CHAPTER 22

The End of Empire: The Global South on the Global Stage
1914–Present

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

• To explore the breakup of imperial systems in the twentieth century
• To consider, through the examples of India and South Africa, how the process of decolonization worked
• To examine the challenges that faced developing nations in the second half of the twentieth century
• To investigate the potential clash of tradition with modernity in the developing nations, especially considering the case of Islam in Turkey and Iran

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Opening Vignette
   A. Nelson Mandela of South Africa spent 27 years in prison for treason, sabotage, and conspiracy.
   B. Decolonization was vastly important in the second half of the twentieth century
      • To examine the potential clash of tradition with modernity in the developing nations, especially considering the case of Islam in Turkey and Iran

   II. Toward Freedom: Struggles for Independence
   A. European colonial empires were not as permanent in the world’s political landscape as they seemed in the early 1900s.
      1. India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, and Israel won independence in the late 1940s
      2. African independence came between mid-1950s and mid-1970s
   B. The End of Empire in World History
      1. Imperial breakup wasn’t new; the novelty was mobilization of the masses around a nationalist ideology and creation of a large number of new nation-states
         a. some comparison to the first decolonization of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries
         b. but in the Americas, most colonized people were of European origin, holding a common culture with their colonial rulers
2. fall of many empires in the twentieth century
   a. Austrian and Ottoman empires collapsed in the wake of World War I
   b. Russian Empire collapsed but was soon recreated as the USSR
   c. German and Japanese empires ended with World War II
   d. African and Asian independence movements shared with other “end of empire” stories the ideal of national self-determination
   e. nonterritorial empires (e.g., where United States wielded powerful influence) came under attack
   f. disintegration of the USSR (1991) was propelled by national self-determination (creation of 15 new states)

C. Explaining African and Asian Independence
   1. few people would have predicted imperial collapse in 1900
   2. several explanations for decolonization have emerged:
      a. emphasis on the fundamental contradictions in the colonial enterprise
      b. historians use the idea of “conjuncture” to explain timing of decolonization
      c. changes in social values were enormously encouraging to Africans and Asians seeking political independence.
   3. independence was contested everywhere
      a. independence efforts usually were not cohesive movements of uniformly oppressed people
      b. fragile coalitions of conflicting groups and parties

III. Comparing Freedom Struggles
   A. Freedom movements varied in length of time to achieve independence, use of violence, and ideological affiliation.
   B. The Case of India: Ending British Rule
      1. before 1900, few people of the Indian subcontinent thought of themselves as “Indians”
d. 1906: creation of an All-India Muslim League

e. some Hindu politicians defined the nationalist struggle in religious terms

f. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, head of the Muslim League, argued that regions of India with a Muslim majority should be a separate state (Pakistan, the land of the pure)

7. Independence in 1947 created two countries

   a. Pakistan (Muslim, divided into two wings 1,000 miles apart)
   b. India (secular but mostly Hindu)
   c. process was accompanied by massive violence; some 1 million died, 12 million refugees relocated

8. 1948: a Hindu extremist assassinated Gandhi

C. The Case of South Africa: Ending Apartheid

1. South Africa won freedom from Great Britain in 1910

2. but its government was controlled by a white settler minority

3. white population was split between British descendants (had economic superiority) and Afrikaners (Boers) of Dutch descent (had political dominance)

   a. Afrikaners had failed to win independence from the British in the Boer War (1899–1902)
   b. both white groups felt threatened by any move toward black majority rule

4. by the early 1900s, South Africa had a mature industrial economy

   a. by the 1960s, had major foreign investments and loans
   b. black South Africans were extremely dependent on the white-controlled economy

5. the issue of race was overwhelmingly prominent

   a. reflected in apartheid laws separating races

6. African National Congress (ANC) founded in 1912

   a. like India’s INC, it consisted of elite Africans who wanted a voice in society
   b. for 40 years, the ANC was peaceful and moderate
   c. women denied full membership until 1943, but took action in other arenas including protests and boycotts
   d. 1950s: moved to nonviolent civil disobedience
   e. the government’s response was overwhelming repression

7. underground nationalist leaders turned to sabotage and assassination

   a. opposition came to focus on student groups
   b. Soweto uprising (1976) was the start of spreading violence
   c. organization of strikes

8. growing international pressure

   a. exclusion from international sporting events
   b. economic boycotts
   c. withdrawal of private investment funds

9. negotiations began in the late 1980s

   a. key apartheid policies were abandoned
   b. Mandela was freed and the ANC legalized

10. 1994: national elections brought the ANC to power

   a. apartheid was ended without major bloodshed
   b. most important threat was a number of separatist and “Africans only” groups

IV. Experiments with Freedom

A. New nations emerging from colonial rule confronted the problem of how to parlay independence into economic development and industrial growth, unification, and political participation.

1. already independent but nonindustrialized countries faced the same quest for a better life

2. all together = the third world (developing countries, the Global South)

3. 1950–2000: developing nations contained 70 percent of world population
4. independence created euphoria, but optimism soon faded in light of difficulties

B. Experiments in Political Order: Party, Army, and the Fate of Democracy
1. common conditions confronted all efforts to establish political order:
   a. explosive population growth
   b. overly high expectations for independence
   c. cultural diversity, with little loyalty to a central state
2. a variety of types of government used, including communist governments, one-party states, and democracies
3. in the 1950s, some European authorities set up democratic institutions in their African colonies
4. in India, Western-style democracy succeeded
   a. the independence movement was more extended, and power was handed over gradually
   b. many more Indians than Africans had administrative and technical skills at the time of independence
   c. the Indian Congress Party embodied the whole nationalist movement, without too much internal discord
5. Elsewhere democracy more fragile
   a. few still survived by the early 1970s
   b. many swept away by military coups
   c. some evolved into one-party systems or personal dictatorships
6. various arguments as to why Africans initially rejected democracy
   a. some argue that the Africans were not ready for democracy or lacked some necessary element
   b. some argue that African traditional culture (communal, based on consensus) was not compatible with party politics
   c. some argue that Western-style democracy was inadequate to the task of development
7. widespread economic disappointment discredited early African democracies
   a. African economic performance since independence has been poor
   b. widespread economic hardship
   c. modern governments staked their popularity on economic success
8. the well-educated elite benefited most, obtaining high-paying bureaucratic jobs that caused resentment
9. economic resentment found expression in ethnic conflict
10. repeatedly, the military took power in a crisis

C. Latin America also experienced military coups
1. military forces had long history of intervention in Latin America
2. demographic, economic, and social tensions challenged privileges of the rich and powerful
3. left-wing insurrections countered by military coups backed by elites and United States
4. Chile elected a Marxist leader in 1970 who fell to a military coup

D. starting in the 1980s, Western-style democracy has resurfaced across globe
1. in Spain, Portugal, and Greece
2. in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe
3. most extensive expression in developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia
4. most recently in Arab countries

