

Robert W. Strayer

**Ways of the World: A Brief Global
History with Sources**
Second Edition

Chapter 22
The End of Empire:
The Global South on the Global Stage,
1914–Present

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Independence and Development
BBC Images
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1. What makes the role of computers in African classrooms particularly important?

In the wake of national independence movements after World War II, most African nations continue to struggle economically. Education, and specifically education in modern technologies, is one of the chief strategies for many of these nations to improve the welfare and prosperity of their populations.

2. Who is missing from this group of students?

There are no girls in this picture. It could be that the classroom is split between the genders, but it is more likely that this is a class in an all-boy's school. This speaks not only to the segregation of genders in contemporary Africa but also to the limited access to education for women and girls, who may not get the same support from their families.

I. Toward Freedom: Struggles for Independence

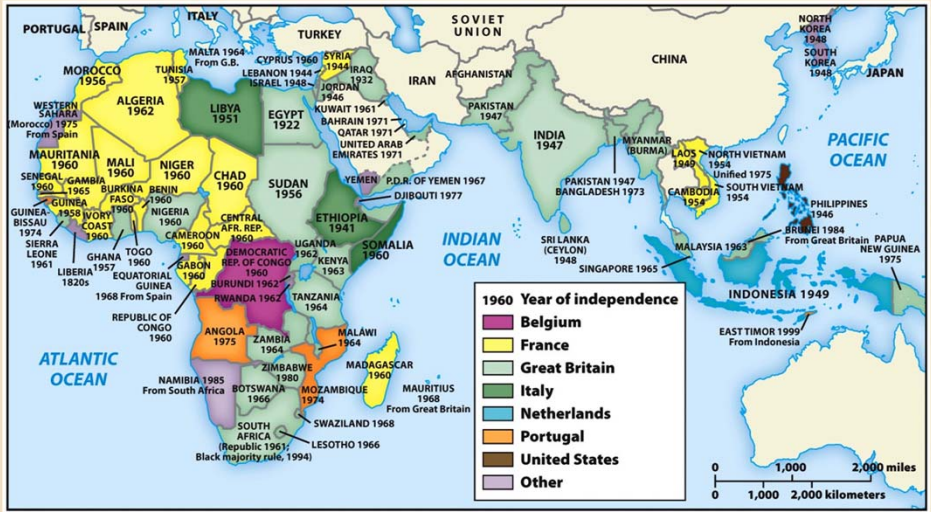
A. The End of Empire in World History

1. The new forces of nationalism, national self-determination, and the nation-state
2. Suddenly empires became illegitimate

I. Toward Freedom: Struggles for Independence

A. The end of Empire in World History

1. The new forces of nationalism, national self-determination, and the nation-state: While empires had fallen in the past, this was the first time that the forces of nationalism combined with the desire for national self-determination to form new nation-states that would be equal to the nation-states that had held them as colonial subjects. As part of this process, many of the formerly colonized peoples had to reassert their sense of self and dignity after years of racist denigration.
2. Suddenly empires became illegitimate: Another major change was that the entire concept of empires was discredited as the world was to be divided into states that represented the people's will and desires.



Map 22.1 The End of Empire in Africa and Asia
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I. Toward Freedom: Struggles for Independence

B. Explaining African and Asian Independence

1. Contradictions of the colonial empires
2. A new international climate after WWII
3. New elites challenge colonial rule

I. Toward Freedom: Struggles for Independence

B. Explaining African and Asian Independence

1. Contradictions of the colonial empires: Major factors for the collapse of the colonial empires were the numerous contradictions between European ideals and the nature of colonial rule. How were Christians, heirs of the Enlightenment, and democratic states able to justify the stark injustices of colonial rule?

2. A new international climate after WWII: Decolonization also saw some clear conjunctures of new forces after WWII. The war weakened Britain, France, and Holland, and the United Nations offered a new forum for arguing the anticolonial cause. Several of the colonizers began to prepare to divest themselves of their colonies but also to establish favorable postcolonial economic relationships.

3. New elites challenge colonial rule: Several generations of Western rule had produced various new elites that could use their Western education, their military service for the colonizing power, and their knowledge of how to mobilize a mass-based nationalist party to challenge colonialism. A number of charismatic leaders rose up in various colonies. In settler colonies or intransigent empires like the Portuguese territories, volunteers joined the ranks of freedom fighters to end foreign or white domination.

