

# AP<sup>®</sup> World History

2007-2008  
Professional Development  
Workshop Materials

**Special Focus:  
Teaching About  
Twentieth Century  
Latin America & Africa in  
World History**

*Note: This Special Focus document was developed prior to the course changes in 2011-12. While these materials are still relevant to teaching the revised AP<sup>®</sup> World History Curriculum Framework, teachers should be aware of the differences.*

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## Special Focus: Teaching About Twentieth Century Latin America and Africa in World History

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## Introduction

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I wasn't sure what to expect when the instructions for a regional Model United Nations conference arrived for the school club I sponsor. The first step involved getting students to select countries to represent. Since we were registering late, most of the countries in Europe, North America, Asia, and the Middle East were already claimed. I was struck by the apparent lack of interest in Latin America and Africa by students in other school districts, but guessed that many of their world history teachers gave less attention to examples from those regions when they reached twentieth-century topics. I hope this Special Focus publication can help teachers integrate the histories of Latin America and Africa into their approaches to the histories of the twentieth century, so they can inspire their students to gain a more global perspective.

### Why This Focus Book?

Secondary school teachers often question the importance of Latin America and Africa in teaching about the twentieth century when the stories of the Western powers seem so much more compelling to them. This question can have several answers. The first response is that the population of the United States, according to the United States Census Bureau, will increasingly include a greater percentage of peoples with links to Latin America and Africa, and their children will want to see stories in the world history curriculum that reflect their heritage. Second, teachers who have less diverse classrooms can use world history models to emphasize how peoples in Latin America and Africa proved essential to twentieth century developments. For example, world history students can learn that in the first half of the twentieth century, Latin Americans and Africans produced many items key to industrial development, such as copper, bauxite, oil, and fertilizers. They also could be taught that consumer products, such as tropical fruits, beef, coffee, chocolate, and sugar, were part of commodity chains that linked the modern economies in the Atlantic world. Moreover, teachers can reveal that African and Caribbean soldiers fought in both world wars for their colonial governments, helping to win the conflicts and giving the British and French continued dominance over world political bodies. Perhaps the most compelling argument for including Latin America and Africa in twentieth-century world history is what gets our students' attention. The pervasive globalization evident at the end of the twentieth century can be partially explained by analyzing the global spread of mass culture that has its technological roots in the West but its cultural influences in Latin America and Africa. The way we teach twentieth-century history should explain why most of our students listen to the musical results of those cross-cultural interactions and not to the nineteenth-century classical music produced in Europe. Many more answers to this question can be found in the additional readings I suggest at the end of this introduction.

## Highlights of the Contributions

I recruited contributions for this publication from teachers at the secondary and university levels to share what works at their institutions when they address Latin America and Africa during the twentieth century. The articles and lessons in this Special Focus book cover the whole twentieth century, from Marcus Garvey's movement in the 1920s to the films produced in the last decades. Two of the chapters address the issues of the Cold War and the movements associated with social justice in Latin America and South Africa. Overall, the goal of this Special Focus book is to enhance what is taught about the twentieth century in the AP® World History course.

The introductory essay by John R. McNeill broadens our view of how Africa and Latin America fit into the whole story of world history. Judy Miller's clearly written biographical essay on Marcus Garvey and the lessons associated with it personalizes the perspectives of people of African heritage in the Atlantic world of the early twentieth century. Sándor's approach to the Cold War gives us a new set of examples for our students to analyze the effects of the competition between the NATO and Soviet blocs. Rob Plunkett also created a remarkable innovation in comparing social justice issues and approaches in Central America and South Africa in the decades after World War II. Finally, Miki Goral's insights into the history of film in Latin America and Africa provide teachers with new and better informed choices for exploring the development of this global form of popular culture.

## Value For AP World History Teachers

This Special Focus book intends to help the novice and experienced teacher alike. Many teachers did not experience a world history course in their undergraduate education, and even fewer probably took a course on Latin American or African history, so it's to be expected that lacunae in knowledge exist. Many of us also feel somewhat uncomfortable teaching about topics we know less well and are not sure how they fit into the narrative of progress that often shapes how the twentieth century gets taught.

## Connections to AP World History Habits of Mind

As with any materials produced for the AP World History course, these lessons and resources intend to help students develop the AP World History Habits of Mind. Most obviously, the Garvey and Cold War lessons contain primary sources that explicitly offer students practice with analyzing point of view, context, and bias. The Garvey lesson also offers an opportunity to trace changes over time in the struggle for civil rights as well as comparing the diversity of interpretations in the African Diaspora about the best methods for that pursuit. Comparison is also the main approach in the Plunkett piece as well, and he even gives an operational rubric for assessing the essays students would be asked to write.

The number of possible examples from the history of Latin America and Africa in the twentieth century exceeds what could be covered in this small publication. Teachers might

consider creating lessons on some of the following additional topics that fit well with the AP World History course description's content for the course:

### Additional Topics on Twentieth Century Latin America and Africa

- A. Political topics: Effects of the Cold War and Decolonization
  - a. Comparing revolutionary rhetoric in Cuba and Angola
  - b. Comparing the effects of decolonization in the Caribbean and Africa on educational opportunities
- B. Social topics: Changes and Continuities in Migration Patterns
  - a. Tracing migrations from rural to urban areas
  - b. Identifying the creation of mega cities and their effects on the environment
  - c. Tracing migrations from Caribbean islands to Central America and North America, e.g., Jamaicans to Costa Rica, Puerto Ricans to New York City, Portuguese Azoreans to Rhode Island
  - d. Analyzing responses to the AIDS pandemic in South Africa, Uganda, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic
  - e. Comparing the development of public health systems in Cuba and South Africa
  - f. The role of Cuban health care workers in developing public health systems in African countries
- C. Cultural topics: Internationalization of Culture
  - a. Identifying developments in twentieth-century popular culture in Latin America and Africa—film, music, murals, literature, and/or television
  - b. Identifying how popular culture in Latin America and Africa affected the internationalization of culture in the twentieth century
- D. Economic topics: Globalization
  - a. Analyzing the spread of consumerism through products (detergents, textiles, oil) in Trinidad, Mexico, Nigeria, and Venezuela
  - b. Analyzing the effect of the flow of Western capital to Africa and Latin America on migration patterns
- E. Environmental topics: Deforestation and Energy Use
  - a. Compare the deforestation in tropical areas of Latin America and Africa
  - b. Compare the petroleum industries in Venezuela, Mexico, Nigeria, and Libya

The list above, of course, could continue on almost indefinitely. No doubt, world history teachers will create other interesting comparisons for their students to analyze. What's important is for students to see how the histories of peoples of Latin America and Africa

continues into the twentieth century, and how they can serve as examples of global patterns of change and continuity found throughout world history.

## Further Readings

I recommend the following three special issues of publications that discuss teaching about Latin America and Africa in general and give additional suggestions for the classroom.

*American Historical Review*. "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History." December 2006, Volume III, No 5.

*World History Bulletin*. Focus Issue & Teaching Forum, "Latin America in World History." Fall 2006, Volume XXII, No 2.

*World History Connected*. Special issue on Africa, "Forum: Teaching Africa in World History: Issues and Approaches." November 2004, Volume 2, No 1.



## Why Bother With Africa and Latin America?

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No doubt about it, the history of Africa and Latin America can be complicated. It may be tempting to give them short shrift. They did not invent the wheel, writing, or iPod. Hegel believed they had no history. In the 1960s, Hugh Trevor-Roper, then Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, famously said in a radio address that African history was merely the “unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe.”<sup>1</sup> So why bother? Why not confine the world history course to the careers of the great civilizations of Europe and Asia, and bring in Africa and Latin America as part of the story of European expansion?

Here are some reasons to take Africa and Latin America seriously. Among the continents, Africa is the oldest habitat of the human species and South America the newest, which means they represent the extremes in the long sagas of humans and environments adjusting to one another. They are both huge spaces. You could wedge China, India, Europe, and the United States into Africa, with a little room left over. They also account for a large share of the human population: today about a quarter of humankind lives in Latin America (566 million) or Africa (924 million; 767 million in sub-Saharan Africa). And, from the point of view of American classrooms, both are important because they are the ancestral homes of the two largest minority populations in the United States.

Let’s look at each more closely in turn. Africa is the home of the human species. While scholars disagree over just when humans became human, there is little doubt that our remotest ancestors were Africans. Depending on when you think this happened, in chronological terms as much as 90 percent of human history (and at least 50 percent took place in Africa, and only in Africa). What might plausibly be considered the two most important breakthroughs in history—the harnessing of fire and the development of spoken language—took place in the African phase of our past.

Initially, whenever it was that we truly became human, there were very few of us and we were all much alike. Today we are both much more numerous and much more diverse. In terms of genetic difference among humans, Africa is by far the most diverse of the continents. It is culturally diverse too, with about 800 languages spoken and a welter of religious traditions. This is to be expected: after all, humans have had longer in Africa to differentiate themselves through both biological and cultural evolution than anywhere else. For tens of thousands of years, human history was a process not of globalization but of localization, as groups split off from one another and went their own ways throughout

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1. Hugh Trevor-Roper, quoted in Philip Curtin, “African History,” in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1980) 113.

Africa, becoming more heterogeneous as they went. Only in the last 2,000 years, and maybe less than that, have Africans grown more similar to one another rather than more different.

Africa is a full participant in several of the great themes in world history teaching. Provided one considers Egypt part of the continent, then Africa obviously hosted one of the great river valley civilizations of deep antiquity. Africa was involved in some of the great sagas of interaction too. The migration of Austronesians to Madagascar and the coasts of Mozambique, which took place somewhere around 1–400 CE, is known only by linguistic and biological evidence. No ancient texts speak to it. But the dominant language on Madagascar is clearly derived from an Austronesian tongue, most likely from Borneo. Many of the food crops prominent in Madagascar and Mozambique are derived from Southeast Asian plants. The trans-Saharan caravan trade, which started up in earnest after the arts of camel management spread to Africa from Arabia, is another interesting and important example of interaction in world history. West African exports of salt, slaves, and gold helped shape the economy of the Mediterranean world after 800 CE. Meanwhile, the North Africa export of Sunni Islam helped shape the culture of West Africa. The large-scale export trades in slaves, to the Americas, c. 1500–1850, and to southwestern and southern Asia, c. 100–1920 are further examples of long-distance interactions involving Africa. (The Atlantic slave trade is sometimes overdone as a theme in African history). As world history teaching evolves from an emphasis on the careers of great civilizations toward stories of interactions, the relevance and role of Africa in world history courses becomes ever clearer.