E. What accounts for this reemergence of Western-style democracy?
1. the untethering of ideas of democracy and human rights from their western origins
2. failure of authoritarian regimes to raise standards of living, provide jobs, combat corruption
3. grassroots movements provided a social foundation to demand change
4. variable results from this process
F. Experiments in Economic Development:
Changing Priorities, Varying Outcomes
1. the belief that poverty isn’t inevitable won out
   a. however, in many states, colonial rule had not provided much infrastructure for modern development
   b. most developing countries didn’t have leverage in negotiation with wealthy nations and corporations
   c. leaders got contradictory advice on how to develop successfully
2. general expectation in the developing world that the state would spur economic development
   a. most private economies were weakly developed
   b. Chinese and Soviet industrialization provided models
   c. growing dependence on market forces for economic development over several decades
3. debate over shielding economy or engaging with the world market while industrializing
   a. Latin America sought to shield their economies following a model of import substitution industrialization
   b. East Asia chose integration into world economy producing products for export
4. urban vs. rural development has been an important issue
   a. in some areas, the “urban bias” has been partly corrected
   b. women’s access to employment, education, and birth control provided incentives to limit family size
5. debate over whether foreign aid, investment, and trade are good or bad
6. the degree of economic development has varied widely by region
   a. East Asia has been the most successful
   b. 1990s: India opened itself more fully to the world market
   c. Brazil now eighth largest economy in the world
   d. Turkey and Indonesia are in the top 20
   e. most of Africa, much of the Arab world, and parts of Asia didn’t catch up, and standards of living often declined
   f. no general agreement about why such great variations developed

G. Experiments with Culture: The Role of Islam in Turkey and Iran
1. the relationship between Western-style modernity and tradition has been an issue across the developing world
2. the case of Islam: Turkey and Iran approached the issue of how Islam and modernity should relate to each other very differently
3. Turkey: emerged in the wake of World War I, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938)
   a. major cultural revolution in the 1920s and 1930s
   b. effort to create a thoroughly modern, Western society
   c. much of the Islamic underpinning of society was abolished or put under firm government control
   d. men were ordered not to wear the fez; many elite women gave up the veil
   e. women gained legal rights, polygamy was abolished, and women got the vote (1930s)
4. Iran: became the center of Islamic revival (1970s)
   a. growing opposition to Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi’s modernizing, secularizing, U.S.-supported government
   b. many of the shah’s reforms offended traditional Islamic practices
   c. the mosque became the main center of opposition to the government
   d. the shah was forced to abdicate in 1979, and Khomeini assumed control of the state
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e. cultural revolution based on the Islamization of public life
f. sharia law replaced secular law codes
g. women required to wear the hijab, segregation in public life, restrictive marriage laws
h. women found greater educational opportunities, retained the right to vote
i. Iran sought to export its revolution
j. revolution continues, but opposition amongst some in Iran
k. country continues to pursue economic modernity

V. Reflections: History in the Middle of the Stream
A. It is difficult for historians to discuss more recent events and themes like those described in this chapter, because that history is still in the making.
   1. detachment is difficult
   2. we don’t know what the final outcomes will be
B. Historians know how unexpected and surprising historical processes can be.
   1. but still, history is our only guide to the possible shape of the future
   2. the history of modern events provides a useful reminder that people in earlier times didn’t know the way things would turn out either

CHAPTER QUESTIONS

Following are answer guidelines for the Big Picture Questions, Seeking the Main Point Question, Margin Review Questions, Portrait Question, and Documents and Visual Sources Feature Questions that appear in the textbook chapter. For your convenience, the questions and answer guidelines are also available in the Computerized Test Bank.

Big Picture Questions

1. In what ways did the colonial experience and the struggle for independence shape the agenda of developing countries in the second half of the twentieth century?
   - Colonization and decolonization created a new national identity, which took shape in opposition to the imperial power. Central to this agenda was the establishment of stable governing institutions and a new civil society.
   - Economic development provided the second critical element in the agenda as newly free states sought both to increase production and to distribute the fruits of that growth to raise living standards, a central promise of independence movements.

2. How would you compare the historical experiences of India and China in the twentieth century?
   - In the early part of the century, both India and China found themselves under considerable Western influence, with India being part of the British Empire and China partially occupied by several European powers.
   - Both secured their independence in the 1940s, but China did so through revolutionary struggle, while India achieved it through more peaceful means.
   - India in the second half of the century maintained a democratic government, while China adopted a communist government.
   - India maintained private property, even if the state provided tariffs, licenses, loans, subsidies, and overall planning; the Chinese adopted a communist approach to industrialization before slowly shifting to a more capitalistic approach.
   - Both grew rapidly in the final decades of the century to emerge as economic powers.

3. From the viewpoint of the early twenty-first century, to what extent had the goals of nationalist or independence movements been achieved?
   - These nations had achieved independence from foreign rule and gained a measure of national consciousness.
The newly independent states rejected racism and racial explanations for human behavior. Postcolonial nations reasserted traditional cultures—religious traditions such as Hinduism and Islam—and asserted that faith is compatible with modernity. In Africa, newly independent nations embraced African cultural styles in dance, music, social norms, family style, and religious outlook. As the new nations developed, there was everywhere a decline in infant mortality and a rise in life expectancy and literacy rates. There was substantial industrialization in some postcolonial nations, such as South Korea, Taiwan, China, and India. The former colonies were able to provide a somewhat unified voice on certain issues such as global warming and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

On the other hand, there is also evidence for goals that were not realized:
- A number of states failed including Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Congo.
- A number of postcolonial nations experienced serious internal conflict, civil war, or genocide.
- Postcolonial societies witnessed the break-up of larger and more inclusive political units, such as the dissolution of colonial India or French West Africa and the failure of Pan-African, Pan-Arab, and Pan-Islamic states.
- Some newly independent states became proxies in the conflicts of the cold war (Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Cuba).
- Many postcolonial nations continued to be dependent upon Western corporations or governments and failed to achieve genuine economic stability, autonomy, or even, in some cases, much economic development at all.

4. **Looking Back**: To what extent did the struggle for independence and the postcolonial experience of African and Asian peoples in the twentieth century parallel or diverge from that of earlier “new nations” in the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?
- In terms of parallels, all sought to define their states following periods of dominance by European powers.
- They claimed international status equivalent to that of their former rulers.
- They often secured freedom through revolutionary struggle.
- Race played a significant role in some, but not all, movements.
- They sought to develop their economies, which were heavily influenced by their past and continued interactions with the industrial nations of the West.
- In terms of divergence, some African and Asian peoples drew on communist ideas to reorganize their societies after independence.
- In India they developed the new approach of aggressive nonviolence to force change. Indigenous populations were much larger in Asia and Africa, and they frequently played larger roles in liberation movements.

**Seeking the Main Point Question**

Q. In what ways did the experience of the “global south” during the past century register on the larger stage of world history?
- Their successful independence movements effectively dismantled the European empires created in the nineteenth century. They also played a role in the more general triumph of nation-states over empires.
- Their efforts at economic development have shaped the global economy, particularly the rise of the East Asian economies, Brazil, Turkey, and Indonesia.
- The newly sovereign states played a role in the shifting alliances of the cold war.
- The demographic growth of the Global South has increased the region’s importance on the global stage.

**Margin Review Questions**

Q. What was distinctive about the end of Europe’s African and Asian empires compared to other cases of imperial disintegration?
- Never before had the end of empire been so associated with the mobilization of the masses around a nationalist ideology, nor had earlier cases of imperial dissolution generated such a plethora of nation-states, each claiming an equal place in a world of nation-states.
Q. What international circumstances and social changes contributed to the end of colonial empires?

- The world wars weakened Europe, while discrediting any sense of European moral superiority. Both the United States and the Soviet Union, the new global superpowers, generally opposed the older European colonial empires. The United Nations provided a prestigious platform from which to conduct anticolonial agitation.

- By the early twentieth century in Asia and the mid-twentieth century in Africa, a second or third generation of Western-educated elites, largely male, had arisen throughout the colonial world. These young men were thoroughly familiar with European culture, were deeply aware of the gap between its values and its practices, no longer viewed colonial rule as a vehicle for their peoples’ progress as their fathers had, and increasingly insisted on independence now. Growing numbers of ordinary people also were receptive to this message.

