

# Making of the Contemporary World

Fall 2022

## Final Exam Study Guide

Monday, 12/5/2022

*Revised 12/13/22*

The final examination will take place in our regular room on Wednesday, December 14, 2022, at 12:00pm. Bring your laptops and we will complete the exam online. You might want to bring along your computer charger, water and a snack.

I have written this as a two hour exam but I will give you the full two and a half hours of our exam period to complete it.

This study guide includes the central examples and ideas from the semester. I've included most (but not all) of the details from the study guides for Exam #1 and #2. I'd hope you could say a word or two about any of the details mentioned here. I've left some details in here that are mostly just for reference, such as some of the introductions and chronologies under the regional perspectives. Let me point out the obvious: you will not be tested on all the material on the study guide! It will, however, provide you a structure to review the work that we've done this semester, help you succeed on the exam, and help you consolidate what you've learned.

The final exam covers material from the entire course. See details on the format below. The exam is broken into three parts: very short answer, short answer, and a long essay. The format will require you to write on all the different sections of the course. "Understanding History" points you to work on historical concepts throughout the course; "Regional Perspectives" points to work in weeks four to nine; "Thematic Perspectives" points to work in weeks eleven, twelve and fifteen.

Oh, and note: the final exam will likely include questions from the previous two exams.

My suggestion: review your earlier exams to see what you did well and less well, read through this study guide carefully, and then pull together the work you've done. Go through your notes, review readings, see your weekly assignments, check out the presentations from Moodle, and look to online resources from our Course Resources page. Most importantly, take time to outline answers to the themes for the Long Essay.

And let me also suggest: study with your classmates. Put your minds together. Ask questions of each other to test what you know and help each other out with gaps in your knowledge. Good luck!  
— gks

### FORMAT

**Part I—Very Short Answer** (about 20 mins., 20% of grade)

*In a word or a phrase each, answer the following questions as directed (a total of 10 very short answer questions):*

**A—Understanding History** (answer **two** of four)

**B—Regional Perspectives** (answer **four** of eight)

**C—Thematic Perspectives** (answer **four** of eight)

*For example.* What historical concept reminds us that “every historical outcome depends upon a complicated web of prior conditions”? [Contingency]

**Part II—Short Answer** (about 40 mins., 3 questions, 30% of grade)

*In about two paragraphs each, answer the following questions as directed (a total of three short answers):*

**A—Understanding History** (answer **one** of two)

**B—Regional Perspectives** (answer **one** of two)

**C—Thematic Perspectives** (answer **one** of two)

*For example:* Why is Africa’s place in history contentious? (You would answer with a discussion of Eurocentric history... Afrocentric history... Recent scholarship...)

**Part III—Long Essay** (about 60 mins., one question with choice of two, 50% of grade)

*Write an essay of about five paragraphs to answer one of the following questions. Give concrete details from textbook, lectures, readings, and/or discussion. In your answer, provide examples from at least two states or regions. Do not repeat at length the examples you’ve discussed earlier in the exam. Also, do not write at length about your final paper topic.*

*For example:* How can we understand the present in light of the past? (A strong answer would introduce the topic and set out the central point of your answer... perhaps drawing on a quotation from Karl Marx... perhaps underlining the powerful impact of the past on the present... then you would precede to present three paragraphs that present key examples that illuminate your central point... say, a paragraph on legacies in regional history, such as imperialism in Latin America (Berryman, land ownership, Galleano, Dr. Holt on revolution/counter-revolution)... say, a paragraph on legacies in thematic history, such as the environmental history of industrial societies (Dr. Shaya on rats/sharks, Duiker on environmental challenges), ... say, a paragraph on shifting patterns of geopolitics, from the multipolar world of 1900 to the Cold War to the multipolar world of today (Brower & Sanders, nation state, Dr. Shaya on multipolar world)... and you would end with a strong paragraph of conclusion - not a summary, but a conclusion that applies these examples back to the central point of your essay.)

**TOPICS FOR PART 3, THE LONG ESSAY**

Let me start with the essay topics for part 3 of the exam.

I will give you the choice of two essay questions for part 3. Please be sure to read the question as stated on the exam carefully and be prepared to answer with a clear historical framework and relevant historical details. I ask you to provide examples from at least two or three regions.

In preparing these topics, you should outline your answers with themes, arguments, and concrete examples.

- Eurocentrism. What is it? How should we escape it in our understanding of the history of the contemporary world?

- Area Studies and Global History. What defines the cultural areas we have studied (such as Latin America or East Asia)? How should we balance the understanding of regional history with global perspectives?
- Colonialism and Its Legacies. How should we understand the legacies of colonialism in the contemporary world?
- Nationalism and the nation-state. What is nationalism? What is the nation-state? And what are the challenges of the nation-state in the contemporary world?
- International relations, 1900 to the present. How have international relations changed in the period we have studied, from 1900 to the present? How has the dominance of one or two or many powers shaped history?

