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CHAPTER 2

Imperialism and the Colonial Experience

Multiple Choice Questions

1. The word "imperialism" refers to:

a) the territorial conquest, occupation, and direct control of one country by another.

b) the exploration of one country's territory by another country.

c) a historical phenomenon describing governing relations between a colonial country and its colonies.

d) a political movement within the territories that sought to oppose the occupying country.

e) the era of European expansion and the creation of empires of trade that began in the sixteenth century

2. What motives were linked to the Industrial Revolution and launched "high imperialism" in the nineteenth century?

a) Great Power motives

b) Economic motives

c) Expansionist motives

d) Religious motives

e) Democratic motives

3. Why is the fifteenth century "Age of Exploration" a misnomer?

a) China had already established colonial possessions in the "New World."

b) It incorrectly assumes European states were motivated by economic interests.

c) People, goods, and ideas had been traveling the Silk Road for centuries.

d) It was more correctly a period of European imperialism.

e) Europe had previously established colonies in the Spice Islands.

4. Which of the following is NOT a common theme in the colonial experience?

a) The importation of large numbers of settlers from the colonizing country

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b) Europe's belief in its cultural superiority

c) The ambivalence of metropolitan states toward overseas imperial commitments

d) An eventual shift toward promoting economic development in colonies

e) A fundamental transformation of Indigenous colonial societies

5. Indirect rule was used to promote which of the following?

a) Advantageous commercial ties

b) The legitimacy of local governments

c) Imperial recognition

d) The legitimacy of colonial powers

e) Subordination of all groups in the colony

6. Which of the following statements is true of the term "neo-colonialism"?

a) It refers to the direct political control of colonies.

b) It involves the formal annexation of territory into the colonial state.

c) It refers to the existence of external influence over other countries through unequal economic ties.

d) It represents a new model of colonial interaction based on learning from the mistakes of the past.

e) It is an economic and political strategy employed only by emerging powers like China.

7. Which of the following European countries was NOT a major colonial power?

a) England

b) Spain

c) Portugal

d) Sweden

e) France

8. Which term refers to the late nineteenth-century European colonization of Africa?

a) "Night of the long knives"

b) "Scramble for Africa"

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c) "Race for Africa"

d) "Civilizing mission"

e) "Crusades"

9. Which of the following is NOT considered a motivation for colonization during the period of "high imperialism"?

a) Search for new markets to support European economic growth

b) The existence of protectionist policies within Europe that constrained the growth in trade between colonizing powers

c) The need to lower unemployment at home by exporting labour to colonized areas

d) A sense of greatness and the nationalistic desire for prestige relative to other European states

e) Competition between "Great Power" over new territories as a source of power and influence

10. The classical period of "high imperialism" occurred during what time period?

a) 1600 to 1789

b) 1870 to 1914

c) 1914 to 1945

d) 1945 to 1991

e) 1991 to the present

11. Which of the following was NOT a result of Spanish colonization of Central and South America?

a) A massive population collapse of Indigenous populations

b) The spread of smallpox to Indigenous populations

c) The enslavement of Indigenous peoples to work in mines

d) The strengthening of existing political systems through indirect rule

e) The extraction of large amounts of gold and silver

12. Which of the following statements is true of colonialism?

a) It involved the equal sharing of ideas between countries.

b) It affected all colonized people in the same ways.

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c) It created new tensions, or worsened existing ones, in colonized societies by benefiting some groups over others.

d) It came to an end mostly as a result of non-violent means.

e) It was mostly a religiously-motivated phenomenon.

13. What was arguably the most powerful chartered company in the British Empire?

a) English East India Company

b) English West India Company

c) Hudson's Bay Company

d) British South Africa Company

e) Royal Niger Company

14. How can the outsized role of Belgium and Portugal in the "Scramble for Africa" be explained?

a) Economic motives

b) The strategy of Great Power politics

c) Religious motives

d) The desire for prestige and recognition of greatness

e) European alliances

15. Britain's policy of indirect rule in Africa is evidence of which of the following?

a) The nation's desire to uphold local African cultures and seek harmonious relations

b) Born of necessity when Britain was unable to break the power of African local rulers

c) The challenges of delegating political authority

d) A humanitarian motive inherent to British culture

e) A sensitivity to local political and economic interests that generated good will

16. Whose research was misapplied to human society in an effort to justify colonialism as a moral obligation to transform "inferior" societies?

a) Darwin

b) Freud

c) Marx

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d) Malthus

e) Huxley

17. In Africa, how did colonial powers pursue modernization?

a) Through the creation of domestic banking and currency systems

b) By applying "direct rule" with resource exploitation

c) Through investment in local industries

d) By developing surplus trade balances

e) Through promoting and increasing the production of raw materials for export

18. After World War II, economic development programs were used by colonial powers to do what?

a) Reconcile past injustices

b) Improve the overall economic well-being of colonies

c) Curb nationalist sentiments

d) Improve communication and transportation networks in the colonies

e) Learn about Indigenous cultures

19. Why was World War II a decisive moment in colonial history?

a) Colonial subjects had fought for the principle of self-determination

b) Colonial empires collapsed

c) European states were unable to support colonial enterprises

d) Ethical norms in European society had evolved

e) Power shifted from Europe to the US and USSR

20. In Latin America in the nineteenth century, the British financed a vast expansion of which of the following, which allowed for the increased exploitation of local resources?