Q. What obstacles confronted the leaders of movements for independence?

- Leaders had to organize political parties, recruit members, plot strategy, develop an ideology, and negotiate both with one another and with the colonial power to secure the transition to independence.

- In some regions—particularly settler-dominated colonies and Portuguese territories—leaders also directed military operations and administered liberated areas.

- Beneath the common goal of independence, anticolonial groups struggled with one another over questions of leadership, power, strategy, ideology, and the distribution of material benefits.

Q. How did India’s nationalist movement change over time?

- India’s modern nationalist movement began with the establishment of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885.

- The INC was comprised primarily of English-educated Indians from high-caste Hindu families. The INC was largely urban and had very moderate demands. They did not seek to overthrow British rule but rather sought more inclusive participation in the existing structure.

- Because of their largely elite membership, the INC failed to attract peasants to its cause.

- After World War I, the nationalist movement changed markedly.

- British attacks on the Islamic Ottoman Empire upset Muslims in India.

- Millions of Indians died in the influenza epidemic following the war causing further social unrest.

- A series of repressive actions by the British, in particular the killing of 400 people who had been prohibited from celebrating a Hindu festival in the city of Amritsar, further fueled Indian antagonism toward the British.

- Mohandas Gandhi, an English-educated Indian lawyer from the Vaisya (business) caste, accepted a position working for an Indian firm in South Africa in 1893. In South Africa, he experienced overt racism for the first time.

- He developed a philosophy of nonviolent political action. In 1914, he returned to India and rose through the ranks of the INC.

- In the 1920s and 1930s, he organized mass campaigns to garner support from a wide spectrum of Indians, not just elites but peasants and the urban poor and including both Hindus and Muslims.

- His support of Muslims was a particularly important shift in the nationalist movement.

- Although radical in approach, Gandhi did not seek social revolution but moral transformation. He worked to raise the status of untouchables.

- He also critiqued modernization and sought an India of harmonious, autonomous villages based on the traditional Indian principles of duty and morality.

- Others rejected this approach, including his comrade, Jawaharlal Nehru who embraced science and industry as the keys to India’s future. Militant Hindus rejected his acceptance of Muslims, and the All-India Muslim League called for a separate nation in Pakistan for India’s Muslims.

- As a result, when India achieved independence in 1947, it was as two separate countries—Pakistan and India.

Q. What was the role of Gandhi in India’s struggle for independence?

- Gandhi pioneered active and confrontational, though nonviolent, strategies of resistance that underpinned the Indian independence movement.

- He became a leader in the Indian National Congress during the 1920s and 1930s.

- He played a critical role in turning the INC into a mass organization.
Q. What conflicts and differences divided India’s nationalist movement?
- Gandhi opposed industrialization, but his chief lieutenant, Jawaharlal Nehru, supported it.
- Not all nationalists accepted Gandhi’s nonviolence or his inclusive definition of India.
- Some militant Hindus preached hatred of Muslims.
- Some saw efforts to improve the position of women or untouchables as a distraction from the chief task of gaining independence from Britain.
- There was disagreement about whether to participate in British-sponsored legislative bodies without complete independence.
- A number of smaller parties advocated on behalf of particular regions or castes.
- There was a growing divide between India’s Hindu and Muslim populations, which led to arguments that India was really two nations rather than one.

Q. Why was African rule in South Africa delayed until 1994, when it had occurred decades earlier elsewhere in the colonial world?
- Black South Africans’ freedom struggle was against their country’s white settler minority, rather than against a European colonial power.
- The intransigence of the sizable and threatened settler community played a role in the delay.
- The extreme dependence of most Africans on the white-controlled economy rendered individuals highly vulnerable to repressive action, though collectively the threat to withdraw their essential labor also provided them with a powerful weapon.
- Race was a much more prominent issue in South Africa, expressed most clearly in the policy of apartheid, which attempted to separate blacks from whites in every conceivable way while retaining their labor power in the white-controlled economy.

Q. How did South Africa’s struggle against white domination change over time?
- In the opening decades of the twentieth century, the educated, professional, and middle-class Africans who led the political party known as the African National Congress sought not to overthrow the existing order but to be accepted as “civilized men” within that society. They appealed to the liberal, humane, and Christian values that white society claimed. For four decades, the leaders of the ANC pursued peaceful and moderate protest, but to little effect.
- During the 1950s, a new and younger generation of the ANC leadership broadened its base of support and launched nonviolent civil disobedience.
- In the 1960s, following the banning of the ANC, underground nationalist leaders turned to armed struggle, authorizing selected acts of sabotage and assassination, while preparing for guerrilla warfare in camps outside the country. The 1970s and 1980s saw an outbreak of protests in sprawling, segregated, and impoverished black neighborhoods as well as an increasingly active black labor movement.
- The South African freedom struggle also benefited from increasing international pressure on the apartheid government.

Q. Summing Up So Far: How and why did the anticolonial struggles in India and South Africa differ?
- The South African freedom struggle was waged against an independent South African government controlled by a substantial white settler minority. India’s struggle was waged against an occupying European colonial power with a much smaller presence in the region.
- Unlike predominantly agrarian India, South Africa had a mature industrial economy. Nearly all Africans worked in this white-controlled economy, making them vulnerable to repressive action but also giving them the possibility of withholding their collective labor.
- The overwhelming prominence of race in the South African struggle also distinguished it from India where racism existed but not to the same degree.
- In South Africa, underground nationalist leaders turned to armed struggle. India had no equivalent phase in its movement, which relied primarily on aggressive nonviolence.
- International pressure on South Africa to end apartheid, including exclusion from international sporting events, economic boycotts, and the withdrawal of international investment, had no equivalent in India.

Q. What led to the erosion of democracy and the establishment of military government in much of Africa and Latin America?
- Some have argued that Africa’s traditional culture, based on communal rather than individualistic values and concerned with achieving consensus rather than majority rule, was not
compatible with the competitiveness of party politics.

- Some have argued that Western-style democracy was simply inadequate for the tasks of development confronting the new states of Africa.
- Creating national unity was more difficult when competing political parties identified primarily with particular ethnic or “tribal” groups in Africa.
- The immense problems that inevitably accompany the early stages of economic development may be compounded by the heavy demands of a political system based on universal suffrage.
- Widespread economic disappointment weakened the popular support of many post-independence governments in Africa and discredited their initial democracies.
- In this context in Africa, military takeover was presented as an opportunity for a new beginning with the military government promising to sweep aside old political parties and constitutions and replace them with a new democracy under civilian control at some point in the future.
- In Latin America militaries had long intervened in political life.
- In the 1960s and 1970s they became common again as tensions caused by rapid population growth, chronic inflation, sharp class conflict, rural poverty, and mass migration to city slums combined to challenge the privileges of the elite.
- In some places guerrilla war by left-wing rebels provided further impetus for military takeovers.

Q. What obstacles impeded the economic development of third-world countries?

- The quest for economic development took place in societies divided by class, religion, ethnic groups, and gender and occurred in the face of explosive population growth.
- Colonial rule had provided only the most slender foundations for modern development to many of the newly independent nations, which had low rates of literacy, few people with managerial experience, a weak private economy, and transportation systems oriented to export rather than national integration.
- Development had to occur in a world split by rival superpowers and economically dominated by the powerful capitalist economies of the West.
- Developing countries had little leverage in negotiations with the wealthy nations of the Global North and their immense transnational corporations.
- It was hard for leaders of developing countries to know what strategies to pursue.

