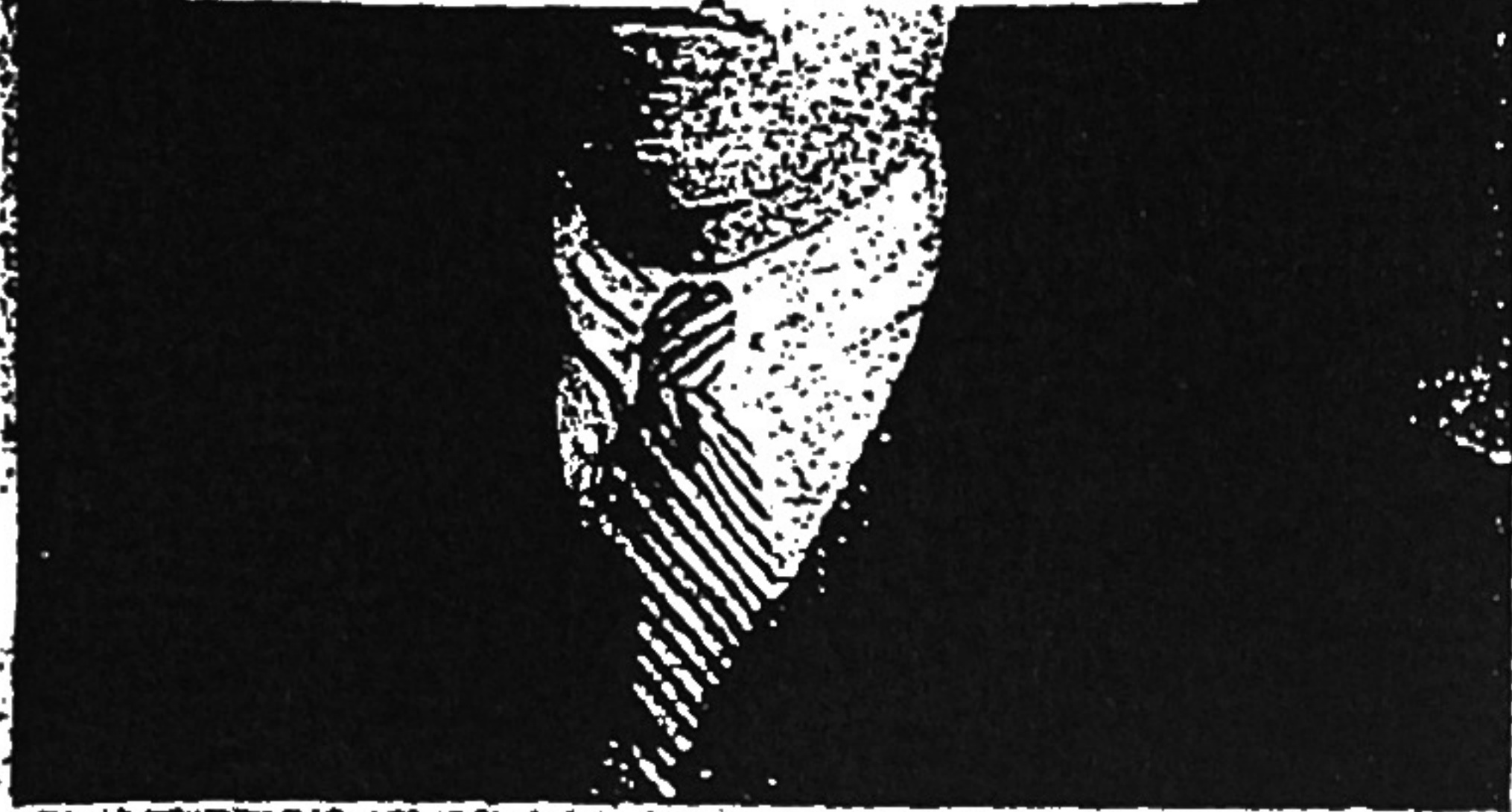


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→ As president of the Turkish republic from its beginning until his death in 1938, Mustafa Kemal instituted many civil and cultural reforms. In 1934 he was given the name Atatürk ("father of Turks").

territory adjoining Constantinople (Istanbul). The Turkish heartland, Anatolia, remained intact, and no reparations were demanded.

