



Nationalism and State Sovereignty Module

Module Length: 6 hours

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Overview

The concept and reality of nationalism and state sovereignty, rooted in the west and bound up in its rise and impact as a dominant civilization, are now, owing to accelerating globalization, causing conflict worldwide, and are in fact challenging and complicating the very dominance taken for granted by the west in the modern age.

This module explores the phenomena of nationalism and state sovereignty, both as concepts and realities, in our contemporary globalized age. The first four lessons include a structured, close analytical reading and discussion of designated aspects of assigned primary sources, with the instructor incorporating and elaborating the students' ideas to flesh out the given lesson's conceptual outline, and to provide a thematic transition to the next lesson. In the last two lessons, students make graded, group PowerPoint presentations on contemporary examples of conflict between national sovereignty and the pressures brought to bear by an external state authority.

Learning Objectives

Through the completion of this module, participants will be able to:

1. Explain the modern understanding of the terms "nation," "nationalism," "state," and "sovereignty."
2. Trace the historical origins of the nation or nation-state, and the emergence of nationalism in the world.
3. Describe in abstract terms the basic interplay and connections, the tensions and conflict, between the nationalism and sovereignty of the contemporary nation-state and the pressures, demands, and exigencies imposed by global forces.
4. Demonstrate a fundamental knowledge of at least one contemporary situation (one may choose from Georgia/Russia, Turkey/European Union, Ireland/European Union, Tibet/China, Iran/United Nations, Pakistan/United States, for example) in which a nation-state's sovereignty and sense of national pride clash with external forces.



Key Terms and Concepts

Autonomy – “[T]o be one's own person, to be directed by considerations, desires, conditions, and characteristics that are not simply imposed externally upon one, but are part of what can somehow be considered one's authentic self.” Autonomy is more specific than the concept of freedom or liberty because it refers not only to the removal of obstacles to action but also to the achievement of a goal. While autonomy is uncontroversial as defined here, it is a more problematic concept when associated with an attempt to determine the conditions needed to achieve autonomy or the scope of autonomous behavior (personal, moral, political, etc.). From: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/autonomy-moral/>

Civilization – “Primarily, the term has been used to refer to the material and instrumental side of human cultures that are complex in terms of technology, science, and division of labor.” In other words, civilization is a way to measure the degree to which a group of people (be it an ethnic group, nation, or state) compares to the most materially advanced ethnic groups, nations, and states. Historically, such comparisons were made pejoratively to describe particular ethnic groups, nations, and states as uncivilized. From: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilization>

Ethnic – “Of or relating to a group of people having common racial, national, religious or cultural origins.” (See Ethnicity for further elaboration of this concept.) From: <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ethnic>

Ethnicity – “The identification of a culture with tangible, visual symbols and signs such as dress, food, or religious observance.” Ethnicity is a contested concept that prior to the 19th century was seen as related to biological differences between groups of people. Modern social science (following Max Weber) defines ethnicity more as the external symbols associated with a particular group of people. In other words, a group of people comes before (and often define on their own) the symbols that identify them as an ethnic group. Ethnic identity is frequently associated with national identity so that people who share ethnicity are also thought to share nationality. See also: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_group

Nation – “A collective, normally territorial, entity which commands allegiance. Some theorists argue that nations are the product of modernity, others claim they are ‘primordial’ or perennial.” The concept of a nation is used to prioritize an individual’s allegiance among the various entities that might compete for it. As such, the concept of a nation is often associated with the concept of a state since the latter provides a way for the former to ensure allegiance. However, since a nation is typically associated with ethnic attributes, allegiance to a nation is more than the civic duty to obey a state (i.e. patriotism). Therefore, membership in a nation is non-voluntary and imposed upon individuals at birth. See also: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nationalism/>

Nation-state - “[A] state that self-identifies as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign entity for a nation as a sovereign territorial unit. The state is a political and geopolitical



entity; the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic entity. The term "nation-state" implies that the two geographically coincide. Nation-state formation took place at different times in different parts of the earth but has become the dominant form of state organization." While nations and states typically go together, some states are not composed of one nation (i.e. the former Soviet Union) and some nations do not reside in one state (i.e. the Kurds). From:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation_state

Nationalism – “An ideology that takes the nation to be of fundamental value.” (See Nation for further elaboration of this concept.)

Self-rule – “When a country, a part of a country or a nation chooses its own government and controls its own activities.” This definition takes the idea of autonomy (see above) and applies it to a collection of individuals in a country, nation, or state. Unlike the concept of State Sovereignty, the concept of Self-rule does not address the relation of the country/nation/state to the use of force to maintain such rule. From:

<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/self-rule>

State - "An institution that claims a monopoly of legitimate force for a particular territory. This claim makes [the concept of the state] contradictory and paradoxical [since the concept does not identify the criteria that should be used to define what counts as legitimate force]." This definition is derived from the most commonly accepted definition developed by the German philosopher/sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920). However, the concept of the state is highly contested among academics in part because it combines two concepts (force and morality) that are typically in opposition to each other. Others, such as political scientist David Easton, criticize the concept of the state as an almost mystical idea that eludes a precise definition because it is not sufficiently based on what is known about human behavior in societies. See also:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_28polity29

Sovereignty – “The ability to govern one’s own life: sovereignty is an absolute concept that can only express itself in particular historical circumstances.” “Particular historical circumstances” refers to the idea that it is best to define this concept in terms of specific, individual acts of sovereignty rather than as an abstract idea of sovereignty. This is a broad definition that attempts to sidestep the ambiguities that occur when the concept of the state is associated with sovereignty. Typically, when the term sovereignty is used, the concept of state sovereignty (see below) is meant.

State Sovereignty – “The claim by supporters of the state that the state has ultimate and final legitimate force over a particular society.” Adding the concept of sovereignty to the concept of the state gives the latter the moral and political authority to use power to control a geographical area. While the idea of the state conjures an impersonal image of government and land, the term sovereignty was developed specifically to help define the connection between the rulers and the ruled. As such, the sovereign state is the most widely recognized and dominant form of



collective political agency in the modern world. See also:
<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/sovereignty/>

Unless referenced otherwise, the definitions listed in the quotes are from:

Hoffman, J. & Graham, P. (2006) *Introduction to Political Concepts*. Harlow, England: Pearson.



Lesson Plans

Lesson 1: Genesis of Nations and Nationalism

Overview

Since a proper understanding of important terms and concepts is always essential, this lesson lays the historical and broadly cultural-philosophical foundation for the module's central theme by surveying the origins and contemporary linguistic content of "nationalism," "state," and "sovereignty," and related terms of significance. A quick introductory note on globalization and its contemporary bearing is recommended. Students gain an appreciation of globalization as a *political* process, which complicates the nationalism-state sovereignty relationship.

Relevant Objectives

1. Explain the modern understanding of the terms "nation," "nationalism," "state," and "sovereignty."
2. Trace the historical origins of the nation or nation-state, and the emergence of nationalism in the world.

Procedure

Pre-class Assignment

- Students read the assigned documents (Appendix A: 26 and 27) before class.

Possible Classroom Activities

- Introduction to Globalization.
(Time: 5 minutes) (Skills: n/a) (Objective 2) (Related Resources: What is Globalization)

The instructor provides a definition of globalization to situate the concept of nationalism and state sovereignty within the confines of globalization as a "process" (political, as well as economic and cultural).

Globalization101.org's definition of globalization is a helpful starting point. Ask the students to read the passage to themselves or in small groups and to discuss the role of nationalism as part of the larger process of globalization.

- Introduction to Nationalism.
(Time: 15 minutes) (Skills: n/a) (Objectives 1 & 2) (Related Resources: "What is Nationalism?")



The instructor presents the origins and historical rootedness of the words “nation,” “nationalism” (and the related terms “nationality,” “nationhood”), “state” (thus “statehood,” “nation-state), and “sovereignty.”

Outline Genesis of nations and nationalism

Terms—definition, historical context

1. “Nation” (nationality, nationhood)
2. “Nationalism” (patriotism, chauvinism): Basic types:
 - civic
 - political
 - cultural
 - economic

**The Nationalism Project provides multiple definitions of nationalism written by different authors and scholars.

3. “State” (nations evolve into nation-states, related in form but distinctive in content)

4. “Sovereignty” (sovereign)

**other crucial terms to note:

- “ethnic” and “ethnicity” and their imbeddedness in the “nation”

- “globalization” and its impact on issues of nationhood, state power, and claims to sovereignty

- Discussion of the Emergence of the Nation and the State.
(Time: 35 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objectives 1 & 2) (Related Resources: Appendix A: documents 26 and 27)

The instructor uses primary resources for a classroom discussion to chart the historical emergence and resonance of nation and state. This discussion should cover sovereignty: excerpts from Bossuet (mid-late seventeenth century), and from the English Bill of Rights (late seventeenth century).

Questions the instructor might want to ask include:

- Why does Bousset believe that God can be the only source of sovereign authority?



- Does the fact that Bousset believes the King's power comes from God limit or expand the King's sovereign power?
 - How does Bousset distinguish between absolute and arbitrary power?
 - What does Bousset believe is the ideal relationship between god, the king and the subjects of a state?
 - What aspects of Bousset's argument in favor of divine right seem in step with contemporary beliefs about sovereign power? What aspects seem dated?
 - How would you summarize the grievances against James II in the first part of the English Bill of Rights?
 - How does Bousset's understanding of sovereign authority differ from that articulated in the English Bill of Rights?
 - What roles should the King and Parliament play in the state according to the English Bill of Rights?
 - How would you summarize the rights articulated in the English Bill of Rights?
 - Do people have rights in a state ruled by an absolute power such as that described by Bousset?
- Recap of the Emergence of the Emergence of the Nation and the State. (Time: 5 minutes) (Skills: n/a) (Objectives 2) (Related Resources: n/a)

The instructor asks the students why Bousset's perspective on sovereign power and the English Bill of Rights are important today. If someone would happen to come across these documents on the Internet and actually read them, how might they influence a person living in the U.S., Morocco, China, etc?

Resources

- Documents 26 and 27 (Appendix A)
- What is Globalization (n.d.). Globalization101.org. Retrieved from: <http://www.globalization101.org/what-is-globalization/>
- "What is Nationalism?" (1999-2007). Then Nationalism Project. Retrieved from: <http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm>

Optional Resources

- Anderson, Benedict (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition ed. London and New York: Verso, pp. 5-7. <http://www.nationalismproject.org/what/anderson.htm> [This is the most read book about nationalism. It is also important for moving beyond a Euro-centric approach.]
- Colombia's Struggle to Secure a Democratic State. (2010, March 30). *Globalization101.org*. Retrieved from:



<http://www.globalization101.org/colombia%e2%80%99s-struggle-to-secure-a-democratic-state/> [Could be a good case study]

- Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (2012, October 11). *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/74828/Jacques-Benigne-Bossuet>.
- Lynch, Daniel (2005). Understanding the English Bill of Rights. Retrieved from: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/euro/teachers/article.asp?parentid=29425>
- Failed State Index 2010. (2010, June 21). *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/21/2010_failed_states_index_interactive_map_and_rankings [Could set off discussion of what makes a state, which parts are most important, etc.]
- Rice, Susan E. & Patrick, Stewart. (2008). Weak state table with categories. Retrieved from: http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2008/02_weak_states_index.aspx



Lesson 2: Rise of the Western Nation-State

Overview

The first part of this lesson, using new materials for discussion, completes the documentary interrogation of the basic terms and concepts in the module's central theme.

The second half of the lesson advances the theme's consideration in historical and cultural context, and specifically with regard to the maturation of the west's global power, influence, and reach in the nineteenth-century. After the French revolutionary era, the west's self-image, increasingly privileging national and ethnic identity, inspires the embodiment of such cultural ideals in territorial, dynamic states with an acute sense of sovereign destiny and prerogative. This distinctively western "nation-state" would see its full flowering in the twentieth century.

Relevant Objectives

1. Explain the modern understanding of the terms "nation," "nationalism," "state," and "sovereignty."
2. Trace the historical origins of the nation or nation-state, and the emergence of nationalism in the world.
3. Describe in abstract terms the basic interplay and connections, the tensions and conflict, between the nationalism and sovereignty of the contemporary nation-state and the pressures, demands, and exigencies imposed by global forces.

Procedure:

Pre-class Assignment

- Students read the assigned documents (Appendix B) and (Appendix C) before class.

Possible Classroom Activities

- Hook: Modern-Day Take on Nationalism.
(Time: 5 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objectives 1 and 3) (Related Resources: Nationalism - Kinetic Typography)

The instructor shows the short Youtube clip on nationalism and asks the students what are the key arguments and assumptions? How does this modern perspective build upon history?



- Discussion on Nationalism and the State.
(Time: 20 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objectives 1, 2, & 3) (Related Resources: Appendix B)

The instructor leads a classroom discussion using primary resources on nationalism and the state.