Q. How and why did thinking about strategies for economic development change over time?

- Early in the twentieth century, people in the developing world and particularly those in newly independent countries expected that state authorities would take major responsibility for spurring the economic development of their countries, and some state-directed economies had real successes.
- But in the last several decades of the twentieth century, the earlier consensus in favor of state direction largely collapsed, replaced by a growing dependence on the market to generate economic development.
- One reason for this shift was that communist centralized planning largely collapsed with its abandonment by China and the states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.
- New market-driven strategies emerged. Some sought to develop using an import-substitution industrialization model, while others chose to industrialize by specializing in the production of products for export.
- In terms of why, the failure of some initiatives led to interest in new approaches.
- Successful development in some regions of the Global South provided inspiration and development models for other regions.

Q. In what ways did cultural revolutions in Turkey and Iran reflect different understandings of the role of Islam in modern societies?

- The cultural revolution in Turkey sought to embrace modern culture and Western ways fully in public life and to relegate Islam to the sphere of private life. With that in mind, almost everything that had made Islam an official part of Ottoman public life was dismantled, and Islam was redefined as a modernized personal religion, available to individual citizens of a secular Turkish state.
- The cultural revolution in Iran cast Islam as a guide to public as well as private life. With this goal in mind, the sharia became the law of the land, and religious leaders assumed the reins of government. Culture and education were regulated by the state according to Islamic law.
Portrayal Question

Q. Why do you think Abdul Khan is generally unknown? Where does he fit in the larger history of the twentieth century?

- In terms of why he is generally unknown, his movement does not fit well with the national narrative in his homeland of Pakistan where the authorities do not recognize him as a freedom fighter in the struggle against colonial rule.
- In India, conflict with Pakistan, which in part is defined in sectarian terms, makes it difficult to fully recognize the Muslim Abdul Khan alongside Gandhi as a leader of the nonviolent resistance to colonial rule.
- The success and influence of his Khudai Khidmatgar movement and his lifelong commitment to the principles of nonviolence place him in the same tradition as Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. as a leader of successful nonviolent liberation movements.

Using the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Following are answer guidelines for the headnote questions and Using the Evidence questions that appear in the documents and visual sources essays located at the end of the textbook chapter.

Headnote Questions

**Document 22.1: A Secular State for an Islamic Society**

Q. On what grounds did Atatürk justify the abolition of the caliphate?

- Atatürk claimed it was an unattainable goal to unite all of Islam under one ruler.
- Turkey should not expend its resources on such an impossible task.
- Other states were sovereign and could not be expected to recognize the authority of a caliph.

Q. What additional actions did he take to remove Islam from a public or political role in the new Turkish state?

- He sought to replace Shari’a law with secular laws thereby ensuring freedom of conscience.
- He shut down the Tekkes, convents, and mausoleums, and abolished all sects and all kinds of religious titles.

Q. What can you infer about Atatürk’s view of Islam?

- Atatürk believed that Islam hindered the development of Turkey, and Islamic institutions and leaders hindered the “progress and awakening” of Turkey (p. 1121).
- He believed that the Islamic idea of a caliph and caliphate were illusions that drained Turkish resources in pursuit of an impossible dream.
- In his view, Shari’a law should not be the law of the state.
- In general, it was his view that Islam should be excluded from public life.

Q. How did Atatürk’s conception of a Turkish state differ from that of Ottoman authorities? In what ways did he build upon Ottoman reforms of the nineteenth century? (See pp. 944–946 in Chapter 19.)

- Atatürk rejected the idea of the caliphate, the notion that Turkey should take a leading role in a Pan-Islamic world, and the position that Turkey was an Islamic state.
- Both Atatürk and the Ottomans accepted the need to modernize Turkey through Western models, experimented with Western-style law codes and courts, and sought to integrate non-Muslim subjects. Atatürk also built upon the idea among some Ottoman reformers, including the Young Turks, that Turkey was a secular state. Both favored constitutional regimes.

**Document 22.2: Political Islam**

Q. How does Khomeini define the enemies of Islam?

- In Khomeini’s view, any anti-Islamic government—or nonreligious power—is an enemy of Islam.
- The Jewish people and Western imperialists are also enemies.

Q. How would you summarize his case against European imperialism and the shah’s government?

- The Europeans actively seek to undermine the Ottoman Empire’s struggle to achieve Islamic unity.
- They seek to keep the Islamic world in a backward state of poverty so that day-to-day
problems stop the people from becoming aware of the laws of Islam.
- Europeans promote Christian missionaries who infiltrate Muslims cultures, creating Christians and atheists.
- They exploit the natural resources and labor of the Islamic world, and use the wealth to lead shallow lives.
- The shah’s government creates hotbeds of vice. It is capricious and despotic, and promotes Western fashion and Western values.

Q. In what ways does Khomeini seek to apply Islamic principles in the public life of Iran? What is his view of Iranian popular culture?
- Khomeini believes Islamic law should become the law of the land.
- The government should be democratic but the constitution, civil code, and the criminal code should be inspired only by Islamic laws.
- Religion and politics should be intimately connected.
- Clergy should play an active role in the government and public life of the country.
- Khomeini sees the current theatres, cinemas, dancing, music, and radio as promoting immorality.
- Western fashion and drinking should be ended for moral reasons; also morally wrong are women who are scantily clad and do not wear the veil.

Q. What kind of government does Khomeini foresee for Iran? Why does he believe that a proper Islamic government “cannot be totalitarian or despotic but is constitutional and democratic”?
- Khomeini believes Islamic law should become the law of the land.
- The government should be democratic, but the constitution, civil code, and the criminal code should be inspired only by Islamic laws.
- Religion and politics should be intimately connected.
- Clergy should play an active role in the government and public life of the country.
- An Islamic government cannot be totalitarian because its constitution, civil code, and criminal code are established solely by the Qur’an and the Sunnah [Traditions] of the Prophet.

Q. To whom might Khomeini’s views be most appealing?
- Islamic fundamentalists and those who support the imposition of Islamic law and government
- Anti-imperialists
- Those who desire a more conservative moral code to regulate public morality
- Opponents of the shah
- Opponents of secular government in the Islamic world
- Those who support active clerical participation in government
- Perhaps those who seek democracy rather than authoritarian rule

Document 22.3: Progressive Islam

Q. Against what charges does Sheikh Kabir seek to defend Islam? How does this document reflect the experience of 9/11?
- Sheikh Kabir defends Islam against charges that it is a violent and intolerant religion. Of the charges of intolerance, he notes that Islamic societies have long guaranteed the rights of religious minorities, pointing to the examples of fourteen centuries of Islamic rule in Jerusalem and the multicultural society in Islamic Spain in the Middle Ages. He goes on to state the Qur’an forbids war in general and that the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims should be “based on peace and fairness.”
- The document reflects the experience of 9/11 in that he is trying to make non-Muslims understand that the actions of suicide bombers are a recent phenomenon and that the bombers represent a “small minority of the world’s one and a half billion Muslims.”

Q. In what ways are Sheikh Kabir’s views critical of radical or “fundamentalist” ideas and practices?
- The actions of fundamentalists have resulted in millions of Muslims who have migrated to the West becoming the objects of hatred and profiled as terrorists.
- Nascent democratic movements in Muslim countries have been set back decades.
- Fundamentalists have used wealth to sponsor terror and murder rather than promoting learning or creativity; they promote destruction rather than creation.
- They look to war as the first option and reject freedom of thought and rational thinking.
- The extremists are poisoning the relationship between Islam and the rest of the humanity.
Q. How does this document, together with Document 23.4, articulate the major features of a more progressive or liberal Islam? What kinds of arguments are employed to make their case?