African history of course contains its fair share of stories of state and empire building. Ancient Ghana was among the first to arise, around 800 CE. The spread of long-distance trade and iron tools helped bring many more states into existence, from the Niger Valley to Great Zimbabwe to the shores of Lake Victoria. While the evidence does not permit a precise account of the countless rises and falls (a tedious exercise in any setting), students can puzzle over the factors that helped promote state building across Africa, and see to what extent they differ from the factors relevant elsewhere. And of course in recent centuries, European empires acquired large swatches of African territory, if only briefly. State and empire building often went hand in hand with the spread of new religious traditions, most notably Islam and Christianity. How these traditions melded with pre-existing local ones is a fascinating story that helps to show how religion works in society.

Lastly among the great themes of world history, there is the struggle for human communities to come to terms with their natural environments. In African contexts this was often especially challenging, because of the variety of dangerous diseases, the recurrence of droughts, and the numerous herds and prides of crop-stomping or cattle-eating wild animals. In Africa, as nowhere else, pathogens and wildlife had a very long time to adjust to human ways before human technologies and communications made us formidable members of the biosphere.

In the history of Latin America, many of the same observations apply.<sup>2</sup> The struggle to live within challenging environments is central to the human history of Latin America. That history goes back about 15,000 years, maybe more. Archeologists differ vehemently on the question of when the first human migrants came to the Americas, and moved southward to what—anachronistically—we can call Latin America. For all of that time, whether 15,000 or 50,000 years, Latin America, like Africa, has been a land of repeated droughts. For most of that time—until 500 years ago—it lacked useful domesticable animals (as did North America): no horses, cattle, sheep, goats, or pigs. It was not, however, a land with a dangerous disease environment, in large part because there were no herds of domesticated animals aside from llamas, alpacas, and vicuñas in the Andes.

State and empire building in Latin America produced patterns remarkably similar to those in Asia and Africa. This is extraordinary when you think about it, since Latin America had no significant contact with Asia or Africa before 1492. In central Mexico, in the Maya lands, and in Peru, agricultural societies arose that at first accorded priestly elites great power to regulate their affairs, just as in Mesopotamia, China, and Egypt. Gradually these priestly elites shared power or ceded it to military specialists, creating sociological patterns broadly similar to those of the classical civilizations in Africa and Asia. Despite all the geographical, cultural, and other differences, similar pressures brought about roughly similar patterns of social evolution.

Interaction is a weaker theme in Latin American history than elsewhere, because of the unavailability of horses, camels, or ox-carts, until after 1492. But after 1492, partly because of the penalties of isolation from the wider world, interaction became a dominant theme. Diseases from Europe, Asia, and Africa drastically reduced population in the Americas, creating demand for labor that was filled in Latin America mainly via the Atlantic slave trade. Of the roughly 11 million enslaved Africans who arrived in the Americas, about 95 percent went to Latin America (including the Caribbean). This might come as a surprise to students in the United States. The migration of diseases and humans was part of a broader pattern, often called the Columbian exchange, linking Latin America (and North America too) to the wider world. It involved food crops, animals, weeds, and much else, and it changed nature, economics, and society in Latin America fundamentally.

Latin America also played a robust part in the formation of a truly global economy after 1500. It supplied much of the world's silver after the 1560s, and silver circulated globally, serving as the cross-cultural medium of exchange *par excellence*. Brazilian and Caribbean sugar quickened the pace of the global economy after 1600 or 1650. Coffee, guano, beef, bananas—the list could go on—all were produced on a large scale in Latin America, and all contributed to the integration of the global economy after 1750.

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2. As with the term “Africa,” which sometimes means the whole continent and sometimes means only that which lies south of the Sahara, the term “Latin America” is imprecise. Here it refers to South and Central America, Mexico, and all of the Caribbean islands, even those, like Jamaica or Barbados, which are scarcely “Latin” as that term is usually understood. The same is true of British Guyana, in South America.

In the last 200 years or so, with the rise of industrialization and fossil fuels, the distribution of wealth and power around the world shifted in ways disadvantageous to Africans and Latin Americans. While the former colonial societies of Spanish and Portuguese America (Cuba and Puerto Rico excepted) took advantage of the Napoleonic Wars to seize political freedom, they found themselves wedged into economic roles as providers of raw materials, an arrangement political freedom did nothing to change. In Africa, the years since 1800, and especially since 1890, witnessed dramatic upheavals, first with the onset of European colonial conquest and rule, and then, mainly between 1956 and 1975, with decolonization. African economies increasingly turned to raw material exports, which prior to 1890 had been quite modest. In this way, by the twentieth century, both Africans and Latin Americans occupied similar niches in the world economy.

So, with the way world history teaching has evolved lately, the logic for serious attention to Africa and Latin America is only increasing. Not only are they big, populous, and the ancestral home of many students in our classrooms, but they exemplify many of the themes that, increasingly, give shape and meaning to world history courses.

## Marcus Garvey

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### Introduction

Marcus Garvey crossed many borders in the early twentieth-century world. As a man proud of his African heritage, he found ways physically and psychologically to connect many places, including Jamaica, England, the United States, Canada, Costa Rica, Panama, Liberia, and Ethiopia. His global view recruited and touched millions. His goals, although thwarted in his lifetime, did inspire African Americans and Caribbean and African peoples to seek justice. Garvey's movement continued the quest for equality and self-reliance begun in previous centuries, and sparked new energy in his followers during his lifetime and in the civil rights campaigns and decolonization efforts in Africa and Latin America. This is a unit developed for AP World History partially as an example of how to include the United States as a part of the global story. In this chapter, teachers will find several ideas to help students examine the global perspective of Marcus Garvey in the 1920s.

### Specific AP Skills, Habits of Mind, and Content

The lessons include analysis of primary and secondary sources as well as assessment of their interpretations of Garvey's ideas, so that students can develop those AP World History Habits of Mind. The unit also provides opportunities to construct and evaluate arguments, assess issues of change and continuity over time, and understand diversity of interpretations through Garvey's frame of reference. Marcus Garvey represents examples of several major developments in the AP World History Course Guide: "new patterns of nationalism," "social reform and social revolution," "new forces of revolution and other sources of political innovation," and "globalization of culture."

By the end of this mini-unit, students will be able to:

- Identify Marcus Garvey's goals and ideas
- Map Marcus Garvey's activities in the Atlantic world
- Explain Marcus Garvey's methods for achieving equality and justice for people of African heritage
- Analyze the effects of Marcus Garvey's beliefs in the Atlantic world, especially the creation of the Rastafarian Movement in Jamaica

This mini-unit will take at least three days. A fourth day could be spent doing the assessment.

## Materials Needed:

World map, primary sources, song lyrics, and photographs.

*Lesson 1—This lesson will take about an hour. Parts A and B need about 10 minutes each, and Part C about forty minutes of reading and answering questions. The teacher will need about 10 minutes at the end of the class period to go through the answers with the class. If the class period is shorter than an hour, then the teacher could let students analyze just the music or just the photographs. Another option is to let students start reading the biographical essay in class and finish the reading and answering questions at home.*

- A. Students listen to and/or read the lyrics of the reggae songs about Marcus Garvey (Appendix I). The teacher then leads the students through a KWL exercise that they should record in their world history notebooks: What do they already **know** (K) about Marcus Garvey? What do they **want** (W) to know? What did they **learn** (L) from the songs about why he was important to people in Jamaica?
- B. Students examine the two photographs of Marcus Garvey. The teacher then leads the students through a KWL exercise: What do they already **know** (K) about Marcus Garvey? What do they **want** (W) to know? What did they **learn** (L) from the photographs about why he was important to people in New York?
- C. The teacher then explains that some of their questions will be answered in a biography of Marcus Garvey [Appendix II]. The students should read the biography and then answer the questions following the essay to identify his goals and ideas. The teacher and the class discuss the answers to those questions and address additional questions they have about Garvey.

HW: Students identify the following places on a blank world map [Appendix III]: Ethiopia, Liberia, Jamaica, England (and London), the United States (New York), Canada, Costa Rica

*Lesson II—This lesson also will take about an hour for students to read, identify, and annotate. As in lesson 1, if the class period is shorter, the teacher might divide the students into five groups, assign one document to each group for analysis, and then have the groups share their findings with the class, so that each student can put the information about the methods Garvey advocated as an annotation on the map. The teacher should reserve about 10 minutes at the end of the period for the summative discussion of Garvey’s perspectives on the struggles for civil rights.*

Students annotate the places they identified on the map for homework by listing the methods Garvey advocated to advance the civil rights of people of African descent. Some methods students will identify are forming organizations, recruiting members through speeches, letters to the editor, and publishing his own magazine. Students will find the methods in the biography and in a selection of his published writings listed below (Appendix IV).

1. “Advice of the Negro to Peace Conference” (editorial, *The Negro World*, November 30, 1918)
2. “Negroes of the World, The Eternal Has Happened, The New Negro Had Made History for Himself and Ethiopia Shall be Redeemed” (editorial letter, New York, December 3, 1919)
3. “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World” (statement issued at UNIA Convention, New York, 1920)
4. Membership appeal, radio address, July 1921
5. “Dialogues,” Chapter II, *Life and Lessons*

The whole class then discusses Garvey’s perspectives of the struggles for civil rights in the Americas and Africa as expressed in his writings and speeches. (Students can use the SOAPSTONE approach found in the *AP Vertical Teaming Guide*, in which students identify the S (speaker) O (occasion) A (audience) P (purpose) S (subject) and TONE in each document.) The class discussion could be done in a formal manner such as a Socratic Seminar, in which the students demonstrate engagement with the sources and with each other. During the seminar they share their analyses of the sources, respond to questions asked by other students, or respond to a comment made by others. Students also earn points for asking a question about information in the sources, e.g. to clarify vocabulary, the historical context, or a question asked by someone else, or to challenge a comment made by someone else.

An extension of this lesson could be to help students compare The “Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World” with the late eighteenth century French “Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen” or Frenchwoman Olympe de Gouges’s “The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen.”

Another interesting exercise might be to have students research some of the signatories of the United Negro Improvement Association’s (UNIA) “Declaration” and determine from what groups Garvey drew support. How many names seem to be those of women?

*Lesson III*—This lesson could take only about 20 minutes, with 15 minutes for the gallery walk and 5 minutes for updating the KWL chart. The assessment could then be done in class, or if the class period is shorter, the assessment could be done for homework.

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Discuss and share the students' annotated maps by doing a gallery walk with half of the class displaying their maps hung on the wall or board and the other students viewing and questioning the annotations that describe Garvey's methods. (The rubric for the gallery walk is in appendix V.) As a culmination of the lesson, students should go back to the KWL chart they started in the first lesson, adding new facts they learned and new questions they have about Marcus Garvey.

*Assessment for whole mini-unit (could be assigned for homework):*

Write an essay in response to the following prompt:

“Analyze the changes and continuities in Marcus Garvey's perspectives on the best methods for improving the social status, political rights, and economic success of people of African heritage in the twentieth century.” (The rubric for the essay is in Appendix VI.)