The new constitution was democratic in form, but in reality, Kemal was a dictator who tolerated no interference with his plans. In the new Turkey there was little of the cult of the superior race and no concentration camps or purges. There was just the rule of a single individual in a situation where rough, efficient power was seen to be superior to that of the more lengthy processes of parliamentary rule. Kemal saw his dictatorial rule as a necessary stage in raising his people to that level of education and social well-being that democratic government and parliamentary rule require. Under his rule the old institutions and customs of a backward state were transformed or replaced within a few years.

AFRICA: FROM COLONIALISM TO NATIONALISM

After 1890 the Europeans organized and consolidated their colonial possessions in sub-Saharan Africa. They mapped previously unknown areas,

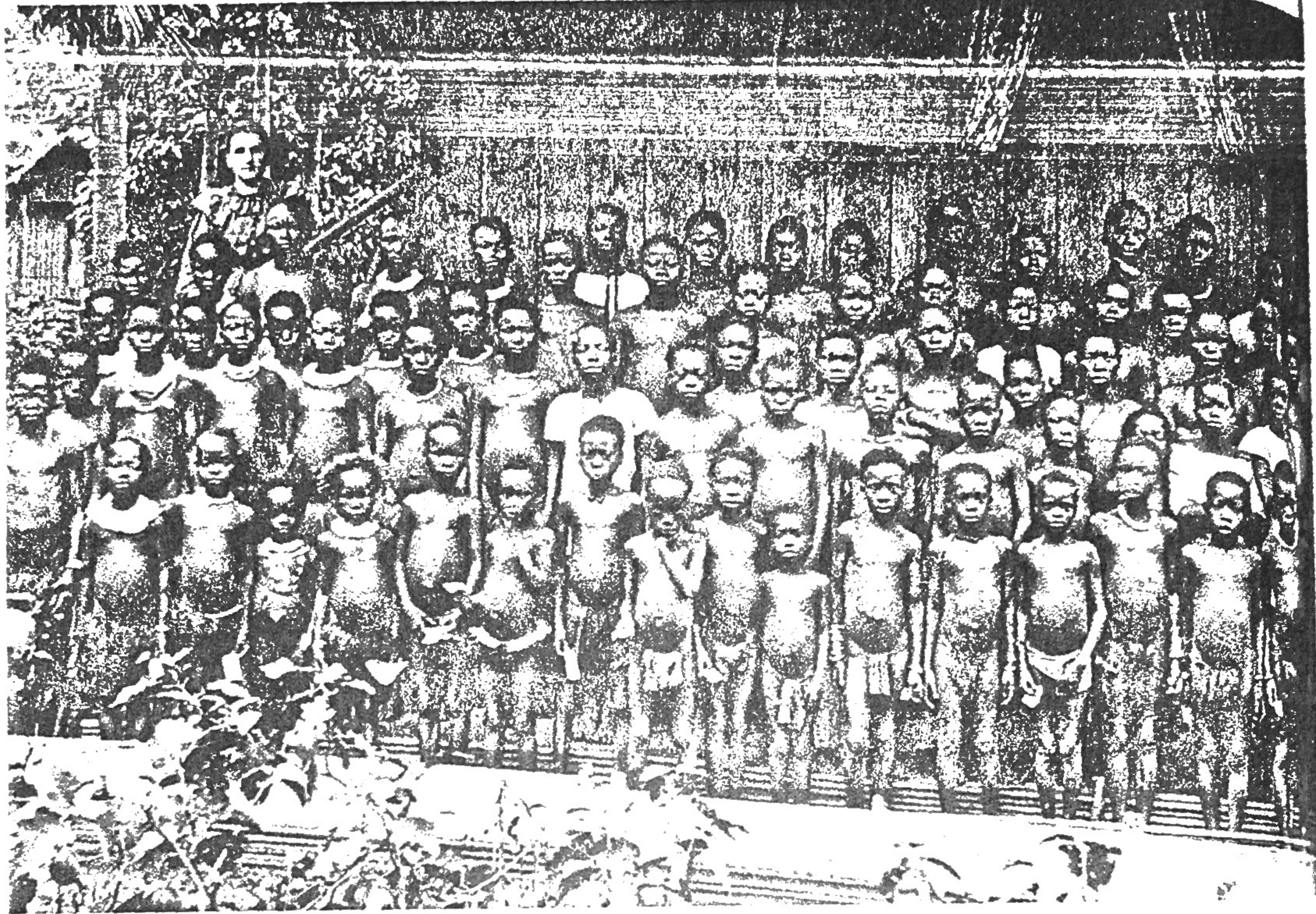
defined boundaries, and set up railroads and communications systems. The improvement of indigenous products such as rubber and palm oil, the introduction of new cash crops such as cotton and cocoa, and the importation of better breeds of cattle enriched the African economies. The colonialists placed forestry on a scientific basis, opened diamond, gold, and tin mines, and rapidly increased trade throughout Africa. European settlement also increased, especially in the highland areas.