## HOW TO THINK HISTORICALLY

Let me remind you of some key ideas of historical thinking as we've explored them in our course. These will be relevant to every part of the exam – and the course.

### *How to Think (and Talk and Write) Like a Historian...*

*History.* The study of the past. Not “the past.” From the Greek, *historia*, meaning “inquiry.”

*Change & continuity.* This is the historian's bread and butter. What changes? What remains the same?

*Forces of change (causality).* The forces of change are rarely singular. Indeed, historians shun monocausal explanations. We can often point to several forces of change that produce events. So... industrialization was the product of a complex web of factors.

*Complexity.* In understanding historical change and continuity, historians often insist upon complexity. History is not an experiment with a dependent and independent variable. There are usually more variables than can be easily accounted for. Thus, historians prefer to analyze the many factors behind historical change.

*Context.* A classic historian's tool. We can ask of anything: what is its context? Looking to context – cultural, national, social, economic, political, etc. – can help us to understand an event. The rebuilding of the port of Rio de Janeiro in 1903, for example... (An answer would include: the globalization of trade, the trade in coffee and rubber, and Brazilian efforts to modernize their city along European lines, etc.).

*Chronology and periodization.* What is your chronology? What is your periodization? Such questions invite us to line up events in time and understand their relationship. So... Robert Marks explains the history of globalization in four waves, providing a chronology and an explanation for each of those waves. For example, he views the late 19<sup>th</sup> c., from around 1870 to 1914, as a second wave of globalization when goods circled the globe in the context of formal and informal empire. Others will tell this history differently.

*Turning points.* Moments in time – or particular events – at which history turns. We have seen some examples of these: the Battle of Plassey which opened the way for British control of Bengal, or the naming of Dakar as the capital of French West Africa, the opening of Japan to foreign trade in 1853, or 1945, which marks a transformation of European politics and identity.

*Historical narratives.* Historians construct narratives – historical narratives, stories rooted in sources and analysis that explain changes across time. Some narrative have such importance that we call them “master narratives,” such as the master narrative about the “rise of the West.”

*The “end of history”?* A memorable phrase (a memorable historical narrative) from Francis Fukuyama who, in the aftermath of the collapse of Communist governments in eastern Europe in 1989, pronounced that the historical struggle of governmental systems had ended with the triumph of liberal democracy. The years that followed – with wars of nationalism and the rise of new authoritarian governments – showed the inadequacy of his view.

*Contingency.* An advanced term, but an important one. The contingency of history reminds us that (as some historians write) “every historical outcome depends upon a complicated web of prior conditions.... Change a single prior condition, and any historical outcome could have turned out differently.” The dominant role of Europe (and its offshoots) in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was a contingent (not inevitable) development.

*Accident.* Historical *accidents* have no human causes. So, we can speak of the distribution of coal and iron ore deposits as accidental.

*Conjuncture.* See the clear explanation by Marks: “when several otherwise independent developments come together in ways that interact with one another, creating a unique historical moment.” He explains European military preeminence in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> c. as just such a conjuncture of industrialization and state development.

*Agency.* Agency refers to the power of individuals and groups to make their own history. One problem of Eurocentrism is that it does not allow agency to many peoples of the world. But note that agency (of all), can be limited by the past. On this score, see Marx on the “burden of the past.”

*The “burden of the past.”* Remember these words of Karl Marx: People “make their own history, but they do not make it as they please.” The past provides the circumstances that shape the present. (Note: you don’t need to follow the thinking of Marx the revolutionary to learn from Marx the historian!)

*Primary sources.* Texts, images, documents, artifacts, anything, really, that provides an entryway to another time or place. These are not a direct transmission from the past, but documents that require interpretation. Some examples: an account of the “Black Hole of Calcutta,” a photograph of Rio de Janeiro, the lighthouse of Jaffa, a photograph of a Geisha.

*Secondary sources.* The work of historians.

*Presentism.* Seeing the past in terms of the present. The term is often used to criticize historians (or historical thinking) that imposes some view of the present upon the past. But the opposite point of view – antiquarianism – is equally satisfying. We’ve argued for a study of the past that helps inform our understanding of the present.

*What is history good for?* Not predicting the future, not preventing the mistakes of the past (as Michael Herr memorably wrote, “those who remember the past are condemned to repeat it as well”). History helps us understand the world – constraints, forces of change, complexity, etc., helps us understand others, helps us understand our place in the world, helps us take a broad view, helps us cultivate intellectual humility.

*How do we “map” the world – literally and figuratively?* What are the challenges of projecting the three dimensions of the globe onto the two dimensions of a paper map? Note the ways in which such projections – the most famous is the Mercator projection from the 17<sup>th</sup> c. – distort the size of territories far from the equator. And think about the ways in which individuals see the world from

their own perspective. That is inevitable, but we would like to complement our individual view of the world and our place in it with a broader grasp of the cultures and forces at work in the world.