## Appendix I

What does Burning Spear want you to think about Marcus Garvey?

“Marcus Garvey,” by Burning Spear, Palm Pictures, Original Release Date: 1975

### **GARVEY**

I HAVE A VISION, I HAVE A VISION  
I HAVE A VISION ABOUT MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY.  
I HAVE A VISION

I HAVE A VISION ABOUT MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY  
I HAVE A VISION

HE WAS A YOUTH LIKE ANY OTHER YOUTH.

I HAVE A VISION

HE WAS A SPEAKER, HE SPEAK UNIVERSALLY.

I HAVE A VISION.

UP YOU MIGHTY RACE

YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL

I HAVE A VISION.

UP YOU MIGHTY RACE, YOU MIGHTY RACE

YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL.

I HAVE A VISION.

I HAVE A VISION.

I HAVE A VISION.

I HAVE A VISION ABOUT MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY.

I HAVE A VISION.

YES HIS MAJESTY,

YES HIS MAJESTY EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE.

I HAVE A VISION, I HAVE A VISION.

I HAVE A VISION ABOUT MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY

I HAVE VISION ABOUT MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY.

I HAVE A VISION.

HE WAS A YOUTH LIKE ANY OTHER YOUTH.

I HAVE A VISION.

HE WAS A SPEAKER HE SPEAKS UNIVERSALLY.

I HAVE A VISION.

UP YOU MIGHTY RACE

YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL.

I HAVE A VISION.

UP YOU MIGHTY RACE, UP YOU MIGHTY RACE,  
YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL,

I HAVE A VISION.

YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL,

I HAVE A VISION.

I HAVE VISION ABOUT MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY.

I HAVE A VISION.

UP YOU MIGHTY RACE, UP YOU MIGHTY RACE,  
YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL.

YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH WHAT YOU WILL.

Source: <http://hjem.get2net.dk/sbn/burning/mekwe.htm#3>

## Photographs of Marcus Garvey

Question: What do the photographers want you to think about Marcus Garvey?

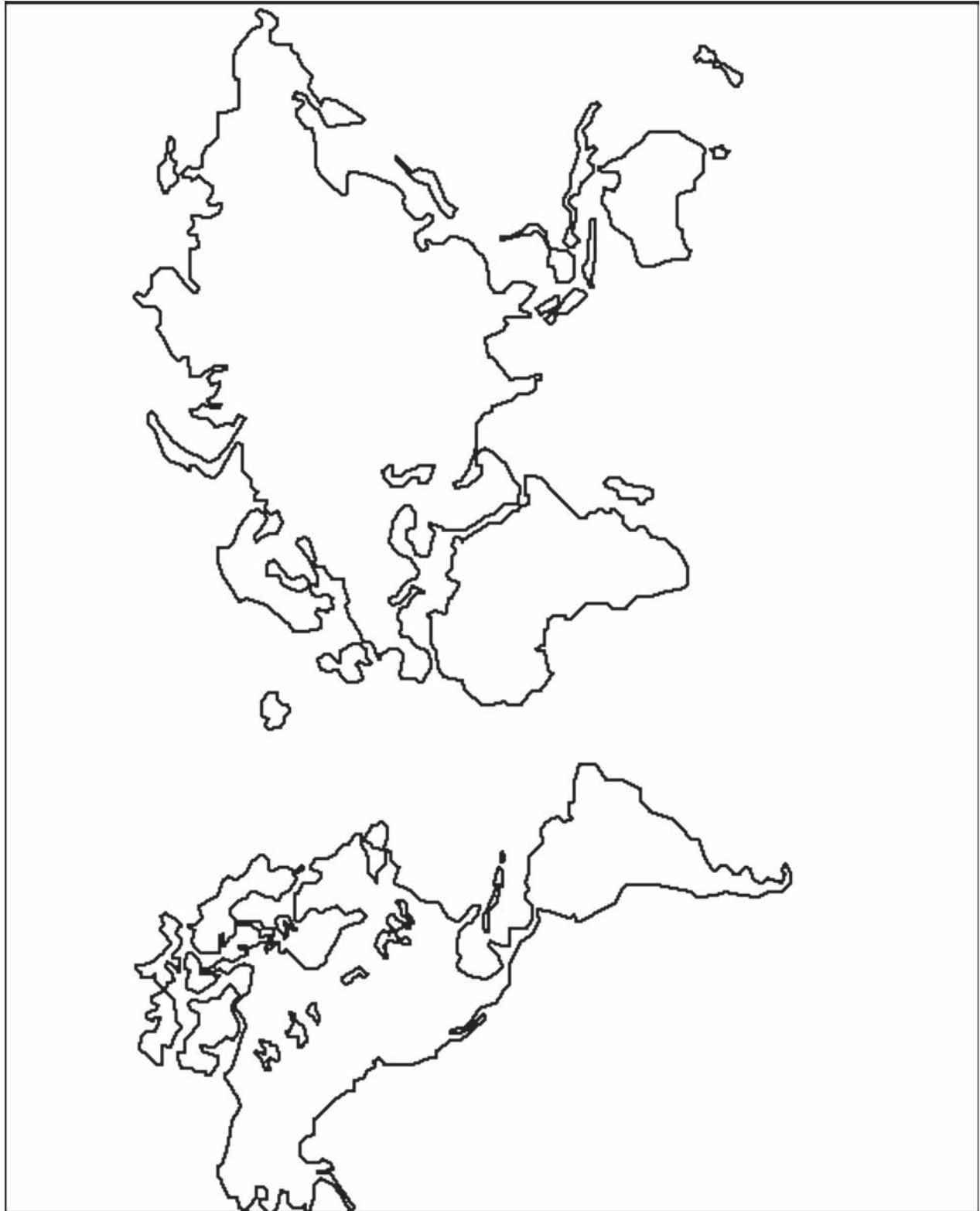


Marcus Mozhiah Garvey, January 1922. Photographer: James Van Der Zee. Garvey wore the military uniform in a parade through Harlem to demonstrate his new position as the “Provisional President of Africa.”



Marcus Garvey presiding at 1922 UNIA convention, Liberty Hall, New York City

## Appendix II



## Appendix III

Biography of Marcus Garvey  
by Judy B. Miller

### Marcus M. Garvey (1887–1940)

What can you say about a man who wanted to elevate the status of all blacks throughout the world? From his early childhood, Marcus Garvey had been exposed to the negative elements of international racism. He used his education and oratory skills as a weapon to fight against this wretched deadly world disease. He was a man who moved forward with a purpose and passion to instill the concepts of hope and determination in all blacks to become self-sufficient human beings.

On August 17, 1887, Marcus Mosiah Garvey was born in St. Ann's Bay, located on Jamaica's northern coast. He was the youngest of 11 children of Marcus Sr. and Sarah Garvey. His father was a stone mason who can be described as a self-educated thinker who refused to yield to anyone, even to superior forces if he believed that he was right. His mother, a domestic worker and farmer, was the opposite of her husband. She was a soft-spoken Christian who would bestow charity upon her enemy at all times.

At the age of 14 his family experienced financial difficulties, which obliged him to leave school and become an apprentice at the A. P. Benjamin Manufacturing Printing Company, located in Kingston, Jamaica's capital. During his apprenticeship, he sharpened his journalistic and oratory skills by helping to form the Printer's Union, the first trade union in Jamaica. These skills would later become important in the development of his "Back to Africa" movement.

Garvey later traveled to Costa Rica to work on a banana plantation, and then to Panama, where he edited several short-lived newspapers. During his travels, he became increasingly interested in the discriminatory practices that blacks endured. He complained to British officials about the mistreatment of Jamaicans in Costa Rica, but to no avail. In 1912 he went to London and studied briefly at Birkbeck College. He studied under an Egyptian nationalist by the name of Duse Mohammed Ali. Under Ali's mentorship, Garvey took a keen interest in Africa and black history. During his brief stay in London, Garvey also came across Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up From Slavery*. He was so impressed with Washington's philosophy of self-reliance and moral uplift that he worked with his first wife, Amy, to launch the UNIA, and the Conservation Association and African Communities League in Jamaica in 1914. The objective of the UNIA was to draw all blacks together through education, racial pride, world commercial activities, and the development of Africa. He also wanted to establish a settlement in Liberia for people of African heritage who grew up outside of Africa, so they could become self-sufficient. However, the Liberian government under British and French pressure forced the abandonment of Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement.

In March 1916, Garvey moved to the United States to raise funds for the UNIA. He visited New York churches and many other social localities, speaking to the West Indian community and American blacks about the need to unite in order to advance in society. He established a UNIA branch in Harlem followed by more than 30 branches throughout the United States, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa. His mass following included industrial workers, agricultural laborers, domestic workers, and other unskilled laborers. Between 1922 and 1924, the movement had more than eight million followers.

In 1918 he published a newspaper, the *Negro World*, which quickly became a bestseller in many black communities throughout the world. This prominent weekly newspaper was published in English, Spanish, and French, and was a highly effective vehicle for advancing Garvey's black nationalist ideas. By 1920, Garvey had thousands of readers; however, authorities in several countries soon confiscated the newspaper due to its highly radical ideas. It was banned by the governor of Belize and called seditious by the governor of Trinidad. The New York office of the United States Bureau of Investigation (precursor of the FBI) requested that all information on Garvey be sent to its main headquarters in Washington. The Bureau office in Chicago was also instructed to monitor Garvey's activities, as well as those of other black radicals.

In 1919, Garvey purchased Liberty Hall in Harlem, a large auditorium used for UNIA meetings. He also started the Black Star Line, a steamship company for trade among the various black nations and for traveling to Liberia. After his shipping business failed due to mismanagement, corruption, and lack of sufficient funds, Garvey's opponents took this opportunity to destroy him. One such individual was W. E. B. DuBois, a black sociologist and writer who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909. Unlike Garvey, DuBois argued for black integration into American political and economic life. DuBois was not able to gain mass support and appeal for his work, especially after his visit to the Soviet Union in 1927. DuBois was convinced that the only way American blacks could achieve equality was through socialism. When Garvey began to collect funds for his steamship line, DuBois portrayed him as a "hard-working idealist, with methods that were bombastic, wasteful, illogical, and almost illegal." Garvey chose to ignore these criticisms. It was DuBois who exposed the irregularities in Garvey's Black Star Line finances in the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis*. In 1925, Garvey was sentenced to jail for five years and fined \$1,000 for mail fraud in promoting the sale of the Black Star stock. President Calvin Coolidge commuted his sentence in 1927 to time served, which was two years and 10 months.