Discussion points:

- for nation, nationalism: two documents from French Revolution, late eighteenth century, questions to ask might include:

- Why is the concept of a “nation” necessary for the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and Of Citizen”?
- Are the rights outlined in the Declaration more designed to achieve freedom or equality or both the same? Which rights seem more aligned with freedom and which seem more aligned with equality?
- How are the statements in Document 33 by the National Convention consistent with the items in the Declaration? Do the statements contradict anything in the Declaration?
- What does the statement in Document 33 “liberty has become the creditor of all citizens” mean? What type of “liberty” does this statement suggest?
- What role does poetry play in cultivating the French national character?
- Why, according to the logic of the French National Convention, is it not a violation of freedom to say that “loyalty to your own families must end when the great family calls on you”?

-for state: students asked to define it on their own

Instructor notes the historical process of “globalization,” and its complex impact on the contemporary relationship between nationalism and state sovereignty.

- Discussion on Nationalism in mid-late 19th Century Germany and France.
(Time: 30 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objectives 1, 2, & 3) (Related Resources: Appendix C)

The instructor uses primary resources for a classroom discussion illustrating nationalism in mid-late nineteenth-century Germany and France. Markers and attributes to consider: ethnic homogeneity and unity and attendant notions of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, territorial expansion, imperial rivalry, “great power” status, prosperity, development, and



military might, pride in one's civilization, civilized status.

The instructor facilitates a classroom discussion on nationhood and statehood in the modern west's self-image and its global self-representation.

The instructor facilitates a discussion on documents 53 & 54, illustrating nationalism in mid-late nineteenth-century Germany and France, questions to ask might include:

- How would you summarize Treitschke's portrait of the German national character? Why do you think he contrasts German with English character?
 - Why do you think that Treitschke associates national greatness with size and power? Why can't a small state have a strong national character?
 - Why does Treitschke prefer monarchy to democracy as the best government for a nation?
 - How does war help develop a nation? Why is Treitschke opposed to the idea of perpetual peace? What is war absent the pursuit of monetary gain?
 - Why is the pursuit of money and other materialist things harmful to the development of national character?
 - What is similar and different in Treitschke's and Ferry's arguments in favor of nationalism? How do they view the pursuit of economic gain differently?
 - Why does Ferry believe that colonial expansion is essential for the survival of the French state? Why is such expansion a sign of national greatness?
 - Why do you think Ferry believes France has a "right" and a "duty" "to civilize inferior races"? Do you think Ferry simply uses this idea (without logical support) to justify colonial expansion or does the logic of nationalism support the "civilization" of people in other states?
- Conclusion.
(Time: 5 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: France: Far-Right Amour: Sarkozy courts nationalism, isolates Muslims)

The instructor shows the Youtube clip on French nationalism. The instructor asks the class about how France has evolved (or not) since the mid-19th century in its perspective on nationalism, particularly since many people from former colonies have now immigrated to France.

Resources

- France: Far-Right Amour: Sarkozy courts nationalism, isolates Muslims (2012, April 6). Retrieved from: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0TT_c1eucBI



- Nationalism - Kinetic Typography (2011, November 5). Retrieved from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EkwA5GJiQx4>
- Readings 32 and 33 (Appendix B)
- Readings 53 and 54 (Appendix C)

Optional Resources

- French Revolution (n.d.). *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/219315/French-Revolution>
- Heinrich von Treitschke (n.d.). *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/604103/Heinrich-von-Treitschke>
- History of the French National Assembly (n.d.). Retrieved from: <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/english/8am.asp>
- Jules Ferry (n.d.). *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/205224/Jules-Francois-Camille-Ferry>
- Map of the World 1-3. (n.d.). Retrieved from: <http://www.klettmaps.com/special-offers-wallmaps-world-history.html> [*They show well the changes in states/empires*]
- Map of the World 4. (n.d.). Retrieved from: http://education.randomcnally.com/education/assets/images/RMC_World_Political4.png [current map- can be used to compare the rise of the nation-state]
- National Convention (n.d.). *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/404639/National-Convention>



Lesson 3: Rise of Nationalism in the U.S. and in Non-Western Countries

Overview

This first part of this lesson, focusing on documents from the United States, keeps the lens on the nineteenth-century evolution and maturation of the fundamental western constructs of nation, state, and sovereignty.

The second part of this lesson begins a thematic shift concentrating on the reception and appropriation of the above-mentioned constructs, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by peoples in countries and regions now customarily regarded as “non-western.” This lesson explores and delineates the emergence of western-inspired (one could also cast it as “western-provoked”), yet locally, regionally particular and fervent “nationalisms” in the twentieth century. The west, due in large part to its two generations of internecine global warfare and the collapse of its empire, underwent internal transformation and has increasingly found itself compelled to accommodate new global loci of influence and power, whose assertions of identity and sovereignty may be traced back to the west’s own earlier advancement of such notions.

Relevant Objectives

3. Describe in abstract terms the basic interplay and connections, the tensions and conflict, between the nationalism and sovereignty of the contemporary nation-state and the pressures, demands, and exigencies imposed by global forces.

Procedure

Pre-class Assignment

- Students read the assigned documents (Appendix D: 2 and 3) and (Appendix E: 59 and 60) before class.

Possible Classroom Activities

- Chinese Exclusion Act.
(Time: 5 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: Chinese Exclusion Act)

The instructor asks students how views of nationalism shape government policy. As an example, how might late 19th century and early 20th century perspectives on nationalism shape the development of the Chinese Exclusion Act.



- Discussion of Late Nineteenth-century and Early Twentieth-century Nationalism in the United States.
(Time: 20 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: Appendix D: 2 and 3)

The instructor uses primary resources for a classroom discussion of "Multiple Voices" V documents 2 and 3, illustrating late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century nationalism in the United States. Markers and attributes to consider: ethnic homogeneity and unity and attendant notions of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, territorial expansion, imperial rivalry, "great power" status, prosperity, development, and military might, pride in one's civilization, civilized status. Questions to ask might include:

- How does the AFL document (#2) characterize the differences between "the Caucasian and the Mongolian"? Is the primary argument against Chinese labor economic or are other reasons more paramount?
 - How does Document 3 contrast to Document 2? What do you think is the source of such contrasting views of the Chinese? How does the different American national perspective affect each view?
 - Do you think that the AFL perspective would be different if the Chinese workers did not have "strangeness of manners" as suggested in Document 3?
- Discussion on Nationalism in Persia and Among Arabic-speaking Peoples in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.
(Time: 20 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking and Cross-Cultural Communications) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: Appendix E: 59 and 60)

The instructor uses primary resources for a classroom discussion of documents 59 & 60, illustrating incipient nationalism in Persia (modern-day Iran) and among Arabic-speaking peoples in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Markers and attributes to consider: regarding the gradual appropriation of western concepts and forms of identity and authority by non-western peoples: self-identification with western indicators of progress, superiority, and power (national "greatness"); inevitable stirrings, impulses, and more fully articulated desires and demands towards self-sufficiency, self-reliance, self-rule, autonomy, independence, awakening of pride in one's own self-defined civilization. Questions to ask might include:

- What is the main thrust of Sayyid Jamal al-Din's criticism of the Shah?
- Is Sayyid Jamal al-Din making a religious or secular argument against the Shah and western imperialism?
- What are the similarities and differences between al-Din's *Letter to Hasan Shirazi* and the *Announcement to the Arabs, Sons of Qahtan*?
- What is the *Announcement to the Arabs, Sons of Qahtan*'s main strategy for resisting western imperialism?



- How does the author of the *Announcement* define 'arab'?
- Persian Nationalism in the 21st Century.
(Time: 15 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking and Cross-Cultural Communications)
(Objective 3) (Related Resources: Rostam: Tales from the Shahnameh)

The instructor brings students to the website about the Shahnameh, which is a series of hero tales of ancient Persia. In groups, the students examine the site's cartoons, books, and images and discuss how the modern rendition of ancient Persian literature depicts the themes of nationalism conveyed in the primary documents.

Resources

- Chinese Exclusion Act. (2010, July 30). Retrieved from:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fWIAv7yTqLE> (2 min 20 sec)
- Documents 2 and 3(Appendix D)
- Documents 59 and 60 (Appendix E)
- Rostam: Tales from the Shahnameh (n.d.). Retrieved from
<http://www.theshahnameh.com/>

Optional Resources

- Immigration Explorer. (2009, March 10). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2009/03/10/us/20090310-immigration-explorer.html>
[Good visual where you can look at a country's migration patterns to the US from 1880-present; can choose specific countries and overall]
- Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. (n.d.). *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/299778/Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani>



Lesson 4: Nationalism in Africa, Turkey, and Mexico

Overview

This lesson maintains the focus on the non-west, and extends the consideration of the themes and issues raised in the second half of lesson 3 with new documents covering different nations and regions.

Relevant Objectives

3. Describe in abstract terms the basic interplay and connections, the tensions and conflict, between the nationalism and sovereignty of the contemporary nation-state and the pressures, demands, and exigencies imposed by global forces.

Procedure

Pre-class Assignment

- Students read the assigned documents (Appendix F: 79, 80 and 85) before class.

Possible Classroom Activities

- Background to African Nationalism.
(Time: 10 minutes) (Skills: n/a) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: African Nationalism and "Nationalism in Africa - Postcolonial Nationalism In Africa")

The instructor presents this video to provide background and context for the primary documents on nationalism in Africa. The instructor asks the students what they learned about African nationalist movements. When did these movements arise, why did they become prominent, and how were they resolved? What is relationship between colonialism and African nationalism?

If students cannot address these questions after watching the video, the instructor can provide short background to these issues. One of main take-away is the understanding of the role of nationalism (or in the case of Africa, incipient nationalism) in colonial contexts.

- Background on Turkish Nationalism.
(Time: 10 minutes) (Skills: n/a) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: "Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s")



Soner Cagaptay provides an excellent backgrounder to understanding Turkish nationalism in the 1920's and 1930's and can be used to provide context to the primary documents on Turkish nationalism:

"Turkish nationalism in the 1930s is an important episode in Turkish history, whose legacy seems to have imprinted itself on modern Turkey. During that decade, which witnessed the rise of nationalism in the European continent, but especially in Eastern Europe, the idea that the Turks were a glorious nation rose to prominence in Turkey. 'Turkish History Thesis' and 'Sun Language Theory' emerged in a series of official conferences and publications, emphasizing the role of race in defining the nation."

"...As late as the 1920s, Turkishness had been mostly defined independently of race. At that time Turkey was busy trying to recover from the devastating destruction of a decade of wars, spanning the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 and the Turco-Greek War of 1920–22. At that time, millions of Turkish and non-Turkish Muslim immigrants, expelled to Anatolia and Thrace from Europe and the Black Sea basin since the eighteenth century, banded with the Anatolian Turks and Muslims. These defended Turkey, a land that they saw as their home. In 1922, Turkey was liberated, and in 1923, a republic was established."

"An important demographic change at the time had been the death and emigration of most Anatolian Christians over the previous decade....Yet, even then, Turkey still had a heterogeneous population....The 1924 Constitution of the republic aimed to address this diversity: 'The People of Turkey, regardless of religion and race, are Turks as regards citizenship.'⁷ Ankara wished to consolidate as many of the country's minorities as possible into the Turkish nation. The government expected that non-Turkish Muslims would be assimilated."

"...Consequently, there was now no mention of Islam as a component of Turkishness. This was because during the 1920s, staunch Kemalism had pushed Islam to the margins of society. Secularism aimed to strip the Turkish Muslims of their predominant collective identity..."

- Background on Mexican Nationalism.
(Time: 10 minutes) (Skills: n/a) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: Mexican Revolution: 1910 - 1920 and Rubio readings)

The instructor should provide a context for the primary document, Lázaro Cárdenas, *Speech to the Nation* (1938).

From 1910 - 1920, revolutionaries fought to rule Mexico. Despite the infighting, one of the major events from this period of history was the development of Mexico's constitution. The constitution gave almost dictatorial authority to the president. It also



allows for the confiscation and redistribution of land from wealthy landowners to the state.

To further gain understanding of Mexico during the 1930s, one also needs to understand its economic development. Mexico started commercial oil production in 1901, though it took ten years to produce a meaningful amount. Hundreds of oil companies tried to take advantage and by 1919 only 24 companies produced oil in exportable quantities. At its peak, in 1921, Mexican oil production accounted for a quarter of the world's oil production. This coincided with the use of oil to fuel transportation and industry worldwide.

The Mexican Revolution and the rise of economic nationalism led to declining oil production in Mexico and investments shifted to Venezuela. In 1938, the Mexican oil industry was nationalized and the country began producing oil in quantities needed domestically. This pattern stayed until the 1970s when additional reserves were found in the South.

- Discussion on Nationalism in Africa, Turkey, and Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s. (Time: 35 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking and Cross-Cultural Communications) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: Appendix F: 79, 80 and 85)

The instructor uses primary resources for a classroom discussion illustrating incipient nationalism in Africa (Buganda specifically), Turkey, and Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s.

Incipient nationalism is often associated with the American Revolution and is associated with a sense of colonial identity and a related political program. Before wars of independence took place, national sentiment or colonial identities was developed to states that would eventually emerge. (For more on 'incipient nationalism, see: John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826*, 2nd Edition (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1973), 24-37.)¹

Buganda is a subnational Kingdom of Africa, a kingdom of the Ganda people. During the 18th and 19th century, Buganda was a powerful state, though it was not successful in its attempts to gain independence from Great Britain. In 1962, when Uganda gained its independence, the kingdom was abolished. Kabaka Daudi Chwa was king of Buganda. He discusses the "foreignization" of Buganda. The Bugandan case study is a great time to bring up anti-imperialism fueling incipient nationalism and nationalism in general.

