increase rapidly despite the arrival of tens of thousands of Europeans. In these so-called contested settler colonies, Europeans and indigenous peoples increasingly clashed over land rights, resource control, social status, and cultural differences.[23]

The greater portion of the European empires by the late 19th century consisted of "true" colonies in Africa, Asia, and the South Pacific in which small numbers of Europeans ruled large numbers of non-Western peoples. They were able to do so by exploiting long-standing ethnic and cultural divisions between the peoples of their new African and Asian colonies. In each

colonial area, favored minorities, often Christian, were recruited into the civil service and policy. Small numbers of Europeans oversaw the administration of the African and Asian colonies, which was actually carried out at the local level by hundreds of thousands of African and Asian subordinates. Some of these were Western-educated, but the majority was recruited from indigenous elite groups. In the late 19th century, social relations between colonizer and colonized changed to increased segregation, racism, and social exclusivism. Economic dependence complemented the political subjugation and social subordination of colonized African and Asian peoples in the Western-dominated world economy. In the wake of the Conference of Berlin (1884-1885), which established the principle of effective occupation, the scramble for Africa led to the division of the continent (with a few notable exceptions) between the Western colonial powers. "True" colonies in Asia were represented by British India, French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, the U.S. empire in the Pacific, the Russian empire in Central Asia and the Far East, and the Japanese empire in East Asia.[24]

Gaining political independence in the early 19th century, Latin America became increasingly dependent on foreign markets and foreign imports. Similar to the "true" colonies, the Latin American economies became geared towards exporting raw materials and unfinished products in an "unequal exchange" for manufactured goods from the West. As in the case of the "true" colonies, dependency also impacted political, social, and cultural relations in Latin America. A crucial role in the process was the collaboration of indigenous elites in their own subjugation, acting as compradores or agents for Western interests.[25]

Though technically independent, a combination of growing pressure from the West and internal weaknesses threw both Qing China (1644-1911) and the Ottoman Empire (c. 1290-1923) in a prolonged crisis. Both the Qing dynasty and the Ottoman Empire collapsed, but from the ruins of empire new viable entities would emerge based on the notion of the nation-state. Reform efforts from within, such as the self-strengthening movement and the Hundred Days of Reform (1898) in Qing China and the Tanzimat reforms (1839-1876) in the Ottoman Empire, came too little and too late. The modern nation-states of China (1911) and Turkey (1923) were built on the ruins of empire by Western-educated leaders such as Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) and Mustafa Kemal, or Ataturk (1881-1938), respectively.[26]

Faced with the Western threat, Japan and Russia both embarked on ambitious policies of (more or less) successful modernization. The arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry in Edo Bay (1853) and painful experiences in the Crimean War (1854-1856) initiated the Meiji Restoration in Japan (1868) and the Reform Era in Russia in the 1860s and 1870s. Both Japan and Russia entered upon a period of great borrowing from the West, modernizing key aspects of their political system, military organization, social structure, and economy.[27]

The strains of industrialization and the need to get access to raw materials and markets led the two newly industrializing countries on a collision course over Korea and Manchuria. The conflicting imperialist ambitions of Japan and Russia led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Japan's defeat of Russia had a number of far-reaching consequences. First, in Russia, the discredited government of the czar now faced full-scale rebellion. The Revolution of 1905, though suppressed, was a precursor of the Revolution of 1917, which would overthrow the regime. Second, Japan became one of the imperial powers with a sphere of interests, including parts of China and the Korean peninsula. Third, the defeat of a Western by a non-Western power destroyed the myth of European invincibility and proved to be an important factor in the growth of nationalist movements amongst Asian and African peoples in Western colonies.[28]

II. National case studies: Mexico, Indonesia, and South Africa

Having looked at "New" Imperialism as a global process, the remaining three parts will study the national, regional, and individual patterns of "New" Imperialism using the comparative approach. The three national case studies selected are Mexico, Indonesia, and South Africa. When choosing case study areas for comparison, specific criteria should be applied to increase the validity of the comparisons and ramifications of the conclusions. Geographic location, the existence of viable indigenous traditions, (neo-)colonial powers involved, and forms of imperialism are some of the key elements. Mexico, Indonesia, and South Africa represent the three continents of the Americas, Asia, and Africa. They were the sites of flourishing indigenous societies prior to Western contact: the "four unifying forces" (Olmecs, Teotihuacán, Toltecs, and Aztecs) in pre-Hispanic Mexico; the classical Hindu-Buddhist states and Mataram and its successor-states in Indonesia; and the Bantu chiefdoms and states in South Africa. They involved different (neo-)colonial powers: Spain (and the United States) in Mexico, the Netherlands in Indonesia, and Great Britain in South Africa. Finally, they represent different forms of imperialism: dependency in Mexico, the "true" colony in Indonesia, and the contested settler colony in South Africa.

Mexico: The case of dependency

Mexico serves as a national case study of dependency, technically independent but in practice dominated by foreign interests.[29] The post-independence history of 19th-century Mexico can be divided into three distinct periods, each dominated by a political figure: the caudillo state personified in the unprincipled military boss (*caudillo*) Antonio López de Santa Anna (1824-1855); the ideological conflict between liberals and conservatives and liberal first Indian president Benito Juárez (1855-1876); and modernization under the dictator Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910). "Porfiriato" Mexico was ruled by the dictum "order and progress" or "bread or the club," that is, political stability and economic development. Political stability was to be achieved through the use of the federal army and the *rurales* (rural police force). Economic development and modernization were to be achieved through the *científicos*, a number of advisors who were strongly influenced by positivist ideas and who wished to impose a scientific approach on the economy. Many *científicos* took an elitist stance, identifying themselves with the Mexican-born white Creole elite, and assumed a paternalistic attitude towards the Indian masses, arguing that Mexico had to pass through an "administrative period" (a euphemism for dictatorship) before it could attain nationhood. The leader of the *científicos* was the secretary of treasury, José Limantour (1854-1935).

Under Limantour's direction, Mexico's finances were put in order and foreign capital and investments poured into the country. This influx allowed for the rapid growth of the railroads, the improvement of port facilities, the development of commercial agriculture, the revival of mining, the exploitation of oil fields, and the growth of many other industries. In short, Mexico was opened up to the global economy. Mexico's foreign trade (imports and exports) increased almost tenfold from about 50 million pesos in 1876 to 488 million pesos in 1910.

Modernization, however, came at great political, economic, and social cost.

Modernization, however, came at great political, economic, and social cost. Peace and political stability of the "Pax Porfiriana" were at least partly attributable to brute force. While maintaining the appearance of democracy, Díaz ruled Mexico as a dictator for life. He maintained himself in power from 1876 to 1911 by a combination of adroit political maneuvering, threats, intimidation, and, whenever necessary, callous use of the federal army and the *rurales*.

HISTORY THROUGH THEATER: A Dialectic of Learning*

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Throughout the world and throughout history, performance has been employed to teach. This is true, in part, because the viewing and performing of plays have the potential to appeal to so many different learning styles. It is interactive for the performers and can be made interactive for the audience; it is both aural and visual for the viewers; and, when the play or dialogue is either read or written, it can even appeal to print learners. Theater concretizes learning, placing it in a real-world, more believable/less-abstract context. In today's classroom, students from increasingly diverse backgrounds are asked to comprehend the cultures, thought patterns, and lifestyles of peoples around the globe and across time. Theater and role-playing can be powerful tools in this learning.

Most post-secondary education is geared towards students who learn best through lecture and reading (i.e. auditory and print learners). Yet, the primary learning style of most people over the age of 20 is visual. Moreover, the emphasis on auditory learning alone in the classroom disadvantages many adult learners. According to studies of learning styles, there is a correlation between gender, cultural, and socioeconomic background and predominant learning style such that students from outside of the mainstream, upper-middle-class and upper-class white male background are particularly disadvantaged by the auditory and print emphases endemic to the traditional college classroom (Gardner 3-11, 331-366).

Looking at pedagogy throughout the world, especially mass or folk pedagogy, I found that much of it takes place through theater, dialogue, and role-play. In societies where the mass of the people do not read or write, performance is the main means of teaching cultural values and history. For example, the passion plays of medieval Europe taught peasants and townspeople the major tenets of their religion, while the oral epics of 13th-century West Africa instructed the people in the history of their ruling families and cultural traditions. Examples of modern-day pedagogical uses of theater include a one-person show on the sorrows of teen pregnancy performed in Mexican high schools and the portrayal of happy one-child homes on Chinese television. Though we may wonder about the didactic value of American commercial television, there is little doubt that it teaches. Indeed, because of its appeal to the visual learner and its slick presentation, as well as the number of hours of television the average American child watches, it is arguable that as many or more lessons about life, values, and humanity are taught via that medium than in the school. However, the medium of television is limited as a teaching tool because the learner is neither author nor performer.

In trying to put some of these ideas about learning styles into practice I created a course called History through Theater at National University in San Diego, California, five years ago. I wanted to create an innovative world history course which would deal with important issues of race, class, and gender that I covered in my other history classes, and which would inspire critical thinking and explore cultural diversity. I wished to create a uniquely participatory classroom in line with my teaching philosophy, a philosophy of teaching for self-discovery, cooperation, and empowerment which owes a great deal to the thinking and practice of Paolo Freire. Performance, I thought, would be a great way to get students involved with historical issues, especially if I had them not only act and put their bodies in motion as participants, but also if I had them write scripts based on historical themes and subjects.

I was not a drama major in college.

I was not a drama major in college. I had taken drama and literature courses where we read and discussed plays and the theater, but I had never performed in a play outside of my limited but memorable experiences in elementary school. I did not think that my lack of dramatic experience was a handicap since I was not teaching dramatic technique nor would my students' grades be dependent on their becoming master thespians. My lack of background in drama actually became a benefit: my students knew that I would focus my attention less on their delivery of lines and more on the content of what they were saying and doing. I was using the experience of drama as a teaching and learning tool, as a way to plunge them into the dialectic of learning which would involve the whole person in the collaborative study of history. Drama was not a discipline I wanted my students to learn for its own sake. My attitude freed my students to experiment, and their performances were, in fact, interesting, memorable, and the result of active group collaboration. I will show you two of their performances at the end of my talk if time permits.

I use dramatic techniques to engage a wide range of learning styles and critical thinking skills in the study of history. In these active approaches, students learn to appreciate cognitive diversity at the same time they learn to appreciate the richness,

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beauty, and value of different cultural expressions, ideas, and interpretations. Their imaginations become engaged in the active production of knowledge.

All students come into our classes with diverse learning styles, which they mobilize when they confront a new situation or new material (James 20-23):

1. Visual Learners like to observe people and situations.
2. Interactive Learners learn best when verbalizing their thoughts and feelings.
3. Haptic Learners learn best through their sense of touch.
4. Aural Learners learn best by listening.
5. Kinesthetic Learners need to move in order to learn.
6. Print-oriented Learners often learn best by reading and writing.

Of course, no one learns only in one manner. Usually the different "intelligences," to use Howard Gardner's term, "interact and build on each other from the beginning of life." He goes on to say that "this constant interaction" leads "some individuals to develop certain intelligences more than other [ones] but every normal individual should develop each intelligence to some extent, given a modest opportunity to do so" (Gardner 278). Gardner defines "intelligence" as the ability to solve problems or create products that are valued within one or more cultural settings.

I often tell my students that the study of history can be challenging and exciting. History is full of intrigue, drama, conflict, and controversial issues. I teach all of my courses in a participatory seminar format, but this course breaks away from my usual approaches and offers students a new way to appropriate the past. In this course I ask students to read and "stage" plays, write and perform dramatic sketches, improvise with new material, and engage in role plays and reader's theater. These activities require thoughtful reading of the course material, application of course themes to a new (dramatic) situation, and the synthesis of individual ideas and insights into a coherent group project. In the end this class helps them to create their own historical insights and to appreciate that a crucial aspect of learning is positing and revising of ideas in a dialogue with other people.

This dialogue focuses on major themes in the history of Europe, Africa, western Asia, and the Americas which have either been already scripted into dramas or which students dramatize as part of their coursework. The themes include patriarchy and war in ancient Greece, the rise and spread of Islamic civilization, oral tradition and historical memory in West Africa, racism and humanism in the European Renaissance, the human cost of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, the modernist cultural revolution of the 20th century, minority voices in North and South America, and post-modernist challenges of contemporary life. Dramatic expression is a particularly compelling way to illustrate and communicate the nature of these themes to students because it involves action, participation, engagement, and reflection on their part. It embodies (literally) active learning and is a vivid way to spur imaginative re-creations while keeping that imagination grounded in the issues, concerns, and frame of reference of a particular time and place. It involves the whole person. Not only are students using critical thinking skills of selection, application, critique, and synthesis but they are also exploring a wide range of learning styles: visual, aural, interactive, print, kinesthetic, and haptic. Connecting several modes of learning at one time helps students (and other people) retain information and skills for a longer period and makes learning more enjoyable and empowering. Given the range of cultures and eras we study, the course also invites an appreciation of the richness, beauty, and value of different cultural expressions and interpretations.

As we study these cultures we also view and discuss videos which explain and illustrate dramatic elements and techniques. These videos usually last about half an hour and explain some of the elements of drama (theme, character, plot, dialogue, action, setting, and staging) in laymen's terms. I find that these few hours of viewing, along with numerous impromptu performances to overcome stage fright, give students enough information and confidence for them to stage effective short performances (5 to 20 minutes) as their final exam. To keep their attention focused I have students think about the following questions as they watch the video: what techniques are being explained, and how could they be used to present the themes and issues of our most recent readings? The class then discusses individual responses to these questions and tries to arrive at a working consensus.

All of the work that students do in the course helps prepare them to collaborate in writing their final exam. First, I ask them to participate actively and constructively in class discussions about the course readings. Class discussions are exploratory in nature, and they are meant to encourage a close and careful consideration of the assigned texts. When students study the historical background of a time and place I invite them to list what they think are the main issues and concerns of the period. These lists help the class focus its attention on key issues that can be dramatized later. Understanding these issues also helps students place the pieces of literature we examine in a helpful and revealing context. The text that I use, Mary Witt et al., *The Humanities* (D.C. Heath, 1997), contains introductions to various historical eras starting with ancient Mesopotamia as well as the scripts of plays and other pieces of literature, written and oral, which were composed in those eras. At the end of each piece of literature are questions which students answer in writing. Each student answers a question of his or her choice. The questions invite students to think about and interpret what they read. Their answers and lists provide a starting point for our class discussions and for their efforts at a later dramatization and/or performance. I supervise the discussion, write key points on the board, and ask further questions to gain a fuller understanding of the text(s) under discussion. In addition, I give focused lectures on particular aspects of the culture we are studying, I play music (when it is available) to initiate a denser web of experience in the classroom and to evoke students' imaginative powers, and I show maps on overheads to help enhance my students' sense of time and place.

I divide the class into performance groups on the first day.

I divide the class into performance groups on the first day. Students practice various dramatic techniques by means of these groups and have time to "rehearse" the material they have been assigned or asked to create. If we have read a play, I assign parts and give students about fifteen minutes to familiarize themselves with the part. If we peruse a short story, a poem, a song, or an oral tale, students must invent a brief sketch of three to five minutes' duration which dramatizes the concerns or action of the story and remains faithful to its tone. I do not require students to memorize these roles but to play them extemporaneously and with some exaggeration and flair if they like. Invariably a few people ham it up or blow their lines but, since there is no pressure on them to turn in a perfect performance, everyone has a good time and enjoys the show, especially when things go wrong. In laughing at each other, they also laugh at themselves since they are all inexperienced performers and see themselves and their dramatic flaws in the mistakes of the other. Being both critic and performer has a wonderful leveling effect in class: s/he who passes judgment is soon to be judged and so s/he tends to be merciful and forgiving and hopes for the same tolerance. In fact,

these fallibilities are what make the class flow so well and build the sense of camaraderie we all experience. If a student wishes to be in a different group, however, s/he can come talk to me. Nevertheless, in order to maintain a group's cohesion and continuity of effort I make no transfers after a third of the course is over. Students are graded on the quality of their individual contributions to class discussions, the thoughtfulness of their written answers to the problems posed by the questions in the text, and the degree of their participation in performing. About half of a student's final exam grade is based upon the results of the group's combined efforts and the other half comes from that person's ongoing, individual contributions to the group's final production, which are reported weekly on a special form that the group gives me to keep me abreast of its progress or difficulties.

The "final exam" is a dramatic sketch or scene that each group composes ahead of time and performs on the day of the final. The sketch demonstrates their use of the theatrical techniques we studied and their command of the themes and concerns of one of the historical periods we examined. The scene must be fully written out with the necessary stage directions and dialogue and it should last at least five minutes. In practice, the average scene lasts about ten minutes. When students script the scene, I encourage them to think about what kind of action best expresses the one issue the group wishes to illuminate. I give them a series of questions to ponder: What would be the best way to *dramatize* the issue (i.e., act it out) that is consistent with the values and material culture of the period under study? Once you have decided on a plot, what will be the story's setting and its scenery? Would it be possible to include some sound (e.g., music) to enhance the action and convey some of the scene's emotion and meaning? What will the actors say and do? I let students write the scene in modern English, but the concerns and values expressed in the play must be those of the era they have chosen to dramatize. I also let them know that the scene works best if they have their lines memorized, and I videotape the final so that there is a permanent record of their achievement. Quite often the students ask that I make copies of the tape for them so that they can show it to their family and friends. They are usually very proud of what they have done and enjoy sharing the experience with others.

The issue of props and costumes is an interesting one.