II. Comparing Freedom Struggles

A. The Case of India: Ending British Rule

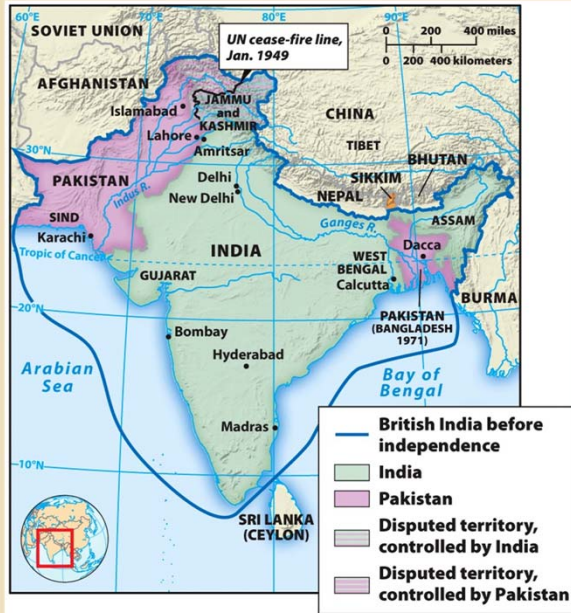
1. What is “Indian?”
2. Indian National Congress, 1885
3. Impact of WWI
4. Mohandas Gandhi’s *satyagraha*
5. All-India Muslim League, 1906
6. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan
7. Partition, 1947

II. Comparing Freedom Struggles

A. The Case of India: The End of British Rule

1. What is “Indian?": Prior to the twentieth century, South Asia’s diversity made it impossible to define who an “Indian” was. Few identified as Indian, but rather by region, caste, or religion.
2. Indian National Congress, 1885: This nationalist organization claimed to represent all Indians. Initially it worked for more inclusion within the British system, but later it called for independence. At first it was a very elite organization.
3. Impact of WWI: The First World War changed the situation in India. Britain failed to live up to its promises for reform, and there was a series of violent acts of repression. Added to this were the economic deprivations of the war and the deadly influenza epidemic.
4. Mohandas Gandhi’s *satyagraha*: Into this situation came a British-educated lawyer who used a calm and modest charisma to build a popular movement of Hindus and Muslims against British rule. Called “truth force,” this non-violent non-cooperation was designed to shame the British into quitting India. Gandhi wanted women to play a role in the movement. Boycotts and marches were an important part of his strategy.
5. All-India Muslim League, 1906: Not everyone agreed with the Congress Party. Muslims were uncomfortable with plans for a democratic majority Hindu state and with the Congress Party’s Hindu rhetoric. They represented the largest of the dissenting parties.
6. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan: The head of the Muslim League, Jinnah wanted the creation of a Muslim majority state to protect Muslim rights.
7. Partition, 1947: The British decided to quickly divide India into a Hindu majority India with Muslim majority Pakistans on either side. In the year of independence and

division, 12 million refugees moved either east or west, with 1 million dying in communal violence. Gandhi himself was shot by a Hindu extremist.



Map 22.2 The Partition of British South Asia
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II. Comparing Freedom Struggles

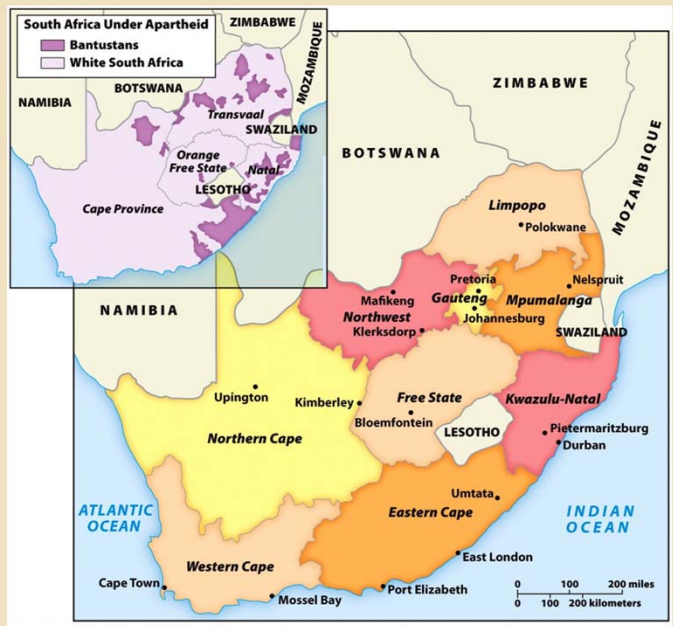
B. The Case of South Africa: Ending Apartheid