a) Roads and highways

b) Rail lines

c) Water purification systems

d) Court systems

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e) Schools

21. Portugal is often described as following what type of approach to ruling its colonies?

a) Indirect

b) Hands-on and violent

c) Assimilatory

d) Economy-focused

e) Humanitarian

22. How did the Cold War help unravel the colonial order?

a) It provoked higher Economic costs of maintaining colonies

b) by accelerating the declining importance of colonial resources

c) The fear of motivating anti-colonial movements financed by the United States and the Soviet Union

d) Political opposition at home

e) The nuclear arms race

23. Why were chartered companies initially more common than direct colonization in Africa?

a) It was easier to infiltrate the continent commercially than militarily

b) Direct colonization had been unsuccessful elsewhere

c) Direct colonization was thought to be inhumane

d) Europe was generally ambivalent towards creating an African empire

e) African societies welcomed commercial ties

24. Which of the following was NOT an action of the English East India Company in South Asia?

a) It created an extensive rail network in the region

b) It put into place the infrastructure for an economy based on the export of high-bulk, low-value goods

c) It re-invested the vast majority of its profits locally

d) It implemented a law-based governance system to replace systems of personal rule

e) It refused any role for South Asian representation in government

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25. What was the aim of the Bandung Conference?

a) It aimed to forge Afro-Asian mutual assistance

b) It was an unqualified success that served as a model for other colonial powers

c) It was designed to institutionalize the term Third World

d) It resulted in the forced resettlement of several African countries

e) It was based on existing social values and economic realities in Asia

26. Before Vasco da Gama's sea voyage to Asia in 1497-9, Europeans had long been trading with Asia through land-based trading routes informally called:

a) The Belt and Road Initiative

b) The Cape to Cairo Road

c) The Silk Road

d) The Orient Express

e) The Pineapple Express

27. European countries like Spain and Portugal began exploring Africa and Asia in the late fifteenth century in order to:

a) have access to trade for goods like gold, spices, and textiles

b) prove that the world was round

c) explore new cultures and religions

d) find new lands where Europeans could live because Europe was becoming overpopulated after the Black Death

e) to conquer Indigenous peoples for slavery

28. Colonialism as it existed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was often attributed to the idea of a "zero-sum game." This meant that:

a) there was a limited amount of exploitable resources, and countries wanted to get those resources first

b) there was a desire to exert political influence over the colonies

c) there was a desire to exert religious influence over the colonies

d) both B and C

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e) none of the above

29. Colonialism and imperialism are similar terms and often used interchangeably. However, they are different in the following ways:

a) Imperialism ceased to exist as a policy by the nineteenth century and was replaced by colonialism

b) Colonialism refers to the process of a country taking physical control of another, and imperialism refers to political and monetary dominance, either formally or informally

c) Imperialism only referred to European countries interacting with African and Asian populations

d) Colonialism only existed in Africa

e) Imperialism only existed in Asia

30. European colonial conquest in the Americas were not as successful as in Asia because:

a) There were not as many valuable resources in the Americas

b) Ocean currents made it very difficult to access the Americas and so the financial returns were not as good

c) Indigenous populations in the Americas succumbed quickly to European disease and brutal treatment making it difficult for Europeans to trade or find valuable resources

d) The Europeans were unable to communicate with the Indigenous peoples because of language barriers

e) None of the above

31. After the English East India Company gained control of Bengal in 1765, they were able to employ "military fiscalism," which allowed the company to: Military fiscalism was:

a) be financially responsible

b) coerce colonies to pay taxes, otherwise they would be under threat from colonial militaries

c) fund its military actions through locally raised tax revenues

d) combine its military and economic policies

e) use tax revenues from England to continue its military actions in South Asia

32. Which of the following was NOT a private company involved in the European colonialism?

a) Dutch West India Company

b) Royal Niger Company

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c) Imperial British West Africa Company

d) German East Africa Company

e) English East India Company

33. The term "Scramble for Africa" came as a result of:

a) The Belgian King Leopold wanting to turn Belgium into a world power through African colonization

b) England wanting to divest itself of African colonies, so it could focus on Asia

c) The German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's convening Europe's major powers to a conference to agree on the rules for a land grab

d) All of the above

e) None of the above

34. Colonialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century exploited "cleavages" within African societies. By cleavages we refer to:

a) New transport technologies like flat bottomed boats that were able to probe deeper into the African hinterland

b) New methods in missionary work that helped convert Africans from their traditional beliefs to Christianity

c) Already existing tensions within and between African societies especially in the areas of religion, language, ethnicity, race, and class

d) None of the above

e) All of the above

35. Which of the following was not considered a primary candidate for resource extraction in Africa during the late nineteenth century?

a) Copper

b) Gold

c) Tin

d) Diamonds

e) Aluminum

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True or False Questions

1. Most scholars accept that there is a single explanation for imperial expansion.

2. Many experts argue that economic motives during the Industrial Revolution initiated the period of "high imperialism."

3. Colonization implies the rule of some people over others.

4. Imperialism is a political system by which colonies are ruled from a central seat of power in pursuit of largely, if not entirely, economic goals.