¹ Simon, Joshua (n.d.) *The Ideology of the American Revolutions in Comparative Perspective*. Retrieved from: <http://www.yale.edu/ccr/simon.pdf>



Mustafa Kemal (Speech to Congress of Turkey's "People's Republican Party," 1927) is the founder of the Republic of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. So the class should consider why the concept of incipient nationalism applies to Kemal's 1927 speech and how it compares and contrasts to Chwa's statement on the "foreignization" of Buganda.

The third document is a by Lazaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico from 1934 to 1940. The document describes his justification for the nationalization of Mexico's oil industry. Mexico was clearly already a state at this point for more than a decade, so incipient nationalism might not apply to Mexico during this period, although this certainly provides a great example to introduce the concept of economic nationalism. The *Financial Times* defines economic nationalism as "the idea that a country's economy will perform best if its industries are protected from competition, for example by taxes on imported goods."²

Questions to ask might include:

- How does Chwa differentiate between 'legitimate education and civilization' and 'foreignization'?
 - According to Chwa, what aspects of Bugandan culture are consistent with Western culture?
 - According to Chwa, what aspects of Bugandan culture are harmed by foreignization?
 - Why does Chwa think that the Bugandan people should be educated in Bugandan culture?
 - How does Kemal define Turkish nationalism? Why does he support Turkish nationalism? How does he link nationalism and secularism?
 - Why is Kemal opposed to panislamism and the establishment of the caliphate? Why does he believe both to be an 'irrational mission'?
 - Why does Kemal define Turkish nationalism as consistent with western customs (the issue of the fez versus the hat)?
 - Why does Cardenas view corporate interests in opposition to the Mexican national interest?
 - What kind of economic freedom does Cardenas see as most in the Mexican national interest?
 - How do Chwa, Kemal, and Cardenas define nationalism differently?
- Conclusion.
(Time: 20 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking) (Objective 3) (Related Resources: n/a)

² "Economic Nationalism." (n.d.) *The Financial Times*. Retrieved from: <http://lexicon.ft.com/Term?term=economic-nationalism>



The instructor provides concluding thoughts on the first four lessons.

Markers and attributes to consider regarding the gradual appropriation of western concepts and forms of identity and authority by non-western peoples: self-identification with western indicators of progress, superiority, and power (national “greatness”); inevitable stirrings, impulses, and more fully articulated desires and demands towards self-sufficiency, self-reliance, self-rule, autonomy, independence, awakening of pride in one’s own self-defined civilization.

Concluding thoughts on the first four lessons: Instructor should raise the issue of globalization again, and emphasize and briefly explore how its “political” form, a gradual integration and alignment of national political interests, relationships, and interactions on a worldwide scale, along the lines of traditionally understood *economic* globalization, is in reality quite problematic and potentially divisive, and frequently resistant to unifying forces.

Resources

- African Nationalism (n.d.). Teacher Tube. Retrieved from: http://www.teachertube.com/viewVideo.php?title=African_Nationalism&video_id=212108
- Cagaptay, Soner (2007, June 24). "Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s." *Middle Eastern Studies*. May 2004, Vol. 40 Issue 3, p86-101. 16p.
- Documents 79, 80, 85 (Appendix F)
- "Mexican Revolution: 1910 -1920" (n.d.). Retrieved from: http://www2.ups.edu/faculty/jlago/fl380/source3_02.htm
- Rubi, Mar. "Oil and economy in Mexico, 1900-1930s" (n.d.). Retrieved from: <http://www.econ.upf.edu/docs/papers/downloads/690.pdf>

Optional Resources

- "Lazaros Cardenas" (2011). Retrieved from: <http://www.pbs.org/itvs/storm-that-swept-mexico/the-revolution/faces-revolution/lazaros-cardenas/>. [PBS film on Mexican Revolution is coming soon]
- "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk." (n.d.). Retrieved from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/ataturk_kemal.shtml
- Nationalism in Africa - Postcolonial Nationalism In Africa (n.d.). JRank Articles. *Science Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from: <http://science.jrank.org/pages/10399/Nationalism-in-Africa-Postcolonial-Nationalism-in-Africa.html#ixzz21r6ZbGES>



- Secular Islamic Turkey. (2009, April 6). Retrieved from: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/episodes/april-6-2009/secular-islamic-turkey/2609/> (6 min 13 sec) [*Good video about how things currently reside in Turkey*]
- Trouble in Mexico. (1948, February 6). Retrieved from: <http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=17626> (under 1 min) [this is very short, but could be involved around an activity about how this video (which is from 1938) would be used today, and the use of political commentary. Like Cárdenas’s speech on the oil nationalization, this propagandistic film clip needs much more contextualization/ explanation. It’s rich with the old tropes and stereotypes of “climatic energy” and “race” feeding chronic instability (read: “tropical” peoples incapable of self-government).]
- Kabaka daudi chwa (n.d.). Retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daudi_Cwa_II_of_Buganda



Lesson 5: Contemporary Sovereignty Conflicts

Overview

Students make graded, group PowerPoint presentations on contemporary examples of conflict between national sovereignty and the pressures brought to bear by an external state authority—half of the presentations are made in this lesson.

Relevant Objectives

3. Describe in abstract terms the basic interplay and connections, the tensions and conflict, between the nationalism and sovereignty of the contemporary nation-state and the pressures, demands, and exigencies imposed by global forces.
4. Demonstrate a fundamental knowledge of at least one contemporary situation (one may choose from Georgia/Russia, Turkey/European Union, Ireland/European Union, Tibet/China, Iran/United Nations, Pakistan/United States, for example) in which a nation-state's sovereignty and sense of national pride clash with external forces.

Procedure:

Possible Classroom Activities

- Student Reports.
(Time: 50-60 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking and Technology Skills) (Objectives 3 and 4)

Group reports should be roughly 8-10 minutes each. Groups of 4-5 students work best, although having 5-6 per group may be necessary depending on class size. Larger groups should probably be given 10-12 minutes each. To encourage a fair division of labor and true collaboration, every student should be required to present, and the time should be divided as evenly as possible.

Each group prepares one of the topics listed below, or another topic chosen in consultation with the instructor. Every instructor will no doubt generate other topics depending on his or her area of specialization.

The groups and their topics should be selected well before the module's first three lessons begin in order to give the groups time to work together and prepare adequately. The process should begin in the first several weeks of the semester, roughly two and a half months before the reports themselves. And instructors may decide, of course, to schedule the in-class presentations after and technically outside the formal boundaries of the module.



Possible topics for group presentations

Main issue and questions to address: The contemporary conflict between a nation or nation-state, and external (sometimes international or global) state power or authority--how can the conflict be resolved? Is there a feasible way to resolve it under present circumstances? What would your group suggest?

Georgia & Russia

Ukraine & Russia

Kosovo & Serbia

Ireland & GB

Scotland & GB

Tibet & China

Taiwan & China

Pakistan & the United States

Afghanistan & the United States

Turkey & the European Union

Member countries of the Eurozone & the IMF

**Greece in the current spotlight

East Timor & Indonesia

Iran & the United Nations' International Atomic Energy Agency

North Korea & the United Nations' International Atomic Energy Agency



Lesson 6: Contemporary Sovereignty Conflicts II

Overview

Students make graded, group PowerPoint presentations on contemporary examples of conflict between national sovereignty and the pressures brought to bear by an external state authority—half of the presentations are made in this lesson.

Relevant Objectives

3. Describe in abstract terms the basic interplay and connections, the tensions and conflict, between the nationalism and sovereignty of the contemporary nation-state and the pressures, demands, and exigencies imposed by global forces.
4. Demonstrate a fundamental knowledge of at least one contemporary situation (one may choose from Georgia/Russia, Turkey/European Union, Ireland/European Union, Tibet/China, Iran/United Nations, Pakistan/United States, for example) in which a nation-state's sovereignty and sense of national pride clash with external forces.

Procedure:

Possible Classroom Activities

- Student Reports (Time: 50-60 minutes) (Skills: Holistic Thinking and Technology Skills) (Objectives 3 and 4)

Group reports should be roughly 8-10 minutes each. Groups of 4-5 students seem to work best, although having 5-6 per group may be necessary depending on class size. Larger groups should probably be given 10-12 minutes each. To encourage a fair division of labor and true collaboration, every student should be required to present, and the time should be divided as evenly as possible.



Appendices

Appendix A

Document 26: Jacques-Benigne Bossuet (mid-late seventeenth century)

ON THE NATURE AND THE PROPERTIES OF ROYAL AUTHORITY

God establishes kings as his ministers, and reigns through them over the peoples. We have already seen that all power comes from God. The Prince, adds Saint Paul, [\[1\]](#) "is a minister of God to you for good. But *if* you do that which is evil, be afraid; for he bears not the sword in vain: for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that does evil" [Romans 13:4}. So princes act as ministers of God and his lieutenants on earth. It is through them that He rules His empire. This is why we have seen that the royal throne is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God Himself. ... He governs all peoples, and gives kings to all...

It appears from all this that the person of the king *is* sacred, and that it is a sacrilege to attack him. God has His prophets anoint them with a sacred unction,[\[2\]](#) as He has His pontiffs and His altars anointed. But, even without the external application of this unction, their charge renders them sacred, as being the representatives of the divine majesty, delegated by His providence to the execution of His designs....

Kings must be guarded as being sacred; and he who neglects to guard them deserves to die. He who guards the life of the prince, places his own in the safe-keeping of God....

Saint Paul, after having said that the prince is the minister of God, concludes thus: "Wherefore you need to be in subjection, not only because of the wrath, but also for conscience's sake" [Romans 13:5}. ... And again, "servants, obey in all things your temporal masters and whatever you do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not as unto men." If the apostle speaks thus of servitude, which is an unnatural condition; what should we think of legitimate subjection to princes and to the magistrates who are the protectors of public liberty? This is why Saint Peter[\[3\]](#) says, "submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of them that do well" [1 Peter 2: 13}. And, even if they did not carry out their duty, we must respect in them their charge and their ministry.... There is thus a religious character about the respect we show to the prince. The service of God and the respect for kings are one; and Saint Peter puts these two duties together: "Fear God; honor the king" (1 Peter 2: 17} Indeed, God has infused something of divinity into princes....

The kings must respect their own power and use it only to the public good. Their power coming from above, as we have said, they must not believe that it belongs to them to be used as they please; but they must use it with fear and restraint, as a thing which comes from God and for



which God will call them to account. Kings should therefore tremble when using the power that God has given them, and think how horrible is the sacrilege of misusing a power which comes from God.

The Royal Authority Is Paternal, and Its Inherent Character Is Goodness

We have seen that kings take the place of God, who is the true father of all mankind. We have also seen that the first idea of power arrived at by men is that of paternal power; and that kings have been made on the model of fathers. Also, everybody agrees that the obedience which is due to the public power is to be found, in the Ten Commandments, in the commandment which obliges men to honor their parents. From all this, it follows that the title of king is the title of a father, and that goodness is the most natural characteristic of kings....

Because God is great and sufficient unto Himself, He turns, so to speak, entirely towards doing good to men, according to the word ...He places an image of His greatness in kings in order to force them to imitate His goodness. He raises them to a level where they have nothing more to desire for themselves....

The Royal Authority Is Absolute

In order to render this idea odious and unbearable, many pretend to confuse absolute government with arbitrary government. But there are no two more dissimilar things.... The prince need render no account to anyone for the orders he gives. "I counsel you to keep the king's commandment and that in regard to the oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight: ... for he does whatsoever pleases him. Where the word of a king is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What are you doing?" [Ecclesiastes 8:2} Without this absolute authority the king can do no good, nor punish evil; his power must be such that no one can hope to escape it....

Men must therefore obey princes as they obey justice itself, without which there can be no order or purpose in things. They are Gods, and share in a fashion the divine independence....

The Royal Authority Must Be Invincible

If there is in a State any authority which can stand in the path of public power and hinder it in its exercise, no one is safe....

If the prince himself, who is the judge of judges, fears powerful men, what stability could there be in the State? It is therefore necessary that authority should be invincible, and that nothing should be able to breach the rampart behind which the public peace and private weal are safe.

Of Majesty



Majesty is the reflection of the greatness of God in the prince. God is infinite, God is all. The prince, as a prince, is not regarded as a private individual: he is a public figure, the whole State rests in him; the will of the whole people is comprehended in his. Just as all perfection and all virtue are concentrated in God, so all the power of private individuals is concentrated in the person of the prince. What greatness, that one man should carry so much! The power of God makes itself felt in an instant from one end of the world to the other: the royal power acts in the same way throughout the whole kingdom. It keeps the whole kingdom in being, as God keeps the whole world. If God were to withdraw His hand, the world would fall back into nothingness: if authority ceased in the kingdom, everything would be confusion....