The issue of props and costumes is an interesting one. I never make it a requirement that students bring in period costumes or props because these can be hard to get. Nevertheless, no group has ever failed to do so. I am always amazed at how resourceful and well-connected a group of students can be. Students in my classes have done scenes from Renaissance Italy complete with costumes from the Society for Creative Anachronism and a tapestry from an art gallery; a scene from ancient Greece with vases and bed sheets; scenes from West Africa complete with African costumes and headdresses, drums, and music; and an inventive use of costume, blues, and montage to portray the alienation of American youth.

So what do I have my students read? Well, I thought it would be appropriate to start with the birthplace of drama and have my students look at gender roles and ancient Greek drama, so I have them read the Greek comedy *Lysistrata* by Aristophanes. With regard to Islamic culture we study Sufi poetry, parts of the *Epic of `Antar,* and excerpts from the *Quran.* When it comes to 13th-century empires and the epic tales of West Africa we look at excerpts from the oral history of *Sundiata*, who was the unifier of Mali. We then move to Renaissance humanism and European racism and discuss the characters, language, and themes of Shakespeare's *Othello.* Staying in Europe but jumping a few centuries, we examine capitalism, class, and Industrial Revolution in Europe by reading excerpts from Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, from Marx and Engels' *The Communist Manifesto*, from Dickens' *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and from Baudelaire's poetry and writings on urban life. Evaluating the cultural consequences of industrial capitalism as they appear in the modernist cultural revolution of the 20th century we then consider excerpts from Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Kafka's "A Country Doctor," Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, and Hitler's *Mein Kampf.* Having had our fill of Europe for a while we consider minority voices in North and South America by reading poems by Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer's *Karintha*, and Miguel Asturia's *Tatuana's Tale*. The course ends with a look at the late modern and postmodern era within which we live. We read excerpts from Sartre's *Republic of Silence*, Camus' *Myth of Sisyphus*, Ellison's *Invisible Man*, Adrienne Rich's *Motherhood*, and John Barth's *Autobiography*.

I tell my students that when this course is over they will be able to define a historical period in terms of its major concerns and conflicts, as well as analyze a piece of literature or drama for its historical value. They will become adept not only at identifying and explaining key issues in world history but also at imaginatively illustrating them. They will also see learning as a collaborative process involving agreement, disagreement, revision, and synthesis. They will recognize that learning creates a dialectic of question and answer among themselves, and between them and me, which leads to more questions and maybe better answers evoking better questions. In many ways, then, I see this class as one long application of the Socratic method in which learning is liberating, interesting, active, participatory, collaborative, and individual and in which the discovery of the world and the discovery of self are inseparable. But the Socratic method need not be limited to one style of learning. People learn differently and a history through theater course can recognize and prize those distinctions by appealing to a variety of learning styles without privileging one. Visual learners like to observe people and situations, while interactive learners learn best by verbalizing their thoughts and feeling. Haptic learners learn best through their sense of touch, and kinesthetic learners need to move in order to learn. Print learners often learn best by reading and writing, but aural learners like to listen (James 20-23). This is the only class I teach where print and interactive learners are not privileged by the structure of the class assignments and where aural, haptic, visual, and kinesthetic learners have a nearly equal chance to understand the material in a manner which is most comfortable to them. The advantage of this greater equality of access to the information is clear to me; history comes alive and so do the students!

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USING MICHAEL ONDAATJE'S *THE ENGLISH PATIENT* TO TEACH WORLD HISTORY: FROM HERODOTUS TO HIROSHIMA

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The English Patient is the 1992 Booker Prize-winning novel by Michael Ondaatje. Like the author who embodies a multicultural identity — born in Sri Lanka, educated in England, and residing in Canada — the novel presents a post-colonial view of world history; a history responsive to peoples with a variety of different national and cultural concerns. It is from this variety of perspectives that a study of *The English Patient* works as a vehicle for understanding world history, because it allows for interpreting several broad world-historical themes — technology and its uses, nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, and racism — from different points of view. Although it highlights these historical themes, it also personalizes them and makes them problematic in a way that history textbooks typically avoid in their interests of clarity and objectivity. Following a summary of *The English Patient*, this paper will present several teaching strategies to demonstrate how the novel allows us to view world history through an interaction of individual human beings with the global forces at work during a world war.

It can be argued that Ondaatje's historical worldview is secondary to the literary merits of the book[1]; nevertheless, an understanding of how Ondaatje views the historical process is fundamental for understanding his choices of setting, characters, and plot dynamics. The title character carries with him a copy of the *Histories* by the Greek historian Herodotus, whose account of history, the English patient argues, "has from the beginning sought out the supplementary to the main argument" (119). Such, too, is Ondaatje's view of history. His history is filled with the supplements of peoples and places and the long-term forces of nature, rather than the nations and civilizations that concern many modern world historians. Yet, where the English patient sees Herodotus explaining "the cul-de-sacs within the sweep of history — how people betray each other for the sake of nations," (119) Ondaatje shows how nations betray people. He documents the clash between individual needs and the forces of nationalism, imperialism, and racism. These forces will defeat the individual aspirations of the English patient and the other characters by the end of the novel. Nevertheless, there was a time, Ondaatje suggests, that such forces would, in turn, be as temporary as their individual victims, when located in Herodotus' vast panorama of history where the sands of time, like the sands of the English patient's desert, would eclipse the British Empire, as they had eclipsed many other empires before. Yet something happened in 1945 that could change the sweep of history. Ondaatje's portrayal of history as vast and limitless, more powerful than the nations that are part of it, and only temporarily altered by wars, is undercut by the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima. In *The English Patient,* Ondaatje personalizes the implications of Hiroshima by showing how his four characters react to it. For this reason, then, a reading of the novel, in conjunction with a more traditional coverage of world history, enlarges our understanding of history and the possibilities of the future.

The book focuses on four people isolated in a bombed-out Italian villa in the waning days of World War II. The villa, like all the settings in the book, has a history far longer than the historical forces that collide in world war in the mid-20th century. It had been a nunnery before the Germans occupied it. The conquering Allies next used it for a field hospital before leaving it to the English patient and his nurse. But long before these 20th-century inhabitants, it was possibly the home of "Poliziano — the great protégé of Lorenzo," who wrote poetry and translated Homer in the 15th century, a time of "(D)aggers and politics and three-decker hats and ...wigs." These creative and licentious times were in turn followed by "Savonarola's cry out of the streets: 'Repentance! The deluge is coming!'" After that, "everything was swept away — free will, the desire to be elegant, fame, [and] the right to worship Plato as well as Christ." Next to come were "the bonfires — the burning of wigs, books, animal hides, maps" (57). Momentous as they may seem to us, the events of the 20th century begin to pale as they compete with the events of the villa's vast past. In 1945 the villa, only partially in ruin, now hosts the latest of a succession of historic inhabitants. Ondaatje's four victims of war shape the villa's ruins to their needs, build staircases out of books from its library, use a crucifix from the chapel as a scarecrow, and wait on death and recovery and an end to the war.

Ondaatje's four victims of war shape the villa's ruins to their needs....

Caravaggio is an Italian-speaking Canadian thief whom the Allies recruited: "Here I was, an Italian and a thief. They couldn't believe their luck, they were falling all over themselves to use me.... I was still a thief. No great patriot. No great hero. They had just made my skills official" (35). But he got caught — a spy for the Allies — and lost his thumbs to German torturers. Now, at the villa, Caravaggio is a morphine addict, watching after Hana, the daughter of an old friend, and curious about the English patient.

Hana is a Canadian military nurse. Ondaatje tells us she is "twenty years old and mad and unconcerned with safety during this time" (13). She chooses to stay behind in the villa when her unit moves on, in order to nurse the English patient who can't be moved, and, perhaps, to nurse herself as well. She has seen too much horror and lost too many loves in the war. She cuts off her hair and hides all mirrors, wandering around the villa, wearing the same dress and a pair of tennis shoes she took from a dead soldier.

Her patient — the one they call the English patient — remains anonymous to the rest of the characters for much of the book. He tells them that he "fell burning into the desert...the leather helmet on my head in flames." He was rescued by the "Bedouin who knew about fire. They knew about planes that since 1939 had been falling out of the sky" (5). They also knew about weapons. They nursed the English patient so he could "translate the guns" they would find in the desert, weapons older than the war they are now a part of, "weapons...from different time periods and many countries, a museum in the desert" (20). The Bedouins saved him for these skills, then they turned him over to the Allies. The Allies didn't know who he was, but he spoke English.

Kip, or Kirpal Singh, is the fourth inhabitant of the villa. If there is a central character in this novel — which is about relationships more than about individuals — it is he. Ondaatje tells us that Kip "always moves in relation to things" (218). And it is Kip's relation to things and people that best reveals Ondaatje's view of history and his concerns about the future. For example, Ondaatje contrasts the medieval setting of the Italian villa with Kip's work with the British army: "Kip would look up, the arch of the high wounded trees over him, the path in front of him mediaeval, and *he a young man of the strangest profession his century had invented,* a sapper, a military engineer who detected and disarmed mines" (273 – emphasis added).

These mines and other weapons of war are not just peripheral concerns to Ondaatje.

These mines and other weapons of war are not just peripheral concerns to Ondaatje. They are the important supplements of history that Herodotus wrote about. From the guns buried in the desert to the bombs dropped from the sky, weapons and instruments of war are a historical constant. But unlike most textbook accounts of this technological aspect of war, *The English Patient* is concerned with the creators and victims of the weapons. When teaching Kip how to disarm bombs, the eccentric Lord Suffolk tells him: "People think a bomb is a mechanical object, a mechanical enemy. But you have to consider that somebody made it" (192). This relationship of people to weapons is a power relationship and can reveal broader historical themes. For example, Hana reads Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* to the English patient. "Read him slowly, dear girl, you must read Kipling slowly" (94). Kipling, author of "The White Man's Burden" and a symbol to many of imperialism, writes about the Zam-Zammah cannon, the "fire-breathing dragon" outside the Lahore Museum. Afterwards, when she comes to love Kip, who is Sikh, Hana retrieves the copy of *Kim* from the library bookshelf and writes in its flyleaf, "(Kip) says the gun—the Zam-Zammah cannon—is still there outside the museum in Lahore...(it was) used in many battles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries against the Sikhs" (118). Kipling honors those who used the weapon, Kip values those who were its targets, and Hana writes its history.

Kip's ability to understand the mechanics of weapons stems, in part, from his being Indian. He came from a country where nothing was wasted: "Cars were never destroyed. Parts often were carried across a village and readapted into a sewing machine or water pump...Most people in his village were more likely to carry a spanner or screwdriver than a pencil" (188). Kip's mechanical abilities reflect the legacy of imperialism and the discrepancy in wealth between England and India: "What he saw in England was a surfeit of parts that would keep the continent of India going for two hundred years" (188).

Why the Indian Kip should use his skills and risk his life for the British becomes an important issue in *The English Patient.* Caravaggio is the first to question Kip's role in the war: "Kip will probably get blown up one of these days. Why? For whose sake? He's twenty-six years old. The British army teaches him the skills and the Americans teach him further skills ...You are being used, boyo, as the Welsh say. Get the hell out of Dodge City" (121).

Hana says Kip risks his life defusing bombs because "he believes in a civilised world. He is a civilised man" (122). Yet, Kip becomes more than just a civilized man to Hana, he becomes almost a saint. Ondaatje depicts in the relationship between Kip and Hana a multitude of emotions and perceptions. Their love triumphs for a while "in his tent, in 1945, where their continents met," but it is torn apart by historical forces bigger than the two of them by the end of the novel (226). Kip is Indian and Hana, Canadian; both are colonials, but they live in a world where race indicates further inequity and leaves a mark. For Hana, Kip's brown skin is something to love, something to appreciate: "She learns all the varieties of his darkness. The colour of his forearm against the colour of his neck. The colour of his palms, his cheek, the skin under the turban..." (127). For Kip, his brownness is something that shapes his life, something he rationalizes rather than accepts, something that affects the very work he does: "he was the brownness of a rock, the brownness of a storm-fed river...The successful defusing of a bomb ended novels. Wise white fatherly men shook hands, were acknowledged, and limped away... But he was a professional. And he remained the foreigner, the Sikh" (105). Until he learns to love Hana, "his only human and personal contact was this enemy who had made the bomb and departed, brushing his tracks with a branch behind him" (105). Hana loves Kip, but is not immune from generalizing about a people from the particular of the one man: "She imagines all of Asia through the gestures of this one man. The way he lazily moves, his quiet civilisation. He speaks of warrior saints and she now feels he is one..." (217).

The English patient also grows to love Kip, but theirs is a different bond.

They initially share an interest in the bombs Kip must deactivate: "Soon they were drawing outlines of the bombs for each other and talking out the theory of each specific circuit." Weapons again, and Ondaatje widening the historical scope: "The Italian fuses seem to be put in vertically...but the factories in Rome follow the German system. Of course, Naples, going back to the fifteenth century..." (89).

The English patient seems to know everything and everyone.

The English patient seems to know everything and everyone. He knew Lord Suffolk, Kip's mentor at the elite bomb disposal training site in England. He also thinks he knows, even more than Kip does, about their status as foreigners in a world defined by nations: "Kip and I are both international bastards—born in one place and choosing to live elsewhere. Fighting to get back to or get away from our homelands all our lives" (177). He doesn't understand the power of Kip's racial identity, but he shares with Kip a sense of having an alien, sometimes subordinate, national identity.

Midway through the novel, Caravaggio and Hana learn the English patient's story of love, adultery, and betrayal in North Africa before the war. The English patient is not English, but a Hungarian count who had helped the Germans. Count Ladislaus de Almasy had been an explorer, part of a multinational Geographical Society expedition to the Libyan desert in the 1930s. He believed

he was part of the larger forces of history, the forces of nature, not nations. He tells Caravaggio about the desert: "I was walking not in a place where no one had walked before but in a place where there were sudden, brief populations over the centuries—a fourteenth century army, a Tebu caravan, the Senussi raiders of 1915. And in between these times—nothing was there. When no rain fell the acadias withered...until water suddenly reappeared fifty or a hundred years later" (141). The English patient speaks here for Ondaatje's longitudinal view of history, where people are part of a process of time and shared experiences, not a history of arbitrary and temporary political or racial definitions: "We were German, English, Hungarian, African...Gradually we became nationless. I came to hate nations" (138).

The explorers were making maps, trying to make a claim on geography, but Almasy, the English patient, understood the irony: "The desert could not be claimed or owned — it was a piece of cloth carried by the winds, never held down by stones, and given a hundred shifting names long before Canterbury existed, long before battles and treaties quilted Europe and the East...Erase nations! I was taught such things by the desert...By the time war arrived, after ten years in the desert, it was easy for me to slip across borders not to belong to anyone, to any nation" (138).

The English patient was wrong, however.

The English patient was wrong, however. When war came to the desert, nations had more meaning: "There were spies among the Bedouin...there were Englishmen as well as Germans... Suddenly there were 'teams.' [People] who had at various times saved each others' lives—now split into camps" (168). The English patient as Count Almasy could not remain nationless when war broke out. Because the British viewed him as the enemy he became one, leading a German spy through the desert to Rommel. His friend Madox, another "nationless" explorer, returned to England, and "a month later sat in the congregation of a church, heard the sermon in honor of war, pulled out his desert revolver and shot himself" (241). The English patient tells Caravaggio, "Yes, Madox was a man who died because of nations" (242).

The English patient had hated nations even before they betrayed him, but it wasn't until the war that he found how he was marked by them. When he needed help, his Hungarian name marked him as an enemy; it was his nationality that kept him from rescuing his lover after the plane crash in the desert. Kip is similarly marked, but it is both nationhood and race that mark him. Although Kip is more aware of his Indianness than the English patient is of his nationality, Kip leads an outward life as if it doesn't matter. Ondaatje tells us he was "a man from Asia who...[had] assumed English fathers, following their code like a dutiful son" (217).

Yet, Kip is not unaware of being brown in a white world. He knows, however, that more often than not, his browness is not perceived; rather, he is invisible:

He was accustomed to his invisibility. In England he was ignored in the various barracks, and he came to prefer that. The self-sufficiency and privacy Hana saw in him later were caused not just by his being a sapper in the Italian campaign. It was as much a result of being the anonymous member of another race, a part of the invisible world. He had built up defenses of character against all that, trusting only those who befriended him (196).

For a time, that seems to be enough. Kip understands that there are other ways to deal with injustice. His brother, for example, "refused to agree to any situation where the English had power" (200). His brother protested, and the English put him in jail. "In jail he became serene and devious," Kip explains to Hana. "More like me...He was confident that I had the trick of survival, of being able to hide in silent places" (201). Hana also sees Kip's ability to survive: "There are those destroyed by unfairness and those who are not...and he is risking himself daily in this war" (271).

As the European war winds down, the four inhabitants of Villa San Girolamo seem to have found some moments of respite from the historical demons that brought them all there. The English patient, no longer English or an enemy to the villa's inhabitants, is dying among friends and memories; Caravaggio has companionship and morphine; and Hana and Kip have each other. Then the world changes. Kip hears the news on his crystal wireless: "One bomb. Then another. Hiroshima. Nagasaki" (284).

Kip goes crazy. He grabs his rifle and points it at the English patient: "My brother told me. Never turn your back on Europe. The deal makers. The contract makers. The map drawers. Never trust Europeans, he said. Never shake hands with them. But we, oh, we were easily impressed—by speeches and medals and your ceremonies. What have I been doing these last few years? Cutting away, defusing, limbs of evil. For what? For this to happen?" (185).

Lord Suffolk had taught Kip that people make weapons. Rudyard Kipling showed Kip where the weapons were aimed, and Hiroshima made Kip realize that he was working for the wrong side, and that the sides weren't divided into nations, but by race: "American. French. I don't care. When you start bombing the brown races of the world, you're an Englishman. You had King Leopold of Belgium and now you have f...ing Harry Truman of the USA. You learned it from the English" (286).