The Europeans exported their systems of bureaucracy and tried to stamp out intertribal warfare, cannibalism, and dangerous secret societies. They opened educational facilities, primarily through the churches, and began the laborious task of transcribing the native tongues to become written languages. The colonial governments introduced clinics, hospitals, and sanitation campaigns to improve public health. Meanwhile, agricultural and veterinary officers taught the Africans methods of fighting erosion, securing better seed, using fertilizers, and managing their herds more efficiently.

In the two decades following World War I European culture and technology spread throughout Africa, affecting all parts of the continent in varying degrees. While in some isolated bush areas tribes lived in Neolithic isolation, in the new cities many Africans led lives almost wholly European, at least in externals. Under colonial rule, Africans had to obey the laws and regulations of white administrators as well as those of their tribal councils and chiefs. To pay for better roads, public buildings, health and agricultural departments, taxes now had to be paid in cash, forcing many Africans to seek employment outside of their tribal areas in the towns and mines, through menial domestic or governmental service, or on plantations. Habits of living changed, new styles of dress were adopted, and new farming methods designed to produce cash crops were introduced. The desire to buy imported goods grew.

Contacts with European modes of life rapidly undermined old faiths, customs, tribal loyalties, and social institutions—a process known as detribalization. The Africans belonged neither to their old tribal world nor to the white world. No longer bound by tribal laws, they were uneasy about the courts and the law of the Europeans. While accepting Christian doctrine, they retained

Civilization, T.W. Waltham et al
1995 Harper Collins



→ After World War I, a new wave of liberal thinking and the League of Nations mandate system produced new efforts to improve the standard of living (measured by European standards) for Africans by building hospitals, libraries, and schools. The schools, like that shown here in the Congo, were run by Europeans and taught European, rather than African, history and culture.

their belief in the powers of tribal deities. No matter what the benefits of imperial rule might have been, it was paternal at its best and exploitative at its worst. Perhaps it was necessary and perhaps desirable that Africa be brought into the mainstream of the modern world, but it was a profoundly disruptive experience.