DuBois and Garvey did share an interest in Africa. They, along with other black leaders, believed that blacks should share their common heritage with their African ancestors and join in the common struggle for freedom, especially since most of the African peoples were under the control of European nations. In 1919, 58 delegates attended what was called the Pan-African Conference, held in Paris to offer ideas to the political leaders meeting at the Paris Peace Conference in the Versailles Palace. DuBois, but not Garvey, was among the

16 black Americans at the conference who encouraged Europeans to remove their colonial rule from Africa. However, many of the peoples in Africa did not gain their freedom until the 1950s and 1960s.

After his release from prison, Garvey moved back to Jamaica to continue his work of social protest. Here he launched the Jamaican Peoples' Party, through which he advocated home rule and a program of social and economic reform. This self-help organization failed primarily due to the Great Depression; blacks were more interested in surviving the hard times of the Depression rather than the redemption of Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement. In 1935 Garvey moved to London, where he published a monthly magazine called the *Black Man* and offered correspondence courses through his School of African Philosophy. He continued to call for the liberation of Africa before dying of a severe stroke at the age of 53.

During his short life, Garvey created the largest mass movement of African descent in U.S. history. His second wife, Amy, collected, edited, and published his writings, which along with his movement had an enormous affect on many civil rights advocates, musicians, and historians during the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. To many, he will always be known as the "provisional president" of Africa.

### Reading Questions

1. What challenges do you think Marcus Garvey faced growing up as a child? What other kinds of challenges did he face as an adult?
2. What was the purpose of the UNIA? Why did the UNIA and Garvey appeal to so many African Americans?
3. Why would some African Americans favor Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement? Why would some oppose this concept?
4. On what issue(s) did Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois agree in their efforts to promote the advancement of blacks? How did they disagree?
5. In what ways was Garvey a person of global consequence in the early twentieth century?

## Appendix IV

Advice of the Negro to Peace Conference

Editorial by Marcus Garvey

*The Negro World*, November 30, 1918

Now that the statesmen of the various nations are preparing to meet at the Peace Conference, to discuss the future government of the peoples of the world, we take it as our bounden duty to warn them to be very just to all those people who may happen to come under their legislative control. If they, representing the classes, as they once did, were alive to the real feeling of their respective masses four and one-half years ago, today Germany would have been intact, Austria-Hungary would have been intact, Russia would have been intact, the spirit of revolution never would have swept Europe, and mankind at large would have been satisfied. But through graft, greed and selfishness, the classes they represented then, as some of them represent now, were determined to rob and exploit the masses, thinking that the masses would have remained careless of their own condition for everlasting.

It is a truism that you “fool half of the people for half of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people for all of the time;” and now that the masses of the whole world have risen as one man to demand true equity and justice from the ‘powers that be’, then let the delegates at the Peace Conference realize, just now, that the Negro, who forms an integral part of the masses of the world, is determined to get no less than what other men are to get. The oppressed races of Europe are to get their freedom, which freedom will be guaranteed them. The Asiatic races are to get their rights and a larger modicum of self-government.

We trust that the delegates to the Peace Conference will not continue to believe that Negroes have no ambition, no aspiration. There are no more timid, cringing Negroes; let us say that those Negroes have now been relegated to the limbo of the past, to the region of forgetfulness, and that the new Negro is on the stage, and he is going to play his part good and well. He, like the other heretofore oppressed peoples of the world, is determined to get restored to him his ancestral rights.

When we look at the map of Africa today we see Great Britain with fully five million square miles of our territory, we see France with fully three million five hundred thousand square miles, we see that Belgium has under her control the Congo, Portugal has her sway over Southeast Africa, Italy has under her control Tripoli, Italian Somaliland on the Gulf of Aden and Erythria on the Red Sea. Germany had clamored for a place in the sun simply because she has only one million square miles, with which she was not satisfied, in that England had five millions and France three millions five hundred thousand. It can be easily seen that the war of 1914 was the outcome of African aggrandizement, that Africa, to which the white man has absolutely no claim, has been raped, has been left bleeding for hundreds of years, but within the last thirty years the European powers have concentrated more than ever on the cleaning up of the great continent so as to make it a white man’s country. Among those



whom they have killed are millions of our people, but the age of killing for naught is passed and the age of killing for something has come. If black men have to die in Africa or anywhere else, then they might as well die for the best of things, and that is liberty, true freedom and true democracy. If the delegates to the Peace Conference would like to see no more wars we would advise them to satisfy the yellow man's claims, the black man's claims and the white man's claims, and let all three be satisfied so that there can be indeed a brotherhood of men. But if one section of the human race is to arrogate to itself all that God gave for the benefit of mankind at large, then let us say human nature has in no way changed, and even at the Peace Conference where from the highest principles of humanity are supposed to emanate there will come no message of peace.

There will be no peace in the world until the white man confines himself politically to Europe, the yellow man to Asia and the black man to Africa. The original division of the earth among mankind must stand, and any one who dares to interfere with this division creates only trouble for himself. This division was made by the Almighty Power that rules, and therefore there can be no interference with the plans Divine.

Cowardice has disappeared from the world. Men have died in this world war so quickly and so easily that those who desire liberty today do not stop to think of death, for it is regarded as the price which people in all ages will have to pay to be free; that is the price the weaker people of Europe have paid; that is the price the Negro must pay some day.

Let the Peace Conference, we suggest, be just in its deliberations and in its findings, so that there can be a true brotherhood in the future with not more wars.

### **Editorial Letter by Marcus Garvey**

*The Negro World*, New York, December 3, 1919

### **Negroes of the World, The Eternal Has Happened**

The New Negro Has Made History for Himself and Ethiopia Shall be Redeemed

Fellowmen of the Negro Race,

Greeting:—

The Eternal has happened. For centuries the black man has been taught by his ancient overlords that, "he was nothing, is nothing and never shall be anything".

We black folks believe so much in the omnipotence of the white man that we actually gave in all hope and resigned ourselves to the positions of slaves and serfs for nearly five hundred

years. But, thank God, a new day has dawned and all black men of the twentieth century see themselves the equal of all men.

Five years ago the Negro Universal was sleeping upon his bale of cotton in the South of America; he was steeped in mud in the banana fields of the West Indies and Central America, seeing no possible way of extricating himself from the environments; he smarted under the lash of the new taskmaster in Africa; but alas! today he is the new man who has proclaimed to the world that the despised and rejected shall rise, not only from his serfdom and slavery, but to rule and to teach man how to live. The New Negro has risen in the might of his manhood and he has now determined within himself to hold fast to the material glories of life and play his part as a man. There is no going back today in the progress of mankind. The white man has been going forward for thousands of years; the yellow man within the last century made a sprint for commercial, industrial, political and scientific glory and he is now regarded as the equal of his white brother on all lines. The Negro who slept and wallowed in the mire for centuries has just begun to turn and he has now placed his hope in God and himself and he is going forward to achieve.

On the 31st of October the Negro people of the world, acting through six thousand of their representatives in New York, United States of America, purchased a steamship which they are re-christening the S.S. Frederick Douglas; and they said: We are doing this because we desire to get our share of the world's goods, so long as creation lasts. The object was to run a line of steamships between the United States, Africa, Canada, the West Indies and Central America. Thousands of black men and white men said that it could not be done. They said that the Negro had no initiative; that he was not a business man, but a laborer; that he had not the brain to engineer a corporation, to own and run ships; that he had no knowledge of navigation, therefore the proposition was impossible.

“Oh! ye of little faith”. The Eternal has happened. The Negro incorporated a steamship enterprise by the name of the Black Star Line; he placed \$500,000 of common stock on the market at \$5 a share, and in 10 weeks he sold so many shares to his own people that he was able on the 31st of October to take over the first steamship ever owned by the race in modern times. On the 23rd of November the ship sailed out of New York harbor with a Negro captain and Negro crew—a sight that was witnessed by nearly 15,000 people and at the time of writing she is now discharging a load of cement at Sagua, Cuba, in the West Indies.

Verily the Negro has arisen and today he has entered the race of life. He means to play his part and play it well. No more lack of faith, no more lack of confidence, no more belief in the omnipotence of others. The Negro is now a full-grown and wide-awake MAN.

Sons and daughters of Ethiopia, I say unto you, arise! The hour has struck, and Ethiopia is now calling you to achievements and to glory. Let no other sound attract your notice. Heed not the call of any other voice, for Ethiopia has caught a new vision, and Ethiopia now says, “On to glory”.

I beseech you, men and women of the race, to steel your hearts, your minds and your souls for the coming conflict of ideals. The whole world is in turmoil and a revolution threatens. Asia and Europe are preparing for this revolution. It will mean the survival of the fittest, and I now declare that Africa must also prepare; for in the triumph of the forces of white, yellow or black men in this coming revolution will hang the destiny of the world.

Sons and daughters of Africa, scattered though you may be, I implore of you to prepare. Prepare in all ways to strengthen the hands of Mother Africa. Our mother has been bleeding for centuries from the injuries inflicted upon her by a merciless foe. The call is for a physician to heal the wounds, and there can be no other physician than the dark hued son of the mother, and there can be no other nurse as tender and kind as the daughter of this afflicted mother.

Let us not turn back in this determination of ours. Africa must be redeemed, but before her redemption we have to prove to the world that we are fit. The chance to make ourselves fit is now presented to every son and daughter of Africa. We must now achieve in commerce, science, education, art, industry and politics. The Black Star Line Steamship Corporation of 56 West 135th Street, New York, is leading the way for the success of the race in commerce and industry. This corporation desires the assistance of every black man, woman and child. The hope of this corporation is to have the ships of the Negro float on every sea. Our commerce shall extend to every nook and corner of the world, through the Black Star Line; it is therefore up to each and every one of the race to do his and her duty by buying shares in this corporation to make it a powerful agency for good. You may buy your shares today and help to found the empire of greatness for the race. Send in or call right now for your shares. Buy 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 100, or 200. Get busy, every man, for the Eternal has happened.

The biggest thing for the Negro today is the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation, 56 West 135th Street, New York, United States America. With very best wishes for your success, your fraternally,

Marcus Garvey

### **Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World**

Drafted and adopted at the Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention, held in New York in 1920, over which Marcus Garvey presided as chairman, and at which he was elected provisional president of Africa.

#### Preamble

Be it Resolved, That the Negro people of the world, through their chosen representatives in convention assembled in Liberty Hall, in the City of New York and United States of America, from August 1 to August 31, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and 20,

protest against the wrongs and injustices they are suffering at the hands of their white brethren, and state what they deem their fair and just rights, as well as the treatment they propose to demand of all men in the future.