Kip doesn't shoot the English patient, although the English patient tells him to when he hears the news. Kip throws down his rifle, then throws away everything the British gave him. He takes the motorcycle and heads out for home. Hana can't stop him; but Caravaggio blocks his path to give him a hug. Ondaatje's readers are left to wonder if Caravaggio is right when he agrees with Kip: "They would never have dropped such a bomb on a white nation" (286). Unfortunately, most world history textbooks don't give us Kip's point of view. Neither do they give us Hana's perspective of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when she writes about the bombings to her stepmother, the only one she knew who had opposed the war from its beginnings: "...it feels like the end of the world. From now on I believe the personal will forever be at war with the public. If we can rationalize this we can rationalize anything" (292).

Ondaatje has given us a vision of world history from Herodotus to Hiroshima through the lives of these four people, together for a few months in 1945 in a bombed-out Italian villa. He

has raised questions of nationalism, imperialism, power, technology, race, and weapons. It is this sense of history that makes *The English Patient* a powerful novel through which we can learn much.

Teaching Strategies

The English Patient, like all works of literature, challenges its readers both with the beauty of its language and the complexity of the ideas it illuminates. Because I use this novel in a history class, I stress historical questions, while acknowledging that I'm not doing justice to the work as a whole. In class, I complement the book with a background lecture and reading materials, and divide the students into different "nationality" groups — Canadians, North Africans, Italians, Indians, Germans, Hungarians, and English — and ask them to research the war from these different points of view. Although Count Almasy was a real person, I treat him as a fictional character, as Ondaatje suggests in his notes following the novel. For our purposes, the characters represent the experiences of different nations, races, allegiances, genders, and ages rather than of specific human beings. The three world historical themes on which my class focuses are: 1) technology and power, 2) the scope of history and national allegiance, and 3) imperialism, post-colonialism, and race. This approach to teaching the global dimension of World War II with a novel, complementary instruction, and student reports takes us two to three weeks, with the last week consisting of the student "nationality" reports.

Although *The English Patient* is rich with multiple opportunities for teaching about world history, I've found the following themes to be effective in raising student interest about global topics:

Technology and power, or does Hiroshima change world history? Our students, most of their instructors, and the majority of the world's population have grown up in the shadow of nuclear annihilation. The technology of nuclear weapons and the airplanes and missiles associated with them are important global concerns. When Kip, the technological expert who defuses bombs, hears about Hiroshima, he understands this. When Hana hears about Hiroshima she fears that "we" will rationalize it. Kip speaks for the developing world when he questions the target of such weapons. Hana fears their use by the developed world she is a part of. Ondaatje presents a very human, certainly political, and arguably controversial interpretation of the dropping of the first atomic bomb. Teachers of world history, particularly those interested in technology, could develop teaching strategies around this issue. (It should be noted that the movie version of *The English Patient* leaves out Hiroshima and Kip's reaction to it, opting for a less problematic ending with the Allied triumph in Europe.) World history students might discuss whether the bomb ends an era or starts another one. American students rarely see Hiroshima in terms of a Third World perspective. Although many of them immediately reject the racial implications of the bomb "not being dropped on a white person," stimulating class discussion results from this confrontation with a different interpretation.

The Scope of History and the Question of Allegiance. *The English Patient* is an antidote to the periodization most history courses and texts take. Although the four main characters are situated in a particular time and place (Europe and North Africa in the 1930s and 1940s), Ondaatje gives equal emphasis to other historical entities — the unknown inhabitants of the cave of swimmers lost to the desert sands; the Bedouin who watch the changing fortunes of the Western belligerents; the Italian villa with its history far older than the nations who take it over; and Herodotus, as read by Almasy, interpreting the forces of history. World history teachers can use this aspect of *The English Patient* to counter what many students view as normative — the nature of nations and their own world. Things have changed in the past, and will do so in the future. Although this may seem to be a simplistic point to make, it helps students avoid presentism, and it raises questions of allegiances to large sources of power — certainly some of the questions being raised today in our time of globalization.

Imperialism, post-colonialism, and race. It could be argued that Kip is the central character of this book. His experience as an Indian in the British army, his training in England, and his brother in jail for refusing to fight for the British all furnish an important context for teaching, not only about World War II and about India, but also about other 20th-century post-colonial movements and revolutions. In fact, it is the unresolved conversations between the English patient and Kip about technology, nationality, and power; and the love affair between Kip and Hana, shattered by imposed racial identity, that raise the questions which make *The English Patient* a valuable source for teaching and understanding world history.

ENDNOTE

1. *The English Patient* is open to a variety of analyses. The work contains a plethora of literary and religious references that are open to multiple interpretations. Historians of colonialism and imperialism can also draw upon Ondaatje's many references to the works of Rudyard Kipling, particularly *Kim*. Ondaatje refers to the work both obliquely and directly throughout *The English Patient*, even noting the reversal of roles between the wise old Asian and the boy in *Kim*, with the English patient and Kip in *The English Patient*. Elsewhere he notes that Hana is Kim, and Kip is the offer Creighton (111). Although Kip's nickname is explained with reference to kippers, one might also suppose that Ondaatje is making a specific reference to Kipling.

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WHA

DEVELOPING HISTORY COURSES FOR PROSPECTIVE HISTORY TEACHERS:

Moving From Student Mentality to Teacher Mentality

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For years I worked with beginning teachers as an educator and administrator in the public schools, and now I work at the university level with pre-service teachers. In our history department, about half of our majors are preparing to teach social studies at the secondary level. In addition to coordinating our department's program of study for prospective teachers and supervising these majors during their student teaching, I also teach history courses. My past experience and my present duties have enabled me to develop a perspective from which to assess the effectiveness of our program for educating history teachers by asking questions, such as what courses history teachers need and what approaches history professors can use to better prepare teachers for actual classroom performance. Asking such questions has led me to develop two new courses for our history majors which address history content using assignments based on what teachers actually do while they prepare content for classroom presentation.

Background

In the early 1980s, several major organizations — including the Carnegie Foundation, the National Commission for Excellence in Education, the Council on Basic Education, and others — commissioned studies on American education.

These studies were prompted by and magnified the perception of the decline in quality of academic preparation provided to our nation's youth. Academic professional organizations, such as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, studied the current state of instruction in their fields and recommended steps for improvement. There was no such organization for history teachers. Indeed, the rationale for studying history in public schools had not been formally addressed since the landmark Committee of Ten study commissioned by the National Education Association in 1892. Thus, the Bradley Commission on History in Schools was established in 1987. In 1988 the commission published its report, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in the Schools* (Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 1988), in which it made nine recommendations for improving history education. The Bradley Commission was succeeded by the National Council for History Education (NCHE), a permanent professional organization founded to continue the commission's work.

The ninth recommendation of the Bradley Commission, and subsequently the NCHE, was addressed to those who educate history teachers:

> [The Bradley Commission recommends] that college and university departments of history review the structure and content of major programs for their suitability to the needs of prospective teachers, with special attention to the quality and liveliness of those survey courses whose counterparts are most often taught in the schools: world history, Western civilization, and American history.[1]

After working with beginning history teachers at the K-12 level, and now at the college level, I agree with the Bradley Commission's recommendation. Each semester, I ask students who have just completed student teaching to evaluate the program of study for their major. Consistently, they recommend history courses that more closely match the courses required in high schools. In our state, as in most others, those courses are United States and world history. College students typically study world civilization as freshmen and United States history as sophomores. By the time they do their student teaching during their senior year, two or three years have elapsed since they took their history surveys. They say that some of their upper-level history courses need to be surveys which review and reinforce the content they learned in freshman world history and sophomore U.S. history.

Goals for the Course

I set about designing a course for pre-service history teachers that was consistent with the study and recommendations of the Bradley Commission. I wanted the course to conform to what we know about good teaching and learning techniques, as well as what we know about teacher preparation. In addition, I wanted to incorporate what I know about the teaching of history at the secondary and college levels and about the experiences of beginning teachers. To maintain focus on these aims, I first composed a list of goals for the course.

My first goal was to improve academic preparation for the two history courses most often taught by secondary social studies teachers: United States history and world history. For several reasons, I decided to design two courses rather than one. I wanted students to work on content mastery which requires in-depth study, and including both world and U.S. history in one course would not provide the time for such careful study. Another reason for designing two courses was that, since the majority of school districts in our state use block scheduling which features semester courses, my university students have about the same amount of time to prepare the course as they will have to actually teach it in a high school setting. The similarity in time frame helps them to visualize what it will be like to really teach the course.

A frequent observation of the beginning teachers with whom I work is that they study their content in much more depth while preparing to teach than they ever did while simply taking courses in that content. Their shock at how little of the content they have mastered prior to assuming the role of teacher is expressed in statements such as, "I thought I would be prepared by my college classes," and "I studied this stuff, but I do not remember it now." Several factors contribute to this problem. One is that, in higher education as well as K-12 education, we are often teaching students what they need to know before they need to know it. Their perception about the value of knowledge to them personally has a great impact on the way students approach it and the degree to which they master it. Thus, I began to think about how I could take advantage of the fact that teaching is the highest form of learning and get my students to actually see themselves as history teachers. My second goal was based on my conviction that, if I could get them to approach the content as teachers rather than students, their mastery and retention would improve. Changing their perspective would improve their performance both as college students and, later, as teachers.

A third goal was to design a course that would be predominantly history content rather than a course that was principally about methods for teaching history. That is, I wanted a course that focused on the content secondary history teachers must teach and how teachers master that content, rather than on instructional delivery techniques they use to actually present content to students. I made this decision because we already have courses in our teacher preparation program that emphasize teaching techniques, and I wanted my course to complement, not duplicate, that instruction.

The high school curriculum for history in our state, as well as most others, is very proscribed. The mastery of high school students is evaluated by end-of-course examinations. Teachers must take the exams very seriously since scores are used to measure school effectiveness through statewide accountability programs. Therefore, I needed to design a course that would get pre-service teachers preparing to teach the history courses as outlined in the state curriculum. Since history curricula are very similar from state to state, preparation to teach in our state would also serve well to prepare my students to teach in other states.

Description of Assignments

Pacing Guide Content Outline

The introductory assignment is designed to accomplish two goals. The first is to acquaint students with the precise content they will be expected to teach, and the second is to inform them of how much time they have to deliver that instruction. These tasks address two problems faced by beginning teachers: that their content mastery is sketchy and erratic and that they have difficulty with long-range planning, particularly for survey courses that include as much content as world and United States history. Because they lack time for study and research, they typically end up planning (that includes learning) tonight what they will teach tomorrow. They proceed from one topic to the next when they have taught all they know. The result is that they frequently finish too early, which means that content was not taught in appropriate depth, or they run out of time, which means that some content gets left out entirely. The latter is the "never get past World War II" syndrome.

I introduce the assignment with an overview of the state-mandated curriculum. Beginning with the overall curriculum, I narrow to the social studies curriculum for K-12 and then to their grade in particular. Using the state curriculum for the specific course and a real calendar from one of our surrounding school districts, students are required to devise a plan that includes every goal and objective in the curriculum along with how long each will be taught. For example, the North Carolina Standard Course of Study for World History includes nine goals that are subdivided into 42 objectives. The curriculum objectives are broad, so students must further subdivide each into the specific topics that will be taught in order to accomplish the objective. One objective is to describe and compare major Chinese, Indian, and Judeo-Christian beliefs. Students could subdivide this objective into Taoism, Legalism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity. The list of all the goals and objectives and the specific topics into which the objectives are subdivided is the Content Outline. The Pacing Guide is the allotment of time to teach all the subtopics for each objective. Both tasks are included in one document called the *Content Outline and Pacing Guide.*

Teacher Notes

Once students discover the precise content they will actually be held responsible for teaching, they are unfailingly anxious about how little they know. The next assignment, then, is to research, study, and organize that content, and this assignment constitutes the bulk of the course. I call the product of this assignment "teacher notes," carefully distinguishing them from lecture notes. Lecture can be an effective delivery technique, but it is notoriously overused in the field of history. Effective lecture is particularly difficult for novice teachers who lack depth of content mastery. These teaching notes, which can be used to support any instructional delivery method, are the teachers' academic study and explanation to self of the information they must understand before they can teach it to their students.

Students cannot prepare in the 15 weeks of one college semester everything they need to know for a career in teaching world history. The objective, therefore, is to get them ready to begin teaching by showing them and giving them practice in how master teachers learn and prepare the content they will teach their students. Volume requirements for this assignment are set in two ways. First, students choose the topics they want to prepare, but they must do at least ten. For example, they could choose to prepare each of the seven philosophies or religions listed above. They could choose to do a brief description of all seven as one topic, or they could choose to do in-depth preparation of each and have them count as seven separate topics. We talk in class about the advantages and disadvantages for selecting topics: choosing ten topics at the beginning of the course, or spreading the topics out through the course, or choosing the topics about which they know the least, etc. The final decision about which topics to choose, however, is theirs. Again, the purpose of this assignment is to teach them the technique for mastering and preparing content. There is not time for preparing all the content required for teaching world history, but if they know how to go about it, preparation of content will be easier for them when they actually assume the teaching role.

Requiring a minimum of ten topics allows for depth of coverage. However, students may choose to do more topics in less detail, which allows breadth of coverage. Whichever option they choose, there is a minimum word count for the entire set of teacher notes. Students are encouraged to put the notes on a word processor which can then become the basis of their teaching resources for years to come and can easily be added to or amended.

This exercise is one of the best I have tried for getting students to observe, analyze, and practice the skill of organizing for communication. They can use high school and college survey texts as examples, but they must develop their own organizational scheme. One of my students commented that doing these teaching notes was like doing a research paper, but leaving it in outline form rather than writing the final draft in prose. When he made this observation, I believe this student was beginning to see the connection between the research assignments he had done as a student and "real-life" communication skills.

Another resource I give students to help them gauge how much detail they need is example questions from our state end-of-course exams for high school students. Most states have some sort of comprehensive exam for required high school courses. Many states release retired test items for the schools to use as example and/or practice questions. If so, they are available from the state's department of public instruction. If not, there are commercially prepared study guides for both United States and world history, which can be identified and purchased through university bookstores. For the purposes of a teacher preparation content course like this, such example questions guide students as they expand the general curriculum objectives by identifying the specific topics that they will teach to accomplish the objective. These example questions can also be administered to students in test format, in which case they serve a dual purpose. Not only do the questions serve to familiarize students with expected content, but they also give them an idea of their own mastery level.

**Teaching Materials*

A final assignment is optional for my students. They can choose to focus extra effort on the teacher notes above, or they can choose to collect teaching materials. The purpose of this assignment is to identify resources other than the textbook for teaching history courses. Once they become classroom teachers, my students are sorely pressed for time and are often not close to collections as abundant as university libraries. After they have identified expected content through the *Content Outline and Pacing Guide*, they begin to get an idea of resources which would complement their teaching. They cannot simply collect "neat stuff." Each item must be labeled with the precise content with which it will be paired. A certain percent of the materials must be primary resources, and they must gather resources from a variety of categories (print, graphic, audio, or visual). They must also cite bibliographic references for the materials they collect so they will know where to find them again and whether the information is current or dated. This research assignment gives students practice in identifying, locating, evaluating, and selecting resources for classroom use. Also important, it gives them exposure to the bounty of resources available in university collections.

Implementation Issues

The work in these courses makes apparent to students their need for content mastery, and they become as self-motivated as I could ever want them to be. But they can easily be overwhelmed by the scope and volume of the work. My task is to help them strike a balance between being motivated and feeling hopeless because they do not know how to proceed. Although they are the type of advanced study we want our students to do, non-traditional assignments such as these are difficult for both teachers and students. They are hard for teachers to explain and evaluate and hard for students to envision and complete. Several techniques help clarify and simplify the tasks.

I find that students procrastinate, not because they lack skill or motivation, but because they do not have the attack skills needed for such a comprehensive assignment. Therefore, I developed techniques to get them working and keep them working. I show students examples of work of some of my former students and also some of my own materials, which helps them to envision the final product. One particularly valuable technique is to move them from generalized thinking to specific thinking by using periodic deadlines that begin early in the course. I divide the project into subtasks and have incremental due dates. For instance, the first subtask is for students to create a working calendar that shows all of the available teaching days for the year. Next, students must submit the calendar, throughout which they have distributed the goals and objectives from the state curriculum. For the teacher notes assignment, the first subtask is to hand in notes on one subtopic. These notes are to be researched and organized for teaching. As my students turn in these incremental assignments, we examine them collectively in class. Using their own work as examples, we can begin to discuss such issues as how to teach the breadth required in a survey course, how to find and master content information for teaching, and how to organize information for classroom presentation. As they turn in each subtask, students receive feedback from each other and from me on the direction and quality of their individual work.

Another important technique to help students jump into the work is to have them imagine that they have been employed to teach and that they must deliver instruction on this material immediately. The time when they must be prepared is no longer far in the future; it is tomorrow, a useful exercise for students who are only a few semesters away from graduation. This mental role assumption technique also helps keep them in the "teacher mentality" rather than reverting to the "student mentality." That is, they approach the material as a teacher who needs to know details and develop a full understanding rather than as a student just completing an assignment or studying for a test.

Once they begin work, students encounter their own individual problems and questions about how to proceed. We identify and discuss possible solutions in class, and students move forward by selecting and implementing solutions to one problem at a time. They also need frequent review of written directions because they become absorbed in developing their own system of work and lose sight of requirements that were laid down early on. To follow through on the techniques described here, every class session begins with a review of the directions, another look at examples, answering questions, showing their classmates and me their own work to date, and sharing of ideas and suggestions for improvement.