5. Self-determination was a motivating principle for struggles against colonial rule.

6. The existence of massive wealth and the collapse of Indigenous populations led to greater European immigration to the Americas than to other imperial colonies.

7. From the late 1600s, the export of enslaved people from Africa to the Americas was driven mostly by a demand for household servants.

8. European colonization in Africa occurred over a much shorter period of time than the colonization of Asia and Latin America.

9. Europe's colonization of Africa was a slow process.

10. Regardless of the type, colonial rule was backed by violence or the threat of violence.

11. Indirect rule followed closely to the early model the British had established in South Asia.

12. Colonial rule created or worsened inequalities of power and wealth in colonized countries by privileging some individuals and groups over others.

13. In order to "modernize," the African economy was oriented by colonizers towards manufacturing.

14. Colonial rule caused minor, but not fundamental, changes in Indigenous societies.

15. Formal independence did not result in equal status between colonizers and former colonies.

16. Development as a professional field stems from early-twentieth century efforts by colonizers to implement economic policies that would benefit Indigenous societies.

17. The strategy of "indirect rule" is associated with British colonization.

18. The British passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1946.

19. Neo-colonialism occurs when the economies of formally independent countries remain subject to the control of others.

20. Nationalism played a key role in the competition between European states over territory and resources in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

21. The terms "Global North" and "Global South" accurately reflect the division of states according to wealth.

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22. Early Portuguese and Spanish expansion into North Africa was driven by both economic and religious motivations.

23. The English East India Company possessed such economic and coercive force as to make it the most powerful actor in European imperial history.

24. The 1884 Berlin Conference negotiated the rules for colonization with prominent African leaders.

25. European colonizers did NOT try to replicate in Africa the indirect-rule model used in South Asia.

26. It was common for European and Asian traders to individually travel the entire length of the Silk Road.

27. Ethiopia is the only African country to have never been colonized by a European country.

28. Colonizers instituted policies in the first half of the twentieth century that brought moderate investment intended to benefit Indigenous populations.

29. Post-World War II, colonial development activities were expanded, partly by increasing the flow of funds from Europe, primarily through loans. This had a drastic impact on colonized areas in South and Southeast Asia, but minimally affected colonies in Africa.

30. In the final two decades of "traditional" colonialism, the emphasis shifted from trying to provide "development" to Indigenous societies in accordance with European norms, to the "civilization" of those societies.

31. The end of colonialism in the twentieth century was in part started as a result of World War II when European colonizing powers, especially France and Britain, faced enormous challenges to rebuild at home and so could not provide any significant resources abroad.

32. India was the first colony to gain independence from a European power in 1947.

33. Mohandas Gandhi, a leader in the Indian independence movement, began his anti-colonial work in Nigeria.

34. The African and Asian leaders who met in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 had hopes for a "Third World," meaning they hoped the European powers would continue to support their colonies rather than having independence thrust upon them.

35. The Cold War that emerged after World War II was really a hot war with proxy conflicts fought primarily in the Global South, including: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique, the Horn of Africa, Vietnam, and Afghanistan.

Short Answer Questions

1. What are chartered companies? What was their role in imperial expansion?

2. How did the use of indirect rule serve British colonial interests in Africa?

3. What were the motivations for Europe's initial phase of colonial territorial expansion?

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4. What is the "Great Power" rivalry? What was its impact on the expansion of empire?

5. What was the role of nationalism in the expansion of colonial empires?

6. In what ways were economic motives in the Industrial Revolution responsible for launching the era of "high imperialism"?

7. How was the English East India Company able to gain so much power in India?

8. What is meant by the term "neo-colonialism"?

9. What was the "Scramble for Africa"?

10. How did European faith in essential cultural differences influence colonialism?

11. How did a move towards economic development in colonial territories change the face of colonialism?

12. What was the effect of the Cold War on colonialism?

13. How did World War II lead to awareness on the part of Indigenous groups of the "right to self-determination"?

14. How did colonization affect people in colonized societies differently?

15. How did colonizers vary in their approaches to ruling? How were they similar?

16. What differentiates European colonization from other forms of colonization?

17. How was the impact of Europeans in the "new" world of the Americas different from that of Asia?

18. Following World War II, how did Britain and France react to increasingly militant demands for rights, including self-determination, in African colonies?

19. What is the relevance of Portugal's invasion of Ceuta in Africa?

20. How did existing tensions between African leaders in the nineteenth century facilitate the "Scramble for Africa"?

21. Why did Indigenous populations in the Americas decrease soon after the beginning of Spanish colonization.

22. How did the "Scramble for Africa" cause rivalries of all sort?

23. A comprehensive understanding of European colonialism is not possible without understanding the role of the "men on the spot." Discuss.