We complain:

- I. That nowhere in the world, with few exceptions, are black men accorded equal treatment with white men, although in the same situation and circumstances, but, on the contrary, are discriminated against and denied the common rights due to human beings for no other reason than their race and color.  
We are not willingly accepted as guests in the public hotels and inns of the world for no other reason than our race and color.
- II. In certain parts of the United States of America our race is denied the right of public trial accorded to other races when accused of crime, but are lynched and burned by mobs, and such brutal and inhuman treatment is even practiced upon our women.
- III. That European nations have parceled out among themselves and taken possession of nearly all of the continent of Africa, and the natives are compelled to surrender their lands to aliens and are treated in most instances like slaves.
- IV. In the southern portion of the United States of America, although citizens under the Federal Constitution, and in some states almost equal to the whites in population and are qualified land owners and taxpayers, we are, nevertheless, denied all voice in the making and administration of the laws and are taxed without representation by the state governments, and at the same time compelled to do military service in defense of the country.
- V. On the public conveyances and common carriers in the Southern portion of the United States we are jim-crowed and compelled to accept separate and inferior accommodations and made to pay the same fare charged for first-class accommodations, and our families are often humiliated and insulted by drunken white men who habitually pass through the jim-crow cars going to the smoking car.
- VI. The physicians of our race are denied the right to attend their patients while in the public hospitals of the cities and states where they reside in certain parts of the United States. Our children are forced to attend inferior separate schools for shorter terms than white children, and the public school funds are unequally divided between the white and colored schools.
- VII. We are discriminated against and denied an equal chance to earn wages for the support of our families, and in many instances are refused admission into labor unions, and nearly everywhere are paid smaller wages than white men.
- VIII. In Civil Service and departmental offices we are everywhere discriminated against and made to feel that to be a black man in Europe, America and the West Indies is equivalent to being an outcast and a leper among the races of men, no matter what the character and attainments of the black man may be.

- IX. In the British and other West Indian Islands and colonies, Negroes are secretly and cunningly discriminated against, and denied those fuller rights in government to which white citizens are appointed, nominated and elected.
- X. That our people in those parts are forced to work for lower wages than the average standard of white men and are kept in conditions repugnant to good civilized tastes and customs.
- XI. That the many acts of injustice against members of our race before the courts of law in the respective islands and colonies are of such nature as to create disgust and disrespect for the white man's sense of justice.
- XII. Against all such inhuman, unchristian and uncivilized treatment we here and now emphatically protest, and invoke the condemnation of all mankind. In order to encourage our race all over the world and to stimulate it to a higher and grander destiny, we demand and insist on the following Declaration of Rights:
1. Be it known to all men that whereas, all men are created equal and entitled to the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and because of this we, the duly elected representatives of the Negro peoples of the world, invoking the aid of the just and Almighty God do declare all men, women, and children of our blood throughout the world free citizens, and do claim them as free citizens of Africa, the Motherland of all Negroes.
  2. That we believe in the supreme authority of our race in all things racial; that all things are created and given to man as a common possession; that there should be an equitable distribution and apportionment of all such things, and in consideration of the fact that as a race we are now deprived of those things that are morally and legally ours, we believe it right that all such things should be acquired and held by whatsoever means possible.
  3. That we believe the Negro, like any other race, should be governed by the ethics of civilization, and, therefore, should not be deprived of any of those rights or privileges common to other human beings.
  4. We declare that Negroes, wheresoever they form a community among themselves, should be given the right to elect their own representatives to represent them in legislatures, courts of law, or such institutions as may exercise control over that particular community.
  5. We assert that the Negro is entitled to even-handed justice before all courts of law and equity in whatever country he may be found, and when this is denied him on account of his race or color such denial is an insult to the race as a whole and should be resented by the entire body of Negroes.
  6. We declared it unfair and prejudicial to the rights of Negroes in communities where they exist in considerable numbers to be tried by a judge and jury composed entirely of an alien race, but in all such cases members of our race are entitled to representation on the jury.

7. We believe that any law or practice that tends to deprive any African of his land or the privileges of free citizenship within his country is unjust and immoral, and no native should respect any such law or practice.
8. We declare taxation without representation unjust and tyrannous, and there should be no obligation on the part of the Negro to obey the levy of a tax by a law-making body from which he is excluded and denied representation on account of his race and color.
9. We believe that any law especially directed against the Negro to his detriment and singling him out because of his race or color is unfair and immoral, and should not be respected.
10. We believe all men entitled to common human respect, and that our race should in no way tolerate any insults that may be interpreted to mean disrespect to our color.
11. We deprecate the use of the term “nigger” as applied to Negroes, and demand that the word “Negro” be written with a capital “N.”
12. We believe that the Negro should adopt every means to protect himself against barbarous practices inflicted upon him because of color.
13. We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro people of the world, and by the principle of Europe for the Europeans and Asia for the Asiatics; we also demand Africa for the Africans at home and abroad.
14. We believe in the inherent right of the Negro to possess himself of Africa, and that his possession of same shall not be regarded as an infringement on any claim or purchase made by any race or nation.
15. We strongly condemn the cupidity of those nations of the world who, by open aggression or secret schemes, have seized the territories and inexhaustible natural wealth of Africa, and we place on record our most solemn determination to reclaim the treasures and possession of the vast continent of our forefathers.
16. We believe all men should live in peace one with the other, but when races and nations provoke the ire of other races and nations by attempting to infringe upon their rights, war becomes inevitable, and the attempt in any way to free one’s self or protect one’s rights or heritage becomes justifiable.
17. Whereas, the lynching, by burning, hanging or any other means, of human beings is a barbarous practice, and a shame and disgrace to civilization, we therefore declared any country guilty of such atrocities outside the pale of civilization.
18. We protest against the atrocious crime of whipping, flogging and overworking of the native tribes of Africa and Negroes everywhere. These are methods that should be abolished, and all means should be taken to prevent a continuance of such brutal practices.
19. We protest against the atrocious practice of shaving the heads of Africans, especially of African women or individual of Negro blood, when placed in prison as a punishment for crime by an alien race.
20. We protest against segregated districts, separate public conveyances, industrial discrimination, lynchings and limitations of political privileges of any Negro

- citizen in any part of the world on account of race, color, or creed, and will exert our full influence and power against all such.
21. We protest against any punishment inflicted upon a Negro with severity, as against lighter punishment inflicted upon another of an alien race for like offense, as an act of prejudice injustice, and should be resented by the entire race.
  22. We protest against the system of education in any country where Negroes are denied the same privileges and advantages as other races.
  23. We declare it inhuman and unfair to boycott Negroes from industries and labor in any part of the world.
  24. We believe in the doctrine of the freedom of the press, and we therefore emphatically protest against the suppression of Negro newspapers and periodicals in various parts of the world, and call upon Negroes everywhere to employ all available means to prevent such suppression.
  25. We further demand free speech universally for all men.
  26. We hereby protest against the publication of scandalous and inflammatory articles by an alien press tending to create racial strife and the exhibition of picture films showing the Negro as a cannibal.
  27. We believe in the self-determination of all peoples.
  28. We declare for the freedom religious worship.
  29. With the help of Almighty God, we declare ourselves the protectors of the honor and virtue of our women and children, and pledge our lives for their protection and defense everywhere, and under all circumstances from wrongs and outrages.
  30. We demand the right of unlimited and unprejudiced education for ourselves and our posterity forever.
  31. We declare that the teaching in any school by alien teachers to our boys and girls, that the alien race is superior to the Negro race, is an insult to the Negro people of the world.
  32. Where Negroes form a part of the citizenry of any country, and pass the civil service examination of such country, we declare them entitled to the same consideration as other citizens as to appointments in such civil service.
  33. We vigorously protest against the increasingly unfair and unjust treatment accorded Negro travelers on land and sea by the agents and employees of railroad and steamship companies and insist that for equal fare we receive equal privileges with travelers of other races.
  34. We declare it unjust for any country, State or nation to enact laws tending to hinder and obstruct the free immigration of Negroes on account of their race and color.
  35. That the right of the Negro to travel unmolested throughout the world be not abridged by any person or persons, and all Negroes are called upon to give aid to a fellow Negro when thus molested.
  36. We declare that all Negroes are entitled to the same right to travel over the world as other men.

37. We hereby demand that the governments of the world recognize our leader and his representatives chosen by the race to look after the welfare of our people under such governments.
38. We demand complete control of our social institutions without interference by any alien race or races.
39. That the colors, Red, black and Green, be the colors of the Negro race.
40. Resolved, That the anthem "Ethiopia, Thou Land of Our Fathers," etc., shall be the anthem of the Negro race.
41. We believe that any limited liberty which deprives one of the complete rights and prerogatives of full citizenship is but a modified form of slavery.
42. We declare it an injustice to our people and a serious impediment to the health of the race to deny to competent licensed Negro physicians the right to practice in the public hospitals of the communities in which they reside, for no other reason than their race and color.
43. We call upon the various governments of the world to accept and acknowledge Negro representatives who shall be sent to the said governments to represent the general welfare of the Negro peoples of the world.
44. We deplore and protest against the practice of confining juvenile prisoners in prisons with adults, and we recommend that such youthful prisoners be taught gainful trades under humane supervision.
45. Be it further resolved, that we as a race of people declare the League of Nations null and void as far as the Negro is concerned, in that it seeks to deprive Negroes of their liberty.
46. We demand of all men to do unto us as we would do unto them, in the name of justice; and we cheerfully accord to all men all the rights we claim herein for ourselves.
47. We declare that no Negro shall engage himself in battle for an alien race without first obtaining the consent of the leader of the Negro people of the world, except in a matter of national self-defense.
48. We protest against the practice of drafting Negroes and sending them to war with alien forces without proper training, and demand in all cases that Negro soldiers be given the same training as the aliens.
49. We demand that instructions given Negro children in schools include the subject of "Negro History," to their benefit.
50. We demand a free and unfettered commercial intercourse with all the Negro people of the world.
51. We declare for the absolute freedom of the seas for all peoples.
52. We demand that our duly accredited representatives be given proper recognition in all leagues, conferences, conventions or courts of international arbitration wherever human rights are discussed.



53. We proclaim the 31st day of August of each year to be an international holiday to be observed by all Negroes.
54. We want all men to know we shall maintain and contend for the freedom and equality of every man, woman and child of our race, with our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

These rights we believe to be justly ours and proper for the protection of the Negro race at large, and because of this belief we, on behalf of the four hundred million Negroes of the world, do pledge herein the sacred blood of the race in defense, and we hereby subscribe our names as a guarantee of the truthfulness and faithfulness hereof in the presence of Almighty God, on the 13th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and 20.