One of the beneficial by-products of frequent deadlines followed by collective evaluation is that I can model for them and let them participate in the setting of expectations and the evaluation of student work. Getting them into the "teacher mentality" encourages them to do some serious analysis of what high-quality work looks like. One quality issue we must deal with, for example, is the volume expected. They could work on the development of teacher notes forever, but how much is enough for this assignment? What is the difference between B- work and B work? How does one translate subjective grading to a 10-point numerical scale?

Student Reaction

While working on these assignments, students experience the same feeling of being overwhelmed that they face as beginning teachers. The feeling is identical; it is just moved backward from the first year of teaching into the college years. The assignments help them develop an understanding of and a technique for the preparation of content for teaching. They grapple with issues such as what content to present to students and what to leave out when time is limited. Making such decisions requires them to distinguish general concepts and themes from the supporting details. They also struggle with how to organize material to enhance understanding. Because they force students to deal with the entire scope of a survey course, these assignments are effective for helping them develop a broad overview of history which strengthens their ability to see trends, the relationship of the past to the present, and other such historical habits of mind while they still have the benefit of professional assistance.

Pre-service teachers are amazed at how deeply they must understand the content in order to complete these assignments, much less present and explain it to others. They realize that much more work is actually needed than my assignments require, so most of the pressure about volume is self-imposed. That they set higher standards for themselves than are imposed by me is evidence of the self-directed and independent learning we strive to instill in students. The quality and quantity of work which most of these students turn in to me far surpasses what I usually receive, a result that has me thinking about how I can adapt these techniques for use in courses in which I do not have exclusively education majors.

Students typically make three observations upon completion of the courses. First, they are very relieved to be finished because they have worked much harder than usual. They are also relieved that they have materials which they can actually use when they begin teaching — because they have been worried about the transition from student to teacher. They realize that what they have done is only a beginning, but they know how to go about preparing further. Finally, and possibly the most important for me as a history teacher, they say they have learned more history in this course than they did in history courses that allowed them to be more passive.

Conclusion

The development of these courses has renewed and deepened my understanding of the power of active learning. In our department, about half of our majors plan to teach at the secondary level and many of the others will end up teaching at the college level. At our school, as with other universities, teaching is probably the single most frequently chosen profession of our history majors. So the assignments described here are directly and widely applicable. Whatever their plans, getting our students to approach content as the professionals they aspire to be rather than simply as students studying for tests dramatically impacts their mastery and retention.

ENDNOTE

1. Bradley Commission on History in Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools*. Westlake, OH: National Council for History Education, p.8.

TEACHING WHAT WE DO NOT KNOW: USING THE INTERNET TO CREATE TRULY NON-WESTERN LEARNING EXPERIENCES

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There has been a lot of discussion in the last few years about the impact of computers in the classroom. That discussion has focused on the impact of technology on how students learn. Often ignored has been the impact of technology on what students study.

Since the Second World War, the American experience has been an increasingly global one. American society has become more markedly multi-cultural and our political sphere and economy have become distinctly global. In response to these social, political, and economic transformations, there has been a strong push for the abandonment of the purely Western canon in history classes and for the adoption of more inclusive global curricula. As a result of this push, Western history and Western civilization have disappeared from course listings, their places having been taken by courses in world history and world civilizations.

As most of us who teach world history at the K-12 level know, a significant disparity exists between course titles and course content. The great sub-Saharan civilizations may be in our students' textbooks, but how often do we have students read about those civilizations and how often do we skip those pages of the textbook because we feel out of our element with the topic? The reality is, because we are products of educational systems which focused almost exclusively on the Western, many of us find it difficult to teach the histories of regions about which we know next to nothing.

To be sure, many of us who teach history at the K-12 level do attempt to integrate different parts of the non-Western world into our courses. When we do have our students study non-Western regions, we usually have them do so from a Eurocentric perspective. Thus, when we have our students look at Asian, African, or Latin American history, we generally have them do so only within the context of the so-called voyages of discovery and the so-called process of decolonization. Oh, some things change. Increasingly self-conscious of our Eurocentrism, many of us no longer frame the material around the voyages of discovery and the process of decolonization, but rather frame the material in more politically neutral terms such as the voyages of exploration and the process of national liberation. Our increased sensitivity to the language of Eurocentrism is commendable. That said, neither our interest in integrating the non-Western world into our courses, nor our sensitivity to the language of Eurocentrism has yielded much in the way of truly non-Western history courses for our students.

Many of us who teach history at the K-12 level attribute the disparity between course titles and course content to the fact that most of us were educated almost exclusively in the Western canon. Unversed in non-Western history, we feel incapable of teaching much truly non-Western subject matter and allow our courses to remain largely Western-looking.

Unversed in non-Western history, we feel incapable of teaching much truly non-Western subject matter and allow our courses to remain largely Western-looking.

In the long term, the situation will probably change and teachers will have the subject matter expertise to teach non-Western history. Many colleges are already requiring students to take significant numbers of non-Western courses to graduate. The new crop of history graduates from college will be so familiar with non-Western subject matter that they will naturally incorporate it into their teaching. Most teachers have at least another 20 years in the classroom, though, so it will be some time before this new crop of teachers comes to affect what is taught in most classrooms.

If we wish to start having our students learn non-Western history in the immediate future two related developments will need to occur. First world history teachers must modify what we see as our proper role in the classroom. Second, we need to teach classes which rely significantly on the Internet.

Traditionally, administrators, teachers, parents, and students have seen it as the responsibility of the K-12 teacher to: 1) provide students with information, 2) help students digest that information, 3) help students develop their abilities to analyze and synthesize that information, and 4) meaningfully assess students' work and abilities. People have seen information delivery as a particularly important role of teachers. My early experiences in teaching might serve as a case in point. When I first began teaching, I provided my students with a series of questions and helped them learn how they might track down the answers to those questions in secondary sources such as their textbooks. This teaching method aroused considerable criticism from many parents, students, and even my own department chairman, who complained that I was not teaching the requisite material. For these critics, good teaching was didactic teaching in which the teacher tells students what's what and serves as an information provider, sharing some of what he knows about a given subject.

Not so long ago we lived in a period when books and other sources of information were scarce. Under such conditions, it made sense that one of the responsibilities of the K-12 teacher would be to provide students with information. But we now live in an information age in which vast amounts of information are but a mouse-click away. Having the teacher serve as a key provider of information in the Information Age is not only antiquated, it is destructive.

Defining teaching as requiring that teachers provide students with information is destructive for two key reasons.

Defining teaching as requiring that teachers provide students with information is destructive for two key reasons. First, such a definition of teaching will fail to equip our students for success in the Information Age. We need to provide students with vast opportunities to search for information on their own. Without such opportunities, students will not sufficiently develop the combined ability to track down information and evaluate the accuracy of that information. Second, as pointed out above, most of us at the K-12 level do not know much about non-Western history. So long as people insist that teachers serve as information providers and teach only what they know, there is virtually no immediate prospect of having world history courses which embrace much outside the Western canon. Given the preparation that real teachers have today, such insistence would impose a death sentence for world history in the schools.

The immediate hope for truly non-Western history courses rests in large part on teachers' willingness to embrace a role for ourselves in which we no longer provide students with the information necessary to answer particular questions, but rather help them track down the information necessary to answer those questions. If we are willing to go this route, then it is to the Internet that we should look as a source of that information. The Internet contains a vast collection of interconnected resources of sufficient breadth and depth to support any K-12 world history class.

Relying on the Internet for information delivery has other advantages over more traditional printed materials. The Internet

is a truly multimedia resource, providing students with the sorts of audiovisual and textual resources that enliven the learning process. Further, using the Internet for information delivery potentially helps students develop their ability to track down information on the Internet efficiently and their ability to distinguish accurate from inaccurate materials.

Finally, relying on the Internet for information delivery seems to liberate teachers from the very expectations that make it difficult to "teach" material they do not know.

Finally, relying on the Internet for information delivery seems to liberate teachers from the very expectations that make it difficult to "teach" material they do not know.

For several years now, I have been teaching a Web-enhanced course in which I pose questions to students and send them to the Internet for the answers to those questions. Interestingly, since having students use the Internet to track down information, the complaints that I am not teaching students have virtually stopped. Accurately or inaccurately, people seem to associate a technology-rich history course with a quality education. This association makes them amenable to a modified view of the proper roles of student and teacher.

Many of us believe that it is the limitations of our own educations that hold us back from being able to integrate non-Western history into our classes. The Internet seems to offer an acceptable means of having students learn about parts of the world that we could not otherwise teach them. The real impasse to global world history classes is our fossilized belief that to teach we must provide students with facts and figures. By relinquishing our traditional roles as information providers, we ultimately effect a number of changes for the better. First, we gain more time and energy to devise interesting, meaningful engaging assignments, assessments, and mechanisms to keep students motivated and on task. Second, we help make the shift from having teacher-centered classrooms to delivering more effective student–centered learning environments in which we provide students with the questions and skills, and students teach themselves the answers and thereby take greater ownership of their educations. Third, and perhaps most pertinently, we make good on a promise — the promise of a truly global curriculum not just in theory, but in practice.

WHA

Some Sweet Sources for Learning About the World

By Mark Newmark

Ever since discovering Paul Halsall's *Internet History Sourcebooks* at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall>, I have been a Sourcebook junkie. This is the one-stop site for an exploration of world history through primary sources. Primary sources are well chosen, neatly categorized into subsidiary sorucebooks, and often include brief introductions. *Sourcebooks* include ones on ancient history, medieval history, and modern history, as well as on African, East Asian, Indian, Jewish, women's, global, and lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender history. A final plus: the site explicitly grants permission to print out and make copies of the sources for educational purposes.

What Halsall's *Internet History Sourcebooks* are for primary sources, Hyperhistory Online at http://www.hyperhistory.com<http://www.hyperhistory.com> seems to offer for secondary sources. True to its mission, Hyperhistory presents 3,000 years of world history with a combination of colorful graphics, lifelines, timelines, and maps. Again, the material is superbly organized, with separate categories for people, events, and maps. For ease of use, the excellent timelines are color coded according to the following categories: 1) science, technology, economy, discovery; 2) culture, philosophy, art, music, poetry; 3) religion, theology; 4) politics, war. One of the best features of this extraordinary site is a world history narrative, broken up into poignant sections such as Decline of the Ottoman Empire; Hate, Spiritualism; and the Conclusion of World War II: China, Enterprise and Tiananmen Square. It should be noted that the 18th & 19th centuries are not covered in the historical narrative.

Finally, a few sites I have found especially usefully for studies of non-Western regional histories. For Africa, Central Oregon Community College's site at

http://www.cocc.edu/cagatucci/classes/hum211/timelines/htimelinetoc.htm;

for China, the University of Maryland's site at

http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/time_line.html

and the Fairbank Chinese History Virtual Library's site at

http://www.cnd.org:8011/fairbank;

for Japan, Suite 101's site at

http://www.suite101.com/linkcategory.cfm/oriental_history/4454;

and for Latin America, Trinity International University's site at

<http://www.tiu.edu/library/subjectguides/history/lamerica.html>.

Foreign investments provided Mexico with needed capital and services, but tended to place key industries, transportation facilities, and services in foreign hands, especially the United States. Díaz's preferential treatment of foreigners led to the saying: "Mexico, mother of foreigners, stepmother of Mexicans." Foreign investments were vulnerable to external influences and decisions and also constrained Mexico's (and other Latin American) governments in the social, commercial, and diplomatic policies which they could follow. In addition, export-oriented economic expansion was subject to the vagaries of world market prices for cotton, sugar, henequen (raw fiber mainly used for binding twine), oil, copper, and silver.

The social costs of modernization were born by the urban working class in the factories and, to an even greater degree, the rural peasantry on the haciendas and plantations. The urban factory laborer worked seven days a week, eleven or twelve hours a day, for low wages in the absence of pensions and compensation for accidents. Peasants lost their private and communal lands *(ejidos)* following the enactment of the New Land Law in 1883 (revised and extended in 1894), designed to encourage foreign colonization of rural Mexico. Working from sunrise to sunset, often seven days a week, rural Mexicans in the villages or *peones* on the haciendas saw their purchasing power decline dramatically. While the poor continued to live in misery and a new, small middle class emerged in the cities, the rich lived their lives in splendor. Though officially abolished, a modified multi-racial *sociedad de castas* based on race continued to exist in practice with the Creoles forming the upper class. Frenchified, isolated from the rest of society, Mexico's comprador elites were unaware that they were living on the edge of a volcano, which was about to erupt violently in the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920).

Indonesia: The case of the "true" colony

Whereas Mexico serves as an example of dependency, Indonesia displayed all the characteristics typical of a "true" colony.[30] Nineteenth-century Indonesian history was dominated by the Cultivation System (1830-1870), the Liberal Period (1870-1900), and the Ethical Policy (1900-1930). Similar to Mexico, Indonesia was opened up to private enterprise starting in the Liberal Period (1870-1900). The Agrarian Law of 1870 allowed foreigners to lease lands from the government for up to 75 years or from indigenous holders for maximum periods of between 5 and 20 years. Minimum safeguards were embodied in labor legislation that provided for the recruitment of Indonesians. Plantation agriculture was further encouraged by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the development of steam navigation, improving communications with Europe. Between 1870 and 1930 the exports of Indonesia increased tenfold from 107 million guilders to 1,160 million guilders. Their character changed also. Whereas in 1870 coffee, sugar, tobacco, and spices provided the bulk of the exports, by 1930 industrial products such as rubber, oil, copra, and tin were dominant. This economic shift brought about a shift of interests from Java to Sumatra, especially Sumatra's east coast plantation belt.

The shift of interests was accompanied by a further extension of political authority over the outer islands. First, economic motivations behind "New" Imperialism in Indonesia were provided by private Western capital seeking an entry to the economy of the Indies along with the protection of inter-island trade. Second, as the Western scramble for colonies reached its height in the later 19th century, the Dutch also felt obliged to extend their claims in order to prevent other powers from intervening there. British interests in Sarawak on Kalimantan (Borneo) and French and American interests in Aceh on Sumatra sparked widespread concern among Dutch governing circles. Third, ethical considerations also came into play as the Dutch, in the true spirit of the "white man's burden," felt particularly concerned to suppress arbitrary rule, slavery, cannibalism, and opium smuggling (not to abolish it, but to bring it under government control!). In the case of Hindu Bali, the practice of *sati* also greatly offended the Dutch, whereas the spread of Christianity among the "animist" peoples of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and north Sumatra provided further ideological incentives.

The Ethical Policy (c. 1900-1930) was the combined result of economic and humanitarian considerations. Dutch industry began to see Indonesia as a potential market, which required a raising of living standards there. Humanitarians argued that the Dutch had an "honor debt" *(Eereschuld)* to Indonesia in view of the millions of guilders received by the Dutch state and private companies since 1870. The Ethical Policy focused on three main areas: economic development and welfare; education; and political decentralization. Similar to the attitudes of the *científicos* in Mexico, paternalism typified the approach of the Dutch colonial authorities.

As in Mexico, economic development came at great political, economic, and social cost. The extension of effective control over the Dutch East Indies was accompanied by bloody military campaigns and ruthless repression in north Sumatra, Bali, and elsewhere. Although political decentralization was one of the professed goals of the Ethical Policy, the colony remained under strict control from Europe. Despite the establishment of local councils (1903) and the creation of a People's Council (1916), there was no real delegation of authority. Ultimate control remained in the hands of the colonial government. Nationalist agitation and the onset of the Great Depression reinforced existing authoritarian and repressive tendencies.

Similar to Mexico, the result of export-oriented economic development was a dual economy highly vulnerable to the vagaries of the world market. The period after 1870 witnessed a noticeable division between a modern, export-oriented sector of plantations, import-export houses, banks under European control and a traditional, subsistence sector based on the village under indigenous control. This uneven development and dependence on the global economy became painfully apparent in the Great Depression when prices for rubber, oil, copra, tin, and other export commodities plummeted.

The introduction of a highly developed capitalist economy in Indonesia accentuated existing social divisions. Similar to Mexico's informal "sociedad de castas," this division was multi-racial following ethnic lines. Europeans governed the colony and controlled the modern export-oriented economy. Chinese emerged to a dominant position in the retail trade, while indigenous people, with important exceptions, were confined to the role of peasant cultivators. Indonesia was a plural society, consisting of several communities living side by side, yet without mingling, sharply divided according to race, color, culture, and economic function.

South Africa: The case of the contested settler colony

Whereas the national case studies of Mexico and Indonesia during the period of "New" Imperialism represent dependency and "true" colonialism, respectively, South Africa represents the contested settler colony.[31] Prior to 1870, South Africa was an economic backwater and a peripheral part of the British Empire. Between 1870 and 1914, the history of South Africa was dominated by two interrelated processes: the peak of British imperialism and the "mineral revolution." On the one hand, British colonial forces annexed African communities that had previously managed to preserve their independence and conquered the recently created Boer republics formed by disgruntled Afrikaans-speaking white settlers. On the other hand, the discovery of large deposits of diamonds and gold in the South African interior led to the full incorporation of the region into the global economy. Enhanced by racist ideology, South Africa evolved from British colony and White Dominion into the Union of South Africa (1910), a contested settler community with a dominant white minority clashing with the majority of indigenous peoples.

British imperialism was motivated by political, socioeconomic, and cultural factors. After 1870, Great Britain's

position as the world's leading economic and political power was challenged by other nation-states, especially Germany and the United States. Having relied previously on indirect controls exercised through economic channels, the British administration now resorted to direct control, in particular after Germany annexed Southwest Africa (Namibia) in 1884. An international conference in Berlin, which established the ground rules of territorial claims based on the principle of effective occupation, initiated the general "scramble" for Africa. Local political circumstances and political players also played a role in what has been called "frontier imperialism." Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), a British industrial tycoon and prime minister of the Cape Colony between 1890 and 1895, was instrumental in the process. Rhodes' dream was to establish a series of continuous British colonies "from the Cape to Cairo," an imperial federation for the promotion of peace, progress, and good of humanity. Finally, popular chauvinist or jingoist sentiments in Victorian England were fueled by the "yellow" or "penny" press.