*Area Studies & Global Studies.* Area studies approaches (which rose to prominence in the 1950s in the context of the Cold War) emphasize understanding a cultural area – a region – in depth. They are institutionalized in programs (campus programs in East Asian Studies, for example) that emphasize deep interdisciplinary study of the history, culture, and language of regions. The downside, as we’ve discussed, is that such approaches can isolate regions from one another. Global History approaches emphasize the connections between states and societies and regions. They underline *zones of interaction* (an important term from the 1980s and 1990s, referring for example to the Atlantic World or the Indian Ocean World) that are often more important than continents. Patrick Manning persuasively argues (in his 2003 *Navigating World History*) that “it is the connections that make world history, not the separations.” (Berkshire, xvii) The danger of global history approaches is that they can sometimes gloss over important elements of cultural distinction in their rush to emphasize connections. As we said at the beginning of the course, we will apply both area studies approaches and global history approaches.

*Eurocentrism.* A view of world history that puts Europe and the West at the center, that discounts the agency of other peoples of the world, that views the world through European and Western values and ideas. See Robert Marks for a thoughtful explanation and critique. See Dipesh Chakrabarty for an influential discussion of the applicability of political concepts that come out of Europe, such as democracy and human rights (specifically on the need for *translation*).

*Nationalism.* The notion that the state should be defined according to the nation, a community of belonging based on culture, history, values. We’ve highlighted the relative recency of this political identity (esp. since the 19<sup>th</sup> c.) and explored the ways in which nations are not natural or inevitable groups, but (in the words of Benedict Anderson) “imagined communities.”

*Multiple Modernities.* You’ve heard the expression “modernity,” to refer to advanced development in society or politics or ideas (such as “modern economies” or “political modernity”). A long tradition (see Marx, Durkheim, Weber) viewed “modernity” as a singular construct. The term referred to modern development on the European or Western model. “Multiple modernities” highlights the notion that economic development and political development have played out in different ways in different contexts.

### ***Understanding World History – Against Eurocentrism (from week 2)***

Robert Marks on the history of the world (introduction and conclusion)

- Marks presented “four interrelated themes” that define the modern world
  - o Industrialization
  - o Nation-states
  - o The gap between wealthiest and poorest parts of the world
  - o And the impact of humans on the environment
- Marks explains the “rise of the west” as a contingent development
- What is Eurocentrism? And what is wrong with this view of the world?
- What did the world look like in 1400? Europe was not the
- How does Marks (and how should we) explain the industrial and military success of Europe after 1800?
- When did the divergence of Europe and the rest of the world occur? And why?
- What is the “Anthropocene”?

- What were the various waves of globalization?

#### Dipesh Chakrabarty

- What is this “Europe” that Chakrabarty wants to decenter or “provincialize”?
- What are the concepts of “political modernity”? What value do they have? Are they universal? Should they be universal?
- How does Chakrabarty aim to rethink (or translate) these concepts?
- What is the place of contingency and agency in Chakrabarty’s understanding of world history?

#### Benedict Anderson

- What is a “nation” for Anderson? What picture comes across of how nations are formed? How does that compare to everyday ways of speaking about nations (as natural and inevitable)?
- Anderson argues that three concepts had to fall away before it was possible to “imagine the nation”: a single language of truth, a belief in divine rule, a vision of time in which human history was indistinguishable from cosmology.
- What was “print-capitalism”? Media in an era of capitalist exchange. And what was its impact on nationalism? Central. It allowed far-flung residents of a particular territory to see themselves as part of a bounded community.

#### *Broad views on the world in 1900 from your reading in Duiker*

- What picture of the world in the late 19th and early 20th c. comes through from Duiker?
- What picture of European imperialism?
- Of the British Raj?
- Of Africa?
- Of colonial conflict and resistance?
- What picture of China?
- Of Japan?
- Of imperialism and western influence?

**Jaffa, 1900.** A port city of the Ottoman empire in the Eastern Mediterranean. And increasingly the object of European attention in the late nineteenth century. See the photographs of Jaffa in 1900 and the travel guide to Jaffa in 1912 (primary sources).

Details: Ottoman Empire, “capitulations” or favorable concessions, Jaffa oranges, Suez Canal, French lighthouse at Jaffa

International trade - of Jaffa oranges, for example

European competition for control of Ottoman Empire

Western views of the “Holy Land” - and tourism

**Calcutta.** Today, Kolkata, mega city of 16m, part of Ganges Delta. In 1902, Calcutta was capital of British India, a site of empire (and of Indian nationalism).