Essay Questions

1. How has the language used to describe both the history and current status of international development focused too much on a European perspective?

2. What are the main causes of imperialism?

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3. Why is the differential impact within colonies an important legacy of colonialism to this day?

4. While Europeans pushed for greater rights and freedoms in their home nations, and as European states conquered and acquired new colonies abroad in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they significantly restricted/took power away from the people in their colonies. How did Darwin's theory of natural selection impact the motive and justification of European imperialism after 1859?

5. Was decolonization inevitable?

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Answer Key

Multiple Choice Questions

1. **E** (p. 27)
2. **B** (p. 26)
3. **C** (p. 25)
4. **A** (p. 34)
5. **D** (p. 33)
6. **C** (p. 27)
7. **D** (pp. 28-9)
8. **B** (p. 33)
9. **C** (pp. 26-7)
10. **B** (p. 27)
11. **D** (pp. 28-9)
12. **C** (p. 34)
13. **A** (p. 30)
14. **D** (p. 27)
15. **B** (p. 31)
16. **A** (p. 34)
17. **E** (p. 35)
18. **C** (p. 36)
19. **A** (p. 36)
20. **B** (p. 35)
21. **B** (p. 31)
22. **C** (p. 37)
23. **D** (p. 31)
24. **C** (p. 31)
25. **A** (p. 37)
26. **C** (p. 25)
27. **A** (p. 25)
28. **A** (p. 27)
29. **B** (p. 27)
30. **C** (p. 29)
31. **C** (p. 30)
32. **C** (p. 31)
33. **C** (p. 33)
34. **C** (p. 34)
35. **E** (p. 35)

True or False Questions

1. **F** (pp. 26-7)
2. **T** (p. 26)
3. **T** (p. 28)
4. **T** (p. 27)
5. **T** (p. 36)
6. **T** (p. 29)
7. **F** (p. 29)
8. **T** (p. 34)
9. **F** (p. 33)
10. **T** (p. 31)
11. **T** (p. 31)
12. **T** (p. 34)
13. **F** (p. 35)
14. **F** (p. 34)
15. **T** (p. 35)
16. **T** (p. 35)
17. **T** (p. 31)
18. **F** (p. 36)
19. **T** (p. 27)
20. **T** (p. 27)
21. **F** (p. 25)
22. **T** (p. 25)
23. **T** (p. 30)
24. **F** (p. 33)
25. **F** (p. 31)
26. **F** (p. 25)
27. **T** (p. 31)
28. **F** (p. 35)
29. **F** (p. 36)
30. **F** (p. 36)
31. **T** (p. 37)
32. **T** (p. 37)
33. **F** (p. 37)
34. **F** (p. 37)
35. **T** (p. 38)

Short Answer Questions

1. A chartered company was a private company that received monopoly commercial rights from a state in order to promote trade and exploration in a specific region. The private capital provided by chartered companies gave an advantage to their home states in competition with other imperial states. Chartered companies were particularly used by the British, Dutch, and French. Some of the most well-known examples included the English East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company. [p. 28]

2. Indirect rule in colonial Africa followed closely on the early model the British had established in South Asia. By keeping local rulers in place (or creating them where Indigenous authorities proved difficult to identify or co-opt), colonizers saved themselves the difficulty of establishing new forms of authority or the expense of employing large

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numbers of European administrators. European colonizers found quick profits in only a few parts of the continent, such as South Africa's gold and diamond strikes or the Congo Free State's short-lived rubber boom. In much the same fashion that the English East India Company had done in South Asia, colonial administrators aimed to rule Africans indirectly through their own laws, enforced by their own leaders, who answered to colonial administrators. If they could incorporate local African rulers at the lower rungs of colonial administration, they could achieve at low cost a dominance that they believed would be viewed legitimately by the African population at large. [pp. 31-3]

3. Early excursions from Portugal and Spain into North Africa were fueled by centuries of prior political-religious tensions. European ambitions for more direct access to trade goods, such as gold, spices, and textiles were meant to meet the demands of a growing population back home. [p. 25]

4. Political and economic competition between the "Great Powers" of Europe (namely Britain, France, and Germany) is argued to be part of an explanation for the shift into "high imperialism" in the mid-nineteenth century. From this view, the "Great Powers" competed with one another over control of unclaimed territories in Southeast Asia and Africa. The existence of strategic natural resources in those areas largely accounts for this push for expansion. Additionally, the "Great Powers" argument is associated with the simultaneous rise in European nationalist sentiment. [p. 27]

5. Growing nationalism toward the end of the nineteenth century is argued to have been a contributing factor to the expansion of colonial empires. First, newly unified nations like Germany and Italy saw the acquisition of colonies as a means to catch up to older rivals like France and England. Second, all European countries sought to bolster their prestige and sense of greatness, which they thought came from large colonial holdings. [p. 27]