- Documents 23.4 and 22.3 express hopes for democratic movements and the emergence of strong civil societies in the Islamic countries.
- The documents aim to create a society that treats people with dignity and respect; where people aspire to an ethical life because it is desirable; and where a city of virtue is created through the internalization of the message of Islam.
- Both documents 23.4 and 22.3 invoke the Quran in advocating for Muslim women (Document 23.4) and defending Islam against charges of intolerance and violence (Document 22.3).

Q. To whom might these arguments appeal? What obstacles do they face in being heard within the Islamic world?

- The arguments might appeal to educated Muslims who support democratic renewal and strong civil society, and to non-Muslims seeking to improve relations with the Muslim world.
- Many Muslim states have autocratic regimes that oppose these changes. Fundamentalists seek to more strictly define Islam and its meaning in society. Less educated Muslims would find it difficult to engage with such an intellectual or elite-oriented set of ideas.

Q. How might the Ayatollah Khomeini (Document 22.2) or Osama bin Laden have responded to the arguments in this document? In what ways does this vision of a “liberal” or “moderate” Islam differ from those of Kemal Atatürk (Document 22.1)?

- Khomeini also argues for the essentially democratic nature of Islamic society and so might agree with Sheikh Kabir Helminski on this portion of his argument. He might take issue with Helminski’s assertion that Muslims living in pluralistic societies have no religious reasons to oppose the laws of their own societies, because Khomeini’s vision is grounded in the construction of a pure Islamic state based solely on Islamic law.
- Osama bin Laden might accept Helminski’s basic concept of violence being acceptable only in self-defense, but offer a more expansive vision of what requires violent opposition. For instance, Osama bin Laden might have argued that the more radical and violent actions that al-Qaeda advocates are required because Helminski’s vision of consultative Islam has been usurped in much of the Islamic world. He would almost certainly take issue with Helminski’s rejection of suicide bombing by pointing to the nature and scope of the current internal and external threats to Islam.
- Kemal Atatürk would embrace many of Helminski’s ideas, including law in pluralistic societies, the role of consultative government in Islam, and most importantly, his advocacy of cultural pluralism, including the tolerance of other faiths within Islamic societies. However, he would almost certainly view Helminski’s appraisal of the Ottoman Empire as overly positive.

Document 22.4: Abandoning Islam

Q. What aspects of her own culture does Hirsi Ali explicitly reject?

- The lack of a voice for women who are expected to act like submissive robots
- The requirement that they comply with their father’s choice of husband and devote themselves to the sexual pleasure of their husband and a life of child bearing
- The often-shortened timespan of education for women
- The unquestioning belief in the infallible teachings of Islam
- The systematic punishment of inquisitive behavior
- The use of witchdoctors
- The rigid rules of custom, and the clan or tribal rules that defined her society
- The custom of valuing mares and she-camels more than daughters or granddaughters

Q. What are the major points of conflict between Islam and Western values in her view?

- The treatment of women in the two societies
- The requirement to unquestioningly accept the teachings of Islam without question in Somali society, as compared to the ability to question authority in the West
- The West’s ability to adapt and invent, rather than be constrained by custom and tradition
- The West’s vision of life as an end and a joy in itself, not as a passage to the hereafter
- The West’s detachment from ancestors or clans
Q. What criticisms of her views can you imagine? How might other Muslims respond to her? How might American advocates of multicultural tolerance react to her denunciation of Islam?

- She provides too positive an account of the West, and one that implies that all Westerners subscribe to the values that she identifies.
- The problem is not Islam, but its interpretation. She should work within her current culture to secure the changes that she advocates.
- A devout Muslim might argue that the revealed truth of God cannot be judged and that her criticisms are blasphemous.
- An American who advocates multicultural tolerance may see her critique as very similar to those of Westerners seeking to make the case that Western traditions are superior to other cultural traditions. However, her status as a member of Somali culture and admirer of Western culture complicates this interpretation.

Q. How would you assess her views of Western society? Do you find them accurate or romanticized?

- Her emphasis on the relative freedom of women, the right to question authority, the inventiveness of the West, its focus on this life rather than the next, and the individual over the family and clan represent features of Western society reasonably accurately.
- However there are elements of a romanticized vision as well. Not all Westerners subscribe to the beliefs that she defines as Western. While women in the West are not as restricted as they are in Somalia, they still live in a patriarchal society. While Western individualism is in one sense liberating, it has drawbacks as well which she does not acknowledge.

**Visual Source 22.1: African National Congress**

Q. Does the poster reflect the ANC’s earlier, more peaceful and elite-based politics or its later, more aggressive posture? On what do you base your conclusion?

- The poster represents its later, more aggressive posture, as evidenced by the shield and spear in the central foreground of the image; the hand formed into a fist in the foreground; and the masses of nonelite South Africans depicted in the background.

Q. How might you understand the wheel, the fist, the spear, and the shield shown on the poster? Why do you think the poster used these traditional weapons rather than modern rifles?

- The wheel’s unbroken circle symbolizes the unity of the peoples of South Africa.
- The fist may represent defiance or violence. It most likely represents both, as it holds both a flag and a spear.
- The spear most likely represents armed resistance.
- The spear and shield were traditional weapons of African warriors and therefore symbolize the cultural origins of this freedom movement; guns may have represented repression because they were used by the colonial authorities.

Q. Notice the mass march that provides the background to the poster’s primary images. What message does this convey?

- The march indicates the size of the movement and the popular support for it; and that this was primarily a popular mass movement rather than an elite one.

Q. Pay attention to the several red flags, representing the South African Communist Party, among the crowd. What posture toward communism is suggested by these flags? Keep in mind that the South African Communist Party was a longtime ally of the ANC.

- The flags suggest that the African National Congress was allied with the Communist Party, and that some followers were members of organizations.
- They also suggest that the African National Congress was a mass movement that included workers with communist beliefs, and communist ideas about violent revolution and change appealed to African National Congress members.

Q. How might white, Indian, and mixed-race (“colored”) supporters of the ANC react to this poster? How might white advocates of apartheid respond to it?

- White, Indian, and mixed race supporters of the ANC might find this poster threatening because of its implied use of violence. They might feel excluded because their images are not included in the masses in the background. However, they may be sympathetic to the call for struggle and, in the case of Indian and mixed race supporters, the potential of this struggle to release them from apartheid laws.
- White advocates of apartheid might find this poster threatening, particularly its message of violence and the alliance of communists with the ANC.
Visual Source 22.2: Vietnamese Independence and Victory over the United States

Q. How does this poster present the struggle against the United States?

• The poster presents it as a military struggle, as represented by the soldier in the foreground, Vietnamese planes, missiles, antiaircraft guns, and the crashing American B-52. It also depicts it as a patriotic struggle.

Q. In what way does it anticipate or celebrate the victory over the United States? What meaning does it attach to that victory? How might you understand the flowers that the soldier is holding and the small pagoda in the upper left?

• The shooting down of B-52s over Hanoi and the celebration by the soldiers foreshadow a wider celebration of victory in the war.

• A student might interpret the meaning of the victory over the United States as one further victory in a long struggle against the French, Japanese, United States, and Vietnamese supporters of South Vietnam.

• The flowers might be a traditional sign of celebration, while the pagoda might represent a traditional Vietnamese space for celebration.

Q. What other perspectives on this victory for national independence can you imagine? Consider various viewpoints within the United States as well as those of the anticommunist elements in Vietnamese society.

• The United States might interpret this victory as a defeat in a wider cold war against communism.

• Anticommunist elements in Vietnamese society would see the victory as a defeat in their efforts to stop the spread of communism.

• Supporters of a separate South Vietnamese state might see this victory as a defeat in their bid to secure independence from the north.