British political resolve was strengthened by economic considerations.

British political resolve was strengthened by economic considerations. A series of depressions and the rise of protectionism in the late 19th century led to a drive to secure markets for British manufactured goods and finance capital, sources of raw materials, and outlets for unemployed British workers. The process of British imperialism was closely related to the "mineral revolution" and played an important role in the eventual annexation of the production areas by the British. The discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886) transformed South Africa from a relative economic backwater into a significant contributor to the global economy. The diamond mining industry centered on Kimberley (after 1867) and the gold mining industry centered on Johannesburg (after 1886) underwent similar processes of amalgamation and concentration of production and marketing and labor management (color bar, contract system, labor recruitment, pass system, all-male compounds). The case of the gold mining industry will be discussed in more detail in the regional impact of "New" Imperialism on South Africa.

Ideology complemented worldly motivations. Anglo-Saxon and Afrikaner, or Boer; nationalist; social Darwinist; and racist sentiments justified the conquest and exploitation of the indigenous peoples of South Africa. Rhodes' vision of a new world order led by the Teutonic race was matched by the pan-Afrikaner ideology of the Dutch Reformed Minister S.J. du Toit centered around the nationalist-religious concept of the chosen "people" or *Volk*.

British regiments, colonial militias, and Afrikaner commandos completed the conquest of African inhabitants, and in a major war the British army conquered the newly created Boer republics. African peoples, such as the Sotho (1868), Zulu (1879), Pedi (1880), Tswana (1894), and Swazi (1895) lost their independence. A similar fate befell the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State in the Boer War (1899-1902). Great Britain subsequently opted for the "Canada solution," placing South Africa on a similar footing as the settlement colonies of Canada and Australia labeled as White Dominions instead of recognizing the fact that South Africa was really a contested settler colony like Algeria, Kenya, New Zealand, and Hawaii. In 1910 the Union of South Africa was created. It was headed by the British king, who was represented locally by a governor general. A minority of 20 percent whites (1.27 million) would rule over a total population of 5.92 million, including 4 million Africans. Racial fault lines would harden during the segregation era (1910-1948) and the period of Apartheid (1948-1994). Compared with the multi-racial societies of Mexico and Indonesia, South Africa's bi-racial society became increasingly divided between whites (British- and Afrikaans-speakers) and non-whites (Cape Coloureds, Africans, and Asians).

"New" Imperialism after 1870 affected the national case studies of Mexico, Indonesia, and South Africa in different ways. Whereas Mexico represents dependency, Indonesia and South Africa represent the "true" colony and contested settler colony, respectively. A comparison of political, economic, social, and cultural patterns reveals interesting similarities. An elitist political discourse of "order and progress" was used to legitimize authoritarian, non-representative forms of government. Integration into the world economy via export-oriented development was linked with the dispossession of indigenous peoples and led to the creation of a dual economy divided between a modern export economy and traditional subsistence economy. Socially, these were racially based societies: the informal multi-racial "sociedad de castas" and plural society of Mexico and Indonesia, and the bi-racial society of South Africa. Culturally, the dominant ideology of the imperial authorities and indigenous comprador elites, whether white settlers or their mixed descendants, was paternalist, racist, and following Western cultural patterns.

III. Regional case studies: Yucatán, East Sumatra, and the Witwatersrand

This section should be viewed as a further elaboration on the national case studies of Indonesia, Mexico, and South Africa, descending yet another level down in our four-tiered approach to "New" Imperialism. The three regional "cases" are the tobacco plantation belt on the east coast of Sumatra, Indonesia; the henequen zone in northwestern Yucatán, Mexico; and the Witwatersrand gold mining industry in Transvaal, South Africa. In addition to the demands of "New" Imperialism, the requirements of agrarian and industrial capitalism and the character of their respective commodities further helped influence, if not dictate, the economic structures, political institutions, and the everyday lives of the inhabitants. Export-oriented development exposed these regional economies to violent shocks brought on by changes in external demand; it exacerbated inequality while ignoring social reform; and it favored the political dominance of industrial and agricultural entrepreneurs, who played an increasingly oligopolistic role in regional economies at the expense of the workers.

Mexico: the henequen zone of northwestern Yucatán

Porfíriato Mexico provided a conducive politico-economic environment for the rapid expansion of agricultural and industrial capitalism in Mexico. Foreign investments poured into the country and private estate agriculture expanded rapidly in northwestern Yucatán as well as elsewhere, increasing the dependency of the republic.[32]

Henequen cultivation on large haciendas of Yucatán's *tierra caliente* ("hot country") "took off" in the wake of the New Land Law of 1883 and the arrival of North American capital, profiting from the development of the mechanical twine knotter (1878) and improvements in transportation, linking Mérida (the center of the henequen zone) by railway with Mexico's Gulf Coast. Henequen production, mostly used as binder twine, increased from 40,000 bales (14 million pounds) in 1875 to 619,000 bales (217 million pounds) in 1910. The number of resident workers or *peones* on the haciendas, mostly Maya Indians, increased accordingly from 21,000 by the 1880s to 120,000-125,000 in 1910.[33]

A process of amalgamation and concentration of production and marketing interests evolved in the form of a "collaborative matrix" between members of the indigenous *hacendado* class, mostly Creoles, and foreign buyers. In 1902, the U.S.-based International Harvester Company, the largest farm implement manufacturer in the world and one of the principal buyers of raw fiber, concluded a secret contract with the leading import-export house *(casa exportadora)* controlled by the hegemonic oligarchic factions of the Molina-Montes clan. "El trust" dominated the fiber industry and the local fiber market, at times controlling 90 percent of the trade.

The emergence of a full-fledged plantation society, however, was inhibited by lingering vestiges of earlier institutions. Henequen estates were a hybrid form of the hacienda and the commercial plantation, combining elements of a modern plantation alongside characteristics of the traditional pre-henequen hacienda and Maya culture and practices.

Just as the syncretic henequen estate combined characteristics of both the traditional hacienda and the modern commercial plantation, so too did its labor relations represent an amalgam of two modes of coercion. Pre-modern, traditional structures of personalized relations in the form of a thinly veiled paternalism, fictive kinship (godparenthood system), and the ever-present agency of human force were carried over to the new plantation-style society aimed at limiting the mobility and autonomy of the peon workforce.

By permitting the male peon to earn (miserable) "family wages" and providing access to corn plots (a *milpa* to cultivate for his family's needs), a wattle-and-daub house with household goods, access to full employment, hunting rights, and the exercise of power over women in the household, the *hacendado* secured the "loyalty" and limited the mobility and autonomy of his male worker. As a consequence, families were rarely separated in the henequen zone. When *hacendados* arranged weddings for their peons, they provided grooms with a loan — the couple's first debt — to pay for the religious and civil ceremonies and a fiesta. The so-called "large account" (*no hoch cuenta)* signified the financing of the social obligations of the peons for baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and for entertainment — fiestas and fairs on the haciendas and in neighboring villages. Funds also included social services to protect the well-being of the peons: financial support during illness, old age, and widowhood; payment for caskets, house repair, civil and religious marriage fees, and so on. The social function of the *no hoch cuenta* made it a form of indirect wage that the landowners paid for the social reproduction of their resident peons.

A rigid division of labor existed in the henequen zone of Yucatán.

A rigid division of labor existed in the henequen zone of Yucatán. Within the Maya household, women's labor was considered part of the unpaid informal household economy. Similarly, women were not paid for their labor on the hacienda: they were "invisible" workers whose labor was exploited by the *hacendados.* Debt peons toiled in the fields, performing all the tasks related to planting, harvesting, and processing fiber on the estates. If daughters and wives occasionally worked in the fields to remove the spines from the henequen leaves after cutting, they were accompanied by their fathers or husbands and were never paid for their labors. Not surprisingly, women on the henequen estate were relegated to the domestic sphere, rearing the children, cooking, cleaning, retrieving water from the well and firewood from the forest, and tending the family garden. At times, they also served as domestics in the landlord's big house.

Despite the safeguards of custom and tradition, conditions on the henequen haciendas were the worst in the Mexican republic. Hacienda overseers were invested with judicial powers by law (1881) and the peon had no genuine judicial or legal recourse. Real or imaginary offenders were put in the hacienda jail. If an overseer overreacted in meting out punishment, he was accountable to nobody. Low wages combined with inflated prices of the hacienda store, questionable bookkeeping practices, and the "large account" ensured permanent indebtedness of the resident peon. By law a peon was bound to remain on the hacienda as long as he owed a single centavo. Wages were paid in paper scrip, which was worthless outside the hacienda. Mobility was further limited by the requirement that workers could not leave the hacienda without written permission of the *hacendado.*

Formidable as it was, henequen monoculture's structure of domination could not completely deprive resident peons of the means to protest and express their humanity. At the very least, family cohesiveness and the persistence of language and cultural traditions offered the resident Maya workers a degree of solace and refuge against the ravages of an exploitative system. Given the multi-tiered repressive mechanism that the hacendados fashioned in collaboration with the state, insurgencies, or even just organized bandit operations were doomed to eventual defeat, if not violent repression. To be sure, sporadic flare-ups did occur, signaling desperate local responses to particularly glaring abuses and typically provoking excessive retaliation. More modest, "everyday forms of resistance," however, were preferred over suicidal forms of armed resistance. These might include small, self-serving acts of noncompliance, foot-dragging, feigned illness, shirking, alcoholism, and flight, or more aggressive, clandestine acts of theft, arson, and sabotage. In the henequen zone, such "routine" resistance was eminently suited to the highly controlled, socially heterogeneous plantation milieu. It required little planning and only a modicum of room to maneuver, and it could be carried out secretly by wage workers acting alone or in the smallest, most informal of groups. Escape was extremely difficult due to the presence of police on the haciendas, combined with the vigilance of district prefects, the national guard, and bounty hunters. Moreover, the surrounding tropical rain forest and its rebellious indigenous inhabitants, the Chan Santa Cruz Indians, who had waged an on-again, off-again, "caste war" against state and federal forces throughout the second half of the 19th century, further discouraged any thought of escape. The condition of the landless peasantry would only gradually improve during the political phase of the Mexican Revolution (1920-1940).

Indonesia: The tobacco plantation belt on the east coast of Sumatra

Similar to Porfiriato Mexico, Dutch colonial authorities in Liberal Period Indonesia promoted export-oriented growth and development. In the wake of the Agrarian Law of 1870, private estate agriculture expanded rapidly in Java as well as the outer islands.[34] Along the east coast of Sumatra, the number of plantations increased from 13 in 1873 to 139 in 1900, the majority focusing on the cultivation of tobacco.[35] The sales value of tobacco increased 150-fold from 250,000 guilders in 1869 to 38 million guilders in 1900. Only European entrepreneurs could hold land concessions. In 1879, these Dutch, English, German, Swiss, French, and other planters organized themselves into a powerful lobby, the Deli Planters Vereeniging (DPV) or Deli Planter's Association named after the region's center of tobacco cultivation. Similar to "El trust" in Yucatán's henequen zone, the giant Deli Company (established in 1869), which included 21 plantations, dominated the industry.

Contract laborers or coolies were specially recruited from various ethnic groups and locales: Chinese from South China and the British Straits Settlements (Penang and Singapore); Indians from British India (especially Tamils); and Javanese from the Dutch East Indies. In 1880, out of a total of 23,000 coolies along the east coast of Sumatra, 15,500 (67 percent) were Chinese, 2,300 (9 percent) Javanese, and 1,000 (4.3 percent) Indian. Twenty years later, in 1900, out of a total of 99,000 coolies, 59,000 (60 percent) were Chinese; 30,000 (30 percent) Javanese; and 3,500 (almost 4 percent) Indians. The Deli company employed 62,000 of the 99,000 coolies working on the east coast. As throughout most of Southeast Asia, recruitment was done through "coolie brokers" until the planters began organizing their own convoys directly from China. In the case of Java, workers whose contracts expired were given "home leave" to recruit more workers from their natal villages. Even by this method recruitment and transport were costly affairs and the planters made extensive efforts to assure that their initial investments would be secure.

Slavery was legally abolished in the East Indies in 1860, but indenture was not. Until 1880, contract laborers brought from South China and Java to work in the plantations of East Sumatra could be held to their contracts only by indirect social controls. The Coolie Ordinance of 1880, amended in 1884 and 1893, gave government sanction to the contracts (maximum of three years), allowing imprisonment of laborers who broke their contracts under the so-called penal sanction. A laborer was liable to punishment in case of running away and refusal to work. But resistance — insulting or threatening the employer or manager, disturbance of the peace, instigation to desertion or work refusal, fighting, drunkenness, and similar offenses — were considered criminal, as well. Employers, in turn, were required to provide defined levels of wages, accommodation, health care, general treatment, and repatriation. According to the ordinance, women could only perform light work, such as sorting and bundling leaves in the barns, weeding the fields, and sweeping the roads.

Despite these minimal safeguards, conditions on the plantations were extremely harsh.

Despite these minimal safeguards, conditions on the plantations were extremely harsh. Due to disease, exhaustion, poor food, and severe treatment approximately one quarter to one third of the coolies died before the expiration of their contract. Women often performed heavy labor, while low wages forced them into prostitution. Instead of day wages, the coolies were handed a cash advance on the payment they were to receive at the end of the planting season depending on the quantity and quality of the harvested tobacco leaves. In exchange, the coolies were required to continue working on the plantation until their debt had been paid off, which was often indefinitely perpetuated due to a variety of arbitrary fines. Only with a special pass were the coolies allowed to leave the plantation. Planters were given judicial power over their labor force, administering private justice in the limited government presence. Work on the plantation was organized along ethnic lines with a European management (planter, manager, and assistants), Asian supervisors, Chinese field coolies and assistant coolies (called "stinkers" because of the penetrating smell from their open leg wounds), and Javanese men and women performing various other tasks.

The manner in which the disciplining of plantation labor was organized left almost no latitude for collective resistance. Apart from the systematic intimidation and terrorization to which the contract coolies were subjected, their ethnic diversity, their division into work gangs, the strict control exercised by their own foremen, and an excessive contractualization of mutual relations among coolies formed significant barriers to joint action. Spontaneous eruptions involving large numbers of workers, however, did occur caused by incidents, debts, ethnic tensions, and resentment against foremen. Police and military were rapidly brought in to localize the resistance and restore order. Individual forms of resistance included the deliberate failure to complete the task, refusal to work, simulation of sickness, open rebellion, self-directed violence, and running away. Police, foremen, spies, vessels patroling the coast, and the use of the Batak bounty hunters in the densely forested interior as premium-hunters made escape extremely difficult.

Due to domestic and international pressure, the penal sanction was phased out after 1911. The Coolie Ordinance was strongly criticized in the United States as a form of disguised slavery enabling Sumatra to compete unfairly with America's tobacco planters. The threat of import bans hastened the sanction's disappearance. By this time, however, labor was abundantly available and employers had little need to use the sanction.

South Africa: Gold mines on the Witwatersrand

Similar to Porfíriato Mexico and Liberal Period Indonesia, political and economic expansion in pre-Pact Government South Africa (until 1924) were two sides of the same (gold and diamond-studded) coin. The peak of British imperialism in Southern Africa after 1870 coincided with the discovery of diamonds (1867) near Kimberley and gold (1886) on the Witwatersrand in southern Transvaal.[36] The "mineral revolution" led to the dramatic transformation of the region's political, socioeconomic, and cultural structures. The Rand, with Johannesburg at its center, became the site of the greatest industrial complex in Southern Africa and the largest gold-mining operations in the world. Production on the Witwatersrand, exported via three alternative railway links (the Cape, Natal, and Delagoa Bay), increased rapidly from over 40,000 kilograms in 1893 to 120,000 kilograms in 1899 with a value of 20 million British pounds or 27.55 percent of the world's output in gold. Similar to Yucatán and East Sumatra, the necessary capital and large-scale organization promoted processes of cooperation and amalgamation. In 1889 mining industrialists formed the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines, a powerful lobby that would dominate South Africa's political and economic landscape until the formation of the Pact Government in 1924. By 1899 the 124 companies were divided among nine groups, including Cecil Rhodes's Consolidated Gold Fields, controlled by European finance houses.

The Witwatersrand attracted a massive influx of white, black, and (temporarily) Chinese workers from various parts of the world. The number of whites and blacks increased from 5,300 and almost 41,000 in 1894 to 23,621 and 183,793 in 1910, respectively. The whites were a heterogeneous mixture of English, Irish, Scots, continental Europeans, Australians, and North Americans. Apart from South Africa itself, black Africans were recruited from areas as far north as Zambia, Tanzania, and Malawi, along the east coast of Mozambique, and also from Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana. During a failed experiment between 1904 and 1908, 80,000 Chinese laborers were brought to the Rand gold mines and then sent back to China in the face of, among others, white workers' opposition in South Africa and humanitarian protests in England. Moreover, by this time African labor became more readily available.

Moreover, by this time African labor became more readily available.

Black male African miners were subject to a comprehensive system of subjugation similar to the existent regimes in the tobacco plantation belt on the east coast of Sumatra and the henequen zone of Yucatán. Until 1924, when the pro-British and pro-mine owner South Africa Party was displaced by the Pact Government (a coalition of Labour and Nationalists), South Africa's politico-economic landscape was dominated by the powerful mining lobby. In addition to the loss of lands through conquest, government legislation, such as the Glen Grey Act (1894), the Squatters' Law (1895), and the Natives Land Act (1913), aimed to push blacks into leaving their remaining lands to become wage-earners in the mines. Systemic control mechanisms also affected migrant labor and labor recruitment, contracts, passes, compounds, and job reservation or the color bar.