6. Many scholars, including John Hobson and Vladimir Lenin, believe that economic motives linked to the Industrial Revolution launched the classic "high" imperialism of the late nineteenth century. According to this view, the expansion of European empires was undertaken as part of a search for new markets: economic returns within Europe were dwindling, and industrial capitalism had to search abroad for new investment opportunities and consumers. Renewed expansion and the creation of new colonies were thus necessary because most of Europe still practised protectionist trade policies. [p. 26]

7. The English East India Company's immense power stemmed from its control over Bengal province, one of India's most economically productive regions. The Company was able to use its control over Bengal's revenues and trade flows to finance its own operations. From that point forward, the Company exercised enormous power over a large area, despite only ruling a small area directly, by financing its own professional military force. Local elites willingly cooperated with the Company, seeing it as a means of pursuing their own interests. [pp. 29-30]

8. Neo-colonialism is a concept by which economies of formally independent countries remain subject to the control of others. Such a system, of course, may continue past the formal end of colonial rule, with the former imperial power continuing to exert strong control over a

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nominally independent ex-colony. In some uses, prior colonization is not considered necessary, such as might be the case when imperialism is applied to the involvement of the United States in the Middle East since the mid-twentieth century or of China's increasing influence in sub-Saharan Africa in the twenty-first century. [p. 27]

9. The term refers to the rapid European conquest of Africa in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. European states decided that legal "ownership" of African territory stemmed from "effective occupation" of an area, which served to drive the dash for control of territories. Africa was divided into forty colonies controlled by seven European states. It involved the worsening of existing tensions in colonized areas through strategies of "divide and rule." [p. 33]

10. European belief in their cultural superiority over so-called "primitive" or "inferior" areas was a frequent justification for the violence and exploitation of colonialism. Misguided efforts were made to translate Darwin's ideas on evolution to the understanding of society and culture through a view known as "Social Darwinism." These views were then used as the basis for an effort to morally justify coercive intervention in supposedly "backward" societies for the purpose of helping them "evolve." [p. 34]

11. Part of the colonial response to such actions on the part of colonial subjects was a new approach, at least by Britain and France, to social and economic policy in the colonies. The British passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940, and the French established the Investment Fund for Social and Economic Development in 1946. Both expanded the scale of colonial development activities in the postwar period, partly by increasing the flow of funds from the metropole, primarily through loans. Beyond the greater scale of assistance, however, they also changed the nature of colonial efforts to promote economic and social change. This was part of an attempt to prolong empire amid growing anti-colonial mobilization. Coming at the time it did, the shift did not have a great impact on Britain's or France's closing years of colonial rule in South Asia or Southeast Asia, but it powerfully shaped Africa for the future. Alongside the growth in scale came an associated increase in the personnel involved: local administrators were now joined to a nascent bureaucracy charged with studying, planning, and executing projects conceived to meet priorities set by ministries based in Europe. It was a new approach to an older ideal—delivering modernity to "natives" who were believed to be incapable of achieving such progress on their own. With the assistance of European experts, Indigenous societies and cultures would thus evolve to the norm established by the West. Rather than continuing the mission, spiritual and otherwise, to "civilize" Indigenous societies in accordance with European norms, colonial rule in its final two decades shifted to the "development" of those societies. In the effort to modernize African economies, the new form of colonial rule took aim not merely at farming techniques or livestock grazing practices but also at the social relations that organized those economic activities. As such, colonial development focused on Indigenous social life, as much as on economic life, as being in need of modernization. [p. 36]

12. The colonial order quickly unravelled: India gained independence in 1947; Burma in 1948; Indonesia in 1949. Empire in Africa lasted but little longer: Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, all independent in 1956; Ghana in 1957; and Guinea in 1958. In 1960, the "Year of Africa," 17

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African nations came out from under the domination of Britain, France, and Belgium. Even as they became new nation-states, all were witness to a new global struggle: the super-power competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The goliaths of the Cold War represented, respectively, the "Empire of Freedom" and the "Empire of Justice," and each sought to extend their influence, often via cooperation, trade, and development assistance agreements with states in what was becoming known as the "Third World." For people who had long lived under domination that imposed unequal social, economic, and political rights, the messages heralded by the would-be global powers—Washington's individual liberty and Moscow's social equality—held magnetic appeal. And yet, only still building out their sovereignty, independent African and Asian polities confronted threats to meaningful autonomy as the superpowers sought to corral new nations within their respective alliances. [p. 37]

13. World War II, a war in which Africans fought alongside Europeans for the right of European and Asian nations to self-determination and freedom from foreign rule, forced a re-examination of the colonial endeavour. Many people in colonized areas refused to remain confined to the narrow grooves cut by the traditional society imagined by colonial rulers but rather made demands and articulated rights by drawing on metropolitan principles—not only those of self-determination but also of labour rights. Part of the colonial response to such actions on the part of colonial subjects was a new approach, at least by Britain and France, to social and economic policy in the colonies. The British passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940, and the French established the Investment Fund for Social and Economic Development in 1946. Both expanded the scale of colonial development activities in the postwar period, partly by increasing the flow of funds from the metropole, primarily through loans. They also changed the nature of colonial efforts to promote economic and social change. Such efforts only made more visible an inherent contradiction of colonial rule: if Africans and Asians were indeed so different (and inferior) as to need domination "for their own good," how could they possibly take advantage of new investments and opportunities now offered as the justification of colonial over-rule? After World War II as people in the colonies embraced the principles on which the Allies had fought, such as rights to freedom from foreign domination and national self-determination. The Second World War was a powerful "solvent of empire." The principal colonizing powers—Britain and France— celebrated victory but were impoverished and enfeebled, and the strongest among the victors—the United States—had little interest in preserving their empires. Facing enormous challenges to rebuild at home, none of the colonizing powers could fathom any significant commitment of resources abroad. Finally, the assertions of superiority that had underwritten colonial claims now shouted their hypocrisy as the world took measure of the savagery—above all the Nazi racial discourse and genocidal practice—exposed at the core of Western civilization. [pp. 36-7]