Marcus Garvey, James D. Brooks, James W. H. Eason, Henrietta Vinton Davis, Lionel Winston Greenidge, Adrion Fitzroy Johnson, Rudolph Ethelbert Brissaac Smith, Charles Augustus Petioni, Thomas H. N. Simon, Richard Hilton Tobitt, George Alexander McGuire, Peter Edward Baston, Reynold R. Felix, Harry Walters Kirby, Sarah Branch, Marie Barrier Houston, George L. O'Brien, F. O. Ogilvie, Arden A. Bryan, Benjamin Dyett, Marie Duchaterlier, John Phillip Hodge, Theophilus H. Saunders, Wilford H. Smith, Gabriel E. Stewart, Arnold Josiah Ford, Lee Crawford, William McCartney, Adina Clem. James, William Musgrave La Motte, John Sydney de Bourg, Arnold S. Cunning, Vernal J. Williams, Frances Wilcome Ellegor, J. Frederick Selkridge, Innis Abel Horsford, Cyril A. Crichlow, Samuel McIntyre, John Thomas Wilkins, Mary Thurston, John G. Befue, William Ware, J. A. Lewis, O. C. Thurston, Venture R. Hamilton, R. H. Hodge, Edward Alfred Taylor, Ellen Wilson, G. W. Wilson, Richard Edward Riley, Nellie Grant Whiting, G. W. Washington, Maldena Miller, Gertrude Davis, James D. Williams, Emily Christmas Kinch, D. D. Lewis, Nettie Clayton, Partheria Hills, Janie Jenkins, John C. Simons, Alphonso A. Jones, Allen Hobbs, Reynold Fitzgerald Austin, James Benjamin Yearwood, Frank O. Raines, Shedrick Williams, John Edward Ivey, Frederick August Toote, Philip Hemmings, F. F. Smith, E. J. Jones, Joseph Josiah Cranston, Frederick Samuel Ricketts, Dugald Augustus Wade, E. E. Nelom, Florida Jenkins, Napoleon J. Francis, Joseph D. Gibson, J. P. Jasper, J. W. Montgomery, David Benjamin, J. Gordon, Harry E. Ford, Carrie M. Ashford, Andrew N. Willis, Lucy Sands, Louise Woodson, George D. Creese, W. A. Wallace, Thomas E. Bagley, James Young, Prince Alfred McConney, John E. Hudson, William Ines, Harry R. Watkins, C. L. Halton, J. T. Bailey, Ira Joseph Touissant Wright, T. H. Golden, Abraham Benjamin Thomas, Richard C. Noble, Walter Green, C. S. Bourne, G. F. Bennett, B. D. Levy, Mary E. Johnson, Lionel Antonio Francis, Carl Roper, E. R. Donawa, Philip Van Putten, I. Brathwaite, Jesse W. Luck, Oliver Kaye, J. W. Hudspeth, C. B. Lovell, William C. Matthews, A. Williams, Ratford E. M. Jack, H. Vinton Plummer, Randolph Phillips, A. I. Bailey, duly elected representatives of the Negro people of the world.

Sworn before me this 15th day of August, 1920.

[Legal Seal]        JOHN G. BAYNE.

Notary Public, New York County.

New York County Clerk's No. 378; New York County Register's No. 12102. Commission expires March 30, 1922.

### **Membership Appeal, Radio Address, July 1921, by Marcus Garvey**

Fellow citizens of Africa, I greet you in the name of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League of the World. You may ask, what organization is that? It is for me to inform you that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is an organization that seeks to unite into one solid body the 400 million Negroes of the world; to link up the 50 million Negroes of the United States of America, with the 20 million Negroes of the West Indies, the 40 million Negroes of South and Central America with the 280 million Negroes of Africa, for the purpose of bettering our industrial, commercial, educational, social, and political conditions.

As you are aware, the world in which we live today is divided into separate race groups and different nationalities. Each race and each nationality is endeavoring to work out its own destiny to the exclusion of other races and other nationalities. We hear the cry of England for the Englishman, of France for the Frenchman, of Germany for the Germans, of Ireland for the Irish, of Palestine for the Jews, of Japan for the Japanese, of China for the Chinese.

We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association are raising the cry of Africa for the Africans, those at home and those abroad. There are 400 million Africans in the world who have Negro blood coursing through their veins. And we believe that the time has come to unite these 400 million people for the one common purpose of bettering their condition.

The great problem of the Negro for the last 500 years has been that of disunity. No one or no organization ever took the lead in uniting the Negro race, but within the last four years the Universal Negro Improvement Association has worked wonders in bringing together in one fold four million organized Negroes who are scattered in all parts of the world, being in the 48 states of the American union, all the West Indian islands, and the countries of South and Central America and Africa. These 40 million people are working to convert the rest of the 400 million scattered all over the world, and it is for this purpose that we are asking you to join our ranks and to do the best you can to help us to bring about an emancipated race.

If anything praiseworthy is to be done, it must be done through unity. And it is for that reason that the Universal Negro Improvement Association calls upon every Negro in the

United States to rally to its standard. We want to unite the Negro race in this country. We want every Negro to work for one common object, that of building a nation of his own on the great continent of Africa. That all Negroes all over the world are working for the establishment of a government in Africa means that it will be realized in another few years.

We want the moral and financial support of every Negro to make the dream a possibility. Already this organization has established itself in Liberia, West Africa, and has endeavored to do all that's possible to develop that Negro country to become a great industrial and commercial commonwealth.

Pioneers have been sent by this organization to Liberia and they are now laying the foundation upon which the 400 million Negroes of the world will build. If you believe that the Negro has a soul, if you believe that the Negro is a man, if you believe the Negro was endowed with the senses commonly given to other men by the Creator, then you must acknowledge that what other men have done, Negroes can do. We want to build up cities, nations, governments, industries of our own in Africa, so that we will be able to have the chance to rise from the lowest to the highest positions in the African commonwealth.

### **A Dialogue: What's the Difference?**

By Marcus Garvey

**Son:** Say, father, why is it I am born black and placed at such a disadvantage among the other boys in the world?

**Father:** My son, to be born black is no disgrace nor misfortune. It is an honor. Nature never intended humanity to be of one color or complexion, and so there are different races or types of people in the world. There are standard types and the Negro is one of them. In the history of the world the Negro has had a glorious career. In the centuries past he was greater than any other race, but, unfortunately, today he occupies a position not as favorable as that of his fathers.

**Son:** But father, everywhere I go I hear and see people speaking and acting disrespectfully toward the Negro.

**Father:** That is true, my son, but that doesn't mean that to be black is to be really inferior. It is only because the economic condition of the blackman is so low today why other peoples do not entirely respect him. It is, therefore, due to his own neglect, and not to any cause of natural inferiority.

**Son:** Does that mean, father, that if the Negro wants he can be as honorable, progressive and dignified as any other race?

**Father:** Yes, my son, that's it. In this world we are what we make ourselves. The Negro is just an individual like anyone else, and, individually, he can make himself what he wants to be. In the same respect the individuals of a race becoming a congregation of a whole can make themselves what they want to be.

**Son:** Do you mean by that, father, that if I want to be a great man I can be?

**Father:** That's just it, my son. If in your mind you develop the thought and the ambition to be a useful and great man rather than a pervert, imbecile or hopeless dependent, you can be so, and in the same way you can do that as an individual; if the race becomes inspired it can climb to heights of greatness and nobility.

**Son:** So, father, the only difference between me and the white boy is mind and ambition.

**Father:** That is right, my son. The white boy who has the ambition through dint of perseverance, energy and labor may climb from his lowly surroundings to become President of the United States or a Prime Minister in England. The biographies and auto-biographies of individuals have shown that some of the humblest boys in the world became the world's greatest men.

**Son:** I am glad of this explanation, father, because at school and wherever I went I was made to feel that the Negro was never anybody and could never be anybody.

**Father:** I can well understand that, my boy. That is the kind of wicked influence that has been used against the race to deny it of its character for higher development. But we must never fall entirely to our environment. We must create the environments we want, and I do hope you will endeavor all during your lifetime to create the environments you would like to live in.

**Son:** But what about the millions of other Negroes, father, who do not know this?

**Father:** The lack of this knowledge, my boy, is the great disadvantage of the race as a whole. Most of our people born to modern environments in our civilization seem to think that they were destined to be an inferior people. Their school and education was based upon this assumption.

**Son:** But why so, father?

**Father:** Because under our present civilization the Negro was forced to accept his educational code from other peoples who were not disposed to give him credit for anything. They wrote books quite disparaging to the Negro. Their literature was intended to bolster up their particular race and civilization and down that of the blackman. Historians who have written have all twisted the history of the world so as to show the inferiority of the blacks. The blackman has not written recently his own history, neither has he yet engaged himself in writing his own literature; and so, for the last hundred years, he has been learning out of the white man's book, thereby developing the white man's psychology.

**Son:** I can see, father, that is why at school I wanted to be a white man, because the books I read all told me about the great deeds of white men. I wanted to be like Abraham Lincoln and George Washington and Napoleon, but I thought I could only be that by being white.

**Father:** That is a mistake, my boy. Greatness has no color. You must never want to be a white man. You must be satisfied to be what nature made you and to excel in that respect, so that the credit for your achievements will go to your race.

**Son:** What a wonderful thing it would be, father, if all the Negroes thought this way.

**Father:** That is it my boy. There is a new effort to inspire all the blacks to think this way, so that in another hundred years our children will not want to be white but will proud to be black. Instead of wanting to be George Washington and Abraham Lincoln or a Disreali or Lord Chatham you should try to be a Toussaint L'Overture, a Hannibal, a Booker T. Washington.

**Son:** These were all black men, father?

**Father:** Yes, my son. Hannibal, the Carthaginian, was a blackman, but the white history will tell you he was white. Toussaint L'Overture, the slave of Santa Domingo, was also a blackman, and if it were not for men like Rendell (Wendell) Phillips probably the records would show in another hundred years that he was white. Even up to now some people are trying to make out that Booker T. Washington was more white than he was Negro. That shows how certain white historians are disposed to rob the Negro of any glory that he may have.

**Son:** So all the books we read, father, are not true?

**Father:** That's right my boy. Most of the books that are written are for propaganda purposes. Each nation has its own propaganda method. The Anglo-Saxon race will boost the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic race will boost the Teutons, the Latin races will boost the Latins. None is impartial enough to give real credit to other peoples for what they have done and are accomplishing, so that the books that the Negro has been reading written by the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic and Latin races were not intended for him at all, except to give him the idea that in the history of the world he was never anybody. The time will come when our historians and writers will reveal the truths of history. At that time we will learn that our race was once the greatest race in the world. That, when we had a glorious civilization on the banks of the Nile in Africa the white races were living in caves and among the trees and bushes of Europe. They were savages and barbarians when our fathers held up the torch of civilization in Africa.

**Son:** So there is no need, father, for me to hold down my head any longer?

**Father:** No, my son, you should hold up your head and be as proud as any other boy in the world. The English boy wants to be Prime Minister of England, the French boy wants to be President of France, the American white boy wants to be President of the United States. You, my boy, and all other black boys should have a similar ambition for a country of your own.