Following unsatisfactory experimentation with labor recruitment via individual agents (the Tout system, 1889-1899), the Chamber of Mines in 1901 set up a recruiting organ known as the Witwatersrand Native Labour Organisation (WNLA). The WNLA sent agents to villages all over Southern Africa. In 1912, the Chamber of Mines also started the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC), recruiting blacks from within South Africa itself. WNLA agents offered to pay the taxes of farmers and also to give them cash in advance. Then the farmers could work off the money they owed to the WNLA by working in the mines. WNLA also provided "presents" to chiefs, who would then order the young men to join the mines. This system of recruitment via cash advances and indebtedness, perpetuated via dubious bookkeeping practices and inflated prices at company stores,

resembled similar practices in East Sumatra and, to a lesser extent, Yucatán.

The contract system was first introduced in the Cape in 1856 (Masters and Servants Act), and was subsequently copied in Transvaal to control farm laborers and workers in the towns, the Kimberley diamond fields, and the Witwatersrand gold mines. At first the contracts lasted for two months, but gradually the period was extended to three-and-a-half (1912), seven (1918), and ten months (1924). Contracts of black miners from other countries were even longer (12 months). Under the contract system, a worker could neither go on strike nor leave the mines until he had finished the contract.

Though long extant, pass laws were not fully enforced on Africans until the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley.

Though long extant, pass laws were not fully enforced on Africans until the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley. In 1896, the year deep-level gold mining began, the Transvaal parliament passed laws to help the mine owners control the supply and movement of black miners via mandatory passes. The pass system, tightened after 1902, restricted freedom of movement by directing workers where employers needed cheap labor; enforced the contract system; policed the workers and weeded out the unemployed; further weakened the position of the black labor force; and helped to maintain a cheap labor system.

Dispossessed of his land, needing money to pay taxes, brought to the mines by the WNLA, and made to stay there by the pass and the contract, the worker found himself a virtual prisoner in the all-male compound. Mine owners had developed the compound system in the diamond mines of Kimberley. All workers were housed in large buildings next to the mines, where workers ate and slept together. There were about 3,000 men in each compound, carefully divided into three main language groups: Sotho, Xhosa, and Shangaan. They were closely watched and supervised by compound managers, policemen, and their assistants. The compound system allowed for lower wages, higher production, tighter control, prevented resistance, and lowered desertion rates.

Soon after the discovery of minerals, blacks were barred from owning mining fields or licenses; from the right to trade in diamonds and gold; from owning a shop or being "in any way connected with the working of the gold mines, except as a working man in the service of whites." Following the formation of the Chamber of Mines, the mine-owner members came to an agreement not to compete for black labor partly in view of the fixed price of gold on the world market. Wage discrimination was the first step towards the institution of the color bar, reserving higher-paying, (semi-)skilled jobs for whites. Similar to the henequen zone in Yucatán and the tobacco plantation belt in East Sumatra, the division of labor in the Witwatersrand gold mines was based on ethnicity: the Randlords, or capitalists, owning most of the shares in the companies, and (semi-)skilled labor was white, whereas unskilled labor was black. Apart from occupying higher positions and earning higher wages, white miners were also allowed to settle in the towns, enjoyed voting power, had trade union rights, and were exempt from the restrictions of the pass laws and other systems of labor control.

Living and working conditions on the Witwatersrand were extremely harsh. Life in the compounds, poor food and medical care, and dangerous work underground caused the

Political action was represented by the founding of the South African Natives National Congress (SANNC), the forerunner of the ANC, in 1912, by Western-educated Christians, such as John Dube, Sol Plaatje, and others; wage campaigns; petitions; and anti-pass protests. Despite these efforts, the era of segregation (1910-1948) saw increasing repression and racial discrimination.

The demands of "New" Imperialism and the requirements of agrarian and industrial capitalism profoundly influenced the political institutions, economic structures, and social realities of Porfíriato Mexico, Liberal Period Indonesia, and pre-Pact Government South Africa. Government legislation (especially relating to land and labor) provided the legal and institutional framework for export-oriented development strategies. Modern agricultural and industrial capitalist enterprises in East Sumatra and the Witwatersrand contrast to some extent with the syncretic form of the traditional hacienda and commercial plantation in Yucatán. Similar patterns of amalgamation and concentration of production, labor recruitment and migrant labor (international, regional, and/or local), ethnic and gendered divisions of labor, systems of exploitation (indebtedness, the administration of private justice, restriction of mobility), and forms of workers' resistance provide important points of comparison and discussion.

IV. Individual case studies: Martínez, Kartini, and Makanya

The fourth and most detailed level of analysis of "New" Imperialism consists of a comparison of the individual lives of three indigenous women: the Aztec peasant Esperanza Martínez in Mexico, the Javanese princess Raden Adjeng Kartini in Indonesia, and the African doctor's assistant Katie Makanya in South Africa. More or less contemporaries of each other, their life stories and daily struggles illustrate the intricate and complex relations between race, class, gender, and empire. Traditional and modern structures, both domestic and foreign, produced various degrees of conflict, coexistence, and/or synthesis. The "life and times approach" puts a human element on a study of the impact of larger impersonal forces, such as "New" Imperialism. Far from passive victims, to varying degrees Esperanza Martínez, Raden Adjeng Kartini, and Katie Makanya represent individual agency and successful attempts by indigenous women to create personal "space" in the face of patriarchy, racial discrimination, and colonial rule.

Mexico: The life and times of Esperanza Martínez

In sharp contrast with the activist public and private roles taken by Raden Adjeng Kartini and Katie Makanya, Esperanza Martínez (c. 1891-1956) was an example of the traditional, conservative peasant woman, constrained to a relatively passive life of domesticity.[37] As an Aztec peasant woman, Esperanza was subject to social, class, and gender discrimination, being a member of the most depressed group and sex in Creole- and male-dominated, *machismo* Mexico. The story of Esperanza is based on a series of tape-recorded interviews by the American anthropologist Oscar Lewis with members of a landless Indian peasant family from the village of Azteca in the state of Morelos about 60 miles south of Mexico City. The most important characters are Esperanza and her husband Pedro. Their lives coincide with three distinct phases in Mexico's history: the Porfíriato and the military and political phases of the Mexican Revolution. This family study, in the form of multiple

In January 1903, Kartini finally decided not to go to Holland. Abendanon dissuaded her from accepting, arguing that such an unconventional act of leaving the country would turn public opinion entirely against her and sabotage her long-range goal of setting an example to her people. In November 1903, she married another progressive regent, Raden Adipati Djajaadingingrat of Rembang, but only after he had allowed her to continue her study and teaching activities. Kartini probably did not "fall in love," but rather gave in to her father's urgent desire that she marry. She apparently concluded that a Javanese woman could act unconventionally only if she were married, all the more so if she had the support of a husband of both advanced ideas and high status. Thus, Kartini accepted her prescribed role as a highborn woman, using it as a lever in her continuing efforts for social progress. In 1903, she established a private school at Rembang. Here she taught, helped by her two sisters, Kardinah and Roekmini. Instruction was aimed, above all, at the character development of young women, while at the same time providing them with practical vocational tuition and general education in art, literature, and science. It was to be a school which was both Western and Indonesian. Kartini did not enjoy her new status for long. She died on September 17, 1904, at the age of 25, a few days after having given birth to her first son.

Kartini's scattered personal letters were published in 1911 by her friend Abendanon, who recognized in them a vigorous weapon in his campaign for bringing education to (upper-class) Indonesians. The book, *Door Duisternis tot Licht* ("Through Darkness Into Light"), became an immediate bestseller and drew popular support for Abendanon's Kartini Foundation, a private organization established in 1913 for girls' schools in Java, mainly supported by voluntary Dutch contributions. The first Kartini schools were opened in 1916, and one of these, in Tegal, was under the direction of Kartini's younger sister, Kardinah. These pioneering Dutch-language schools helped break down the traditional resistance to girls' education and continued to operate until the independence of Indonesia in 1949. Kartini remains a popular symbol as one of the earliest fighters for freedom from colonial rule. Today her picture is on many schoolroom walls, and her birthday is a national holiday in the Republic of Indonesia. On April 21, there are parades, lectures, programs, and social activities attended by women, schoolgirls, female teachers, female workers, and members of women's organizations. Mothers are not allowed to work — children and fathers do the cooking, washing, and housecleaning. Busloads of pilgrims pay their respects at Kartini's grave near Rembang in Central Java.

South Africa: The life and times of Katie Makanya

Katie Makanya, a.k.a. Malubisi or "Mother of Milk" (1873-1955), a relatively educated South African Christian and doctor's assistant, was born at Fort Beaufort in the Cape of Good Hope.[39] She was the daughter of a foreman–lay preacher–mineworker and a Christian schoolteacher. Her life spans the height of British imperialism and the "mineral revolution" and the era of segregation through the beginnings of Apartheid. The vivid recollections of Katie Makanya create a rich tapestry of a black woman's life as she uneasily adapted to and resisted the political, socioeconomic, and cultural transformations of South Africa's bi-racial society.

Receiving a Christian education at a mission school, Katie became fluent in English, Dutch (Afrikaans), Xhosa, and Sotho. On her way to school, Katie saw the British Redcoats drilling behind the courthouse in preparation for the Zulu War, or Cetshwayo's War (1879). "When the church bells tolled out the news of Cetshwayo's surrender, there was rejoicing in the white people's houses.... In the kraals and African farmsteads, however, the news was received in silence."

In 1891, Katie's talents as a singer took her and her sister, Charlotte (the first black woman in South Africa to earn her B.A. degree and one of the co-founders of the Bantu Women's League), to London as members of the "Kaffir Choir" for Queen Victoria's Jubilee at Crystal Palace. During an extensive tour throughout the British Isles, Katie met feminist Emmeline Pankhurst, but was also confronted with racist attitudes (the choir's members were styled "darkies"). Despite promises of wealth and fame as a performer, the already headstrong young woman returned home in 1893 determined to marry and to raise a family.

In 1895, she met a Zulu harness-maker, Ndeya, and, overcoming parental resistance (her mother's people had been chased off their lands or "eaten up" by the Zulus) married him. At Johannesburg, Katie served for some time as interpreter for the Chamber of Mines to teach black migrant workers about the evils of drink to prevent disorderly conduct and forestall accidents. As the Boer War, or "the white man's war" (1899-1902), was brewing, the newlyweds decided to retreat to Ndeya's home in Durban, Natal. Ndeya, however, was requisitioned by the English to drive ammunition carts for two years.

In 1902, Katie and her family moved to Adam's Mission, Amanzimtoti, where she met the McCords. Katie had found her calling. For the next 37 years she would serve, with few interruptions, as interpreter and assistant to James McCord (uDokotela), a medical missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). During her first stay at Adam's Mission (1902-1904), Katie attended gatherings of Mothers' Meetings and the Women's Association. In 1909-1910 she visited Ndeya, who had become a miner on the Witwatersrand. Here she was confronted with the (temporary) presence of Chinese workers in the city, and the dismal living conditions in the disease-ridden, bug-infested compounds ("a place that was not even fit for animals"). Having complained in vain to the white management ("If the mine owners want us to live in compounds, they should build us a place where we can live properly"), Katie and her family moved back to Durban following the death of one of her children due to typhus.

Ndeya was forced to resume his harness-making business upon the return of white soldiers from World War I. Katie met John Dube, the first president of the South African Native National Congress (founded 1912), joined the Temperance Movement, and successfully partook in several protests against the extension of the pass laws to African women. Katie also visited a rally of Clements Kadalie, president of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (founded 1919), in Johannesburg, and a meeting of the interracial Joint Councils (founded 1921).

In 1939, Katie's long and fruitful cooperation with Dr. McCord came to an end when the American missionary doctor decided to retire and return to the United States. Following the deaths of Ndeya (1944) and Dr. McCord (1950), Mrs. McCord returned to South Africa for the opening of a new wing of a hospital at Adam's Mission, appropriately styled "Katie Makanya room." Here Katie died of a heart failure in 1954, but not before relating the remarkable story of her life to Dr. McCord's daughter, Margareth.

The lives of these three indigenous women illustrate the complex interplay between class, gender, race, and empire. To varying degrees, they were actively involved in shaping the destinies of themselves and others and managed to create personal "space." Esperanza, Kartini, and Katie extended and were restricted by (in Braudelian terms) the "limits of the possible" set by traditional and modern structures, be it domestic and/or foreign. Social background, division of labor between men and women, racial discrimination, and (neo-)colonialism created or prevented opportunities for individual agency. On one end of the spectrum, the "activist" Kartini cleverly used her high social background, the relatively high status of women in Indonesian society, and "enlightened" colonial rule. On the other extreme, the "passive" Esperanza resigned herself to her fate in the face of truly overwhelming odds: her depressed social origins, prevailing *machismo* attitudes, and the harsh realities of

Porfiriato Mexico. Katie represented the "middling case." Despite her low social background and the hardening of racial boundaries in the era of segregation, she took advantage of the relatively higher status of women and missionary activity in South Africa.

Our discussion of "New" Imperialism consisted of four parts, reflecting a four-tiered model. It flowed, in descending order, from the global, to the national, regional, and individual level based on three carefully selected case studies, increasing the validity of the comparisons and the ramifications of the conclusions. The methodological approach was that of systemic and comparative analysis, combining a comprehensive global view of a process as a whole with a comparative study of individual patterns at the "case" level. The applicability of the four-level model combined with systemic and comparative analysis is far from limited to the study of "New" Imperialism alone. In fact, I would suggest a much wider usage of this model to include other global processes of the modern (and pre-modern) period, such as the industrial revolution, nationalism, decolonization, and the Cold War.

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(forthcoming).
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35. The average size of a plantation was 280 hectares of cultivated land, in total 2,300-2,800 hectares, with 800-1,000 employees each.
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Other materials on Kartini: a short documentary "Legacy of a Javanese Princess," on the modern condition of Indonesian women, produced by Chip Taylor Communications (1987); the Indonesian movie *Raden Adjeng Kartini* (1982) unfortunately has no subtitles.
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Global Historians... — Continued from p. 17

probability at that point of European global dominance was somewhere around zero."[14] Five hundred years later things had changed considerably, he suggests, and Europe had caught up to the East with the growth of manufacturing and trade. There was impressive technological progress, especially in agriculture. Hence, to Landes and some other scholars[15], the Great Divergence began during the Middle Ages.

Landes argues that European countries before and after 1500 prospered due to vital, open societies focused on both work and knowledge, leading to increased productivity and the pursuit of change. Invention and know-how were applied to war, and later transportation and power generation. Hence, medieval Europe "was one of the most inventive societies that history had known."[16] Borrowing from German sociologist Max Weber, Landes even suggests that Europeans were more rational than others, with more logical thinking and data analysis. And Alfred Crosby points to more thoroughgoing quantification developed in late medieval times as a big advantage.[17]

Historians who perceive a distinctive European society and early Great Divergence have also offered other reasons for the rise of the West. Some look to geography and climate; hence, Jared Diamond suggests that both Europe and China were better equipped for success as early as Neolithic times.[18] Others like Lynn White emphasize science: "The chief glory of the later Middle Ages was...the building for the first time in history of a complex civilization which rested... primarily on non-human power."[19] Toby Huff has favorably contrasted European with Chinese science, especially after 1200.[20]

Many historians point to the political and economic conditions of late medieval Europe.

Many historians point to the political and economic conditions of late medieval Europe. E.L. Jones[21] and Paul Kennedy[22] see dynamic economic conditions resulting from the interplay of a pluralistic political system and favorable natural environments, including much fertile, well-watered land. The failure of the medieval states to establish centralized empires like those of China or, later, Mughal India and Ottoman Turkey led to a robust intra-European competition. This resulted in chronic warfare, stimulating a search for the means to finance it as well as more effective weapons. On the other hand, as R. Bin Wong argues, the Chinese used their military only occasionally between the 14th and 19th centuries, so had less incentive to improve their once advanced weaponry.[23] Song China may have been the most creative civilization but it did not exercise regional power like the earlier Tang.[24]

Western Europe was different, some believe, because, unlike China or India, the elites were unsuccessful in establishing a stable, workable set of values and social controls over their society. European culture was filled with explosive structural contradictions, as McNeill has argued:

> quite possibly Western Europe incorporated into its structure a wider variety of incompatible elements than did any other civilization; and the...endless growth of the West...rejecting its classical formulations, may have been related to the contrarieties built so deeply into its structure.[25]

Medieval religious values and the diversity of feudalism made it difficult for rulers and priests to disrupt economic activity and innovation. By Eurasian standards, medieval governments were small and limited in their powers. The freest Europeans were the merchants and craftsmen of cities, initially in northern Italy and then in northwest Europe. The merchants had so much room to maneuver they could exploit opportunities. Eventually merchant capitalism would undermine feudal civilization.

But was Europe uniquely special by the 15th and 16th centuries, giving them a huge advantage? Many world historians are dubious of the idea of Western exceptionalism and doubt there were decisive differences between East and West. Jack Goody has made the most powerful critique of the idea that the West was more rational than the East.[26] He challenges beliefs about the history, culture, and psychology of Asia and Europe which are used by scholars to explain the rise of the West and the supposed non-rise of the East. Goody argues that differences in rationality are slight, of degree rather than kind. Neither Western economic tools nor family patterns were unusual in the Post-Classical world. And political pluralism was characteristic of other areas, including Southeast Asia, India at some periods, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

If the Post-Classical Era can plausibly be considered the Chinese or Eastern Millennium, what happened to reduce Eastern dominance? Some historians blame the Mongols, whose military forces devastated the Middle East and whose rule ended the brilliant Song dynasty in China. The Mongol-protected Silk Road trade facilitated the spread of considerable Asian, especially Chinese, technology to Europe. Hence, Murphey writes that we will never know if the developments of the Song would have "led to a true industrial revolution in... China."[27] Scholars like Huff, Landes, and White describe China by the 15th century, if not earlier, as overpopulated, intellectually dormant, indifferent to technology, lacking institutions for inquiry, negating commercial success, and risk-averse. China specialist Mark Elvin, who believes the Chinese Millennium ended with a shift in historical patterns in the 14th century, suggests that between 1300 and 1500 "the Chinese economy fell into a decline from which it only recovered slowly."[28] Yet, well after the Mongols there were major Chinese innovations in iron-smelting, agriculture, textiles, and printing, as Arnold Pacey has shown.[29]

Some historians believe the decline of the East preceded the rise of the West.