1. Independence but white minority rule, 1910
2. British and Boers/Afrikaners
3. A mature industrial economy using low-paid black labor
4. Pass Laws and Bantustans
5. African National Congress, 1912

II. Comparing Freedom Struggles

B. The Case of South Africa: Ending Apartheid

1. Independence but white minority rule, 1910: The history of decolonization in India is different from South Africa in many ways. First, South Africa became independent in 1910, but it was dominated by a white population of less than 20 percent.
2. British and Boers/Afrikaners: These whites were made up of wealthier British and the larger Dutch-descended Boer or Afrikaner population.
3. A mature industrial economy using low-paid black labor: Unlike India, South Africa developed a modern industrial economy that was heavily reliant on low-paid African labor.
4. Pass Laws and Bantustans: Nonwhites were subject to restrictive laws that controlled their movements; they were forced to live on reservations.
5. African National Congress, 1912: The ANC used tactics similar to the Indian National Congress to end white domination.



Map 22.3 South Africa after Apartheid
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II. Comparing Freedom Struggles

B. The Case of South Africa: Ending Apartheid

6. National Party's Apartheid, 1948
7. Nelson Mandela
8. A turn toward armed struggle in the 1960s
9. International pressure
10. 1994 elections
11. Continued violence

II. Comparing Freedom Struggles

B. The Case of South Africa: Ending Apartheid

6. National Party's Apartheid, 1948: This was the white supremacist party that refused to reform South Africa's racial laws.
7. Nelson Mandela: He represented a new generation of leaders who came to power but were imprisoned by the white regime.
8. A turn toward armed struggle in the 1960s: Faced with violent repressions and arrests of its leaders, the ANC turned to assassinations and guerilla attacks staged from other countries.
9. International pressure: There was massive international pressure on South Africa, including boycotts and being banned from the Olympics.
10. 1994 elections: Finally, Mandela was released from prison and won the first all-races presidential election in 1994.
11. Continued violence: While apartheid was dismantled, violence persists, especially between rival political factions such as the ANC and the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

III. Experiments with Freedom

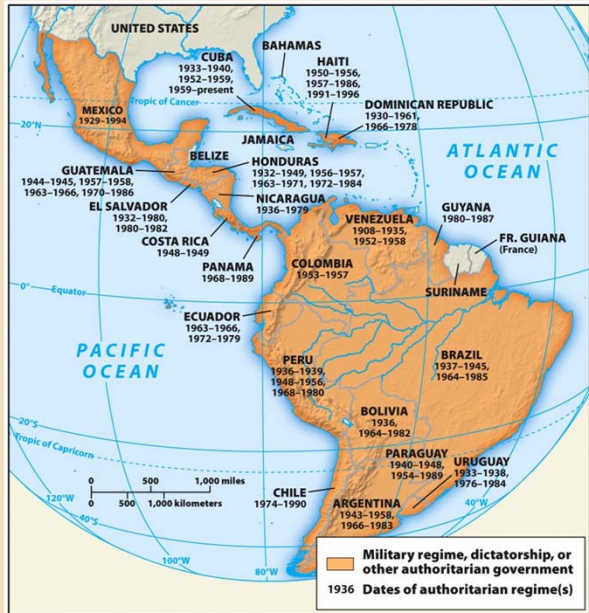
A. Experiments in Political Order: Party, Army, and the Fate of Democracy

1. Democracy in India but not so much elsewhere
2. Economic failure and ethnic conflict in Africa
3. Army rule pushes aside weak civilian party politics