Several stories interact

Military story – British control of the city (contested by Siraj ud Daula in 18<sup>th</sup> c.) – and expansion of role for British East India Company

Environmental story – British role in remaking landscape to make a fixed city on the site of a shifting plain

Dubious historical narrative - Black Hole Monument of Calcutta in 1902. Based on dubious story, erected at center of imperial city in 1902 to justify British control of city – and of India.

**Yokohama.** From a city of a few thousand in 1850 to a bustling port city. Today, part of the greater Tokyo region. How did change happen and what can it teach us?

Japan – Tokogwa Shogunate to 1854 – limited foreign presence in Nagasaki

Gunboat diplomacy of US

Yokohama becomes “treaty port” – and in time a site of global developments. See, esp. three themes

Global Economy

- Japanese exports of cotton and silk

Nationalism

- Chinese reformers find community in Yokohama – schools and printing presses – define Chinese nationalism
- “Japan” – idealized vision of Japan, cultivated and exported – bonsai, cherry trees, porcelain

Public Health

- Cholera deaths in 19<sup>th</sup> c. – blamed on foreigners –
- Racist biopolitics – view of dirty others, nations that need “cleaning up,” will shape Japanese view of empire as civilizing force

**Rio de Janeiro.** Port city of Brazil. Its history sheds light on Latin America and on global history

Three forces help explain the city in 1900

- Immigration – vast numbers of European immigrants. Part of a wave of migration, fostered by Brazil govt which looked to “good immigrants” (white immigrants) to build the economy
- Neocolonialism – not direct control of Brazil by European powers, but a web of trade relations and financial relations that left Brazilians (and others in Latin America) subject to influence of western powers. See dependence on coffee and rubber trade
- Urbanization – the remaking of the city around 1900, to extend the port for global trade, and to remake the city on the European model (with wide avenues)

The outcome of these forces produced

- The reinforcement of structural inequalities in Brazil
-

**Dakar.** Today an important city in Senegal. Metropolitan region population of 3.9m. International crossroads for culture, trade, more.

18<sup>th</sup> c. a village. Populated by Lébou people.

How did it change in the 19<sup>th</sup> c.? Why?

See French construction of colonial region of French West Africa.

Made Dakar a space of colonial administration and government

And a space for the organization of anti-colonial, nationalist movements

### ***Some themes for discussing these examples***

Industrialization

Capitalism

Global trade

Imperialism and colonialism (in different varieties)

Dependency (center and periphery)

A multipolar world

### ***REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES***

A few words of introduction to each region, a periodization, and a list of central themes of our discussion.

#### ***Latin America***

LA today is home to 600m people, at least 20 countries, dozens of languages, the world's largest Catholic country, a place of great economic inequalities (extreme poverty and wealth). South America, Central America, the Caribbean. Prof. Katie Holt introduced us to the region through the themes of the legacies of colonialism and transculturation.

Simple periodization might include:

- pre-contact (to 1492). Aztec Empire, Inca Empire.
- colonialism. Role of Spain, Portugal.
- independence (late 18<sup>th</sup>, early 19<sup>th</sup>). Simon Bólvivar, for ex.
- neo-colonialism (1880-1940). Large role for the U.S.
- recent LA (1945 and on). Cold War, populism, socialism, dictatorship, and democracy

Her take away message:

- I argue that it is the legacies of **colonialism**—economic, political, social—that set the stage for the entrenched structural inequalities that characterize much of Latin America today.
- My interpretation emphasizes **transculturation** (the dialectical exchange of culture, mutually influencing encounters even within a highly unequal power structure to create something new and uniquely Latin American)

Other themes she discussed:



- Efforts to address inequalities in LA societies. Produced populist movements (such as Peron) and socialist movements (such as Castro).
- Impact of the United States in the 20<sup>th</sup> c. During the Cold War, the US privileged regime stability over democracy. And it intervened, often violently, to protect US economic interests. See Guatemala, Chile, Cuba, etc. See Eduardo Galeano.

Some questions (see homework):

- How might we subdivide this larger region?)
- What is the place of inequality in Latin America?
- Why are Latin American societies so unequal?
- What are some signs of the rising middle class in Latin America?
- What has been the place of democracy in LA? Where and in what conditions has it thrived?
- What has been the place of dictatorship in LA? Where and in what conditions has it thrived?
- How should we tell the economic story of LA since 1945?

Key words and examples:

- The Global South
- Indigenous, Afro-Latin, Euro-Latin Regions of Latin America
- Legacies of Colonialism
- Transculturation, Virgen de Guadalupe
- Pre-Contact Latin America, Empires, Aztec, Inca, ecological imperialism
- Extractive Colonialism & Planter Colonialism, Potosí, Slavery
- African diaspora, race in LA, Casta paintings
- Catholic Church
- Simon Bolivar, independence
- Neo-Colonialism
- Nationalism, economic diversification
- Revolution and Counter-Revolution
- Diaspora, push factors
- Democracy and autocracy
- Mexican Revolution, 1911-, 1917 Constitution, “Tierra y libertad,” PRI
- Brazil, “50 years in 5,” J.K. (Juscelino Kubitesch, 56-61), dictatorship, Lula, Zero Hunger, Operation Carwash, Jair Bolsonaro
- Venezuela, Hugo Chavez, Plan Bolivar 2000
- Eduardo Galeano (1940-2015) – and his critique of the US role in LA

*Africa in Historical Perspective*

Africa today is 54 countries, 20% of land area of world, 2<sup>nd</sup> largest continent, larger than the United States, Europe, and China combined. Enormous variety. Many societies and cultures.