14. Colonial rule did not affect all colonized people in the same manner. Depending on their position in society, especially their exposure to specific economic or political practices, certain groups of individuals might lose (or gain) material or social capital. The clearest cases of such differential impact occurred with indirect rule, under which many local elites benefitted: some helped to collect new tax levies and received a portion for their role, while others, with the tacit support of the colonial state, imposed new burdens on their subjects. But more broadly, the great political and economic changes associated with colonial rule created winners and losers, and some people gained influence over others in the process.

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The overall effect was to strengthen existing cleavages or to create new ones in Indigenous societies, with resulting social tensions. Particularly towards the end of the colonial era (the 1930s and 1940s in Asia and the 1950s in Africa), political constituencies maneuvered for position as independence approached, and these cleavages—along lines of religion, language, ethnicity, race, and class—became sources of heightened tension and outright conflict, at times very violently so. [pp. 33-4]

15. Differences between forms of colonial rule are argued to be epitomized by the indirect rule of the British (relying on local elites to rule cheaply) and the direct rule of the French. The Portuguese, on the other hand, were judged to have followed a third path, an especially hands-on and, according to some, more violent version of direct rule. Whatever the differences between forms of colonial rule, all were implemented and maintained with violence or the threat of violence. [p. 31]

16. Colonization, in the sense of settling and occupying a specified territory, can refer to other contexts as well. Some scholars of early African history, for example, consider the expansion of African societies into unpopulated or sparsely populated areas as a process of colonization. Similarly, most evidence suggests that the earliest human societies in Madagascar were established by colonists who travelled to the island from Southeast Asia. However, neither of these instances of distant settlement took place as part of an imperial expansion or resulted in ongoing political or economic links between the society of origin and the society of settlement. The foundation of a colony may simply indicate the displacement and resettling of a population; colonialism implies the rule of some people over others. The relationship of imperialism and colonial rule with development has drawn great interest from scholars, politicians, and policy-makers alike, and many have sought to explain how European imperial expansion led to or prevented development in those areas of the world now considered to be developing countries. Few would question that colonial rule had an impact on economic development in colonized territories, but there is no consensus on just what kind of development European imperialism (and colonialism) brought about in Africa, the Americas, and Asia. [p. 28]

17. The "new" world that Europeans entered in the Americas differed greatly from the one they encountered in Asia. In Central and South America, European arrival and the labour practices imposed on conquered Amerindian societies produced a staggering population collapse, making any continuation of existing political systems a near impossibility. European sailors and explorers carried smallpox to the Americas; the Indigenous peoples of the Americas had no prior exposure and virtually no resistance to the virus. The disease laid waste to the previously populous societies of Meso-America. Alongside this unintended biological assault, the Spanish, in their eagerness to acquire as much silver and gold bullion as possible from their rapidly growing empire, enslaved Indigenous people by the thousands and worked them to death mining gold and silver. In some places, such as the island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and Dominican Republic), the death toll resulted in near extinction: The Indigenous Taino people numbered at least one million (and perhaps as many as five million) in 1492 but by 1550 had disappeared. In present-day Mexico, the Aztec state collapsed as the population plummeted from perhaps 25 million in 1518 to just over a million in 1605. No political institution could survive this degree of social destruction. In contrast to Meso-America, South America, and the Caribbean, South Asian polities remained

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robust in early and ongoing interactions with agents of European empire, both in defence of local sovereignty and in pursuit of economic interest. To a certain extent, agents of European empire were compelled to accept terms dictated by the Mughal emperor: as much as the Europeans held sway at sea—for the Mughals had no navy or merchant fleet—Indian rulers accepted no challenge to their dominance on land, strictly limiting the outsiders' rights even to self-defence. Unlike the situation in the Americas, Europeans arrived in Asia with no significant advantage in military technology, and local armies were more than their match. Technology alone, however, was not the critical factor of difference between the Americas and Asia. The decimation by disease of Indigenous populations in the Americas made European conquest relatively simple. Even more important, many Indigenous groups—especially those that had not formed hierarchical city-states—had a communitarian ethos and culture, which led at first to their sharing with and helping the European newcomers, and their often non-sedentary lifestyle and community organization led the Europeans to believe that Indigenous peoples were "uncivilized." [pp. 28-9]