Some historians believe the decline of the East preceded the rise of the West. Janet Abu-Lughod presents a picture for the 13th century of "a long-standing, globally integrated 'world-system,' to which Europe had finally attached itself."[30] No single country dominated this interconnected set of societies linked by trade. Since this world system declined after 1350, Europeans faced less competition as they exercised their commercial might in the 1400s. And yet the Afro-Eurasian maritime trade routes, especially around the Indian Ocean, remained vibrant long after.[31]

Borrowing from anthropology, the historian L.S. Stavrianos credits the "Law of the Retarding Lead" for helping Europe: Nothing fails like success. This law holds that the best adapted and most successful societies have the most difficulty in changing and retaining their lead in a period of transition; they lose their dynamic thrust. Conversely, the backward and less-successful societies are more likely to adapt and forge ahead. In the late Post-Classical Era "this hobbled the advanced Chinese and favored the retarded Westerners."[32] In 1500, he believes, China still had a significant edge over other civilizations and hence a stake in the traditional system. Indeed, throughout the 15th century in a series of states stretching from Ottoman Turkey eastward to Japan, agricultural efficiency, consumer goods, social welfare, and civilian and military technology were generally the equal, and often the superior, of European counterparts.

II

If there are reasons to accept the idea of Eastern dominance or at least roughly comparable Eurasian civilizations during the first half of the last millennium, then why was the world structured very differently by 1800, with some parts of Western Europe (especially Britain) pioneering the Industrial Revolution while Asia increasingly faced challenges from the West? The debate divides into several schools of thought. Many historians, especially specialists on Europe, argue that Western Europe

continued to have some unique advantages; in fact, these intensified. Some like Landes believe this included an essentially superior cultural heritage, with values and institutions promoting development. As Peer Vries, who describes himself as a Eurocentrist, has argued in his critique of Landes: "Reading Landes one gets the impression everything interesting and relevant in economic history happened in Europe, while the rest of the world was static, passive and irrelevant."[33] Many scholars have shown that Western European economies were rapidly commercializing from late medieval times, producing a full-blown commercial capitalism between 1450 and 1800 that would help generate a more widespread and powerful world economy or world-system.[34] Meanwhile, by the end of the 18th century the Chinese economy, political structure, and thought "had reached a magnificent dead end," with wealth and power but few inventions leading to any breakthroughs.[35]

In opposition to the Landes approach, some scholars argue that Europe's rise owed much to the resources and wealth she gained from the conquests in the Americas and Southern Asia. Some would add the profits from the transatlantic slave trade and the plantation economies in the Americas. And while Europeans developed better weaponry and business organization, some historians believe that Europe had no real advantage over several Asian nations until after 1775, when the industrial revolution rapidly gave the British and later some other Western Europeans a vastly superior technology.

Many historians do not see much of an economic decline in some Asian civilizations before 1750 although their states may have been weakening and some were also confronting colonizing Europeans.[36] Nor were all Asian merchants tightly controlled. Arab, Indian, southern Chinese, and Armenian merchants were active all across the Indian Ocean realm and beyond, and some even ventured into Eastern Europe.[37] And the freedom of merchants in Europe, many of them from sometimes persecuted minorities, may have been overstated.

Much recent research suggests that, with their many exports and imports, China and India remained the engines for the Eastern hemisphere trading system well into the 1700s. Hence, Burton Stein writes that, while increasing problems would soon undermine the system, "superficially, the Mughal kingdom [in 1700] was enormous, wealthy, powerful and stable.... The wealth of the empire's cities, the prized qualities of its manufactured goods, attracted a vigorous international trade."[38] Mughal India had a far larger and more productive economy than Elizabethan England.

China, with the world's largest commercial economy, remained a major player in world trade. It was the leading importer of silver from the Americas (about half of all produced), and still maintained big budget surpluses through most of the 1700s.[39] R. Bin Wong and Kenneth Pomeranz suggest that Chinese in the commercialized core regions enjoyed at least as high standards of living, per capita incomes, and long life spans as northwest Europeans before 1800, and perhaps even higher.[40] Historians like Timothy Brook[41] and Sucheta Mazumdar[42] have shown that Chinese merchants and craftsmen were intensely competitive and not much constrained by the late imperial state. Indeed, China's commercial economy grew rapidly from the early Ming to the mid-18th century, producing many export products. But this dynamism did not stimulate sustained growth.

The key to the rise of Europe, scholars like James Blaut[43] and Andre Gunder Frank[44] contend, was not a unique European culture but the fact that Europe acquired great wealth, especially in precious metals, from the Americas in the 16th century, and even more in the 17th with the rise of the slavery-based plantation economy. Between 1500 and 1800 the colonized Americas (a vast territory, six times larger than Europe) supplied 85% of the world's silver and 70% of the gold, a huge windfall to European merchants and governments (who were selling much of it to China). This not only stimulated the development of capitalism but also gave Europeans new advantages as they extended their influence in the Eastern hemisphere and tapped into the lucrative Asian market. Frank claims that Europe "used its American money to buy itself a ticket on the Asian train."[45] And, Blaut believes, Europe benefited from the fact that it was much closer to the Americas than was Asia and also from wind patterns that favored transatlantic voyages. Historians like Landes, who perceive a unique Europe, reject these views.

Some historians like McNeill emphasize the broader hemispheric context for Europe's rise. What happened in Europe, then, was just a component of a commercial and technological advance going on throughout Eurasia, with China as the driving force. And Europe enjoyed no real technological advantage (except in ships and guns) until well after 1500.[46] Peter Perdue[47] and Frank, among others, even contend that the West did not surpass China until 1800. The shift of the center of gravity to the West from Asia was long-term, not precipitous.

The most recent contribution to the dialogue is an inquiry as to why sustained economic growth began first in northwestern Europe rather than eastern Asia. In *The Great Divergence*, Kenneth Pomeranz argues that some densely populated core regions of China (the Yangzi delta) and Japan (the Kanto Plain), and possibly even the Gujerat region of India, were remarkably similar to the northwest European core regions — England and the Netherlands — in the 17th and 18th centuries in many respects, and all five regions were facing ecological and demographic stress. Hence, there were only minor differences between these regions. The Great Divergence came, he argues, in the 19th century, when England developed fossil fuels for power, especially its coal industry, while increasingly reaping the benefits of cheap, often slavery-produced resources from the Americas. China had used coal many centuries before Europe, but her remaining reserves were remote from the major population centers. The availability of American wealth and widespread, easily tapped coal reserves put northwestern Europe on a completely new development path unavailable to China, Japan, and India. The Industrial Revolution, then, did not have deep roots in Europe.

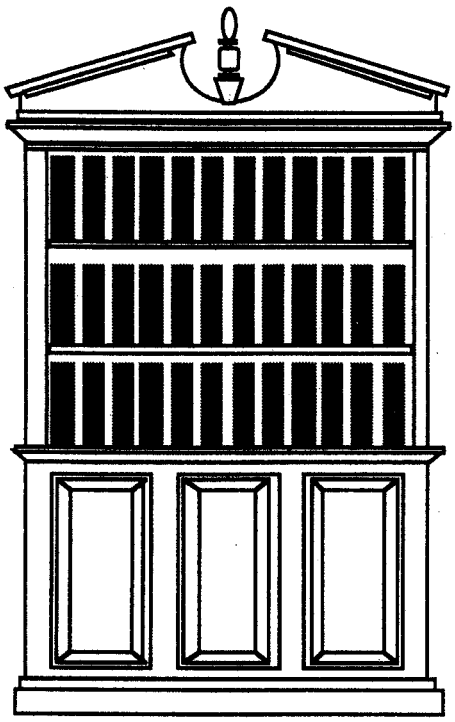
Whatever historical view eventually becomes predominant, we should always be aware that things could have turned out differently. Perdue writes that the Industrial Revolution in Europe was not the inevitable product of a long-established "European superiority in technology, rationality, and commerce," but rather a "late and sudden shift in dominance of the global economy."[48] Whether or not Europe was unique or simply lucky, the new, expanded world economy that emerged between 1500 and 1800, with Western Europe becoming the main beneficiary, would eventually touch everyone, bringing about changes in many aspects of life.

ENDNOTES

1. *Social Change in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), p. 19.
2. See David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Power of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some Are So Poor* (New York: Norton, 1998); Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). For an excellent discussion of the Frank-Landes debate and related issues, see David D. Buck, "Was It Pluck or Luck That Made the West Grow Rich," *Journal of World History*, 10/2 (Fall 1999), 413-430.
3. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). See also Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).
4. *Shaping World History* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 64.

5. "Choosing Freedom," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 27, 2000, p. 40. For an excellent compilation of knowledge about premodern Chinese science and technology, see Robert Temple, *The Genius of China: 3,000 Years of Science, Discovery and Invention* (London: Prion Books, 1986).
6. "The Historical Context," in Robert E. Gamer, ed., *Understanding Contemporary China* (Boulder: Lynn Rienner, 1999), p. 47.
7. "Paradise Lost," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (April 15, 1999), 40.
8. "Southernization," *Journal of World History*, 5/1 (Spring 1994), p. 1.
9. Robert Strayer, et al., *The Making of the Modern World: Connected Histories, Divergent Paths 1500 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press , 1995), p. 125.
10. "The Changing Shape of World History," in Philip Romper, et al. eds., *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and Identities* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), p. 36.
11. *Rethinking World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 97.
12. *The Rise of the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 7.
13. Stephen F. Dale, "The Islamic World in the Age of European Expansion, 1500-1800," in Francis Robinson, ed., *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 62.
14. *Wealth and Power*, p. 29.
15. See, e.g., Patricia Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).
16. Landes, *Wealth and Power*, p. 45.
17. *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
18. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).
19. Quoted in L.S. Stavrianos, *The World to 1500: A Global History*, 7th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999), p. 228. White's major work was *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962).
20. *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China, and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
21. *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
22. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Vintage, 1987).
23. R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 88-95.
24. This idea was suggested during the discussion by Peer Vries.
25. William McNeill, *The Rise of the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 539.
26. Jack Goody, *The East in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
27. *A History of Asia*, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 2000), p. 145.
28. *The Pattern of the Chinese Past: A Social and Economic Interpretation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), p. 203. See also Caroline Blunden and Mark Elvin, *China: The Cultural Atlas of the World* (Alexandria, VA: Stonehenge Press, 1990), pp. 120-124.
29. Arnold Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization* (Cambridge: MIT, 1990), pp. 56, 94-95.
30. *Before European Hegemony: The World-System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). See also Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, eds., *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London: Routledge, 1993); Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall, *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Boulder: Westview, 1997).
31. On this topic, see several of the essays in Pomeranz and Topik, *World Trade Created*. Among other sources, see Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Chaudhuri, "The Economy of Muslim Societies," in Robinson, *Islamic World*, pp. 124-137.
32. *The Promise of the Coming Dark Age* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1970), p. 181.
33. "Reply to Professor Landes," *Itinerario*, 23/1 (1999), p. 21. There is a good discussion of Europe-centered approaches in Pomeranz, *Great Divergence*, pp. 3-27.
34. The literature is extensive. See, eg., Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); L.S. Stavrianos, *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age* (New York: William Morrow, 1981), pp. 23-163; Alan K. Smith, *Creating a World Economy: Merchant Capital, Colonialism, and World Trade, 1400-1825* (Boulder: Westview, 1991). For a brief summary of the world-system approach, see Craig A. Lockard, "Global History, Modernization, and the World-System Approach: A Critique," in Ross Dunn, ed., *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston: Bedford, 2000), pp. 230-240.
35. Blunden and Elvin, *China*, pp. 144-147.
36. See, eg., Sushil Chaudhury and Michael Morineau, eds., *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). On the rise and decline of the Southeast Asian "Age of Commerce," see Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988 and 1993); Reid, ed., *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
37. See, eg., Pomeranz and Topik, *World Trade Created*, pp. 9-18; Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, pp. 109-207; Patricia Risso, *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean* (Boulder: Westview, 1995), pp. 55-97.
38. *A History of India* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 198. See also Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 349-350.
39. Frank, *ReOrient*, pp. 160-162.
40. Wong, *China Transformed*, pp. 21-31; Pomeranz, *Great Divergence*, pp. 12-13, 144-145. See also William Lavely and R. Bin Wong, "Revising the Malthusian Narrative: The Comparative Study of Population Dynamics in Late Imperial China," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57/3 (August, 1998), pp. 714-748.
41. *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
42. *Sugar and Society in China: Peasants, Technology, and the World Market* (Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, No. 45, 1998).
43. James Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993).
44. *ReOrient*.
45. *ReOrient*, p. xxv.
46. See, eg., "Changing Shape of World History," 29-38; "*The Rise of the West* after Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of World History*, 1/1 (Spring, 1990), pp. 16-18.
47. "China in the Early Modern World: Short Cuts, Myths, and Realities." *Education About Asia*, 4/1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 21-26.
48. "China in the Early Modern World," p. 26.

BOOK REVIEWS



CLASSICS OF WORLD HISTORY

In the Spring 2000 issue of the *World History Bulletin* we introduced a new regular feature: reviews of "classic" works in world history, with Alan LeBaron's review of William H. McNeill's *The History of the Human Community*. This issue's contribution, a review of the new edition of Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People Without History*, comes from Hal Friedman of Henry Ford Community College. N.b.: If you would like to submit a review of a world history "classic," contact Book Review Editor Chris Michelmore at

michelmore@chatham.edu

Europe and the People Without History

By Eric R. Wolf
Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997.
Pp. xviii + 507.
paper ($18.95);
cloth ($55).

Reviewed by:
Hal M. Friedman
Henry Ford Community College
Dearborn, Michigan

Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People Without History* is a highly valuable contribution to world and global history. It is, however, not appropriate for use as a text for introductory world history survey courses.

Wolf is an anthropologist who sets out to explain two historical phenomena. First, he intends to explore how and why the world's cultures, linked regionally in the Old World by 1400, became globally linked by the 1990s. He also seeks to explain why that story had for so long been deemed a uniquely European one, with most of the rest of the world's peoples left out of the historical tale.

Wolf finds his answers in the development of the modern world economy. Starting his analysis with a description of the world in 1400, he argues that economic change was the main driving force behind European development, growth in power, and eventual global conquest. By conquering much of the rest of the earth's surface, Europe pulled the other nations and cultures into a globally interconnected system by the 20th century.

Wolf's study is not a schematic repetition of the Wallerstein model or the latest version of Marxist economic determinism. Although heavily influenced by Marxian analysis and the Wallerstein system, Wolf's study is much more nuanced and subtle. In fact, one of the great strengths of the work is that Wolf uses the modern world economy merely as the central vehicle by which to study changes in modern global military, technological, political, and material culture history.

Much as Gary Nash used culture to tell the story of Early America in *Red, White, and Black,* Wolf takes economic change to be the most important context. In no way, however, does he ignore other aspects of modern global history. For instance, by telling the story of Afro-Eurasian economies and material cultures around 1400, Wolf tells us a great deal about those societies' political compositions, social structures, and technological and military capabilities. More importantly for global historians, he lays out quite succinctly the regional connections that developed between the three continents of the Old World through phenomena such as the caravan trades.

Historians who are trying to teach their world history courses as transregional, transnational courses will find much value in Wolf's work since he details the development of the modern world economy, especially its transition from mercantilism to capitalism. Focusing on European resource discoveries and exploitation, as well as intercultural technological change, Wolf asserts that the world became connected in a global sense after 1500. The fascinating aspect of his treatment of this thesis, however, is his belief that the state also changed then. Starting out in 1400 as a tributary state that commanded, organized, and employed resources largely for politico-military purposes, by the 1800s the state was an entirely new animal of political economy in which political power was essentially used for the development of industrial capitalism. While this thesis may appear to be economic determinism, Wolf does not close off other possible explanations for the development and directions of the modern nation-state. This even-handedness and open-mindedness are two of the significant strengths of his research and analysis.

Global historians will also appreciate Wolf's clearly transnational approach to historical change. Wolf demonstrates the transnational nature of world history by devoting considerable attention to the post-1800 development of the "globe-trotting" labor force that was a byproduct of industrial capitalist development. In fact, these "new laborers," as he calls them, because their histories were ignored or unrecorded until the 1960s, joined the ranks of the "people without history" to whom he refers as part of his original thesis. Moreover, Wolf covers several groups of these immigrants in a successful attempt to demonstrate that economic migration was multilateral and complex. Much more than simply the movement of people from the Old World to the New World, it involved the movement of laborers in more than one direction at more than one time. Wolf's discussion fully demonstrates that world history has to be truly global and transnational in order to explain the world's complexities, both past and present.

A final strength to the book is its clear interdisciplinary nature. Wolf is an anthropologist, but in crafting this work, he has also employed history, political economy, sociology, psychology, and textual studies. If effective world history teaching is about demonstrating to students the interconnections between people, places, and things, Wolf has demonstrated that effective world history necessitates a more interdisciplinary mode.