Visual Source 22.3: Winning a Jewish National State

Q. What features of the poster contributed to the Zionists’ message?

• Features adding to the Zionists’ message include the cornucopia of fruits and grains, as well as the barren land beyond the plowed field, indicating that the land was unproductive before the Zionists settled and brought new agricultural techniques.

Q. Why do you think the land is shown without any people?

• The absence of people implies that the land was empty and barren, and therefore open for settlement.

Q. How do you understand the contrast between the richly plowed land and the adjacent barren areas? What image of the new Israel does this poster project?

• The contrast represents the impact that up-to-date farming techniques would have on the land, transforming it from barren waste to productive agricultural fields.

• The plowed land shows the new Israel as a productive force transforming a barren, abandoned land into a productive, populated region.

Q. The fruits on the left side of the poster reflect the biblical description of “promised land” as recorded in Deuteronomy 8:7–10. What is their function in the poster?

• The fruits represent the impact of up-to-date farming techniques on the productivity of the land in Palestine.

• They serve to reiterate the promise by Yahweh of Palestine as a homeland to the Hebrews, as stated in their holy books.

Visual Source 22.4: A Palestinian Nation in the Making

Q. How might you read this poster as a response to the Israeli poster in Visual Source 22.3?

• The poster rejects the assertion in Visual Source 22.3 that Palestine was an empty land open to settlement, or a barren land without modern farming techniques.

Q. What significance would you attach to the posture and the traditional clothing of the farmer? Why do you think the artist depicted him with a pickax rather than a rifle?

• The farmer appears strong, determined, and confident; he comes across as a heroic figure. His clothing clearly distinguishes him as an Arab.

• The pickax is a farming implement but could also be used as a weapon; the artist can therefore depict a farming scene that also represents resistance. The pickax might also indicate resistance by peaceful farmers whose land had been seized rather than resistance by professional revolutionaries.
Q. What message is conveyed by the rows of traditional houses on the hillside behind the farmer?
   • The houses of the village represent long-term occupation of the land.
   • They also indicate the permanence of Arab settlements and their claim on the land.

Q. What expectations for the future does the poster imply? Consider the meaning of the doves between the feet and on the shoulder of the farmer as well as the sun’s swirling rays that seem to link the earth and sky.
   • Doves traditionally represent peace, and so may imply that the Palestinian farmer has peace on his side and that only unjust violence can remove him from his land. Their presence in the poster might also indicate that the Arab farmer’s future will be peaceful.
   • The sky may represent divine approval of Palestinian occupation of the land, or it may represent Palestinian occupation as the natural order of things.

Using the Evidence Questions

1. Understanding the uses of history: How does each of these authors use history to make his or her arguments? To what different historical contexts do they appeal?
   • Atatürk cites the Ottoman experience to argue that an Islamic caliphate is an impossible dream.
   • Khomeini uses history to explain why the Islamic world is in a bad state and why his revolution is necessary for a brighter future.
   • Sheikh Kabir offers a vision that relies on Islam’s tradition of religious tolerance and avoidance of war. He rejects the actions of the 9/11 terrorists and argues that they do not represent the sentiments of most Muslims.
   • Ayaan Hirsi Ali draws on her own past in Somalia and its cultural traditions to make her case.
   • In terms of different historical contexts, Atatürk points to the failures of the past to support Turkey’s embracing of a modernist future.
   • Khomeini offers his vision in the context of internal reform within an autocratic Islamic state.
   • Helminski writes in the aftermath of 9/11.
   • Hirsi Ali writes in the context of modern Somali and Western societies.

2. Comparing Islamic modernists: How do you think Kemal Atatürk would respond to later Islamic modernists such as Sheikh Kabir? Consider also his reaction to Benazir Bhutto in Document 23.4, pp. 1178–1179.
   • Kemal Atatürk would likely approve of the internal and personal conceptions of Islam expressed by Kabir and Bhutto because he viewed Islam as a faith for the private sphere.
   • Atatürk would approve Khan’s condemnation of terrorist tactics and political violence in the name of Islam because he largely sought to exclude Islam from the public sphere.
   • Atatürk might also have approved Kabir’s support for democratic reforms and a freer civil society in Muslim countries.
   • Atatürk would have likely sympathized with Bhutto’s ideas about women because his reform program included laws that freed women from many constraints associated with the practice of Islam in Ottoman era Turkey.
   • He may have wanted to know more about Kabir’s vision of democratic reforms and the emergence of a civil society to better understand whether their ideas conformed with his own vision of a secular Islamic state.

3. Imagining an Islamic conversation: What issue might arise in a conversation among the four authors represented here? Can you identify any areas of agreement? On which points would they probably never agree?
   • Hirsi Ali’s rejection of the Muslim faith would likely be opposed by all the other writers.
   • All except for Hirsi Ali are followers of the Islamic faith and desire a strong Islamic world. They believe Islam provides direction on how individuals should conduct their personal lives, even if they disagree as to what role Islam should play in shaping public law and the state.
   • They would probably never agree on whether Islamic law should be state law in Muslim countries; whether Islamic clerics should play an active role in government; whether or when violence was acceptable or desirable; whether a caliphate was desirable; whether the adoption of Western customs or fashions is desirable; the status and roles for women in society; and what democracy and civil society should look like in the Islamic world.
4. **Explaining variations:** What historical circumstances might help to account for the very different understandings of Islam that are reflected in these documents?

- Atatürk sought to lead his country out of a very difficult situation after World War I. The dramatic changes that he thought necessary might explain his radical rethinking of the public role of Islam in Turkey.
- Khomeini came to power following a period of revolutionary struggle against a corrupt secular regime. The failure and abuses of the previous regime and the alternative model offered in the Islamic tradition may explain his views.
- Kabir wrote after 9/11 from the perspective of an American Muslim who sought to retain his Muslim faith while embracing democracy, women’s rights, technological progress, freedom of thought, and religious pluralism.
- Ayaan Hirsi Ali wrote from the perspective of a Somali woman who had received a Western education. Her position as a refugee who fled an arranged marriage shaped her understanding of how Islam sustained social and cultural practices in her home society that she objected to.

**Visual Sources: Representing Independence**

1. **Making comparisons:** Movements of national independence can be defined by the conditions they were opposing as well as the kind of future they were seeking. With these two criteria in mind, what similarities and what differences can you identify among these visual sources and the movements they represented?

- Visual Source 22.2 represents an independence movement opposed to an outside national power, while Visual Sources 22.1, 22.3, and 22.4 represent struggles among people living in the same region.
- All were, in one way or another, opposing legacies of European colonialism.
- Visual Sources 22.1 and 22.2 represent movements that were struggling against systems that limited self-determination, while Visual Sources 22.3 and 22.4 were struggling over control of land.
- Visual Source 22.2 depicts a movement that envisioned a communist future.
- All envisioned the creation or maintenance of sovereign states.

2. **Defining points of view:** How would you identify the point of view that each of these visual sources conveys? Can you imagine a visual source with an alternative point of view for each of them?

- Visual Source 22.1 represents the point of view of the ANC in its violent struggle against the apartheid system in South Africa. An alternative viewpoint for Visual Source 22.1 could be that of an apartheid supporter who depicts the ANC as a terrorist organization.
- Visual Source 22.2 represents the point of view of the Vietnamese fighting against the Americans. An alternative viewpoint for Visual Source 22.2 might be offered by the U.S. Government, which might depict the struggle in terms of the cold war.
- Visual Source 22.3 represents a Jewish understanding of the creation of a Palestinian state. An alternative viewpoint for Visual Source 22.3 might be offered by a member of the PLO, who could depict the consequences of Jewish settlements on Arab farmers.
- Visual Source 22.4 commemorates Land Day, when six Palestinians were killed in demonstrations against Israeli confiscations of their land. An alternative viewpoint for Visual Source 22.4 might be offered by the Israeli government, who might emphasize the threat to public order posed by demonstrations.