Now, put together all the great and august things that we have said on the subject of royal authority. See a great people united in one person: see this sacred, paternal, and absolute power: see the secret purpose which governs the whole body of the State comprehended in one head: you see the image of God in the kings; and you get an idea of royal majesty.... God is holiness itself, goodness itself, power itself, reason itself. The majesty of God is in these things. The majesty of the prince is in the image of these things. This majesty is so great that its source cannot be in the prince; it is borrowed from God who gives it to him for the good of the peoples, for whom it is salutary that they should be held in by a superior power....

Therefore, use your power boldly, oh, kings! For it is divine and salutary to mankind; but use it with humility. You are endowed with it from outside. Fundamentally, it leaves you weak; it leaves you mortal; it leaves you sinners; and burdens you with greater responsibility towards God.

On the Obedience Due to the Prince

The subjects owe unlimited obedience to the prince. If the prince is not punctually obeyed, the public order is overthrown and there is no more unity, and consequently no more cooperation or peace in a State....

Open godlessness, and even persecution, do not absolve the subjects from the obedience they owe to princes. The character of royalty is holy and sacred, even in infidel princes; and we have seen that Isaiah^[4] calls Cyrus "the anointed of the Lord." Nebuchadnezzar^[5] was godless, and proud to the point of wanting to equal God and put to death those who refused him a sacrilegious worship; and nevertheless Daniel addresses him thus: "You are the king of kings: and the God of Heavens has given you the kingdom and the power and the empire and the glory" [Daniel 2:37]

...

The subjects may oppose to the violence of princes only respectful remonstrances, without murmurs or rebellion, and prayers for their conversion.



If God does not hearken to the prayers of His faithful; if in order to try and chasten His children He permits their persecution to grow worse, they must then remember that Jesus Christ has "sent them as lambs in the midst of wolves." [Luke 10: 3] Here is a truly holy doctrine, truly worthy of Jesus Christ and of His disciples.

On the Duties of the Prince

The purpose of government is the welfare and conservation of the State....

The good constitution of the body of the State consists in two things: religion and justice. These are the internal and constitutive principles of States. By the one we render to God what is owed to Him, and by the other we render to men that which they deserve.... The prince must employ his authority to destroy false religion in his State....

The prince is the minister of God: "He bears not the sword in vain: for he is a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil" [Romans 13:4]. He is the protector of the public peace which is based upon religion; and he must maintain his throne, of which, as we have seen, religion is the foundation. Those who will not allow the prince to act strictly in religious matters, because religion should be free, make an impious error. Otherwise, one would have to tolerate in all the subjects and in all the country idolatry, Mohammedanism, Judaism, any false religions; blasphemy, even atheism, and the greatest crimes would be the least punished.

[1] Paul (ca. 10-67 C.E.) was, along with Peter (see footnote 3), the most famous early Christian missionary. Fourteen Jeerers attributed to him are included in the Christian New Testament

[2] Ointment used in a consecration ceremony.

[3] Peter was one of Jews' twelve apostles and one of the

Church's most important early missionaries. Two letters attributed to him, thought to have been written while he served as the first bishop of Rome, are included in the Christian New Testament.

[4] A Hebrew prophet to whom is attributed the Book of Isaiah, part of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Christian Old Testament. In it he discusses Cyrus the Great (r. 550-529 B.CE.), founder of the first Persian Empire. After conquering Babylon, Cyrus freed the Jews from captivity and allowed them to return to Palestine.

[5] Ruler of Babylon from 605 to 562 B.CE. One of his advisors, Daniel, is the main character in the Book of Daniel, part of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Christian Old Testament, written in the Maccabean period (167-63 B.CE.).



Document 27: ENGLISH BILL OF RIGHTS (1689)

Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of diverse evil counselors, judges and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom;

By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws and the execution of laws without consent of Parliament;

By committing and prosecuting diverse worthy prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power;

By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the great seal for erecting a court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes;[\[1\]](#)

By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretense of prerogative for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament;

By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law;

By causing several good subjects being Protestants to be disarmed at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law;

By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament;...

And whereas of late years partial corrupt and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly diverse jurors in trials for high treason which were not freeholders;

And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects;

And excessive fines have been imposed;

And illegal and cruel punishments inflicted;

And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied;

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm;



And whereas the said late King James the Sec-ond having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did ... cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs and cinque ports,^[2] for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two and twentieth day of January in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight,^[3] in order to make such an establishment as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted, upon which letters elections having been accordingly made;

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons,^[4] pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled ... , taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties declare;

That the pretended power of suspending of laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal; That the commission for erecting the lace Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious;

That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretense of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal;

That it is the right of the Subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;

That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;

That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law;

That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;

That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted;



That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders;^[5]

That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void;

And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held fre-quently...

[1] A special royal court established to try religious cases.

[2] Five maritime towns in southeast England that during the Middle Ages gained the right to send representatives to Parliament in return for aiding the naval defense of the realm.

[3] Until the eighteenth century the English new year began on March 25, not January 1; by modern reckoning the year should be 1689.

[4] The Lords Spiritual were the prelates of the Anglican Church who sat in the House of Lords; the Lords Temporal were tided peers who sat in the House of Lords; Commons refers to the House of Commons, to which non tided Eng-lishmen were elected.

[5] Property holders.



Appendix B

Document 32: DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF THE CITIZEN (August 26, 1789)

The representatives of the people of France, empowered to act as a national assembly, taking into consideration that ignorance, oblivion, or scorn of the rights of man are the only cause of public misery and the corruption of government, have resolved to state in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man, so that this declaration, continually offered to all the members of society, may forever recall them to their rights and duties; so that the actions of the legislative and executive power, able to be compared at every instant to the goal of any political institution, may be more respected; so that the demands of the citizens, from now on based on straightforward and incontestable principles, will revolve around the maintenance of the constitution and the happiness of everyone.

Consequently, the National Assembly recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and citizen:

Article 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights; social distinctions can be established only for the common benefit.

2. The goal of every political association *is* the conservation of the natural and inalienable *rights* of man; these *rights* are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. The source of all sovereignty *is* located essentially in the nation; no body, no individual can exercise authority which does not emanate from it expressly.
4. Liberty *consists* in being able to do anything that does not harm another. Thus the *exercise* of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to other members of *society* the enjoyment of these same rights; these *limits* can be determined only by law.
5. The law has the right to prohibit only those actions harmful to society. All that *is* not prohibited by the law cannot be hindered, and no one can be forced to do what it does not order.
6. The law is the expression of the general will; all citizens have the right to concur personally or through their representatives in *its* formation; it must be the same for everyone, whether it protects or *punishes*. All *citizens, being* equal *in its* eyes, are equally admissible to all honors, offices, and public employments, according to their abilities and without any distinction other than those of their virtues and talents.



7. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained except in instances determined by the law, and according to the practices which it has prescribed. Those who solicit, draw up, carry out, or have carried out arbitrary orders must be punished; but any citizen summoned or seized by virtue of the law must obey instantly; he renders himself guilty by resisting.
8. The law must establish only penalties that are strictly and plainly necessary. and no one can be punished except in virtue of a law established and published prior to the offense and legally applied.
9. Every man being presumed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it *is* judged indispensable to arrest him, all harshness that is not necessary for making secure his person must be severely limited by the law.
10. No one may be disturbed because of his opinions, even religious, provided that their public manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.
11. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man: every citizen can therefore freely speak, write, and print, except he is answerable for abuses of this liberty in instances determined by the law.
12. The guaranteeing of the rights of man and citizen requires a public force; this force is therefore instituted for the advantage of everyone, and not for the private use of those to whom it *is* entrusted.
13. For the maintenance of the public force, and for the expenses of administration, a tax supported *in* common is indispensable; it must be apportioned among all citizens on grounds of their capacities to pay.
14. All citizens have the right to determine for themselves or through their representatives the need for taxation of the public, to consent to it freely, to investigate its use, and to determine its rate, basis, collection, and duration.
15. Society has the right to demand an accountability from every public agent of his management.
16. Any society in which guarantees of rights are not assured nor the separation of powers determined has no constitution.
17. Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one may be deprived of it except when public necessity, legally determined, requires it, and on condition of a just and predetermined compensation.



Document 33: DECREE FOR PROCLAIMING THE LIBERTY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL PEOPLES (December 15, 1792)

The National Convention... faithful to the principles of the sovereignty of the people ... and wishing to determine the rules to be followed by generals of the armies of the Republic in the countries where they shall carry its arms, decrees:

In the countries which are or shall be occupied by the armies of the Republic, the generals shall proclaim at once, in the name of the French nation, the sovereignty of the people, the suppression of all the established authorities and of the existing imposts and taxes, the abolition of the tithe, of feudalism, of seigniorial rights, .. of teal and personal servitude, of the privileges of hunting and fishing, of *corvées*, of the nobility, and generally of all privileges^[1] ••.

The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies the people who, refusing liberty and equality, or renouncing them, may wish to preserve, recall, or deal with the prince and the privileged estates;^[2] it promises ... not to subscribe to any treaty, and not to lay down its arms until after the establishment of the sovereignty and independence of the people whose territory the troops of the Republic have entered upon and who shall have adopted the principles of equality, and established a free and popular government.

PROPOSAL FOR THE LEVEE EN MASSE (August 23, 1793)

Let us state a great truth: liberty has become the creditor of all citizens. Some owe it their labor, others their wealth, some their counsel, others the strength of their arms; all owe it the blood which flows ill their veins. Thus all the French, men and women alike, people of all ages, are summoned by the *Patrie* to defend liberty. All physical and moral faculties, all political and economic means, belong to it by right; ... Let everyone take up his post; let everyone behave as he should in this national and military outpouring that the ending of the campaign demands of us, and all will soon be proud that they had worked together to save the *Patrie*

Thus all are requisitioned, but all will not march off to war....

Young men will fight, young men are called to conquer. Married men will forge arms, transport military baggage and guns and will prepare food supplies. Women, who finally are to take their rightful plan: in the revolution and follow their true destiny, will forget their everyday tasks: their delicate hands will work at making clothes for soldiers; they will make tents and they will extend their tender care to shelters where the defenders of the *Patrie* will receive the help that their wounds require. Children will make lint of old cloth. It is for them that we fight: children, ... destined to gather all the fruits of the revolution, will raise their pure hands toward the skies. And old men, performing their missions again, as in the past, will he guided to the public squares of cities where they will inspire the courage of young warriors and preach the doctrines of hate for kings and the unity of the Republic.



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY ON DRAFTING POETS AND CITIZENS FOR THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTION (May 16, 1794)

The Committee of Public Safety summons poets to celebrate the principal events of the French Revolution, to compose hymns and poems and republican dramas, to make known the heroic deeds of the soldiers of liberty, the courage and loyalty of republicans, and the victories gained by French arms. It also summons citizens who cultivate literature to preserve for posterity the most noteworthy hers and great epochs in the rebirth of the French people, to give to history that firm and stern character which befits the annals of a great people engaged in winning the liberty which all the tyrants of Europe are attacking. It bids them to ... inject republican morality into works intended for public instruction, while the Committee will be preparing for the Convention a type of national award to be decreed for their labors, and the date and form of the competition.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY ON REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION (June 1, 1794)

What is involved here is the procedure that must be followed quickly to rear truly republican defenders of the *Patrie* and to revolutionized the youth as we have revolutionized the armies. ... The young man of sixteen, seventeen, or seventeen and a half, is best prepared to receive a republican education. Nature's work is accomplished. At that moment the *Patrie* asks each citizen: What will you do for me? What means will you employ to defend my unity and my laws, my territory and my independence?

The Convention gives its reply to the *Patrie* today, a School of Mars is going to open its doors. Three thousand young citizens, the strongest, the most intelligent and the most commendable in conduct, are going to attend this new establishment. Three thousand children of honorable parents are going to devote themselves to shared tasks, to fashion themselves for military service. They will come from the heart of the new generation... to dedicate their nightly toil anti their blood to their country....

Love for the *Patrie* this pure and generous sentiment which knows no sacrifice that it cannot make...; love for the *Patrie* which was only a myth in the monarchies and which has filled the annals of the Republic with heroism and virtue, will become the ruling passion of the pupils of the School of Mars...

In founding this outstanding revolutionary establishment, the National Convention ought thus to address the families of... the young citizens whom it calls to the School of Mars: "Citizens, for too long has ignorance dwelt in the countryside and the workshops; for too font; fanaticism and tyranny have prevailed over the convictions of young citizens to enslave them or arrest their development. It is not for slaves or mercenaries to nurture free men; the *Patrie* itself today assumes this important function, which it will never relinquish to prejudice, deviousness, and aristocracy. Loyalty to your own families must end when the great family calls you. The



Republic leaves to parents the guidance of your first years, but as soon as your intelligence develops, it loudly proclaims the right it has over you. You are born for the Republic and not to be the pride of family despotism or its victims. It takes you at that happy age when your ardent feelings are directed by virtue and respond naturally to enthusiasm for the good of and love of the *Patrie*,"

[1] In other words, generals were charged with imposing on conquered territories what already had been accomplished by the National Assembly in 1789 -the abolition of "feudalism." This meant the end of the privileges enjoyed by noble and ecclesiastical landowners. These included a variety of payments and unpaid labor (*corvées*) owed by peasants to their lords and certain other privileges, such as exclusive hunting and fishing rights on the estate.