18. Part of the colonial response to such actions on the part of colonial subjects was a new approach, at least by Britain and France, to social and economic policy in the colonies. The British passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940, and the French established the Investment Fund for Social and Economic Development in 1946. Both expanded the scale of colonial development activities in the postwar period, partly by increasing the flow of funds from the metropole, primarily through loans. Beyond the greater scale of assistance, however, they also changed the nature of colonial efforts to promote economic and social change. The plan for a "modern future set against a primitive present" was part of an attempt to prolong empire amid growing anti-colonial mobilization; economic development would be the "antidote to disorder" (Cooper 1997, 65, 67). Coming at the time it did, the shift did not have a great impact on Britain's or France's closing years of colonial rule in South Asia or Southeast Asia, but it powerfully shaped Africa for the future. [p. 36]

19. In 1415 Portuguese forces invaded Ceuta, a city whose wealth made it known to the Portuguese as the "flower of all other cities of Africa." The assault was successful, and following their conquest and occupation of the city, the Portuguese learned more about the sources of its great wealth, such as its access to a gold trade that came from points south of the Sahara northwards into the Mediterranean world. [p. 25]

20. In many instances, the European powers inserted themselves into areas fraught with tension, at times born of friction between expanding states and at others resulting from competition over trade. Amid such tensions, African leaders were eager to sign treaties with Europeans, hoping to gain an edge over their neighbours or enemies. In view of these existing divisions, the European powers employed less of a strategy of "divide and rule," but they were deft in their manipulation of local rivalries. African rulers soon found that after a rival had been subdued or defeated, their erstwhile allies turned on them, now demanding their submission. Standing alone against encroaching European forces, sometimes reinforced by African troops drawn from among those already conquered, remaining African leaders faced a choice between signing treaties that presumed their submission and fighting to remain sovereign. Armed with the Maxim (machine) gun, fortified against malaria with quinine, and more maneuverable than ever before with easily assembled (and disassembled) steam-

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powered flat-bottomed riverboats, the scramblers' forces encountered few opponents who could withstand their attack. [p. 33]

21. In Central and South America, European arrival and the labour practices imposed on conquered Indigenous societies produced a staggering population collapse, making any continuation of existing political systems a near impossibility. European sailors and explorers carried smallpox to the Americas; the Indigenous peoples of the Americas had no prior exposure and virtually no resistance to the virus. The disease laid waste to the previously populous societies of Meso-America. Alongside this unintended biological assault, the Spanish, in their eagerness to acquire as much silver and gold bullion as possible from their rapidly growing empire, enslaved Indigenous people by the thousands and worked them to death mining gold and silver. In some places, such as the island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and Dominican Republic), the death toll resulted in near extinction: The Indigenous Taino people numbered at least one million (and perhaps as many as five million) in 1492 but by 1550 had disappeared. In present-day Mexico, the Aztec state collapsed as the population plummeted from perhaps 25 million in 1518 to just over a million in 1605. No political institution could survive this degree of social destruction. [pp. 28-9]

22. The political and economic topography of late nineteenth-century Africa at the time of partition was markedly uneven. Large African empires with powerful centralized rulers, some controlling long-distance trade in ivory and slaves, existed in most regions of the continent, while smaller independent polities ruled by local authorities were also common. In some areas, notably coastal west and east Africa and their littorals, regional economic networks had grown ever stronger since the abolition of the slave trade earlier in the century, and through these networks, local producers (mostly producers of vegetable products sought by European industry but also elephant hunters who supplied ivory for growing middle-class consumption overseas) were tied to international commercial networks. With their links to overseas finance, these areas became even more "extroverted" in their orientation, while other parts of the continent were characterized by locally oriented self-sustaining economies. In many instances, the European powers inserted themselves into areas fraught with tension, at times born of friction between expanding states and at others resulting from competition over trade. Amid such tensions, African leaders were eager to sign treaties with Europeans, hoping to gain an edge over their neighbours or enemies. In view of these existing divisions, the European powers employed less of a strategy of "divide and rule," but they were deft in their manipulation of local rivalries. African rulers soon found that after a rival had been subdued or defeated, their erstwhile allies turned on them, now demanding their submission. Standing alone against encroaching European forces, sometimes reinforced by African troops drawn from among those already conquered, remaining African leaders faced a choice between signing treaties that presumed their submission and fighting to remain sovereign. Armed with the Maxim (machine) gun, fortified against malaria with quinine, and more maneuverable than ever before with easily assembled (and disassembled) steam-powered flat-bottomed riverboats, the scramblers' forces encountered few opponents who could withstand their attack. [p. 33]

23. What none of these explanations include, however, is much room for the actions of what some historians call the "men on the spot," a term most common in studies of the British Empire though just as useful elsewhere. These men—for they were all men—often made

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decisions to expand European activity and territorial claims even when such moves (and the means by which they were achieved) went beyond or even ran counter to official metropolitan policy. Reacting to local crises or opportunities amid a wider atmosphere of tension and transformation, their improvisations may have had little immediate connection to industrial capitalism or domestic nationalism, but the effect was to expand the European field of action and build bigger empires. [p. 27]