Prof. Ibra Sene shared a discussion of the historiography of Africa and an overview of African history.

A simple periodization might include:

- Ancient Africa
- Great Empires of West Africa
- Transatlantic slave trade (16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> c.)
- Colonialism (esp. 1880s to 1960)
- Independence and post-independence

Some central themes of his presentation and your discussion:

- The diversity of Africa
- The profound legacies of imperialism and colonialism
- Western stereotypes of Africa - and the new Africa that is emerging today
- African history as a history of connections

Some questions:

- Where does the idea that Africa is without history come from?
- What are some views of Afrocentric history?
- What are drawbacks of area studies approach to history?
- What were the colonial legacies in postwar Africa?
- Who were the nationalists that pushed for the independence of African states?
- What was Pan-Africanism? And how has the dream of African unity fared?
- What has Neo-colonialism in Africa looked like?

Key words and examples:

- Eurocentrism, Afrocentrism
- W.E.B. Dubois, Carter Woodson, Cheik Anta Diop
- Area studies and global studies (“zones of interaction”)
- The diversity of Africa, larger than US, China, and Europe combined
- Ancient Egypt, Ancient Nubia, Aksum, Ancient Zimbabwe
- Christianity, Islam, Sufi Islam in West Africa, Coptic Christians in Egypt
- Empires of Mali, Ghana, Songhay, for example
- The Transatlantic Slave Trade (TAST), 350 yrs, 11 m. enslaved Africans
- Colonialism - French, British, Belgian, Portuguese, etc. Settler societies such as South Africa, Kenya, and Algeria
- Pan-Africanism, Négritude (Blackness)
- Kwame Nkrumah, Léopold Senghor, Jomo Kenyatta, for example

- Neo-Colonialism, The Cold War
- Ghana – British Colony, Gold Coast, Kwame Nkrumah, independence in 1957, multiparty democracy
- Congo – Belgian Congo, independence in 1960, PM Patrice Lumumba (d. 1961), Zaire
- South Africa – *apartheid*, Bantustans, African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, 1994 free elections
- Kenya – Jomo Kenyatta, Mau Mau uprising, independence in 1963, multiparty democracy, challenge of ethnic differences
- African Organization of Unity, African Union, African Continental Free Trade Agreement, GPG's (Global Public Goods)

### *East Asia*

This week proceeded on two tracks. We did some reading in Duiker on China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, with a brief look at Hong Kong and Singapore – and we heard lectures from Dr. Jim Bonk on the region of East Asia and the making of nations out of East Asian empires.

Today the regions includes two of the largest economies of the world (China and Japan, 2 of top 3 by GDP). A site of transformation. A century earlier it was mostly preindustrial, impoverished, ravaged by war.

What makes the region of East Asia? See Dr. Bonk's Monday lecture. No coherent geography. Or common identity. No one from the region calls themselves East Asian. But the peoples of East Asia do share a zone of interaction, the South China Sea. And they share culture. All under the historical influence of Chinese culture. Chinese script helped bring cultures together. Religious influences of Confucianism and Buddhism. Technologies of rice production, silk, and ceramics were shared across the region.

What is the importance of empire in East Asia? And how have old empires become nations? See Dr. Bonk's Wednesday lecture. He laid out the distinction between empire and nation, explained the imperial backgrounds of China, Japan, and Korea, explored the challenges of post-imperial national identity through the story of Zainichi in postwar Japan, and laid out the shifting minority policies in Communist China

Let me share some of the examples we touched on for a periodization of China, Japan, and Korea. You should know these in broad outline (but you're not responsible for the details).

For China:

- Qing Dynasty (or Manchu Empire), 1644-1911. 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> c. a time of internal and external pressures. For ex, British pressure, the Opium Wars, Rebellions (1850s-1870s), Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Boxer Rebellion and western occupation (1900), the “century of humiliation,” Sun Yat Sen
- Republic of China. 1912 to 1949 (1949 to present in Taiwan)
- Japanese occupation of Manchuria, 1937 to 1945
- Communist China. The PRC established 1949. ROC to Taiwan. Mao. Great Leap Forward (50s and 60s), Cultural Revolution (1965-1976)

- Contemporary China. Deng Xiaoping, four modernizations, Tiananmen Square, President Xi Jinping.