[2] The privileged estates are the clergy and the nobility

Appendix C

Document 53: Heinrich von Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century and Historical and Political Writings* (late nineteenth century)

ON THE GERMAN CHARACTER

Depth of thought, idealism, cosmopolitan views; a transcendent philosophy which boldly oversteps (or freely looks over) the separating barriers of finite existence, familiarity with every human thought and feeling, the desire to traverse the world-wide realm of ideas in common with the foremost intellects of all nations and all times. All that has at all times been held to be characteristic of the Germans and has always been praised as the essence of German character and breeding.

The simple loyalty of the Germans contrasts remarkably with the lack of chivalry in the English character. This seems to be due to the fact that in England physical culture is sought, not in the exercise of noble arms, but in sports like boxing, swimming, and rowing, sports which undoubtedly have their value, but which obviously tend to encourage a brutal and purely athletic point of view, and the single and superficial ambition of getting a first prize.^[1]

ON THE STATE

The state is a moral community, which is called upon to educate the human race by positive achievement. Its ultimate object is that a nation should develop in it, a nation distinguished by a real national character. To achieve this state is the highest moral duty for nation and individual alike. All private quarrels must be forgotten when the state is in danger.

At the moment when the state cries out that its very life is at stake, social selfishness must cease and party hatred be hushed. The individual must forget his egoism, and feel that he is a member of the whole body.

The most important possession of a state, its be-all and end-all, is power. He who is not man enough to look this truth in the face should not meddle in politics. The state is not physical power as an end in itself, it is power to protect and promote the higher interests. Power must justify itself by being applied for the greatest good of mankind. It is the highest moral duty of the state to increase its power...

Only the truly great and powerful states ought to exist. Small states are unable to protect their subjects against external enemies; moreover, they are incapable of producing genuine patriotism or national pride and are sometimes incapable of *Kultur*^[2] in great dimensions. Weimar produced a Goethe and a Schiller;^[3] still these poets would have been greater had they been citizens of a German national State.



ON MONARCHY

The will of the state is, in a monarchy, the expression of the will of one man who wears the crown by virtue of the historic right of a certain family; with him the final authority rests. Nothing in a monarchy can be done contrary to the will of the monarch. In a democracy, plurality, the will of the people, expresses the will of the state. A monarchy excels any other form of government, including the democratic, in achieving unity and power in a nation. It is for this reason that monarchy seems so natural, and that it makes such an appeal to the popular understanding. We Germans had an experience of this in the first years of our new empire.^[4] How wonderfully the idea of a united Fatherland was embodied for us in the person of the venerable Emperor! How much it meant to us that we could feel once more: "That man is Germany; there is no doubting it!"

ON WAR

The idea of perpetual peace is an illusion supported only by those of weak character. It has always been the weary, spiritless, and exhausted ages which have played with the dream of perpetual peace. A thousand touching portraits testify to the sacred power of the love which a righteous war awakes in noble nations. It is altogether impossible that peace be maintained in a world bristling with arms, and even God will see to it that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race. Among great states the greatest political sin and the most contemptible is feebleness....

War is elevating because the individual disappears before the great conception of the state. The devotion of the members of a community to each other is nowhere so splendidly conspicuous as in war.

Modern wars are not waged for the sake of goods and resources. What is at stake is the sublime moral good of national honor, which has something in the nature of unconditional sanctity, and compels the individual to sacrifice himself for it. ...

The grandeur of war lies in the utter annihilation of puny man in the great conception of the State, and it brings out the full magnificence of the sacrifice of fellow countrymen for one another. In war the chaff is winnowed from the wheat. Those who have lived through 1870 cannot fail to understand Niebuhr's^[5] description of his feelings in 1813, when he speaks of how no one who has entered into the joy of being bound by a common tie to all his compatriots, gentle and simple alike, can ever forget how he was uplifted by the love, the friendliness, and the strength of that mutual sentiment.

It is war which fosters the political idealism which the materialist rejects. What a disaster for civilization it would be if mankind blotted its heroes from memory. The heroes of a nation are the figures which rejoice and inspire the spirit of its youth, and the writers whose words ring like



trumpet blasts become the idols of our boyhood and our early manhood. He who feels no answering thrill is unworthy to bear arms for his country. To appeal from this judgment to Christianity would be sheer perversity, for does not the Bible distinctly say that the ruler shall rule by the sword, and again that greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for his friend? To Aryan[6] races, who are before all things courageous, the foolish preaching of everlasting peace has always been in vain. They have always been man enough to maintain with the sword what they have at-tained through the spirit....

ON THE ENGLISH

The hypocritical Englishman, with the Bible in one hand and a pipe of opium[7] in the other, possesses no redeeming qualities. The nation was an ancient robber knight, in full armor, lance in hand, on every one of the world's trade routes.

The English possess a commercial spirit, a love of money which has killed every sentiment of honor and every distinction of right and wrong. English cowardice and sensuality are hidden be-hind unctuous, theological fine talk which is to us free-thinking German heretics among all the sins of English nature the most repugnant. In England all notions of honor and class prejudices vanish be-fore the power of money, whereas the German nobility has remained poor but chivalrous. That last indispensable bulwark against the brutalization of society --the duel-- has gone out of fashion in England and soon disappeared, to be supplanted by the riding whip.[8] This was a triumph of vulgarity. The newspapers, in their accounts of aristocratic weddings, record in exact detail how much each wedding guest has contributed in the form of presents or in cash; even the youth of the nation have turned their sports into a business, and contend for valuable prizes, whereas the German students wrought havoc on their countenances for the sake of a real or imaginary honor.[9]

ON JEWS

The Jews at one time played a necessary role in German history, because of their ability in the management of money. But now that the Aryans have become accustomed to the idiosyncrasies of finance, the Jews are no longer necessary. The international Jew, hidden in the mask of different nationalities, is a disintegrating influence; he can be of no further use to the world. It is necessary to speak openly about the Jews, undisturbed by the fact that the Jewish press befouls what is purely historical truth.

[1] Treitschke is correct in drawing a distinction between English and German sports. The English prized competitive athletic contests, while the Germans favored group calisthenics and exercises.

[2] German for "culture" or "civilization."



[3] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Johann von Schiller (1759-1805) were Poets and dramatists who lived before Germany became a unified state. They both spent much of their adult lives in Weimar, the capital of the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar.

[4] When Germany became a unified state in 1871, the king of Prussia, Wilhelm I, became emperor of Germany.

[5] Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831) was a Prussian civil servant and historian. He lectured for a time at the University of Berlin and is best known for his three-volume history of Rome.

[6] Today, the term *Aryan*, or Indo-Iranian, refers to a branch of the Indo-European family of languages, which also includes Baltic, Slavic, Armenian, Greek, Celtic, Latin, and Germanic. Indo-Iranian includes Bengali, Persian, Punjabi, and Hindi. In Treitschke's day *Aryan* was used to refer not only to the prehistoric language from which all these languages derive but also to the racial group that spoke the language and migrated from its base in central Asia to Europe and India in the distant past. In the racial mythology that grew in connection with the term and later was embraced by Hitler and the Nazis, the Aryans provided Europe's original racial stock.

[7] Treitschke is making a point about what he considers the hypocrisy of the British, professed Christians who nonetheless sell opium to the Chinese.

[8] Aristocratic males frequently settled disputes concerning their honor by dueling. To Treitschke, abandoning the duel for less manly pursuits such as hunting and horseback riding was a sign of decadence.

[9] Treitschke is again using examples from sports to underscore the differences between the Germans and the English. English sports such as rugby and football (American soccer) were organized into professional leagues; the Germans were still willing to be scarred in duels to defend their honor.



Document 54: Jules Ferry, SPEECH BEFORE THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (July 28, 1883)

M. JULES FERRY Gentlemen, it embarrasses me to make such a prolonged demand upon the gracious attention of the Chamber, but I believe that the duty I am fulfilling upon this platform is not a useless one: It is as strenuous for me as for you, but I believe that there is some benefit in summarizing and condensing, in the form of arguments, the principles, the motives, and the various interests by which a policy of colonial expansion may be justified; it goes without saying that I will try to remain reasonable, moderate, and never lose sight of the major continental interests which are the primary concern of this country. What I wish to say, to support this proposition, is that in fact, just as in word, the policy of colonial expansion is a political and economic system; I wish to say that one can relate this system to three orders of ideas: economic ideas, ideas of civilization in its highest sense, and ideas of politics and patriotism.

In the area of economics, I will allow myself to place before you, with the support of some figures, the considerations which justify a policy of colonial expansion from the point of view of that need, felt more and more strongly by the industrial populations of Europe and particularly those of our own rich and hard working country: the need for export markets.... I will formulate only in a general way what each of you, in the different parts of France, is in a position to confirm. Yes, what is lacking for our great industry, drawn irrevocably on to the path of exportation by the (free trade) treaties of 1860,^[1] what it lacks more and more is export markets. Why? Because next door to us Germany is surrounded by {tariff} barriers, because beyond the ocean, the United States of America has become protectionist, protectionist in the most extreme sense, because not only have these great markets, I will not say closed but shrunk, and thus become more difficult of access for our industrial products, but also these great quickly as possible, believe me; it is the humanitarian and civilizing side of the question. On this point the honorable M. Camille Pelletan^[2] has jeered in his own refined and clever manner; he jeers, he condemns, and he says "What is this civilization which you impose with cannonballs? What is it but another form of barbarism? Don't these populations, these inferior races, have the same rights as you? Aren't they masters of their own houses? Have they called upon you? You come to them against their will, you offer them violence, but not civilization." There, gentlemen, is the thesis; I do not hesitate to say that this is not politics, nor is it history: it is political metaphysics. ("Ah, Ah" *on far left*.)^[3]

. . . Gentlemen, I must speak from a higher and more truthful plane. It must be stated openly that, in effect, superior races have rights over inferior races. (*Movement on many benches on the far left*.)

M. JULES MAIGNE Oh! You dare to say this in the country which has proclaimed the rights of man!

M. DE GUILLOUTET This is a justification of slavery and the slave trade!



M. JULES FERRY If M. Maigne is right, if the declaration of the rights of man was written for the blacks of equatorial Africa, then by what right do you impose regular commerce upon them? They have not called upon you.

M. RAOUL DUVAL We do not want to impose anything upon them. It is you who wish to do so!

M. JULES MAIGNE To propose and to impose are two different things!

M. GEORGES PERIN^[4] In any case, you cannot bring about commerce by force.

M. JULES FERRY I repeat that superior races have a right, because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize inferior races....

That is what I have to answer M. Pelletan in regard to the second point upon which he touched.

He then touched upon a third, more delicate, more serious point, and upon which I ask your permission to express myself quite frankly. It is the political side of the question. The honorable

M. Pelletan, who is a distinguished writer, always comes up with remarkably precise formulations. I will borrow from him the one which he applied the other day to this aspect of colonial policy.

"It is a system," he says, "which consists of seeking out compensations in the Orient with a circumspect and peaceful seclusion which is actually imposed upon us in Europe."

I would like to explain myself in regard to this. I do not like this word "compensation," and, in effect, not here but elsewhere it has often been used in a treacherous way. If what is being said or insinuated is that a republican minister could possibly believe that there are in any part of the world compensations for the disasters which we have experienced,^[5] an injury is being inflicted ... and an injury undeserved by that government. (*Applause at the center and left.*) I will ward off this injury with all the force of my patriotism! (*New applause and bravos from the same benches.*)

Gentlemen, there are certain considerations which merit the attention of all patriots. The conditions of naval warfare have been profoundly altered. ("Very true! Very true!")

At this time, as you know, a warship cannot carry more than fourteen days' worth of coal. no matter how perfectly it is organized, and a ship which is out of coal is a derelict on the surface of the sea, abandoned to the first person who comes along. Thence the necessity of having on the oceans provision stations, shelters, ports for defense and revictualling. (*Applause at the center and left. Various interruptions.*) And it is for this that we needed Tunisia, for this that we needed



Saigon and the Mekong Delta, for this that we need Madagascar, that we are at Diego-Suarez and Vohemar^[6] and will never leave them! (*Ap-plause from a great number of benches.*) Gentlemen, in Europe as it is today, in this competition of so many rivals which we *see* growing around us, some by perfecting their military or maritime forces, others by the prodigious development of an ever growing population; in a Europe, or rather in a universe of this sort, a policy of peaceful seclusion or abstention is simply the highway to decadence! Nations are great in our times only by means of the activities which they develop; it is not simply "by the peaceful shining forth of institutions" (*Interruptions on the extreme left and right*) that they are great at this hour....

(The Republican Party) has shown that it is quite aware that one cannot impose upon France a political ideal conforming to that of nations like independent Belgium and the Swiss Republic; that something else is needed for France: that she cannot be merely a *free* country, that she must also *be* a great country, exercising all of her rightful influence over the destiny of Europe, that she ought to propagate this influence throughout the world and carry everywhere that she can her language, her customs, her flag, her arms, and her genius. (*Applause at center and left.*)

^[1] Refers to a treaty between Great Britain and France that lowered tariffs between the two nations.