3. **Seeking meaning in visual sources:** How do visual sources such as these help to illuminate the meaning of national independence? In what ways are they limited as sources of evidence for historians?

- These visual sources help to illuminate how independence was presented to the people.
- They indicate which events or ideas defined the meaning of national independence for specific movements.
- They provide evidence concerning the variety of independence movements.
- However, they shed little light on the opposition to these movements.
- They reveal little about splits within independence movements.
- They were created for public viewing and therefore are best used to examine the public face rather than inner workings of the movement.
- Like the posters of World War I (see Visual Sources, Chapter 20), they present a positive image with the purpose of promoting the movements, a perspective that might be tempered by the work of artists producing other forms of art as in the Visual Source Feature for Chapter 20.
LECTURE STRATEGIES

Lecture 1: Expanding independence

Since the chapter focuses only on two former colonies winning independence, this lecture strategy proposes casting the net wider, creating a comparative analysis of two or three additional independence movements. The objectives of this lecture strategy are:

• to encourage student understanding of the scope of decolonization in the twentieth century
• to give students a better idea of the common features of decolonization and some important regional variations
• to present the histories of Israel, Botswana, and Algeria as examples of important variants of the decolonization theme.

Begin with Israel, chronologically the earliest of the three independence movements to be discussed in this lecture. Some important points to include are:

• the Zionist movement and massive settlement of Jews in Palestine
• the Balfour Declaration and how it was interpreted
• British efforts to halt Jewish immigration
• the degree of British control in the Palestinian Mandate
• the partitioning of the mandate between Arab Palestine and a new state of Israel
• the creation of Israel in the context of the Holocaust
• Israel's wars for survival and territorial expansion.

Algeria endured a different kind of decolonization. The state won its independence from France only after considerable violence, and Algeria still struggles to find a clear national identity. Some major points are:

• French control of and settlement in Algeria
• major French investment in Algeria (especially in the oil industry)
• the war of independence and mass exodus of the pieds-noirs (French settlers in Algeria)
• the rise of militant Islam in Algeria
• the state of Algeria today.

Finally, Botswana's peaceful progress to independence, political stability, and modest prosperity make a pleasant contrast to the otherwise depressing tale of decolonization in Africa. It would be useful to include the following points:

• the establishment of the Bechuanaland Protectorate by Great Britain
• Botswana's proposals for self-government, and Britain's acceptance of them
• the leadership of Seretse Khama
• the political stability of Botswana.

It may be useful to refer to the chapter's Visual Sources feature during your lecture.

Lecture 2: Dictatorship and the new nations

Africa has seen an extraordinary number of military coups and dictatorships since independence. This lecture strategy proposes examining the phenomenon of military dictatorship in developing countries in greater detail, focusing on Africa but pulling in examples from other developing nations. Its main objectives are:

• to help students understand why military dictatorships are so common in the Global South
• to explore the conditions that make dictatorship possible and sometimes even preferable
• to examine how dictators come to power and how they fall.

Begin with some consideration of what a dictator actually is. Then select a "typical" dictator from the following list, establishing a base from which to explore the phenomenon more widely:

• Idi Amin (Uganda)
• Suharto (Indonesia)
• Saddam Hussein (Iraq)
• Augusto Pinochet (Chile)
• Fidel Castro (Cuba)
• Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe)
• Blaise Compaore (Burkina Faso)
• Joseph Kabila (Congo-Kinshasa)
• Charles Taylor (Liberia)
• Houari Boumedienne (Algeria).

Some themes to consider are:

• ethnic cleansing or genocide
• stability of the new military regime
• human rights abuses
• positive economic steps taken by the dictator
• alignment of the dictator in relation to other states.

Lecture 3: Religion and developing nations

The text discussed how Islam has confronted modernization in Turkey and Iran. This lecture strategy expands the exploration of religion in the developing nations. Its objectives are:
to encourage students to consider religion as both a unifying and a divisive factor in developing nations
• to investigate the rapid spread of Islam and Christianity in developing nations
• to consider what has become of traditional religions in the Global South.

Begin with a map of the major religions of the world in 2000 (see www.justmaps.org/maps/thematics/religions.asp#). Then discuss the massive spread of evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity in Africa in recent decades and the Islamization of central Africa. Other related points include:

• the restoration of Russian Orthodoxy and the rapid spread of evangelical Christianity in parts of the former Soviet Union
• the revival of Confucianism in China
• the massive missionary enterprises of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

More important is the question of what these religions mean to developing nations. Try to address the following points:

• Does religion provide some of the social and national glue that many developing countries do not receive from their governments?
• What is the texture of religious life in Roman Catholic South America? How does it differ from the practice of Islam in Nigeria or of Pentecostalism in Botswana?
• Which religions still maintain an active missionary presence in developing nations, and what effect does a foreign presence have on those countries?
• What is the relationship between religion and social services in developing nations?
• What is the relationship between world religions like Christianity and Islam and the native religions of the developing nations?

THINGS TO DO IN THE CLASSROOM

Discussion Topics

1. Misconception/Difficult topic (large or small group). “What’s wrong with Africa?”

It is common to hear the belief expressed that there must be something wrong with Africa to make most of the continent as impoverished, genocidal, and dictator-ridden as it is today. Ask students to compile the evidence in the textbook that would support the argument that the new nations of Africa have been doing the best they can in the face of the enormous social and economic challenges they inherited from the colonial era. Then ask them to discuss this evidence and how convincing they find it.

2. Contextualization (large or small group). “Africa in the news.”

Ask students to collect all the news stories they can find about Africa for a week (hinting at extra credit for unusual news stories should assure a good selection). Go over the main news items in class, and then lead a discussion on the relationship between what’s in the news today and the saga of Africa winning independence and struggling to develop economically.

3. Comparison (large or small group). “Islam’s reaction to the West.”

Ask students to outline the main points of the chapter’s discussion of Iran’s Islamic revolution. Then ask them to discuss similarities and dissimilarities between that movement and modern Islamic radical fundamentalism (as represented by the Taliban and al-Qaeda).

Classroom Activities


Distribute Jawaharlal Nehru’s “Speech on the Granting of Indian Independence,” which he delivered on August 14, 1947 (a transcript can be found at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1947nehru1.html). Ask students to identify the main themes of the speech, then discuss how well they think India has lived up to this message of hope since 1947.

2. Analysis exercise (large or small group). “Islamic revolution in Iran.”

A quick Google image search will provide you with many visual sources of the Iranian revolution. Pick some representative samples (e.g., a poster of Khomeini, mass rallies, American hostages, one of the many propaganda posters that show the shah hanging on to Uncle Sam’s coattails). Show them to
the class and encourage discussion of the lessons that can be garnered from the images.

3. Clicker question.

Do you believe that democracy is the ideal model of government and that it should be in place throughout the world?

Class Discussion for the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Comparison (large or small group): Women and Modern Islam

The place of women in the modern Islamic world is addressed in Documents 22.1, 22.2, 22.4, and 23.4. Ask your students what these documents can tell us about women in the Islamic world. Document 22.2 addresses women from a fundamentalist perspective. What are Khomeini’s greatest concerns about women? What basic arguments are advanced in Document 22.4? Do they confirm or challenge the passages concerning Islamic women in the main text? Conclude by discussing what the variety of ideas about women can tell us about the Muslim world and its engagement with Western modernity.