III. Experiments with Freedom

A. Experiments in Political Order: Party, Army, and the Fate of Democracy

1. Democracy in India but not so much elsewhere: Thanks in part to India's long struggle for independence, it was able to establish a functioning party-based democracy, but it stands out as a rare democratic exception in the postcolonial world of the Global South.
2. Economic failure and ethnic conflict in Africa: As national economic failures caused many Africans to look at political parties with ambivalence or hostility, many African nations found that ethnic politics were more powerful at organizing and mobilizing the population. This resulted in numerous ethnic conflicts, including a Nigerian civil war that killed millions and genocide in Rwanda.
3. Army rule pushes aside weak civilian party politics: In the majority of African nations, weak political party systems were overthrown by military coups. Military leaders, while relying on force, claimed to provide some semblance of order and structure to chaotic societies.



Map 22.4 Authoritarian Regimes in Latin America
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III. Experiments with Freedom

A. Experiments in Political Order: Party, Army, and the Fate of Democracy

4. Leftist politics and military coups in Latin America
5. Allende, the CIA, and Pinochet in Chile
6. Transitions to democracy from the 1980s on

III. Experiments with Freedom

A. Experiments in Political Order: Party, Army, and the Fate of Democracy

4. Leftist politics and military coups in Latin America: With postwar economic growth in Latin America, there were rising left-wing political and organized labor movements. As these groups threatened both domestic and foreign (primarily American) property owners, military coups overthrew leftist administrations or union leaders in dirty wars.

5. Allende, the CIA, and Pinochet in Chile: The overthrow and murder of Chile's Marxist president Salvador Allende in a CIA-sponsored military coup on September 11, 1973, and the institution of almost two decades of brutal military rule by General Pinochet serves as one of the great examples of the collusion between domestic right-wing groups and the American establishment.

6. Transitions to democracy from the 1980s on: Yet as the cold war ended, there was a transition to democracy across the world. Importantly, democracy came to be viewed as a universal value, not a Western imposition.

III. Experiments with Freedom

B. Experiments in Economic Development: Changing Priorities, Varying Outcomes

1. Overcoming poverty
2. Obstacles for the Global South
3. Disagreements in the field of “development economics”

III. Experiments with Freedom

B. Experiments in Economic Development: Changing Priorities, Varying Outcomes

1. Overcoming poverty: With the wave of decolonization and the spread of the idea of national liberation, dozens of new nation-states promised their people that they would now achieve economic growth. The idea that poverty could be overcome was a new and radical idea in world history.
2. Obstacles for the Global South: Unfortunately, the diverse nation-states of the Global South lacked skilled workers and essential infrastructure, often inherited colonial economic schemes designed to export raw materials rather than sustain growth, and found themselves the weaker partner in their economic relationship with the Global North.
3. Disagreements in the field of “development economics”: While academia developed this new branch of the social sciences, there was much debate and disagreement about advice to the developing world.

III. Experiments with Freedom

B. Experiments in Economic Development: Changing Priorities, Varying Outcomes

4. Role of the state
5. Participation in the world market
6. Very uneven results in the Global South

III. Experiments with Freedom

B. Experiments in Economic Development: Changing Priorities, Varying Outcomes

4. Role of the state: Throughout much of the Global South, the people and politicians looked to the state to direct and manage the economy. Thus key sectors of the economy were nationalized. Only during the 1980s was there a turn away from state-run industries in favor of privatization.

5. Participation in the world market: Another subject of great debate was the relationship to the world market. As many critiqued the world market as exploitative, some tried to withdraw and they developed domestic production for domestic consumption with varying degrees of success. Other states, such as Singapore and South Korea, industrialized the production of exports. By the 1990s, there was a general shift towards export-based economies.

6. Very uneven results in the Global South: For a variety of reasons including government policies, colonial legacies, demographics, culture, the world market, and issues of social and political stability, the economic history of the Global South is very uneven. While there are success stories, there are many more cases of stagnation and even growing poverty. Africa, for example, offers a bleak picture, all the more so when compared to the impressive growth of many Asian economies.