**Son:** Is that the reason why, father, the Japanese refuse to accept the leadership of Western civilization?

**Father:** That is so. The Japanese are a proud people. They are of the yellow race and they feel that they should develop a civilization of their own, and so they have their own Empire, their own Prime Minister, their own Ambassadors, their own Army and Navy. They have a Japanese Empire.

**Son:** But can the Negro have an Empire, father?

**Father:** Yes, my son. It is difficult, today, for him to have a political Empire, because the world is almost taken up by the white and yellow races. In fact, the white races have robbed the homelands of the blacks, particularly in Africa. The English, the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Belgians, and the Portuguese have, within one hundred years, gone from Europe into Africa, and have robbed every square inch of land from our fathers; so it is very difficult under existing conditions, where these countries use brute force to conduct their Government, for the Negro to politically become an imperial force. But, culturally, the Negro can become imperial. That is to say he can have an imperial ideal and culture and fellowship of love, which may ultimately end in political imperialism.

**Son:** But how can this be possible, father?

**Father:** You see, my boy, the world undergoes changes time over and again. Just as the Negro ruled once and lost his power, so some of the races that are ruling now will in the cycle of things lose their power. Nature intended this. When this happens, unfortunate and oppressed peoples rise into power, so that there is great hope for the Negro to be restored to his true political position, because sooner or later some of these dominant nations and races will fail.

**Son:** So there is great hope for us politically, father?

**Father:** Sure, my son. But whatever hope we may have must be backed up by our own effort and energy. We must never go to sleep. We must always keep before us steadfastly the object we desire. Like the Jews, we should never lose our purpose. The Jews have been very much outraged by other nations and races of the world, but they ever clung to their religious ideals. The Negro must have a religion that is binding. He must have some ideal that is unchangeable and outstanding and when this ideal is universalized, being meritorious and worthy, he will in time accomplish the end.

**Son:** I am glad father that there is a real hope. I shall tell all the other boys about this and I shall make myself a missionary to preach the eternal hope of racial salvation.

**Father:** That's right, my boy, be ever vigilant in the maintenance of the honor, dignity and integrity of your race.

## Appendix V

### Rubric for gallery walk

Presenting students:

- Map and annotations display accurate information about Marcus Garvey.
- Map uses several colors.
- Annotations are large enough to read.
- Verbal explanations and answers to questions are accurate and clear.

Questioning students:

- Questions are accurate and clear.
- Interact with at least three students displaying annotated maps.

## Appendix VI

Essay Question: “Analyze the changes and continuities in Marcus Garvey’s perspectives on the best methods for improving the social status, political rights, and economic success of people of African heritage in the twentieth century.”

Continuity and Change Over Time Essay Rubric:

1 point: Thesis

- Takes a position on how much Marcus Garvey’s views on advocating for equality changed in the early twentieth century
- Categorizes the methods Garvey advocated

2 points: Addresses all parts of the question by showing at least one change and one continuity in the methods Garvey advocated

1 point: Addresses one part of the question by showing at least one change OR one continuity in the methods Garvey advocated

2 points: At least six pieces of accurate evidence used to support the thesis

1 point: At least four pieces of accurate evidence used to support the thesis

1 point: For global historical content, shows Marcus Garvey working in many places in the Atlantic world

1 point: Explains why Garvey’s methods changed or why the methods he advocated reveal continuities

Two Expanded Core Points:

- Comprehensive and analytical thesis
- Connects Marcus Garvey’s ideas to later activists for civil rights such as Nelson Mandela, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X
- Comments on the divergent points of view among people of African heritage about the best ways to gain civil rights

### Additional Resources on Marcus Garvey for Students and Teachers

#### *Internet Sites*

[www.unia-acl.org/](http://www.unia-acl.org/)

This is the official Web site of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, with archives of several speeches and articles that Garvey created.



[www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/life.asp](http://www.international.ucla.edu/africa/mgpp/life.asp)

This is a significant biographical essay assessing Garvey's influence over the whole twentieth century and the Atlantic world created by the editors of the Marcus Garvey papers.

[student.wartburg.edu/boyd/garvey.html](http://student.wartburg.edu/boyd/garvey.html)

This is a useful webquest, created for a U.S. History class.

[www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/peoplevents/e\\_blackstar.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/peoplevents/e_blackstar.html)

This site has Black Star Line primary source documents that show how it worked as a corporation in the United States, its reliance on Cuba as a port of call, and Garvey's vision of a black global business network.

[www.inmotionaame.org/education/lesson.cfm;jsessionid=f8302098631161038126788?migration=&id=4\\_005LP&bhcp=1](http://www.inmotionaame.org/education/lesson.cfm;jsessionid=f8302098631161038126788?migration=&id=4_005LP&bhcp=1)

This is a U.S. government lesson that helps students compare speeches by Henry McNeal Turner and Marcus Garvey on emigration for American blacks.

[www.inmotionaame.org/education/lesson.cfm?migration=10&id=10\\_003LP](http://www.inmotionaame.org/education/lesson.cfm?migration=10&id=10_003LP)

This is a lesson that analyzes the "Great Men" theory of history and uses Garvey as one example.

[www.si.umich.edu/CHICO/Harlem/text/garvey.html](http://www.si.umich.edu/CHICO/Harlem/text/garvey.html)

This is a short biography of Marcus Garvey.

[www.kasnet.com/heroesofjamaica/mg/g1/g1.htm](http://www.kasnet.com/heroesofjamaica/mg/g1/g1.htm)

This site is the Government of Jamaica's tribute to Marcus Garvey and other black national heroes.

### **Books of Garvey's Collected Writings**

Blaisdell, Bob, ed. *Selected Writings and Speeches of Marcus Garvey*. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2005.

Garvey, Amy Jacques, ed. *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or, Africa for the Africans*. Dover, Mass.: Majority Press, 1986.

Hill, Robert, and Barbara Blair, eds. *Marcus Garvey Life and Lessons: A Centennial Companion to the Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1987.

## **Black Theology and Liberation Theology**

Rob Plunkett  
McLean High School  
McLean, Virginia

### **Introduction**

By this point in the AP World History course, the students should be familiar with the growth of industrialization and modernization in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa in the period following the Second World War. In addition, the students should have familiarity with the growing interdependent nature of world trade that is also established during this period. Prior to teaching this mini-unit, it may also be useful for the teacher to review Immanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory as it relates to the notion of the "core," "semi-periphery," and "periphery" in order to assist students in analyzing the causes of the similarities and/or differences in the development of the social justice movements discussed in the unit.

In this mini-unit, students will be asked to combine two AP World History Habits of Mind. First, students will be asked to connect the "local development" of liberation theology in twentieth-century Latin America to the "global processes" of modernization, industrialization, and interdependence. Then, students will be asked to compare the growth of liberation theology in Latin America to a similar theologically based social justice movement in Africa.

### **Specific AP World History Content in this mini-unit**

This mini-unit could be used in different segments of the course depending on the teacher's emphasis for the period after the Second World War. Teachers who choose to emphasize the Cold War as their dominant theme can use this mini-unit, in conjunction with other lessons on U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War, to demonstrate the reactions of local leaders to totalitarian governments supported by the United States. Teachers who choose to emphasize the growth of nationalism during this period can use this mini-unit to help students understand the roles played by religious groups in the development of the increased nationalism that served as a reaction to poor economic conditions caused by the spur of modernization that followed World War II in many developing countries. Students also could compare the social and political consequences of the discrimination practiced by elites against peoples they deemed inferior on both continents.

### **Specific AP World History skills and Habits of Mind**

The lessons include analysis of primary and secondary sources as well as assessment of students' interpretations of liberation theology's ideas, so they can develop those AP World History Habits of Mind. The unit also provides opportunities to construct and evaluate arguments, assess issues of change and continuity over time, and understand diversity of interpretations through different frames of reference.

## Instructional Goals

By the end of this mini-unit, students will be able to:

1. Identify the basic tenets of twentieth-century liberation theology in Latin America;
2. Describe continuities between liberation theology in twentieth-century Latin America and earlier religiously based social justice movements in Latin America;
3. Describe the role of the Anglican Church, in particular Archbishop Desmond Tutu, in the abolition of apartheid in South Africa; and
4. Analyze the similarities and differences between the “liberation theology” movement in Latin America and the “black theology” movement in South Africa.

This mini-unit is designed to take two 90-minute block periods.

## Materials Needed:

Large paper, markers, illustrated magazines

## Background Information for Teachers

### Liberation Theology

In many world history textbooks, like those written by Peter Stearns, et al., the term “liberation theology” is defined as an ideology that uses Catholic theology and socialist ideas to improve economic and social conditions in Latin America in the twentieth century. While this specific term has generally been used in the context of twentieth-century Latin America, the ideas and philosophy behind it can be seen in the history of Latin America, dating back as far as the sixteenth century, as well as reverberating on a global scale in the twentieth century. Indeed, when broadly applied, this doctrine can be used to encompass many social justice movements of the late twentieth century (under the leadership of both Catholic and Protestant churches).

### Black Theology

The philosophy behind black theology in South Africa can best be summed up in this statement from Archbishop Desmond Tutu in July 1981:

The black cause of liberation will triumph, must triumph because it is a just and righteous cause and God is on our side because he is always on the side of the oppressed. The only questions are how and when freedom will come. We want it now and we want it to come reasonably peacefully. Whites have to decide whether they want it to happen by negotiation or through violence and bloodshed (Hulley).

Unlike liberation theology in Latin America, black theology in South Africa had one overarching purpose—to end apartheid. Leaders such as Tutu felt that the true liberation for

blacks in South Africa during the period of apartheid could only be accomplished once the scheme of discrimination had ended. According to Gichaara this was its goal, and this was what separated it from the African theology that paralleled liberation theology on the rest of the African continent.

For more information concerning black theology in South Africa, see the following Web site from Dr. Neal Lettinga at Bethel College:  
[www.bethel.edu/~letnie/AfricanChristianity/SAContextual.html](http://www.bethel.edu/~letnie/AfricanChristianity/SAContextual.html).

## Day One

Part I—Scaffolding Activity: The Catholic Church in Colonial Latin America (25 minutes)  
Individual/Whole Class

Based on information they remember from earlier in the year, have students record in their world history journals three facts they remember about the role of the Roman Catholic Church in colonial Latin America. Once each student has done that, go around the room and ask each student to contribute one of his/her thoughts and write each one on the board. Once each person has contributed, ask the class specifically how Native Americans were treated by the Catholic Church. Were all Native Americans treated poorly by the Church? (If most students are unsure or believe that all members of the Catholic Church were firmly against the natives, it may be a good idea to show a brief clip of the scene in the film *The Mission* where Father Gabriel and Cardinal Altamiriano discuss what should happen to the mission and the natives living there. This will show the students that there was dissension among Catholics about the treatment of natives.)