^[2] Pelletan (1846-1915) was a radical republican politician noted for his strong patriotism.

^[3] Going back to a tradition begun in the legislative assemblies of the French Revolution, democrats and republicans sat on the left, moderates in the center, and conservatives on the right. By the 1880s the "left" also included socialists.

^[4] Maigne, Guilloutet, Duval, and Perin were all members of the assembly.

^[5] Refers to France's defeat by Prussia and the German states in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871.

^[6] Madagascar port cities.



Appendix D

Document 2: “Multiple Voices V”

American Federation of Labor declaration (1901)

SOME REASONS FOR CHINESE EXCLUSION

Until this year no statute had been passed by the State forbidding their intermarriage with the whites, and yet during their long residence but few intermarriages have taken place, and the offspring has been invariably degenerate. It is well established that the issue of the Caucasian and the Mongolian does not possess the virtues of either, but develops the vices of both. So physical assimilation is out of the question.... Their practical status among us has been that of single men competing at low wages against not only men of our race, but men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. They pay little taxes; they support no institutions, neither school, church, nor theater; they remain steadfastly, after all these years, a permanently foreign element...and now it has been clearly demonstrated that they can not, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people and be molded as are other races into strong and composite American Stock.

It has been urged that the Chinese are unskilled and that they create wealth in field, mine, and forest, which ultimately redounds to the benefit of the white skilled workingman. The Chinese are skilled, and are capable of almost any skilled employment. They have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit canning, match making, woolen manufacturing industries, and have displaced more than 4,000 white men in these several employments in the city of San Francisco. As common laborers they have throughout California displaced tens of thousands of men...

The home market should grow with the population. But the Chinese, living on the most meager food, having no families to support, inured to deprivation, and hoarding their wages for use in their native land, whither they invariably return, can not in any sense be regarded as consumers. Their earnings do not circulate nor are they reinvested, contrary to those economic laws which make for the prosperity of nations.

.....

Civilization in Europe has been frequently at-tacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia But a peaceful invasion is more danger-ous than a war-like attack. We can meet and defend ourselves against an open foe, but an insidious foe under our generous laws would be in possession of the citadel before we were aware. The free immigration of Chinese would be for all purposes an invasion by Asiatic barbarians, against whom civilization in Europe has been frequently defended, fortunately for us. It is our inheritance to keep it pure and uncontaminated, as it is our purpose and destiny to broaden and enlarge it. We are trustees for mankind.



Document 3: “Multiple Voices V”

TESTIMONY FROM JOINT SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON CHINESE IMMIGRATION (1876)

Donald McLennan sworn and examined.

By Mr. Bee:

Question. You are connected with the Mission Woolen Mills, I believe? -----

Answer. I am.

Q. How long have you been in that business? -----A. Sixteen or seventeen years.

Q. How long have you been in this country? -----A. About nineteen years.

Q. How many operatives have you? -----A. We have about 600, altogether -----about 300 Chinamen and the rest white.

Q. How do you look upon them for honesty? -----A. I never found a case of theft among them. It is possible that such things might take place and we not know it; but still we have never discovered anything of the kind or noticed that anything was taken away.

Q. The Chinese, therefore, you regard as steady and reliable? -----A. Yes, sir; they are a very steady people. I have never seen a drunken Chinaman in my life.

Q. Do they ever strike for higher wages?-----A. Never. I never knew them to do so.

Q. What is the difference in the rate of wages that you pay to the two races? -----A. We pay our white men from \$1.75 to \$6 a day, and we pay the Chinamen 90 cents a day.

Herman Heynemann sworn and examined.

By Mr. Brooks:

Question. What is your business? -----A. A mer-chant.

Q. How long have you been engaged in that business here? -----A. Fifteen years.

Q. What is the character of your business? -----A. I am engaged in importing goods, also in manufacturing.



Q. What character of manufacturing? -----A. I am president of the Pioneer Woolen Factory and agent of the Pacific Jute Factory.

Q. Why do you employ Chinese in your factory? -----A. Originally we could not get any others at all. At that time it would have been an absolute impossibility to have run the factory upon white labor, simply because we could not get white operatives.

Q. Would the factory have been established with white labor? -----A. No, sir. As a matter of fact, even with the Chinese labor, competition has been so active that we have had no dividends whatever.

By the Chairman:

Q. What is their character for industry and fidelity' -----A. I have found in our factory during the last fifteen years, that we have not had a single case before the police court. All these Chinese laborers live on the premises. They have a building there; and we have not had a single case of any kind before the police court of murder, or rows among themselves, or theft upon the proprietors. I think that speaks well for them. I think there are few factories run entirely by white labor where the laborers live on the premises that could say that much.

Q. What is the cause, in your judgment, of the hostility to the Chinese' -----A. The same cause that has been prevalent all over the earth, strangeness of manners. It used to be in England than any man who did not speak English was a "bloody foreigner." It did not make any difference whether he was the best man in the world, he was a "bloody foreigner," and it was the height of contempt to use that expression. I am just of the opinion ... if this race, instead of keeping themselves in their peculiar dress, were to drink whisky and patronize the bar rooms today just like others do, the prejudice would disappear immediately.



Appendix E

Document 59: Sayyid Jamal ad-Din, *Letter to Hasan Shirazi* (April 1891)

Your Reverence ... Hasan Shirazi -may God protect by your means the fold of Islam, and avert the plots of the vile unbelievers!----

God has set you apart . . . and has committed to your hands the reins to guide the people obediently to the most luminous Law, and thus to protect their rights, and to guard their hearts from errors and doubts. He has entrusted to you out of all mankind (so that you have become the heir of the Prophet) the care of those weighty interests by which the people shall prosper in this world and attain happiness in the hereafter. He has assigned to you the throne of authority, and has bestowed on you such supremacy over his people as empowers you to save and defend their country and testify for them to the ways of those who have gone before....

O most mighty Religious Guide! Verily the Shah's purpose wavers, his character is impure, his perceptions are failing and his heart is corrupt. He is incapable of governing the land, or managing the affairs of his people, and has entrusted the reins of government in all things great and small to the hands of a wicked freethinker,^[1] a tyrant and usurper, who reviles the Prophets openly, and heeds not God's Law, who counts for nothing the religious authorities, curses the doctors of the Law, rejects the pious, ... and treats preachers as one would treat the vilest of mankind. Moreover since his return from Europe he has taken the bit between his teeth, drinks wine openly,^[2] associates with unbelievers and displays enmity toward the virtuous. Such is his private conduct; but in addition to this he has sold to the foes of our Faith the greater part of the Persian lands and the profits derived from them, for example, the mines, the roads leading to them, the roads connecting them with the frontiers of the country, the inns about to be built by the side of these extensive means of travel which will spread out through all parts of the kingdom, and the gardens and fields surrounding them. Also the river Karun^[3] and the guesthouses which will arise on its banks up to its very source, and the gardens and meadows which adjoin it, and the highway from Ahwaz to Tehran, with the buildings, inns, gardens, and fields surrounding it. Also tobacco, with the chief centers of its cultivation, the lands on which it is grown, and the warehouses, carriers, and sellers, wherever these are found. He has similarly disposed of the grapes used for making wine, and the shops, factories, and winepresses pertaining to this trade throughout the whole of Persia; and so likewise soap, candles, and sugar, and the factories connected with their manufacture. Lastly there is the Bank:^[4] what must you understand about the Bank? It means the complete handing over of the reins of government to the enemy of Islam, the enslaving of the people to that enemy, the surrendering of them and of all dominion and authority into the hands of the foreign foe.

After this the ignorant traitor, desiring to pacify the people by his futile arguments, pretended that these agreements were temporary, and these compacts were only for a limited period which would not exceed a hundred years! God! what an argument, the weakness of which amazed even the traitors!



In short this criminal has offered the provinces of Persia to auction among the Powers {of Europe}, and is selling the realms of Islam and the abodes of Muhammad and his household (on whom be greeting and salutation) to foreigners, But by reason of the vileness of his nature and meanness of his understanding he sells them for a paltry sum and at a wretched price. (Yea, thus it is when meanness and avarice are mingled with treason and folly!)

And you, ... if you will not arise to help this people, and will not unite them in purpose, and pluck them forth, by the power of the Holy Law from the hands of this sinner, verily the realms of Islam will soon be under the control of foreigners, who will rule ... as they please and do what they will. If this opportunity is lost ... and this thing happens while you are alive, verily you will not leave behind. ... a fair record in the register of time and on the pages of history. And you know that the *ulama*^[5] of Persia and the Persian people ... with one accord ... await a word from you with which they shall behold their happiness and by which their deliverance shall be effected. How then can it seem that one on whom God has bestowed such power as this to be so reluctant to use it or to leave it suspended?

I further assure Your Eminence, speaking as one who knows and seeks, that the Ottoman Government will rejoice in your undertaking of this effort and will aid you in it, for it is well aware that the intervention of Europeans in the Persian domains and their ascendancy there will assuredly prove injurious to its own dominions. Moreover all the ministers and lords of Persia will rejoice in a word in this sense uttered by you, seeing that all of them naturally detest these innovations and are constitutionally opposed to these agreements, which your actions will give them the opportunity to annul, that perhaps they may restrain this evil of covetousness which has been sanctioned and approved. ... All is from you, by you and in you, and you are responsible for all before God and men....

As for my own story and what that ungrateful tyrant did to me ... the wretch [the shah] commanded me to be dragged, when I was in sanctuary in the shrine of Shah 'Abdu'l-'Azim and grievously ill, through the snow to the capital with such circumstances of disrespect, humiliation and disgrace as cannot be imagined for wickedness (and all this after I had been plundered and despoiled). Verily we belong to God and verily unto Him do we return!

Thereafter his miserable lackeys placed me, despite my illness, on a packsaddle, loading me with chains, and this in the winter season, amid the snowdrifts and bitter, icy blasts, and a company of horsemen conveyed me to Khaniqin,^[6] guarded by an escort. And he had previously written to the ... Turkish governor, requesting him to remove me to Basra, knowing well that, if he left me alone, I should come to you, ... and inform you of his doings and of the state of the people, and explain to you what had befallen the lands of Islam through the evil deeds of this infidel, and would invoke your help, ... for the True Faith, and convince you to come to the assistance of the Muslims. For he knew for a certainty that, should I succeed in meeting you, it would not be possible for him to continue in his office, involving as it does the ruin of the country, the destruction of the people, and the encouragement of unbelief. ... What is this weakness? What



this cowardice? How is it possible that a lowborn vagabond and contemptible fool should be able to sell the Muslims and their lands for a vile price and a paltry sum . . . ? Is there no hand able to pluck up this evil root and so to appease the wrathful indignation of the Muslims, and avenge the descendants of the Chief of God's Apostles (upon whom and whose household be blessings and salutation)? ...

Peace be upon thee, and the Mercy of God, and His Blessings.

[1] Amin al-Sultan, the shah's grand vizier.

[2] A forbidden act according to the Quran.

[3] In 1888 an Englishman had been granted a concession to open steamship traffic on the Karun River.

[4] The Imperial Bank of Persia had been granted a sixty-year concession to issue bank notes and carry on other banking activities.

[5] Those learned in religion.

[6] A Turkish frontier post on the road from Persia to Baghdad.



Document 60: Announcement to the Arabs, Sons of Qahtan (Anonymous, Summer 1914)

O Sons of Qahtan! O Descendants of Adnan!^[1] Are you asleep? And how long will you remain asleep? ... When will you realize the truth? When will you know that your country has been sold to the foreigner? See how your natural resources have been alienated from you and have come into the possession of England, France, and Germany. Have you no right to these resources? You have become humiliated slaves in the hands of the usurping tyrant; the foreigner unjustly dispossesses you of the fruit of your work and labor and leaves you to suffer the pangs of hunger. How long will it be before you understand that you have become a plaything in the hand of him who has no religion but to kill the Arabs and forcibly to seize their possessions? The Country is yours, and they say that rule belongs to the people, but those who exercise rule over you ... do not consider you part of the people, for they inflict on you all kinds of suffering, tyranny, and persecution. How, then, can they concede to you any political rights? In their eyes you are but a flock of sheep whose wool is to be clipped, whose milk is to be drunk, and whose meat is to be eaten....

The Armenians, small as their numbers are when compared to yours, have won their administrative autonomy in spite of the opposition of the Turkish state, and they will presently become independent.^[2] Their people will then become self-governing, free and advanced, free and active in the social organization of humanity, in contrast to you, who will remain ever enslaved to the descendants of Genghis and Hulagu^[3] who brought to an end your advanced Arab government in Baghdad, the Abode of Peace; and to the descendants of Tamerlane^[4] who built a tower composed of the heads of eighty thousand Arabs in Aleppo. Till when will you go on acquiescing in this utter humiliation, when your honor is made free of, your wives raped, your children orphaned, your habitations destroyed, ... your money taken to be spent in the palaces of Constantinople, full as they are with intoxicating drink, musical instruments, and all kinds of wealth and luxury, and your young men driven to fight your Arab brethren. . . . Has your Arab blood become congealed in your veins, and has it changed into dirty water? You have become, by God, a byword among the nations, a laughingstock of the world, a subject of mockery and derision among the peoples. You have almost become proverbial in your humility, weakness, and acquiescence in great loss.