III. Experiments with Freedom

C. Experiments with Culture: The Role of Islam in Turkey and Iran

1. Cultures of tradition and cultures of modernity
2. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: Modern, secular, and nationalist
3. Politics of Islam, dress, and gender

III. Experiments with Freedom

C. Experiments with Culture: The Role of Islam in Turkey and Iran

1. Cultures of tradition and cultures of modernity: While modernity is most directly associated with economic and political developments, it has clear links to cultural changes. Those who would uphold traditional values often came to see modernity as a threat to their identity, morals, and the way they wanted to order their society. Thus, culture became a contested battleground between the forces of tradition and modernity. In Muslim communities such as Turkey and Iran, serious debates about Islam's role in society were central to their experience in the twentieth century.
2. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: Modern, secular, and nationalist: After the defeat in World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, this nationalist officer became the leader of the Turkish state and pursued an active and energetic policy of modernization based upon secular lines. His policies were explicitly Westernizing.
3. Politics of Islam, dress, and gender: As Atatürk wanted a Western secular society, he sought to remove Islam from politics and public life. He encouraged men to wear European clothing with a brimmed hat (to make prayer more difficult) and women to abandon veils and other conservative coverings in favor of feminine Western dress. Islamic women's attire was banned from public buildings and state universities. His nationalism was apparent in his efforts to abandon the Arabic script, take borrowed words out of the Arabic language, and have the call to prayer in Turkish, not the traditional Arabic. His reforms met much opposition and many were overturned in the decades after his rule, but his goal of a secular state

remains central in contemporary Turkey.



Map 22.5 Iran, Turkey, and the Middle East
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Westernization in Turkey
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1. Who are the two figures in the center of this photo? What is the occasion?

This is the leader of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, dancing with his adopted daughter at her wedding in 1929. Visible in the background are elegantly dressed wedding guests watching Atatürk dance. Most of the women's hair is short, and the dresses end slightly above the ankle—a sign of the fashion of the 1920s.

2. What made this scene unusual?

A wedding like this would have been a fairly normal affair in wealthy circles in Europe or the United States. But in Islamic Turkey, this marked a radical departure from the traditionalist patterns that had prevailed in the Ottoman Empire until World War I. It was Atatürk's lead in the modernization of the new post-Ottoman nation of Turkey that made weddings like this possible. In a way then, Atatürk not only led in this dance, he also led the cultural trend that allowed for this wedding to happen.

3. Atatürk's embrace of Western culture and economic development transformed Turkey in the 1920s. This wedding took place in 1929. How do you think modernism fared in the region in the years following this wedding?

It is possible that the Great Depression, in the wake of the stock market

crash of 1929, would have also caused a faltering economy in Turkey, which may have alienated many in the nation from the new way of life.

III. Experiments with Freedom

C. Experiments with Culture: The Role of Islam in Turkey and Iran

4. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's secular modernization
5. Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini's Islamic republic
6. Cultural revolution in favor of tradition

III. Experiments with Freedom

C. Experiments with Culture: The Role of Islam in Turkey and Iran

4. Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's secular modernization: In Iran, the Shah pursued similar policies that seemed successful. However, in addition to his cultural policies provoking a traditionalist reaction, his economic policies hurt certain key sectors such as merchants, and his regime was very repressive. Thus, a broad coalition of opposition grew within Iran.
5. Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini's Islamic republic: This Shia cleric became one of the central symbols of the opposition to the Shah. He returned from exile in time to see the ailing Shah's regime crumble.
6. Cultural revolution in favor of tradition: In the subsequent revolution, Khomeini established an Islamic republic that gave the vote to women but also engaged in a radical cultural revolution in favor of Shia traditions, including requiring women to wear the *hijab*.

IV. Reflections: History in the Middle of the Stream

- A. Historians don't like unfinished stories**
- B. Discomfort with the future**
- C. Shared human ignorance**

IV. Reflections: History in the Middle of the Stream

A. Historians don't like unfinished stories: Historians have much discomfort writing about events that have not seen their completion. Historians want to know the end of the story in order to stress the most essential aspects of the story and spend less time on less-important issues.

B. Discomfort with the future: As they focus on the past, historians have great discomfort with the future.

C. Shared human ignorance: Despite great diversity throughout time and place, humans have shared a common ignorance about what will come.



Visual Source 22.1 African National Congress
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Visual Source 22.4 A Palestinian Nation in the Making
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