Contextualization (large and small groups): Communism and Independence Movements

Use the communist flags in Visual Source 23.1 to segue into a discussion of the role of communism in independence struggles. Ask students why groups like the ANC or the Viet Minh might be attracted to communism. Further questions to consider include:

- What communist ideas in Document 17.4 might appeal to these movements?
- Do students think that Marx would embrace these movements? Why or why not?
- How do these independence movements alter Marxian socialism?
- In what ways do they remain true to the original ideology?
- How do their circumstances change the focus of communism?

Conclude by discussing other independence movements that did not embrace communism. What factors made for these differences?

Classroom Activities for the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Contextualization (large or small group): Varieties of Islam

This Document feature gives you the opportunity to explore the many interpretations of Islam and its relationship to the state found in the modern Muslim world. Ask students to draw a line and label one end “secular” and the other “fundamentalist.” What is meant by “secular”? What is meant by “fundamentalist”? You might ask your students to review the discussion of fundamentalism in Chapter 23 for context. Where would they place each of the documents on the spectrum? Are some harder to place than others? If so, why? Conclude by asking students whether they could construct a similar spectrum for Christian thought, or for the ideologies that developed in the West from the Enlightenment through the twenty-first century.

Close Reading (large or small group): Representing Nationalism

Have students examine each of the Visual Sources carefully. Ask them to list how the identity of each movement, and the nature of the struggle for independence, was defined. Once students have completed their analysis ask them to compare the sources. Can they identify similarities or does every movement differ in how it depicts itself and the nature of its struggle? Conclude by asking what these similarities and/or differences can tell us about the nature of independence movements.

WHAT’S THE SIGNIFICANCE?

Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Founder of the Khudai Khidmatgar or “Servants of God” movement (1890–1988) in the Northwest Frontier Province of colonial India, he advocated throughout his life nonviolent social and political reform based on Islamic principles.

African National Congress: South African political party established in 1912 by elite Africans who sought to win full acceptance in colonial society; it only gradually became a popular movement that came to control the government in 1994.
Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: Founder and first president of the Republic of Turkey (1881–1938); as military commander and leader of the Turkish national movement, he made Turkey into a secular state. (pron. moo-STAH-fah kem-AHL at-ah-TURK)

Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini: Important Shia ayatollah (advanced scholar of Islamic law and religion) who became the leader of Iran’s Islamic revolution and ruled Iran from 1979 until his death in 1989. (pron. A-hat-ol-LAH ROOH-ol-LAH ko- MAY-nee)

Black Consciousness: South African movement that sought to foster pride, unity, and political awareness among the country’s African majority and often resorted to violent protest against white minority rule.

decolonization: Process in which many African and Asian states won their independence from Western colonial rule, in most cases by negotiated settlement with gradual political reforms and a program of investment rather than through military confrontation.

export-led industrialization: A model for economic development that advocates specializing in the production of specific products for export.

Mohandas K. Gandhi: Usually referred to by his sobriquet “Mahatma” (Great Soul), Gandhi (1869–1948) was a political leader and the undoubted spiritual leader of the Indian drive for independence from Great Britain. (pron. moh-HAHN-dahs GAHN-dee)

import substitution industrialization: A model for economic development that advocates reducing an economy’s dependence on the uncertain global marketplace by processing raw materials and manufacturing goods behind high tariff barriers if necessary.

Indian National Congress: Organization established in 1885 by Western-educated elite Indians in an effort to win a voice in the governance of India; over time, the INC became a major popular movement that won India’s independence from Britain.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah: Leader of India’s All-India Muslim League and first president of the breakaway state of Pakistan (1876–1948). (pron. moo-HAHM-ad ah-LEE jee-NAH)

Nelson Mandela: South African nationalist (b. 1918) and leader of the African National Congress who was imprisoned for twenty-seven years on charges of treason, sabotage, and conspiracy to overthrow the apartheid government of South Africa; he was elected president of South Africa in 1994, four years after he was finally released from prison. (pron. man-DEL-ah)

military government: The result of military takeover of a state, typically these governments sweep aside old political parties and constitutions promising a return to civilian government and democracy in the future.

Muslim League: The All-India Muslim League, created in 1906, was a response to the Indian National Congress in India’s struggle for independence from Britain; the League’s leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, argued that regions of India with a Muslim majority should form a separate state called Pakistan.

satyagraha: Literally, “truth force”; Mahatma Gandhi’s political philosophy, which advocated confrontational but nonviolent political action. (pron. sah-TYAH-grah-hah)

Soweto: Impoverished black neighborhood outside Johannesburg, South Africa, and the site of a violent uprising in 1976 in which hundreds were killed; that rebellion began a series of violent protests and strikes that helped end apartheid. (pron. sow-WAY-toe)

FURTHER READING


LITERATURE


FILM


- *The Battle for Islam*. Insight Media, 2005. 63 minutes. An up-to-date exploration of the tension within Islamic societies between secular and religious forces, including a segment on Turkey.


- *India of the Gandhis*. Insight Media, 2004. 52 minutes. This film explores the influence of Gandhi and his followers and family on the history of postindependence India.

- *Iran*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2003. 37 minutes. Explores contemporary Iran with reference to the impact of governing the country using Islamic principles.


- *Mandela: From Prison to President*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1994. 52 minutes. A biography of this important leader of the African National Congress who became president of South Africa.


- *Superpowers Collide*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1998. 48 minutes. A review of the essential topics and events of the period following World War II.

• *The Life and Times of Joseph Stalin.* Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 90 minutes. Explores the life and career of this central figure in Soviet history.

• *The Nuclear Age.* Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1995. 49 minutes. Traces the development of nuclear weapons and their importance to the cold war.

• *October 1917: Lenin’s Story.* Two-part series. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2007. 52 minutes each. Two episodes, “The People’s Revolution” and “Lenin’s Revolution,” examine the course of the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia and Lenin’s role in it.

• *Soviet Disunion: Ten Years That Shook the World.* Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1995. 57 minutes. Focuses on the ten years of glasnost and perestroika that defined the Soviet reform efforts of the 1980s.

### ADDITIONAL BEDFORD/ST. MARTIN’S RESOURCES FOR CHAPTER 22

**PowerPoint Maps, Images, Lecture Outlines, and i>clicker Content**

These presentation materials are downloadable from the Media and Supplements tab at [bedfordstmartins.com/strayer/catalog](http://bedfordstmartins.com/strayer/catalog), and they are available on an Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM. They include ready-made and fully customizable PowerPoint multimedia presentations built around lecture outlines that are embedded with maps, figures, and selected images from the textbook and are supplemented by more detailed instructor notes on key points. Also available are maps and selected images in JPEG and PowerPoint format; content for i>clicker, a classroom response system, in Microsoft Word and PowerPoint formats; the Instructor’s Resource Manual in Microsoft Word format; and outline maps in PDF format for quizzing or handouts. All files are suitable for copying onto transparency acetates.

**Documents and Essays from *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader, Fifth Edition***

The following documents, essays, and illustrations to accompany Chapter 22 are available in the following chapters of this reader by Kevin Reilly:

Chapter 27:

- Hebe de Bonafini and Matilde Sánchez, *The Madwomen at the Plaza de Mayo*
- Nelson Mandela, *Nobel Peace Prize Address*

**Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/strayer**

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. Each chapter contains specific testing exercises, including a multiple-choice self-test that focuses on important conceptual ideas; a flashcard activity that tests students on their knowledge of key terms; and two interactive map activities intended to strengthen students’ geographic skills. Instructors can monitor students’ progress through an online Quiz Gradebook or receive email updates.

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