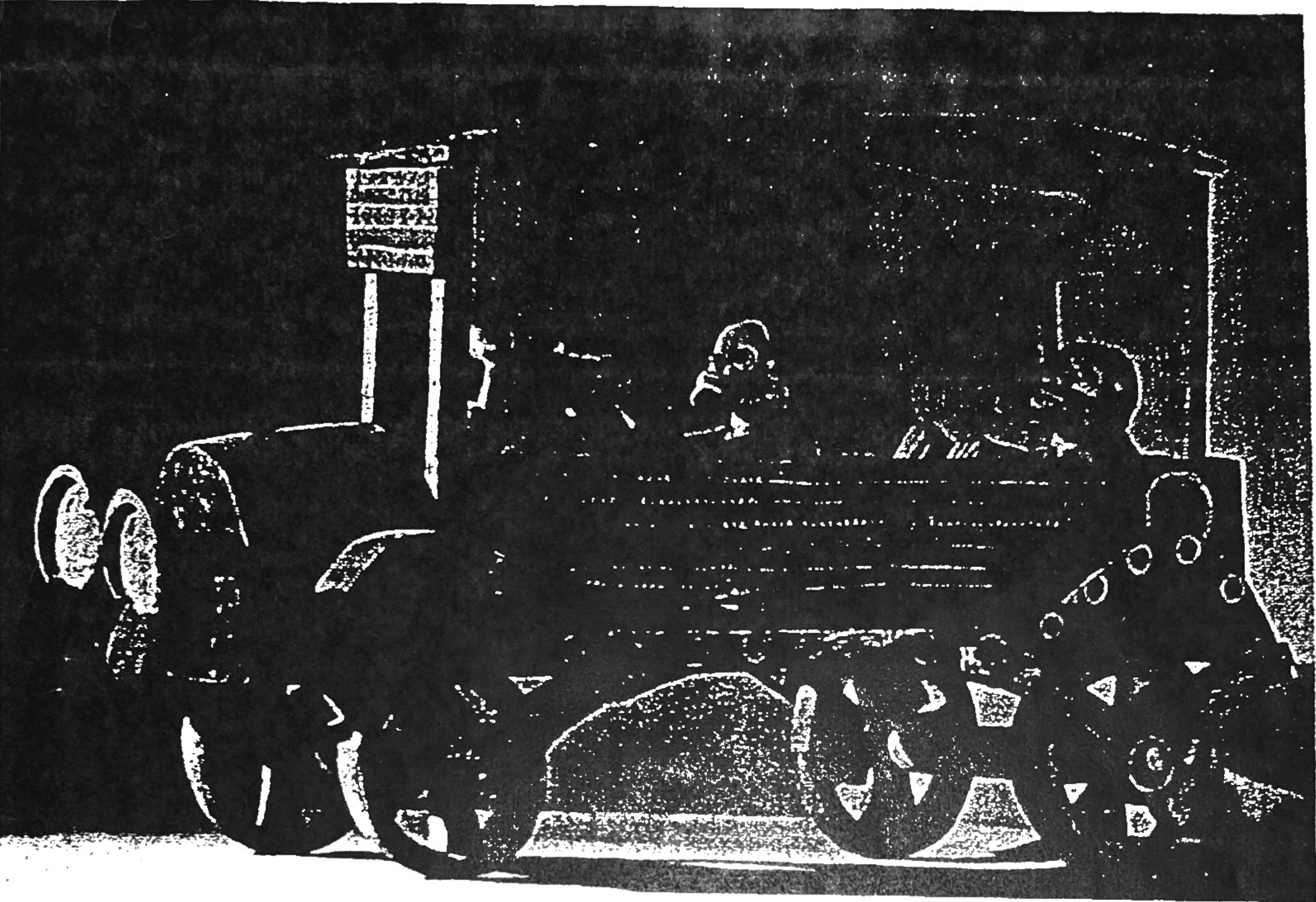
Colonial Rule

While colonial systems of administration varied, few Africans were allowed to participate in the important aspects of colonial government. In British and French colonies, a modicum of training in self-government was available to a small minority. In British Nigeria, one of the most

advanced colonies in terms of political participation, the Legislative Council of 46 members in 1922 included 10 Africans, 4 of whom were elected. These were the first elected Africans in the legislatures of British tropical Africa.

The colonial policies of Portugal and Belgium between 1914 and 1939 differed from those of Britain and France in important ways. Belgium had virtually no colonial policy in the Congo, a territory more than three times the size of Texas with vast mineral wealth. Belgian officials ran a day-to-day, efficient economic system with little thought of ultimate objectives. Race relations were relatively harmonious, and the color bar was generally mild. The main emphasis was placed on the material improvement of the Africans and the development of valuable exports. Excellent med-

Background: African trade was not significant in terms of European or global trade figures. To colonialists, most African trade was virtually invisible. In contrast, increases in trade revolutionized African economies.



Africans expressed their images of Europeans through art works. In the car above, an early twentieth-century work from the Congo, a Belgian mining magnate reclines in the back seat while the African chauffeur drives.

an *assimilado*, a person had to become Christian (Roman Catholic); read, write, and speak Portuguese; and "practice a Portuguese lifestyle." The numbers of *assimilados*, however, never amounted to more than 3 percent of the African population. The rest were classed as *indigenas* (indigenous people) and were expected to learn the "dignity of labor" by working on plantations, at public works, and in urban areas. The only way to be exempted from this forced labor system was to be classified as *assimilado* or to seek work as a migrant laborer in neighboring territories. Mozambicans annually supplied over 100,000 members of the labor force for the South African gold mines.