For Japan:

- Tokugawa Japan, The Shogunate (1603-1868)
- Empire of Japan, from 1868 to 1947 Constitution. Includes several different periods:
  - Meiji Period, 1868-1912. The rise of Japan as an imperial power. Control of Korea. Russo-Japanese war in 1905.
  - Taisho Era, Japanese version of the 1920s. Democratization in politics, new consumer culture.
  - Showa Period. 1930s imperial expansion. Occupation of Manchuria. to War
- Post-war Japan. Economic miracle from the 1960s forward.

For Korea:

- Joseon Dynasty (Korea, 1392-1902)
- colonial Korea, 1895 - 1945. Under Japanese control.
- occupation, 1945-1950. Soviet Union in North
- Korean War, 1950-1953.
- Divided Korea, to present. North (PRK) – Communist, totalitarian, impoverished. South (ROK), authoritarian govts to democratic govts.

Additional key words & examples:

- Chinese policies toward minority ethnic groups, 1952 constitution, “ethnological philology”, Xinjiang
- “comfort women”
- Japanese policy toward immigrants, Zainichi, 1950 Nationality Act
- “Little Tigers,” Singapore and Hong Kong
- Empires and nations

### ***Middle East***

The Middle East. Another invented category, originates from discussions of spheres of influence in “the east.” For our purposes, we can think of it broadly as the Middle East and North Africa, from Morocco to Egypt in North Africa, from Turkey in the north, Iran in the east, Saudi Arabia in the south. Some important subgroupings include: North Africa (or the Maghreb), Egypt & Sudan, the Levant (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan), Israel, the Gulf States, Iraq, Iran, Turkey.

We associate the Middle East with Arab peoples and the religion of Islam, but we should not equate Middle East and Arab and Islam. Though predominantly Arab, the population of the region includes many linguistic and cultural groups, including Berbers, Iranians (Persians), Turks, Kurds, etc., speakers of Turkish, Hebrew, Farsi, etc. The Islamic World is much larger than the Middle East. Only about 20% of the world’s Muslims live in the Middle East. (The most populous

Muslim nation is Indonesia, in Southeast Asia). Islam in the Middle East includes important divisions - Sunni Muslims and Shia Muslims. And other religious groups have a significant presence: Maronite Christians in Lebanon, Coptic Christians in Egypt. Christians in Iraq and Syria and beyond, Jews in Israel.

The Middle East has been rocked by a conflict within Islam (similar to one that played out within Christianity) between secularist movements and religious movements. But that conflict has been complicated by relations with the west.

Prof. Joan Friedman introduced the region through a set of themes and questions. These included:

- How did the west come to misunderstand Islam and the Arab world?
- The impact of the Ottoman Empire - and the western scramble for influence in the Middle East
- The mismatch between cultural identities (whether ethnic, religious, etc.) and borders.
- Western involvement in the Middle East, especially in the years around the First World War
- The challenge of secularism in Islamic societies
- And we discussed the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Key words and examples:

- The Ottoman Empire, the Orient, the “Near East,” the “Middle East”
- Bernard Lewis on Islam and modernity, Samuel Huntington on “clash of civilizations”
- Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978)
- Islam, Muslims, Muhammad, Quran, Ummah, Sunni, Shi’a Islam
- Islamists/Islamic fundamentalists
- Pan-Arabism
- Palestine, Damascus Protocol (1915), Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), Balfour Declaration (1917), League of Nations Mandates (1919)
- Egypt, Gamal Abdul Nasser, United Arab Republic, Muslim Brotherhood, Tahrir Square (2011)
- Israel, Partition (1947), Independence (1948), , Six Day War (1967), PLO, Intifada, Oslo Accords, Palestinian Authority
- Persia, Iran, Shah Reza Pahlavi, Ayatollah Khomeini, Iranian Revolution/Islamic Revolution (1979), (and Mahsa Amini and today?)
- Iraq, Saddam Hussein, Ba’ath Party, Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), Gulf War (1991), Iraq War (2003-2011?)
- Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, etc.
- Syria, Bashar al-Assad, Syrian Civil War
- Turkey, Kamal Ataturk, President Recep Erdogan, Justice & Development Party (AKP)
- Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar

- Islamic Revival
- Secularism, Separation of Church and State, the Enlightenment

### *South Asia*

There are no simple borders that define this region. For our purposes it includes: India, Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives, and (sometimes) Afghanistan and Myanmar. As we think about this region, we should also think about the South Asian diaspora (South Asians living elsewhere in the world) who have had a sizable impact in many other regions.

About ¼ of world's population lives in this region. An area of remarkable diversity – ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural. Includes about 1 billion Hindus, more than 500 million Muslims. India is the world's largest democracy

I provided a survey of the history of this region, with emphasis on India and Pakistan, and we discussed the challenges of Indian identity today.