Compare how well the Turks treat the Armenians and how they seek to humor them, with the harsh treatment which they reserve for you Arabs. See how the Turkish government adopts the stance of obedience before them, how it humbly begs them to accept more than their due share of parliamentary representation. As for you, a how we grieve for you! The government directs against you those armies which had been defeated on the Russian front and in the Balkans,^[5] in order to kill you, destroy your liberty, destroy your noble Arab race, and finally to finish you off, as though it can have no power but over you

O sons of Qahtan! Do you not know that man is meant to live here on earth a goodly life, in honor and prosperity, a life full of spiritual values...? What, then, is the value of life, when honor is stained, possessions robbed, and souls destroyed? What is the meaning of a life spent in



humiliation and subjection, without honor, without possessions, without enjoyment of liberty and independence? . . .

O ye Arabs! Warn the people of the Yemen, of Asir, of Nejd, and of Iraq^[6] against the intrigues of your enemies. Be united, in the Syrian and Iraqi provinces, with the members of your race and fatherland. Let the Muslims, the Christians, and the Jews be as one in working for the interest of the nation and of the country. You all dwell in one land, you speak one language, so be also one nation and one land. Do not become divided against yourselves according to the designs and purposes of the troublemakers who feign Islam, while Islam is really innocent of their misdeeds...

Unite then and help one another, and do not say, a ye Muslims: This is a Christian, and this is a Jew, for you are all God's dependents, and religion is for God alone. God has commanded us ... to follow justice and equality, to deal faithfully with him who does not fight us, even though his religion is different, and to fight him who uses us tyrannously. Who, then, have tyrannized over the Arabs? ... Is it not the band of Constantinople who fight you and seek to exterminate some of the Arabs by means of sword and fire, and others by means of quarrels and dissensions, following the maxim "divide and rule" ... ?

Every tyrannical government is an enemy and a foe to Islam; how more so, then, if the government destroys Islam, considers it lawful to shed the blood of the people of the Prophet of Islam, and seeks to kill the language of Islam in the name of Islamic government and the Islamic caliphate? . . . Therefore, he who supports these unionists^[7] because he considers them Muslims is in clear error, for none of them have done a good deed for Islam. . . Fanatic in its cause, they fight the Quran and the tradition of the Arabic Prophet. Is this the Islam which it is incumbent on them to respect? It is not notorious that they seek to kill the Arabic language? Did they not write books to show that it must be abandoned, and that prayers and the call to prayers should be made in Turkish? And if Arabic dies, how can the Quran and the traditions live? And if the Book and the traditions cease to be known, what remains of Islam?

^[1] Qahtan, or Kahtan, was supposedly the ancient ancestor of all south Arabs; Adnan was the ancestor of north Arabs.

^[2] These claims are exaggerated. Slightly more than 1 million Armenians were Ottoman subjects, with most of them living in eastern Anatolia. An upsurge in Armenian nation-alism at the end of the nineteenth century led to a proliferation of Armenian political groups, antigovernment terrorism, and public demonstrations against Turkish rule. Abdul Hamid's government responded by ordering, or at least condoning, massacres of perhaps as many as 100,000 Armenians by Ottoman troops and mobs between 1894 and 1897. Another massacre of approximately 20,000 Armenians took place in 1909. Such atrocities outraged world opinion, and European governments pressured the Ottomans to implement reforms on behalf of the Armenians. In 1914 the Ottoman government and the European powers agreed on a plan to



establish two large provinces with heavy Armenian populations in eastern Anatolia and to place them under the administrative authority of Europeans. With the outbreak of World War I, however, the plan was dropped. During the war, government-ordered evacuations of Armenians from their homelands and attacks on Armenian communities resulted in more than 1 million Armenian deaths.

[3] Chinggis Khan (1167-1227) was the Mongol ruler who conquered northern China, central Asia, and Persia; his grandson Hulagu, or Hulegu, led the armies that sacked Baghdad in 1258, killing an estimated 200,000 inhabitants and bringing an end to the Abbasid Dynasty.

[4] Tamerlane (ca. 1336-1405) was a conqueror of Turko--Mongol ancestry. His armies carved out a short-lived empire that stretched from Asia Minor to India. His most notorious custom was to pile his victims' skulls in huge pyramids after a city had been sacked.

[5] The Ottoman government had been fighting and losing wars in the Balkans since the 1820s; their most recent defeat had come in the Balkan War of 1912-1913. The last major war with Russia had been fought in 1877 and 1878, with disastrous results for the Ottomans.

[6] Yemen, Asir, and Nejd are all regions of the Arabian Peninsula; Iraq was a province centered on the Tigris/ Euphrates rivers. The Ottoman government had sent troops to all these regions to quell disturbances of control local Arab rulers.

[7] Refers to the Committee of Union and Progress, the political party of the Young Turks

Appendix F

Document 79: Kabaka Daudi Chwa, “Education, Civilization, and ‘Foreignization’ in Buganda” (1935)

Everyone knows that education and civilization were started simultaneously in this country in their respective rudimentary forms by the kind efforts of the members of the various Missionary Societies and have now been enhanced largely due to the assistance rendered by the Protectorate Government.

Naturally, Education and Civilization gained tremendous favour among the Baganda^[1], and as a consequence there are numerous Schools in remote villages in Buganda Kingdom for the Education of the young generations...

Now my fears are that instead of the Baganda acquiring proper and legitimate education and civilization there is possible danger that they may be drifting to "foreignization."... To be more explicit, what I mean by the word "foreignization" is that instead of the Baganda acquiring proper education at the various Schools and of availing themselves of the legitimate amenities of civilization, I am very much afraid the young generation of this country is merely drifting wholesale towards "foreignization" of their natural instincts and is discarding its native and traditional customs, habits and good breeding

I am well aware that it has been said more than once that the Baganda have neither morals nor public opinion... I do not wish to be considered in this article to uphold the Baganda as a Nation of Angels -But what I do maintain is that prior to the advent of the Europeans the Baganda had a very strict moral code of their own which was always enforced by a constant and genuine fear of some evil or incurable or even fatal disease being suffered invariably by the breaker of this moral code. In fact I maintain the Baganda observed most strictly the doctrine of the Ten Command-ments in spite of the fact that Christianity and the so-called Christian morals were absolutely unknown to the Baganda

- (a) Theft was always punished very severely, invariably by the loss of the right hand of the offender, so as to render him incapable of committing the same offense again.
- (b) Adultery was almost unknown among the Baganda and any man found guilty of such offense was always ostracized from Society.
- (c) Murder was invariably followed by a very severe vendetta between the members of the family or clan of the victim and those of the offender.
- (d) Filial obedience was most honored among the Baganda and disobedience or disrespect of one's parents was always supposed to be punished by some higher power by the infliction of some horrible or incurable disease upon the offender.

- (e) False evidence was looked upon with con-tempt. The person who bore false evidence and the person against whom it was given were both subjected to a very severe test by forcing them to drink a certain kind of strong drug known as "Madudu," which was supposed to result in making one of the parties who was in the wrong unconscious.

In this connection I should like to point out that although polygamy was universally recognized among the Baganda and was never considered as immoral yet prostitution was absolutely unheard of. Civilization, education and freedom are the direct causes of the appalling state of affairs as regards prostitution and promiscuous relationships between the Baganda men and women.... As an illustration of the strictness of the old moral code of the Baganda I should like to point out here one of the most important native custom of looking after the daughters in a Muganda's^[2] home. It was one of the worst filial offenses for a daughter to become pregnant while living with her parents. As soon as she was discovered in that condition she was at once expelled from her parents' house, and was absolutely cut off from them. She could not eat with them nor would her parents touch her until the child was born and some rites had been gone through which necessitated a great deal of hardship and shame on the part of the girl and her seducer. This custom was intended to stimulate morality among the Baganda girls, since any girl who went astray before she was given in marriage suffered this indignity and was always looked upon with contempt by all her relatives and friends. Furthermore any girl who was given in marriage and was found not to be a virgin merited unspeakable disfavor in the eyes of her parents, relations and friends. All this, however, is of course, no longer the case. The present so-called education and civilization prevailing in this country has completely destroyed this moral code by removing the constant fear just referred to above from the minds of the young generation of the Baganda by the freedom and liberty which are the natural consequences of the present World civilization.

... Whilst ... apart from their ignorance of Christianity and their practice of polygamy I am strongly of opinion that most of the traditional customs and etiquette of the Baganda ... were quite consistent with the principles of Christianity. In support of this argument it is only necessary to mention a few customs of the Baganda to show that they unconsciously possessed a sense of the modern Christian morality:

- (a) It was one of the most important behaviors among the Baganda for one's neighbor to be con-sidered as his own relative and to share with him in his happiness or unhappiness....
- (b) It was the recognized etiquette for a Muganda to salute everyone that he met on the road, whether he knew him or not.
- (c) When a Muganda was taking his meal and anyone passed by, it was always the custom to invite him to share it with him.



(d) It was always the duty of every one who hears an alarm at any time of day or night or a cry for help to go at once and render assistance to the party in distress or danger....

(e) It was the duty of every Muganda, when requested, to assist any traveller in directing him to his destination, or to give him food or water, and even to give him shelter from rain or for the night. ...

My intention therefore in this article is to emphasize the fact that while boasting of having acquired Western education and civilization in an amazingly short period, we have entirely and completely ignored our native traditional customs. In other words we have "foreignized" our native existence by acquiring the worst foreign habits and customs of the Western people. I am only too well aware that this is inevitable in all countries where Western civilization has reached, so I have considered it my duty in this article to warn very strongly all members of the young generation of the Baganda that while they are legitimately entitled to strive to acquire education and civilization they should also take a very great care that acquisition of Western Education and Civilization does not automatically destroy their best inherent traditions and customs which, in my own opinion, are quite as good as those found among the Western Civilized countries but which only *require* developing and remodelling where necessary on the lines and ideas of western civilization.

[1] The Baganda are the people of the kingdom of Buganda.

[2] Muganda is the word (singular) for an individual living in the kingdom of Buganda



Document 80: Mustafa Kemal (Speech to Congress of Turkey's "People's Republican Party," 1927)

[NATIONALISM AND EMPIRE]

... Among the Ottoman rulers there were some who endeavored to form a gigantic empire by seizing Germany and Western Europe. One of these rulers hoped to unite the whole Islamic world in one body, to lead it and govern it. For this purpose he obtained control of Syria and Egypt and assumed the title of Caliph.^[1] Another Sultan pursued the twofold aim, on the one hand of gaining the mastery over Europe, and on the other of subjecting the Islamic world to his authority and government. The continuous counterattacks from the West, the discontent and insurrections in the Muslim world, as well as the dissensions between the various elements which this policy had artificially brought together within certain limits, had the ultimate result of burying the Ottoman Empire, in the same way as many others, under the pall of history....

To unite different nations under one common name, to give these different elements equal rights, subject them to the same conditions and thus to found a mighty State is a brilliant and attractive political ideal; but it is a misleading one. It is an unrealizable aim to attempt to unite in one tribe the various races existing on the earth, thereby abolishing all boundaries. Herein lies a truth which the centuries that have gone by and the men who have lived during these centuries have clearly shown in dark and sanguinary events.

There is nothing in history to show how the policy of Panislamism^[2] could have succeeded or how it could have found a basis for its realization on this earth. As regards the result of the ambition to organize a State which should be governed by the idea of world-supremacy and include the whole of humanity without distinction of race, history does not afford examples of this. For us, there can be no question of the lust of conquest....

In order that our nation should be able to live a happy, strenuous, and permanent life, it is necessary that the State should pursue an exclusively national policy and that this policy should be in perfect agreement with our internal organization and be based on it. When I speak of national policy, I mean it in this sense: To work within our national boundaries for the real happiness and welfare of the nation and the country by, above all, relying on our own strength in order to retain our existence. But not to lead the people to follow fictitious aims, of whatever nature, which could only bring them misfortune, and expect from the civilized world civilized human treatment, friendship based on mutuality....

[THE ISSUE OF THE CALIPHATE}

I must call attention to the fact that Hodja Shukri, as well as the politicians who pushed forward his person and signature, had intended to substitute the sovereign bearing the title of Sultan or Padishah by a monarch with the title of Caliph.^[3] The only difference was that, instead of speaking of a monarch of this or that country or nation, they now spoke of a monarch whose



authority extended over a population of three hundred million souls belonging to manifold nations and dwelling in different continents of the world. Into the hands of this great monarch, whose authority was to extend over the whole of Islam, they placed as the only power that of the Turkish people, that is to say, only from 10 to 15 millions of these three hundred million subjects. The monarch designated under the title of Caliph was to guide the affairs of these Muslim peoples and to secure the execution of the religious prescriptions which would best correspond to their worldly interests. He was to defend the rights of all Muslims and concentrate all the affairs of the Muslim world in his hands with effective authority....