The Colonial Economy

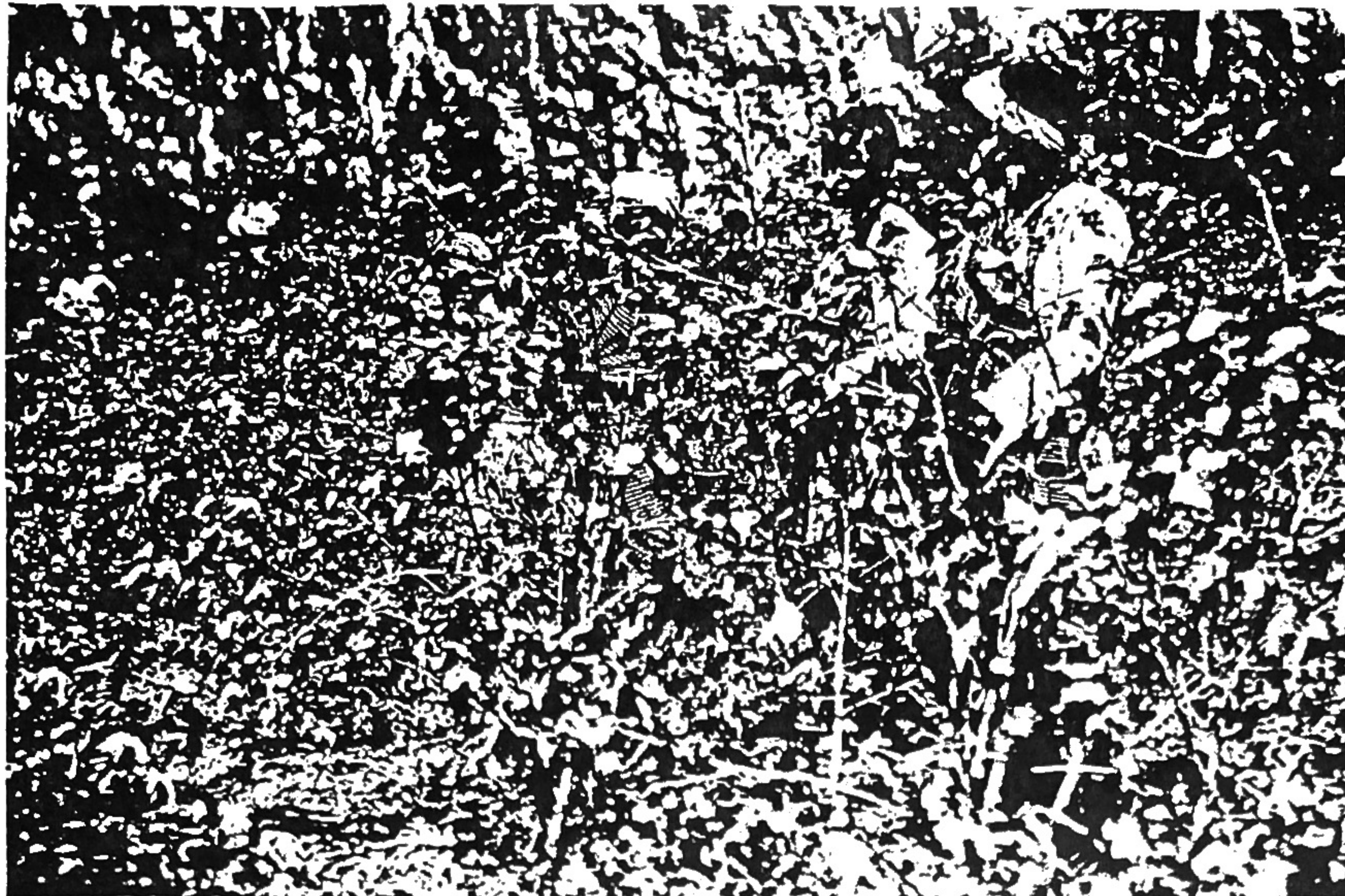
Colonialism imposed a dependent economic relationship between Africa and Europe that continues to shape the economies of independent African nations. Whatever their nationality, European officials shared a common objective: to compel their colonies to produce raw materials for the world market in exchange for finished products from the mother country.