A simple periodization of modern India & Pakistan might include:

- the Mughal Empire (16<sup>th</sup> c. to the early 19<sup>th</sup> c.)
- fragmentation of the empire (18<sup>th</sup> c.)
- the penetration and control of the East India Company (18<sup>th</sup> c. to 1850s)
- direct British control (from 1857)
- autonomy and independence movements (1880s to 1947)
- independence and partition (1947)
- post-independence India and Pakistan.

Some central themes of our discussion:

- This region has a long history that stretches back to the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE. South Asia was a dynamic part of global history long before the arrival of European empires.
- South Asia has long been characterized by diversity – that diversity goes beyond religion to include language, regional identities, culture or ethnicity, caste, and more.
- British imperial efforts to control Indian independence movements in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> c. worked to create a sense of alienation along religious lines, particularly among Hindus and Muslims.
- Citizenship in India is especially challenging. One of the great questions of modern Indian history is this: who is Indian? India was founded as a secular state – but that secularism has been repeatedly challenged, especially by those who argue for a Hindu identity for India.
- These continued conflicts and tensions, though, have been paralleled by an uneven economic growth in South Asia that has made it economically and politically one of the most dynamic regions in the world.

Key words and examples:

- Jawaharlal Nehru (secularist, INC, first PM), V.D. Savarkar (Hindu nationalist, thinker of Hindutva)

- Indus Valley Civilization (4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE), Maurya Empire (c. 250 BCE)
- Trade routes by land and sea (Silk Road, Indian Ocean)
- Islam, Hinduism (and many more religious traditions including Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, Christianity...)
- Mughal Empire (16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> c.)
- British East India Company, 1857 Rebellion, British Raj
- Nationalism & Anti-Nationalism, Indian National Congress, Gandhi, Partition of Bengal (1905), All-India Muslim League, Amritsar Massacre (1919)
- Caste, four *varnas*, *Dalits*, H.H. Risley's *People of India* (1908) and biological view of caste (that is, pseudo-scientific racism)
- East and West Pakistan
- India and Pakistan (Jawaharlal Nehru and Muhammad Ali Jinnah)
- 1947, Partition, 10 m displaced, 1-2 m dead
- Independent India, democratic socialism, non-aligned movement
- Independent Pakistan, Islam and politics, role of military
- Hindutva, Bharatiya Janata Party, PM Narendra Modi
- Communalism
- Destruction of Babri Masjid (1992) in Ayodha, Ram Mandir
- Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) (2020), secularism, anti-secularism
- The Indian Constitution (1949), Partition, Permit System (1948)
- National Registry of Citizens (NRC)

### ***THEMATIC PERSPECTIVES***

A few words of introduction on the themes we explored in the last weeks of the course.

#### ***Globalization & Global Capitalism***

What is globalization?

- Process of global integration. Increased connections and interdependence – in economy, communication, culture, etc.
- Profound questions
  - o Will a more integrated world necessarily be a more peaceful one? Or one with new conflicts?
  - o How will the wealth of this new world be shared?

Some terms to know

- The Third World (Cold War term)
- Developed Countries/Developing Countries
- Global North/Global South

Some themes to think about

- Legacies of colonialism
- Vast inequalities across world
- Vast inequality within regions & countries
- World depends on economic growth - but enormous problems with this model

#### Really Long View

- Rise of agriculture and cities, circa 10k ago - and hierarchies
- But no teleology - need to see complexity

#### Modern era, since 1400

- Escape from Malthusian Trap
- Industrial Revolution
- Great divergence (“European miracle”)
- Various explanations (no simple one)

#### Recent history, since 1970s

- The world is a mess? 9 out of 10 Americans believe global poverty same or worse in last 20 years. Nope. “A stunning decline of human suffering.” People living in extreme poverty declined by 50% in last 20 years
- “Great convergence” - higher rates of GDP growth in developing world

#### Limits to GDP as measure of success

- Happiness? Does not correlate with income, once basic needs are met
- Capabilities approach - focuses on human thriving - Amartya Sen

### *Migrations*

#### Larger points

- Migrations are part of human history!
- Today, levels of migration are at unprecedented numbers - pushed by economic inequality, conflicts, and instability
- This is not (or not mostly) a “first world” problem - but a global challenge
- The politics of immigration are contentious - nation-states are hardening borders
- Challenges that will only get larger

#### Some terms to know

- Migration/migrants
- Immigration/immigrants
- Voluntary/involuntary
- Push/pull factors
- Diasporas
- Refugees
- Asylum seekers

#### Rights for refugees and asylum seekers

- UN Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) 1948
- 1951 Refugee Convention And many later agreements

#### Problem of the nation state



- The Westphalian System of Nation-States - with sovereignty
- But peoples and identities don't simply match the borders of nation-states

### ***Environmental History and Climate Change***

Climate change. Is happening. Product of human impact on the environment. Results in "Global weirding." Fear of effects from warming above 1.5 degree celcius above pre-industrial levels. Key: the effects are being experienced/will be experienced differently in different regions.