Essay Questions

1. The answer to this question should first cover the Eurocentric aspect of international development historically as well as in contemporary terms. For example, the language used to describe the hierarchy of states is deeply Eurocentric: First World vs Third World, developed vs developing, even Global North vs Global South. These dyads are very loaded. They situate the First, the developed, the North as the place to get to, with all others being "lesser." It frames European values as dominant and normatively superior. Even mainstream explanations of "high imperialism" are rooted solely in Europe's need to fuel the industrial revolution, nationalist sentiment, or Great Power rivalry. While this framing and these explanations have some validity, there is a conspicuous absence of agency from those in the colonized states. There is a conspicuous absence of social, political, and economic structures from anywhere but Europe. This question is important because devising appropriate forms of development to particular contexts will be difficult to achieve without embedding it in the history, both colonial and pre-colonial, of specific peoples. [pp. 25-8, 35-6, 38]

2. The causes of imperialism were numerous and, in the beginning, were at once political-religious, born of a competitive tension with Muslim neighbours, and economic, owing to ambitious Europeans' desire for more direct access to goods—not only gold but spices and textiles as well, much sought after in Europe's growing towns and cities, now beginning to recover from the ravages of the Black Death. However, there is little scholarly consensus on the motives the final burst of conquest and occupation towards the end of the nineteenth century. Many scholars believe that economic motives linked to the Industrial Revolution launched the classic "high" imperialism of this period. The expansion of European empires was undertaken as part of a search for new markets. Renewed expansion and the creation of new colonies were thus necessary because most of Europe still practised protectionist trade policies. Another approach also focuses on Europe but combines political and economic factors to explain the rapid expansion of empire. According to this view, "Great Power" rivalry, most especially among Britain, France, and Germany, drove Europe to seize territories as yet unclaimed in Southeast Asia and Africa. European leaders saw the opportunity to expand as part of a zero-sum game, and in light of the tensions and rivalries that existed in crowded Europe, none were content to wait while any of their neighbours moved ahead, especially after the discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886) in South Africa. Although a desire to secure access to strategically important industrial inputs, such as rubber, or to gain control over areas long believed to possess great riches, such as parts of tropical Africa, was not irrelevant, this understanding emphasizes the imperial powers' race to keep pace with their neighbours. Associated with the Great Power explanation is the belief in the important role played by nationalist sentiment, which flourished at the end of the nineteenth century. Nearly all of Europe's nations were preoccupied with attaining the degree of

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prestige and sense of greatness they believed was their due. This explanation is often deployed to account for the outsized role played by Belgium and Portugal, whose involvement in the "scramble for Africa" had no clear connection to political or economic interests, yet both countries ended up with vast African colonies. There was also what some historians call the "men on the spot." These men—for they were all men—often made decisions to expand European activity and territorial claims even when such moves (and the means by which they were achieved) went beyond or even ran counter to official metropolitan policy, but the effect was to expand the European field of action and build bigger empires. [pp. 25-7]

3. Colonial rule did not affect all colonized people in the same manner. Depending on their position in society, especially their exposure to specific economic or political practices, certain groups of individuals might lose (or gain) material or social capital. The clearest cases of such differential impact occurred with indirect rule, under which many local elites benefitted: some helped to collect new tax levies and received a portion for their role, while others, with the tacit support of the colonial state, imposed new burdens on their subjects. But more broadly, the great political and economic changes associated with colonial rule created winners and losers, and some people gained influence over others in the process. The overall effect was to strengthen existing cleavages or to create new ones in Indigenous societies, with resulting social tensions. Particularly towards the end of the colonial era (the 1930s and 1940s in Asia and the 1950s in Africa), political constituencies maneuvered for position as independence approached, and these cleavages—along lines of religion, language, ethnicity, race, and class—became sources of heightened tension and outright conflict, at times very violently so. [pp. 33-4]

4. Influenced by so-called social Darwinist ideas, which had little to do with the evolutionary theory Darwin offered in *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, those advocating renewed imperial expansion applied the idea of evolution not to individual species but instead to human societies. They believed that European peoples represented a more evolved type of human being and human society, while other, darker-skinned people and societies were supposedly examples of still-surviving earlier forms. These beliefs powerfully shaped attitudes toward empire in two ways. First, with Asian or African cultures seen as inferior and even "primitive," their subordination and even destruction were easily justified in the name of progress. Following on this, because Indigenous African or Asian societies were regarded as backward, their transformation, by force if necessary, was judged to be a moral duty of Europeans as the bearers of a higher civilization. [p. 34]

5. A definitive answer to this question is less important than how the student approaches it. For example, the student should explore the history of colonialism especially in the immediate lead up to and aftermath of World War II. Many citizens of colonial nations fought on behalf of their colonial powers in World War I and World War II and so recognized they were fighting for freedoms that they themselves did not have. As result of World War II, colonial governments were less able and willing to provide the financial and human supports necessary to maintain colonies. Other discussion points could include a recognition that valuable resources should belong to the citizens where the resources are located. [pp. 36-8]

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