Colonial economies took two forms: colonies where European involvement was direct in the form of plantations, mines, and European settlement, and colonies where Africans with small landholdings grew cash crops such as peanuts, oil palms, cotton, rubber, sisal, coffee, and cocoa for export. Because each colony usually produced one cash crop, the colony's well-being was dependent on the price the crop fetched on the world market. The Gold Coast, for example, soon became the world's leading supplier of cocoa, which inspired a song popular in the 1950s:

*If you want to send your children to school, it is cocoa,
If you want to want to build your house, it is cocoa,
If you want to marry, it is cocoa,
If you want to buy cloth, it is cocoa,
Whatever you want to do in this world,
It is with cocoa money that you do it.⁵*

The introduction of cash crops was extremely disruptive to African agriculture. Cash crops were often grown on the best land at the expense of other crops; thus overproduction exhausted soils and led to erosion. Colonial officials also favored the interests of African men by granting them the ownership of land on which

Background: In central Africa, because of the incidence of disease, lack of forage, and the tsetse fly, draught animals were rare. In these regions, the investment in railroads literally moved transportation from human carriage to mechanism.



African women had the primary responsibility for agriculture. Under colonial rule they were also expected to grow cash crops such as cotton, peanuts, and cocoa for the export market.

cash crops were grown. They reaped the lion's share of any proceeds from sales, while women, who had traditionally been responsible for agriculture, were expected to shoulder the burden of tending the new crops as well as performing their normal duties.

European-run plantations and mining operations also played major roles in the colonial economy. Huge estates and mining concessions were ceded to European and American companies. The Firestone Rubber Company took advantage of minimal rents and no income taxes to establish the largest rubber plantation in the world in Liberia. The Belgian giant Union Minière had a virtual monopoly over the copper-rich southern Congo, while Anglo-American, a South African company, dominated diamond and gold production in southern Africa.

A vast army of migrant laborers was required to run these operations. Because African men were reluctant to leave their families and homes for extended periods, they had to be compelled to seek work in the towns, mines, and plantations through a head tax on all adult men that had to be paid in cash rather than in kind. Besides paying taxes, workers saved their wages to start up their own businesses back home, to acquire imported goods, and to buy cattle to pay bridewealth.

Colonialism also introduced new forms of transportation. Built on the backs of unpaid forced labor, railways were constructed from the coastal ports into the interior to extend trading networks and to facilitate the export of commodities, especially minerals. In areas where white settlers had farms, railways not only exported their products but also deliberately skirted the black reserves that supplied laborers to

Anecdote: As late as 1910, various Protestant groups meeting in Scotland assigned a low priority to missionary work in Africa. Missions to China were regarded as more critical.

white farms and mines. While ports and railway towns boomed, railways often undermined established trading networks such as the Hausa trade of northern Nigeria with Tripoli in North Africa and the caravan routes in eastern Africa. Cars and trucks also replaced human porters and animals such as donkeys and horses.

The impact of the colonial economy on different regions was uneven. Coastal areas typically benefited more from roads, railways, and economic development than the interior zones, which stagnated and became the primary sources of migrant laborers for the coast. In southern Africa, where mining was the dominant industry, South Africa became an economic powerhouse because most of the roads and railways were built in a north-south direction that steered regional trade through South Africa.

Social and Religious Change

Colonial rule opened up new avenues of social change for Africans. New trade routes, work sites, and urban centers exposed migrant workers, soldiers, students, teachers, and civil servants to new organizations and associations, music and dance styles, languages, cultures, and ideas, values, and faiths.

Both Islam and Christianity won many converts during this period, although in dramatically different ways. In sub-Saharan Africa, Christian missionaries scored few successes before colonial rule. Catholic missionaries who accompanied the Portuguese into Africa had converted some rulers and their courts but had little influence beyond them. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a fresh wave of