Dangers of the Anthropocene, the current geological age dominated by human activity. Humans are like rats - adaptable to different environments. Human societies are more like sharks - addicted to environments created in 20<sup>th</sup> c.

Some examples of human impact: Madeira Island, Aswan Dam, Australia, Chernobyl

Human shark societies have come to depend on:

- Cheap energy
- Cheap food
- Clean water
- Constant economic growth

Resulted in:

- Vast population growth
- Environmental deterioration
- Reduced biodiversity
- Global climate change
- Existential threats to human (shark) societies

Good news? Have to look for some

- Heightened awareness
- Better models of development - see Sen and capabilities
- Climate activism - Greta Thunberg, ex
- International Cooperation - COP26, ex

The great environmental challenge of our time. Global capitalism is built upon model of industry and economic growth. The environment is pitted against the economy. And the impact of climate change is different for different regions.

### ***Democracy and Autocracy***

Francis Fukuyama on the promise of the post-Cold War World. In *The End of History* (1992), he wrote that humanity has reached "not just ... the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: That is, the end-point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government."

Crisis of liberal democracy since 2010. See examples in developed world and the developing world. Some examples: China, Hungary.

Define terms: democracy, liberal democracy, autocracy, democratization, autocratization

Debate over liberal democracy versus autocracy

Long history of democracy, ancient roots in many different places, modern examples from 18<sup>th</sup> c. Enlightenment forward, repeated failures and limitations. Waves of democratization: after WW1 (1918-1920s), decolonization (1945-1960s), Latin America after dictatorship (1980s), Europe after Cold War (1990s)

Political systems often change in reaction to outside events – economic and political shocks

Today:

- challenges to minority rights. In India under BJP and PM Narendra Modi
- evidence of limits of autocracy. Vladimir Putin and Russian war in Ukraine
- democracies need to confront their own challenges, demonstrate good governance for all

No simple way of saying what future will bring

### *History of International Cooperation*

1900 to present saw rise of nation

- From Empires to Nation-States
- 78 “countries” in 1900 – to 195 today
- Nation-states. States founded on the basis of the nation – defined as a coherent identity. An ideal with deep roots. Woodrow Wilson and “self-determination of peoples.” League of nations, United Nations
- Ethnic nationalism defines the nation in terms of shared language, culture, ethnicity. Civic nationalism defines the nation as a set of values that all will follow.

Problems with nations

- Borders and identities
- Treatment of minorities
- Nationalism directed outward

Internationalism

- Important counterweight to the nation - cooperation among nations
- Long history – Westphalian System (1648) to international agreements
- Include international organizations, agreements, transnational organizations, INGOs

Some examples (of vastly different organizations)

- League of Nations (1919)
- United Nations (1945)
- World Trade Organization
- COP26 Agreement
- European Union, African Union
- Red Cross, Oxfam, Amnesty International

Tribalism vs. Internationalism

- Tribalism points to the thick identities of ethnic nationalism
- Internationalism toward international cooperation
- No easy resolution – and this is an era when state borders are hardening
- Ex. of Kwame Appiah. What is needed is a “rooted cosmopolitanism”

### *History and the World Today*

## The world today

- Can look to western press
  - o Russian War in Ukraine
  - o Protests in Iran against morality policy
  - o Protests in China against COVID policy
  - o Military regime in Myanmar...
- Looks like a messy place
- Don't throw up your hands - take a broad view (that's what historians do) - history will help us make sense of the world

## Post-1989

- With end of Cold War, ambitious pronouncements of the "end of history" and triumph of liberal democracy
- Francis Fukuyama, *End of History* (1992) - argued that History was over, liberal democracy won. No such luck - and today democracy seems increasingly strained
- Samuel Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations* (1996) - argued that a struggle was under way between civilization (we've been quite critical of this view)
- Martha Nussbaum - *The Class Within* (2009) - argued that the greater conflict is within societies, a struggle between ethnic/religious exclusion and the democratic ideal of inclusion

## World today

- 1900 - multipolar world
- 1945-1989 - bipolar world
- 1989 and following - some have argued for a unipolar world (dominated by US). Today, it seems we are closer to a multipolar world. Globalization. And its discontents

## Today's challenges

- Ethnic conflicts
- Authoritarianism & Crisis of Democracy
- Globalization & Its Discontents
  - o Profound economic inequalities
  - o Migrations
  - o Anti-globalism
- "Great power" tensions - Rise of China & US Response

## And history?

- History has no predetermined direction. Against teleology - there is no direction to the moral arc of the universe (I'm sorry to say). Future remains to be written
- But history can help us.
  - o Helps us to a healthy skepticism
  - o Helps us make sense of the present
  - o Helps us understand change - the highly contingent nature of our world