If the Caliph and Caliphate, as they maintained, were to be invested with a dignity embracing the whole of Islam, ought they not to have realized in all justice that a crushing burden would be imposed on Turkey, on her existence; her entire resources and all her forces would be placed at the disposal of the Caliph? ...

I made statements everywhere, that were necessary to dispel the uncertainty and anxiety of the people concerning this question of the CaliphateI gave the people to understand that neither Turkey nor the handful of men she possesses could be placed at the disposal of the Caliph so that he might fulfill the mission attributed to him, namely, to found a State comprising the whole of Islam. The Turkish nation is incapable of undertaking such an irrational mission.

For centuries our nation was guided under the influence of these erroneous ideas. But what has been the result of it? Everywhere they have lost millions of men. "Do you know," I asked, "how many sons of Anatolia have perished in the scorching deserts of the Yemen? Do you know the losses we have suffered in holding Syria and Iraq and Egypt and in maintaining our position in Africa? And do you see what has come out of it? Do you know?"

"New Turkey, the people of New Turkey, have no reason to think of anything else but their own existence and their own welfare. She has nothing more to give away to others."...

[THE SUPPRESSION OF THE PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANS]

As you know, it was at the time that the members of the opposition had founded a party under the name of "Republican Progressive Party" and published its program....

Under the mask of respect for religious ideas and dogmas the new Party addressed itself to the people in the following words:

"We want the re-establishment of the Caliphate; we do not want new laws; we are satisfied with the religious law; we shall protect the Medressas, the Tekkes, the pious institutions, the Softahs, the Sheikhs^[4] and their disciples. Be on our side; the party of Mustafa Kemal, having abolished the Caliphate, is breaking Islam into ruins; they will make you into unbelievers.... "



Read these sentences, Gentlemen, from a letter written by one of the adherents of this program:
... "They are attacking the very principles which perpetuate the existence of the Muslim world ...
The assimilation with the Occident means the destruction of our history, our civilization....
“Gentlemen, facts and events have proved that the program of the Republican Progressive Party
has been the work emanating from the brain of traitors. This Party became the refuge and the
point of support for reactionary and rebellious elements....

The Government and the Committee found themselves forced to take extraordinary measures.
They caused the law regarding the restoration of order to be proclaimed, and the Independence
Courts to take action. For a considerable time they kept eight or nine divisions of the army at war
strength for the suppression of disorders, and put an end to the injurious organization which bore
the name "Republican Progressive Party."

The result was, of course, the success of the Republic. ...

Gentlemen, it was necessary to abolish the fez^[5] which sat on our heads as a sign of
ignorance, of fanaticism, of hatred to progress and civilization, and to adopt in its place the hat,
the customary headdress of the whole civilized world, thus showing, among other things, that no
difference existed in the manner of thought between the Turkish nation and the whole family of
civilized mankind. We did that while the law for the Restoration of Order was still in force. If it
had not been in force we should have done so all the same; but one can say with complete truth
that the existence of this law made the thing much easier for us. As a matter of fact the
application of the law for the Restoration of Order prevented the morale of the nation
being poisoned to a great extent by reactionaries.

Gentlemen, while the law regarding the Restoration of Order was in force there took place also
the closing of the Tekkes, of the convents, and of the mausoleums, as well as the abolition of all
sects^[6] and all kinds of titles such as Sheikh, Dervish, ... Occultist, Magician, Mausoleum
Guard, etc.^[7]

One will be able to imagine how necessary the carrying through of these measures was, in order
to prove that our nation as a whole was no primitive nation, filled with superstitions and
prejudices.

Could a civilized nation tolerate a mass of people who let themselves be led by the nose by a
herd of Sheikhs, Dedes, Seids, ... Babas and Emirs,^[8] who entrusted their destiny and their lives
to chiromancers,^[9] magicians, dice-throwers and amulet sellers? Ought one to conserve in the
Turkish State, in the Turkish Republic, elements and institutions such as those which had for
centuries given the nation the appearance of being other than it really was? Would one not
therewith have committed the greatest, most irreparable error to the cause of progress and
reawakening? If we made use of the law for the Restoration of Order in this manner, it was in



order to avoid such a historic error; to show the nation's brow pure and luminous, as it is; to prove that our people think neither in a fanatical nor a reactionary manner.

Gentlemen, at the same time the new laws were worked out and decreed which promise the most fruitful results for the nation on the social and economic plane, and in general in all the forms of the expression of human activity ... the Citizens' Legal Code, which ensures the liberty of women and stabilizes the existence of the family.

Accordingly we made use of all circumstances only from one point of view, which consisted therein: to raise the nation on to that step on which it is justified in standing in the civilized world, to stabilize the Turkish Republic more and more on steadfast foundations ... and in addition to destroy the spirit of despotism for ever.

[1] A reference to Selim I, who conquered Egypt and Syria in 1515-1516; it is doubtful that he actually considered himself caliph, that is, leader and protector of all Muslims.

[2] The program of uniting all Muslims under one government or ruler.

[3] These events took place in January 1923. After Sultan Mehmed V was deposed on November 1, 1922, his cousin was designated caliph. Because of their long rule and vast territories, Ottoman sultans by the nineteenth century were viewed by many Muslims as caliphs, that is, successors of the prophet Muhammad, with jurisdiction over all of Islam. Shukri was a *hodja* (or *hojja*), a Turkish religious leader; he hoped that the new Turkish state would continue to support the caliphate even after the sultanate was abolished. In 1924, however, Kemal abolished the caliphate.

[4] A *medressa* is an advanced school of Islamic learning; a *tekke* is a small teaching mosque usually built over the tomb of a saint; a *softah* is a student in an Islamic school; a *sheikh*, or *shaykh*, is a master of a religious order of Sufis, who adopted a mystical approach to Islam.

[5] The fez was a brimless hat popular among Turkish men during the nineteenth century; its lack of a brim allowed the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground while kneeling during prayer without removing the hat.

[6] Islamic religious orders

[7] A *dervish*, or *darvish*, was a member of an Islamic sect famous for its whirling dances that symbolized the movement of the heavenly spheres; an *occultist* was a Sufi who achieved a state of withdrawal from the world; a *mausoleum guard* guarded the tomb of a saint or holy person.



[8] A *dede* was head of a Sufi order; *seids*, or *sayyids*, were descendants of the prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima; *baba* was a popular surname among Sufi preachers; in this context *emir* is an honorary Turkish title.

[9] People who told the future by reading palms



Document 85: Lázaro Cárdenas, *Speech to the Nation* (1938)

In each and every one of the various attempts of the Executive to arrive at a final solution of the conflict within conciliatory limits...the intransigence of the companies was clearly demonstrated.

Their attitude was therefore premeditated and their position deliberately taken, so that the Government, in defense of its own dignity, had to resort to application of the Expropriation Act, as there were no means less drastic or decision less severe that might bring about a solution of the problem

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that the oil industry has brought additional capital for the development and progress of the country. This assertion is an exaggeration. For many years throughout the major period of their existence, oil companies have enjoyed great privileges for development and expansion, including customs and tax exemptions and innumerable prerogatives; it is these factors of special privilege, together with the prodigious productivity of the oil deposits granted them by the Nation often against public will and law, that represent almost the total amount of this so-called capital.

Potential wealth of the Nation; miserably underpaid native labor; tax exemptions; economic privileges; governmental tolerance -these are the factors of the boom of the Mexican oil industry.

Let us now examine the social contributions of the companies. In how many of the villages bordering on the oil fields is there a hospital, or school or social center, or a sanitary water supply, or an athletic field, or even an electric plant fed by the millions of cubic meters of natural gas allowed to go to waste?

What center of oil production, on the other hand, does not have its company police force for the protection of private, selfish, and often illegal interests? These organizations, whether authorized by the Government or not, are charged with innumerable outrages, abuses, and murders, always on behalf of the companies that employ them.

Who is not aware of the irritating discrimination governing construction of the company camps? Comfort for the foreign personnel; misery, drabness, and insalubrity for the Mexicans. Refrigeration and protection against tropical insects for the former; indifference and neglect, medical service and supplies always grudgingly provided, for the latter; lower wages and harder, more exhausting labor for our people.

The tolerance which the companies have abused was born, it is true, in the shadow of the ignorance, betrayals, and weakness of the country's rulers; but the mechanism was set in motion by investors lacking in the necessary moral resources to give something in exchange for the wealth they have been exploiting.



Another inevitable consequence of the presence of the oil companies, strongly characterized by their anti-social tendencies, and even more harmful than all those already mentioned, has been their persistent and improper intervention in national affairs.

The oil companies' support to strong rebel factions against the constituted government in the Huasteca region of Veracruz and in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec during the years 1917 to 1920 is no longer a matter for discussion by anyone. Nor is anyone ignorant of the fact that in later periods and even at the present time, the oil companies have almost openly encouraged the ambitions of elements discontented with the country's government, every time their interests were affected either by taxation or by the modification of their privileges or the withdrawal of the customary tolerance. They have had money, arms, and munitions for rebellion, money for the antipatriotic press which defends them, money with which to enrich their unconditional defenders. But for the progress of the country, for establishing an economic equilibrium with their workers through a just compensation of labor, for maintaining hygienic conditions in the districts where they themselves operate, or for conserving the vast riches of the natural petroleum gases from destruction, they have neither money, nor financial possibilities, nor the desire to subtract the necessary funds from the volume of their profits.

Nor is there money with which to meet a responsibility imposed upon them by judicial verdict, for they rely on their pride and their economic power to shield them from the dignity and sovereignty of a Nation which has generously placed in their hands its vast natural resources and now finds itself unable to obtain the satisfaction of the most elementary obligations by ordinary legal means.

As a logical consequence of this brief analysis, it was therefore necessary to adopt a definite and legal measure to end this permanent state of affairs in which the country sees its industrial progress held back by those who hold in their hands the power to erect obstacles as well as the motive power of all activity and who, instead of using it to high and worthy purposes, abuse their economic strength to the point of jeopardizing the very life of a Nation endeavoring to bring about the elevation of its people through its own laws, its own resources, and the free management of its own destinies.

With the only solution to this problem thus placed before it, I ask the entire Nation for moral and material support sufficient to carry out so justified, important, and indispensable a decision....

It is necessary that all groups of the population be imbued with a full optimism and that each citizen, whether in agricultural, industrial, commercial, transportation, or other pursuits, develop a greater activity from this moment on, in order to create new resources which will reveal that the spirit of our people is capable of saving the nation's economy by the efforts of its own citizens.



And, finally, as the fear may arise among the interests now in bitter conflict in the field of international affairs^[1] that a deviation of raw materials fundamentally necessary to the struggle in which the most powerful nations are engaged might result from the consummation of this act of national sovereignty and dignity, we wish to state that our petroleum operations will not depart a single inch from the moral solidarity main-tained by Mexico with the democratic nations, whom we wish to assure that the expropriation now decreed has as its only purpose the elimination of obstacles erected by groups who did not understand the evolutionary needs of all peoples and who would themselves have no compunction in selling Mexican oil to the highest bidder, without taking into account the consequences of such action to the popular masses and the nations in conflict.

^[1] World War II in Europe was still more than a year away, but the Japanese invasion of China was in full swing, Spain was in the midst of its civil war, and Hitler had just annexed Austria.



Notes to the Piloters

The historical documents included in the module represent a range of possibilities only. All of them should be edited for length by the instructor, and supplemented with other source materials of the instructor's choosing. In addition, diverse visual sources—advertisements, posters, photos, political cartoons, paintings, short historical films, video documentaries —can prove valuable for exploring the module's themes. The number of source excerpts or images used will vary according to time constraints and particular themes under consideration in the given lesson.

All of the documents referenced in the module, and the only reading that is formally required, may be found in *The Human Record (Sources of Global History)*, Sixth Edition, Volume II: Since 1500, Alfred J. Andrea & James H. Overfield, eds. (Houghton-Mifflin, 2009). The numbers and designations used for them here are identical to those used in the Andrea & Overfield sourcebook.

The exact structure of class or group discussion, its particular flow, is always, of course, subject to the instructor's discretion. The "group work" format outlined here is merely one of various options.

Groups of 3-5 students each seem to work best. Class size and time constraints, among other factors, will ultimately determine the group size and number of groups that each instructor deems reasonable and pedagogically useful.

The module developer's preferred format: assign each group a different document or image, and then pose different questions to all the groups for their own separate discussions. During their group work, tour the room, visiting each group briefly to answer questions, clarify difficult aspects of its particular text, and provide direction if necessary. Next, following each group's informal "report" on its discussion and conclusions, try to connect their thoughts and ideas to the main organizing theme of the lesson, while continuing to elicit further comments from the entire class on important related issues.

In place of the group presentation, or added as an assignment to be done after the formal module is completed, a short paper (2-4 pp.) may be assigned in which students are asked to adopt the historical identity or "historical voice" of one of the *non*-western authors of one of the source documents discussed earlier in the module. Students will write in the first person from a different cultural perspective about an issue or topic of the instructor's choosing, drawn from the required class readings. A short film that effectively contextualizes and portrays nationalist strife could also serve as the foundational material for this short paper in place of one of the document-discussion lessons.