In spite of all of these positives, however, I found the book to be inappropriate for use in an introductory survey course. Since I began teaching modern world history four and a half years ago, I have been searching for a truly global, transnational world history text. Before I found that text in Candice Goucher's *In the Balance,* I tried Eric Wolf's book as an experiment. It did not work out very well. The terminology, the jargon, the numerous historiographical references, and the book's broad sweep lost many of my students and it may be that the work is too difficult for most students in introductory-level courses. But in general, Wolf's work should be required reading for all world history instructors and teachers, graduate students in global studies, and possibly even undergraduates in upper-division courses.

Though my experiment failed, it revealed another instance in which a scholar had used a central theme to explore "big history" in a reasonable and manageable way. Global economics is used to explore not just economic history, but immigration history, military and political history; business and institutional history; and cultural, religious and social history. Wolf uses one theme to explore a dozen more in a truly global and transnational way, which is "big history" par excellence. Wolf should be applauded as a scholar who, like Nash, Goucher, and Michael Adas, has demonstrated that American and world history can be written in books which are fairly short, inexpensive, and logistically reasonable for students. While *Europe and the People Without History* does not quite fit that last bill, it provides an intellectual model for a modern world history text that is truly global in content and scope, reasonably priced, written for a general audience, and short enough that the instructor could also assign primary readers or specialized monographs. The profession of world history owes Eric Wolf an intellectual debt of gratitude.

WHA

Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience 1500-1800.

By Michael N. Pearson. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1996. 272 pp.

Reviewed by:
Kate Lang
The University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

Michael Pearson's *Pilgrimage to Mecca* is an enjoyable read. Filled with excerpts, in English, from accounts written by both Muslims and non-Muslims who observed the pilgrimage from the 14th through the 20th centuries, this book offers a glimpse at the central ritual of the Islamic faith from a variety of perspectives. To pull together such disparate sources clearly was a labor of love.

As a piece of historical scholarship, however, this book has serious flaws. Pearson set out to examine the Indian experience of the pilgrimage from 1500-1800 intending to fill an important gap in world history. As he notes in his introduction, historical scholarship on the Indian Ocean in the early modern period has tended to focus on trade while ignoring the huge numbers of pilgrims who crossed the Indian Ocean en route to Mecca. He also observes quite correctly that historians of the Islamic world have not paid sufficient attention to the *hajj*. However, lacunae in current scholarship do not justify an attempt to write a historical narrative that cannot be supported by evidence.

Pearson acknowledges the paucity of sources for his topic, but then he dismisses as "marginal" two literary sources that might be of value. Both of these were written by the 16th-century Mughal court poet, Faizi. One is a short account of the pilgrimage of Abu Turab Wali, and another is a poem describing Mecca and Medina. The reader is left to guess why Pearson judged these sources to be marginal. Is the problem that he classifies them as *belles lettres* which he deems inappropriate source material for a serious historical study? Or is it simply that they are in Persian and have not been translated? He bases his work on one, often undervalued, 17th-century Persian source in translation, the *Anis ul-Hujjaj* of Safi bin Wali Qazvini, along with Portuguese records and other Arabic and Persian sources in translation. Some of these sources were written before 1500 and some were written after 1800.

If the discipline of history is going to move forward, we must be willing to undertake comparative studies. This means we must work with translations and build on the scholarship of others. We must proceed carefully, though. Pearson did not, and *Pilgrimage to Mecca* contains avoidable errors. For example, after chiding Braudel for carrying mistakes from secondary scholarship into his own comments on the *hajj*, Pearson does the same thing. He cites an account by a Turkish traveler named "Cheleby Evliya" from a book published in London in the 1950s (53). He must mean the famous Turkish traveler Evliya Cheleby. Silly errors such as this one are compounded by the fact that the book is very poorly edited (i.e., the designation "[sic]" is sometimes inserted when the problem is not an error at all but an alternate system of transliteration, Arabic definite articles are missing, and some sentences are incomplete or run-on). However, these mistakes are minor and could be fixed by a good editor with some experience in Islamic history. The methodological problems are more serious.

Pearson pursues his topic relentlessly without pausing to reflect on whether he should, given the nature of his sources. He uses sources written both before and after his time period to make judgments about what happened during his time period. Moreover, when the sources are silent on a piece of information he thinks should be included in his history, he guesses. The zaniest case of this occurs when he estimates the number of pilgrims who made the *hajj* in the early modern period (assuming a relatively stable number). After a few pages of bizarre calculations, only some of which he based on data, he concludes that, "We have at least 10,000 'certainties,' and to take account of the two totally unguessable categories, that is those from Eastern India, and those who went overland, we should add at least another 5,000" (56-57).

The strength of this book as a piece of historical scholarship lies in the fact that Pearson was able to use his considerable expertise on the Portuguese in India to integrate the Portuguese perspective into his discussion of the politics and economics of the *hajj* in the early modern period. Other than that, his narrative is largely derivative, and while his criticism of major theorists is sometimes useful, it can also be naive. It is rarely well explained.

Pilgrimage to Mecca is not a study of the Indian experience of the *hajj* from 1500-1800. Because it tries to be, it is not a delightful collection of snippets written by pilgrims and the people who observed them from the 14th through the 20th centuries, either. But these excerpts from accounts of the *hajj* do make the book enjoyable, and people who read it will learn about the most important ritual in the Islamic faith from a variety of viewpoints. I have used excerpts from Pearson's work in class to demonstrate these different perspectives, but I would not recommend the book to students.

WHA

World History in Brief: Major Patterns of Change and Continuity, 3rd Edition

By Peter N. Stearns. New York: Longman, 1999. 688 pp.

Reviewed by:
Molly Michelmore
Graduate Student in History
University of Michigan

At its best, world history creates a coherent narrative from the diverse and varied histories of the world's cultures. To write this story, historians must focus not only on the individual civilizations which have colored the whole of human history, but also on the development of the myriad connections among those civilizations.

In the third edition of his textbook, *World History in Brief, Major Patterns of Change and Continuity,* Peter N. Stearns tells a story in which growing contacts among the world's civilizations go hand in hand with considerable and continued diversity among those same civilizations. It is an incredibly difficult story to tell. But as economic, political, military, and social contacts among societies proliferate it is an increasingly important story to tell.

The text traces the history of the world, from the prehistoric period to the middle of the 1990s. Throughout, Stearns relies on a system of "international periodization," and a "civilization concept" to organize his text. The idea of civilization is itself contentious. According to Stearns, civilization may best be understood as those societies which have developed cities, organized

government, a system of writing, and, at least by the Classical Era, a certain degree of regional coherence and distinctiveness. Civilizations develop distinctive patterns of political, social, economic, and cultural ideas and institutions.

Stearns focuses on seven existing world civilizations whose impact "runs from their own origins to present times." He links these current civilizations in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and India, China, Eastern Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, Western Europe, including North America, and Latin America to their historical antecedents. Classical-Era Confucian bureaucratic ideals reappear in the modern Chinese communist state. The development of a strong religious tradition in India helps to explain how that civilization survived centuries of political confusion and foreign occupation. These seven civilizations provide the basic framework for understanding global history: "Grasping the nature of these [economic, social and political] patterns...and then assessing their interaction with the larger processes of world history provides the key to the essential features of human society past and present." (Stearns p. 3)

Stearns divides the development of the seven civilizations into six major international historical periods: the prehistoric era and the development of the first river-valley civilizations, the Classical Era (100 B.C.E.–500 C.E.), the Post-Classical Era (500–1500), the New World Economy (1450–750), the First Industrial Period (1750–1914) and the Contemporary Period (1914–present). He attempts to analyze how the seven civilizational patterns and the patterns of interaction among them persisted, mutated, or disappeared both within and across these six time periods. While Stearns admits that the periodization is not particularly tidy, he believes that "it captures the leading dynamics of change at the global level."

Stearns' text allows readers to understand the "varieties and diversities of the human condition" by comparing a civilization's present to its past, and by comparing one civilization to another. Throughout, Stearns examines the ways in which individual societies have responded to "common issues and contacts." He is especially interested in how different societies have reacted to universal experiences, including population growth, industrialization and international currents in diplomacy and art. His study reveals some striking similarities across the world's civilizations. Everywhere, women's status, for example, seems to have declined with the advent of stable, agricultural societies. As agriculture replaced hunting and gathering, women became less fundamental to the basic economic organization of those civilizations and men were assigned new economic importance. Indeed, attention to gender issues is a significant theme in the text generally. Overall, however, Stearns stresses individuality, not similarity, among the world's major civilizations. One of his "basic themes of world history" is of "steadily proliferating contacts against a background of often fierce local identity."

One of the challenges of world history is making an intelligible whole out of a vast array of divergent histories. As historians, how do we deal with those civilizations that are extraneous to the central narrative of the story? Stearns acknowledges and successfully meets this challenge. He notes that his seven world civilizations do not encompass all the world's peoples; nor do the time periods correspond to what was happening everywhere around the world. The features of the classical civilizations of China, India, Greece, and Rome, for example, do not accurately characterize most of the world's societies at the time. But by focusing on civilizations and on larger historical patterns, without discounting those societies which developed along more diverse patterns, Stearns is able to tell a coherent and compelling story.

Interestingly, Stearns is least successful in his attempts to write the history of the world since the First World War — the very period in which the world has undeniably become more integrated. Throughout the text, Stearns is more successful in delineating civilizational patterns than in analyzing the interactions among them, but in the first five sections, he ably describes each civilization, while at the same time linking them to their past and to each other. However, his discussion of the contemporary world loses the narrative thread that bound the first five sections into an integrated global history. Perhaps because of the increasing importance of interaction and interconnection, the idea of presenting each civilization individually, while largely successful in describing earlier periods, doesn't do justice to the contemporary period. The final chapters read almost like a laundry list of the events of the past 80 years.

World History in Brief was written as a basic text for an introductory world history course. Students with little or no knowledge about the history of the world will be able to use this text easily. While at times painfully didactic, the text clearly describes each of the world's major civilizations, and highlights larger historical themes and the contacts among civilizations. Any text, however, that covers the entire span of human history from prehistory to the end of the 1990s in under 700 pages is understandably short on detail and depth. In fact, the very brevity of Stearns' text allows students and instructors the time and opportunity to explore additional avenues of historical analysis. By their nature, textbooks do not adequately address issues of historical causation or interpretation. The lists of additional readings found at the end of each chapter provide useful jumping-off points for a more in-depth exploration of these issues.

WHA

The Face of the Earth: Environment and World History.

By J. Donald Hughes, Ed. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000.

Reviewed by:
Jon E. Iannitti
SUNY Morrisville College

J. Donald Hughes is John Evans Professor of History at the University of Denver, founding member of the American Society for Environmental History, former editor-in-chief of *Environmental Review* (renamed *Environmental History*), and author of several books on environmental history including the forthcoming *Environmental History of the World: Humankind's Changing Role in the Community of Life*. Hughes is a man with a mission. The mission is to transform the teaching of world history through an ecological perspective. The inspiration for this project, including several of the essays contained in this book, Hughes tells us, comes from a World History Association meeting in Aspen, Colorado in 1994 entitled "The Environment in World History."

The introductory first chapter — reprinted in part from an article Hughes wrote five years ago[1] – sets the tone for the six essays that follow in this small volume. To understand "ecological process" and why this is important for teachers of world history, Hughes suggests we challenge the assumptions surrounding the use of the word "development" in history texts. Development is a taken-for-granted organizing principle or story line used by world historians to mean economic growth and technological progress.[2] According to Hughes, "[t]he new narrative of world history...must keep human events within the context where they really happen, and that is the ecosystem of the earth."[3] This means that development must be redefined to take all things into account so that world history must be about how the "natural environment" has affected, and has been affected by, human activities. Political, social, economic, and cultural events should be considered within their geographical and biological contexts since humans share with other living things a physical environment and a changing, albeit interdependent, history. Process, or

change in history, should be understood as ecological "balance," or the ability to sustain, and not destroy, ecosystems. Following an idea advanced in recent years by Donella and Dennis Meadows and Jorgen Rander in *Beyond the Limits: Confronting Global Collapse, Envisioning a Sustainable Future*, Hughes rejects "growth" in favor of his particular definition of "development" as ecological process. Growth suggests bigger, and has limits; development means realizing potential, improvement, "qualitatively better," and without limits.[4] Hughes' mission, therefore, is to have world history take up the agenda of environmental history.

Hughes' thesis is carried into his second contribution in this volume, "Biodiversity in World History." Looking at the big picture, Hughes challenges us to consider the consequences of the destruction of species of plants and animals, especially in the last two centuries. If human beings are a result of long-term co-evolution with other living things, what will it mean to us and to other organisms basic to our survival, if we lose much of this interdependence through species extinction? Some international organizations have only begun to grapple with this question. Perhaps it is time for world historians to do likewise in their consideration of ecological process in our urban industrial era.

Other essays in this book focus on the last couple of centuries in various parts of the world. Martin Melosi in "Equity, Eco-Racism and the Environmental Justice Movement" raises questions involving race and class conflict in terms of the consequences of who does, and who does not, benefit in emerging industrialization in the world. John R. McNeill's article, "Of Rats and Men: A Synoptic Environmental History of the Island Pacific," which originally appeared in the Fall 1994 issue of *The Journal of World History*, and Helen Wheatley's essay, "Land and Agriculture in Australia: Coping With Change in a Fragile Environment," consider the generally negative impacts — some more so than others — of waves of human settlers, their biotic communities, and, especially, their technologies. We should not be surprised to find that *sustainable development* is not characteristic with most of these settlers. The last two essays end this volume on a more positive note. Valery J. Cholakov, "Toward Eco-Revival? The Cultural Roots of Russian Environmental Concerns" and Diane M. Jones, "The Greening of Gandhi: Gandhian Thought and the Environmental Movement in India," focus on traditional cultural elements that could make a difference in changing attitudes and in formulating ecologically sound social and economic policy.

One might make a few observations about this book. First, the emphasis on human impact on the environment leaves little room for a consideration of the corresponding environmental impact on humans. For example, there is nothing here about weather cycles and long- and short-term climate changes and their impact on human communities. One more essay on, say, the significance of the warming and cooling of ocean currents, or an essay on the relationship between the history of climate cycles and population and disease, might be useful. Second, the last two essays of the book offer some models of promising human response to ecosystem destruction. One might call these responses Green politics in the semi-peripheral and peripheral regions of the global industrial capitalist world. But is there any hope from the core of this world? What roles might contemporary science and technology — and even global political, economic, and social institutions — play in getting us out of the ecological mess we have created in the industrialized world? Hughes mentions in passing in his introduction a couple of international conferences, but there is nothing on what high-tech science and technology have done, or can do, to sustain ecosystems or prevent ecosystem destruction.

Some teachers of history might be put off by the criticism and activism implied in Hughes' "new narrative" for world history. But as we enter the 21st century, who can deny that environmental concerns are not paramount in our world? As L. S. Stavrianos suggested more than 40 years ago, satellite images of earth forever changed our perceptions to what we now see as a small, fragile, and beautiful "blue" planet. Today we must ask: how can one do world history without also doing world environmental history? As teachers of world history, we might direct the educational project of the discipline in any number of ways to reflect ecological process. This book is a useful guide for teachers seeking to explore ways to integrate environmental history and world history. Hughes is one of a small, but growing, number of historians who sees the importance of such an ambitious project. In this slim volume, one can see the outlines of, and the justification for, new perspectives in world history. By no means is this a small accomplishment.

ENDNOTES

1. J. Donald Hughes, "Ecological Process in World History," *Environmental History Review* 19, no.1 (Spring 1995), 1-16.
2. Hughes, *The Face of the Earth*, pp. 3-8.
3. Ibid., 9.
4. Ibid., 9-13.

WHA

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The Fulbright Scholar Program for faculty and professionals is offering more than 107 awards in history for lecturing and/or doing research abroad during the 2001-2002 academic year. A brief outline of these awards is listed below. For more complete information, visit our website at www.cies.org/. The award listings and application materials are downloadable, or you can request printed versions from apprequest@cies.iie.org. U.S. citizenship is required. Non-U.S. citizens should contact the Fulbright agency or U.S. embassy in their home countries. The Fulbright Scholar Program is sponsored by the United States Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, and administered by the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES). Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden Street, NW, Suite 5L, Washington, D.C. 20008-3009; phone: 202-686-7877; fax: 202-362-3442.

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Azerbaijan: Political Science #1436 (American foreign policy, political history of the U.S.)

Belarus: American Studies #1438 (American civilization, women's history, ethnic history, history and literature)

Benin: Any Field #1037American Literature and Civilization #1038 (modern period, development strategies, democracy)

Botswana: Any Field #1041

Burkina Faso: Any Field #1046

Bulgaria: Distinguished Chair in the Humanities and Social Sciences #1218 American Studies/American Literature #1214 (social, political, cultural) Distinguished Chair in the Humanities and Social Sciences #1218 (cultural studies)

Cameroon: Any Field #1048

Canada: Any Field #1537

China, People's Republic of: Social Sciences and Humanities #1143 (Chinese history)Study of the United States #1144

Côte d'Ivoire: Any Field #1055 (African history)

Croatia: Any Field #1221 (19th- and 20th-century history)American Studies #1223 (American studies, social and political history, popular culture)

Czech Republic: American Studies #1232 (cultural, intellectual, social, economic)

Denmark: Human Rights and Humanitarian Law #1236 (international war crimes, human rights)

El Salvador: Any Field #1548

Ethiopia: Any Field #1062 (age of revolutions and industrial capitalism to 1914, world 1914-1945, African history) European Union Affairs Program: European Union Affairs Research Program #1194

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Hungary: Austrian-Hungarian Joint Research Award #1204 (Austro-Hungarian, Central European history)American Studies or American Literature #1277 (cultural and minority studies, political, social, intellectual)
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