Then, place a copy of the Beatitudes from the book of Matthew on an overhead or chart. Ask the students what those statements mean (particularly “blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice: for they shall have their fill.”). Explain that moral and social justice can be good goals, but some Catholics, such as Pope Benedict XVI, feel that this idea of justice is only fulfilled if it results in “inner liberty” and not simply worldly gain. Others argue, however, that justice can only occur once the poor acquire better wages, working conditions, health care, education, housing, and so on.

Part II—Reading/SOAPSTone Activity: Liberation Theology (45 minutes) Individual

Hand out a copy of the article: “The Basic Question: How to be Christians in a World of Destitution” [in Appendix I]. Have the students read the article and determine the authors’ point of view by doing a SOAPSTone analysis of the reading, i.e., determine the (S) Subject, (O) Occasion, (A) Audience, (P) Purpose, (S) Speaker, and (T) Tone in the reading. Discuss the authors’ point of view on the roles of Christian theology in social justice movements.

Part III—Formative Assessment: Point of View (20 minutes) Small Group

As a formative assessment, ask small groups of students to create a drawing on a large piece of paper that describes the authors' points of view in the article they analyzed. For students who are not confident in their drawing ability, have some old magazines lying around so that they can cut out pictures instead. On the bottom of the paper, students should explain how their artwork demonstrates the authors' points of view. If necessary, the students can finish this assignment for homework.

Homework:

Read both Desmond Tutu's Nobel Lecture (available at [http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1984/tutu-lecture.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1984/tutu-lecture.html)) and Chapter 9 of *Tutu: Voice of the Voiceless* by Shirley Du Boulay (full citation is in the bibliography). As you read, pay close attention to the role of Christianity in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

## Day Two

Part I—Discussion: What was the role of Christianity in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa? (10 minutes) Whole Class

Part II—Y-Frame Comparison Chart: black Theology in South Africa and Liberation Theology in Latin America (30 minutes) Small Groups

Divide the students into heterogeneous groups of three to five. Then have the students work together to create a Y-frame comparison chart comparing the motivations and beliefs of the liberation theologians in Latin America and the black theologians (particularly Archbishop Desmond Tutu) in South Africa. Once each group has completed their chart, have them put it up in the front of the room and discuss the similarities and differences they identified. Once all groups have presented, have the students individually create thesis statements based on the direct comparisons each of the groups have identified. The teacher should then pick a few students and have each of them read his/her thesis statement aloud. The class can then work together to improve the thesis statements provided.

Part II—Discussion: What was the Purpose of Liberation Theology? (15 minutes) Whole Class

Guide the students through a brief discussion covering the purpose of liberation theology. By the end of the discussion, they need to have a firm grasp on what is meant by social justice in the context of Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s, and what is meant by social justice in the context of South Africa under apartheid. The question of how different or similar they truly were should be left somewhat open so that students can explore that in their essays.

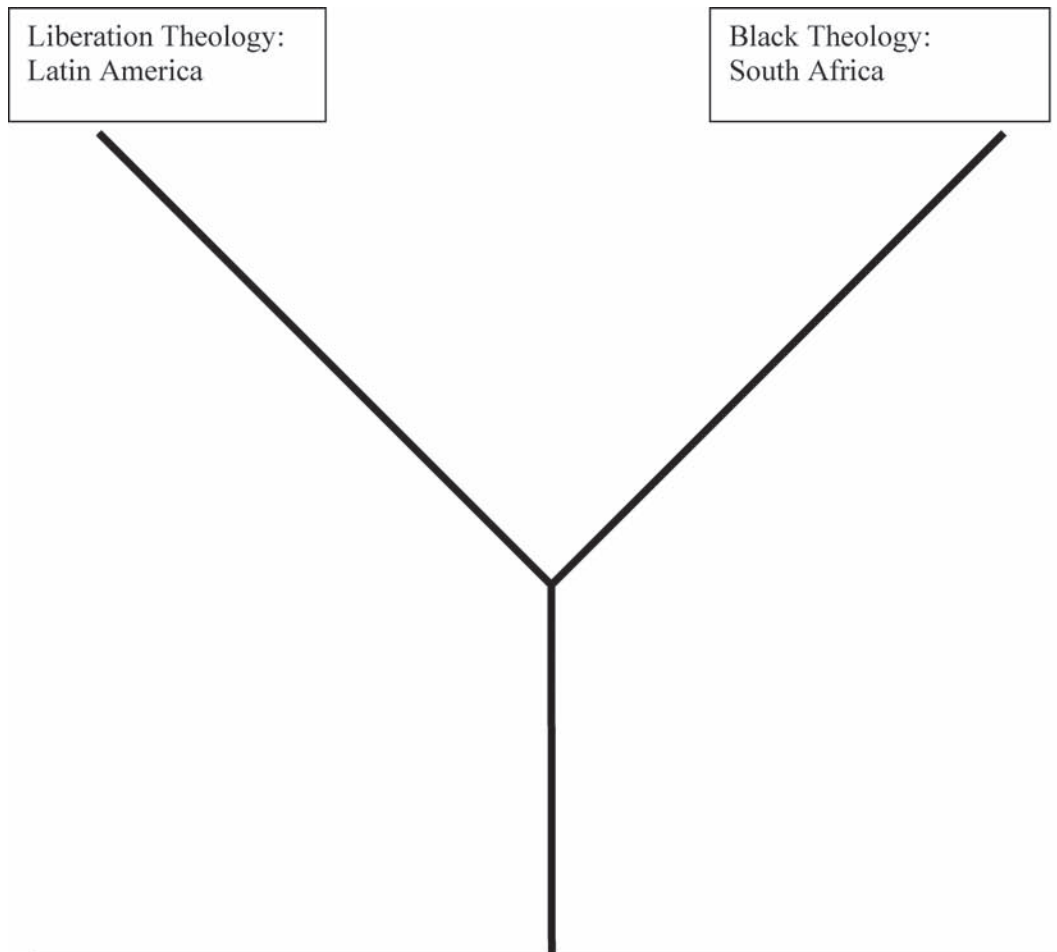
**Special Focus: Twentieth Century Latin America and Africa**

Part III—Comparison Essay: Liberation Theology and black Theology (45 minutes)  
Individual (if time is limited, this can be done for homework)

Have students answer the following question in essay form consistent with the rubric for comparative essay in the AP World History Course Description: “Analyze the similarities and differences in social justice movements sponsored by Christian churches in Latin America and South Africa between 1950 and 1989.” See attached operational rubric for possible grading criteria.

## Y-Frame Comparison Chart Instructions

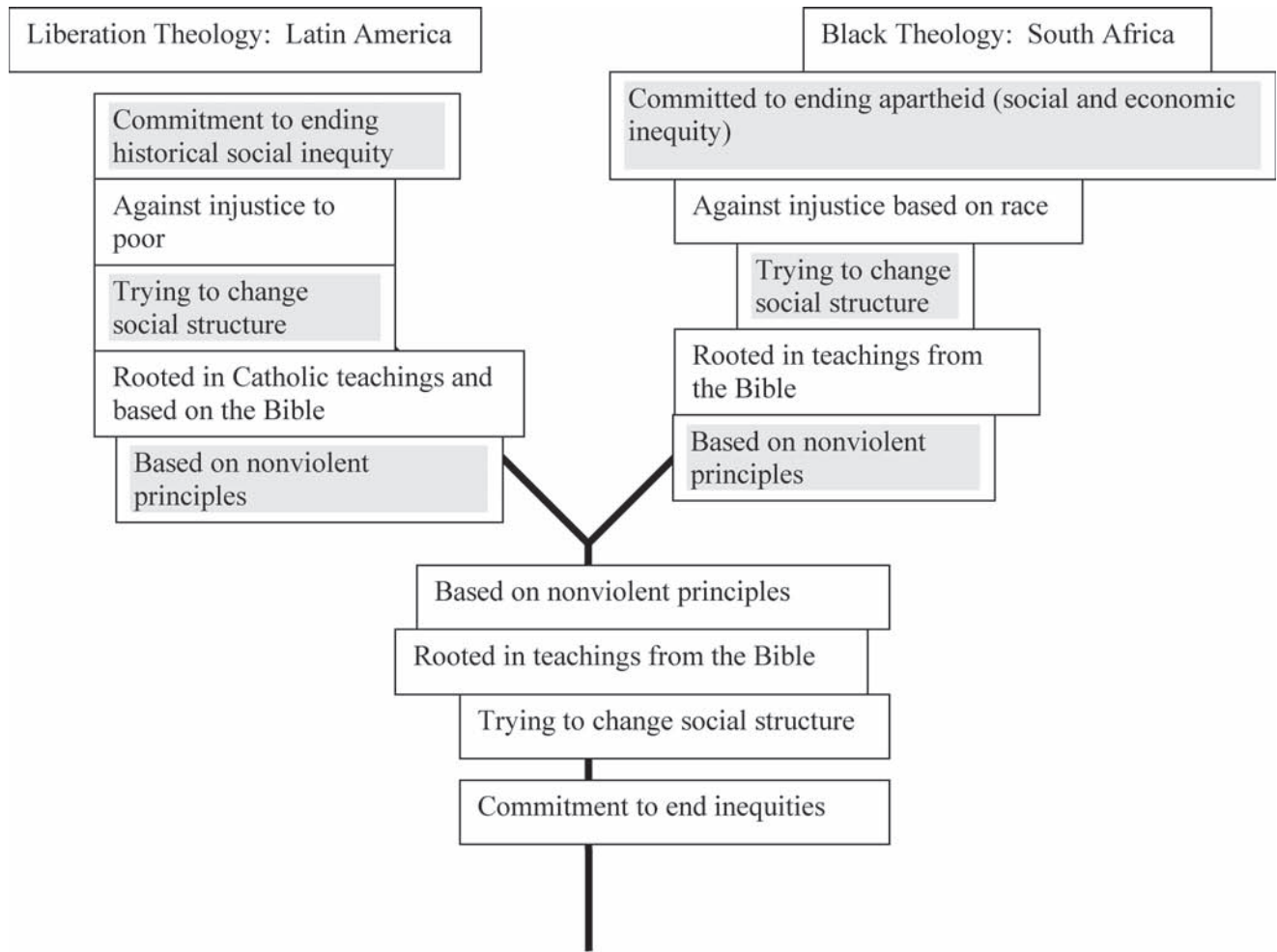
1. Have students draw a chart that looks like this:



Directions:

1. Then, fill in each arm with information about each topic that is relevant to the subject of the question.
2. After filling in each “arm,” look for items that appear on both lists. If an item appears on both lists, draw a line through it and copy that item onto the “leg” of the Y. These items in the “leg” are the similarities between the two topics.
3. Then, circle the items that are not crossed off on the “arms.” Find a contrasting word or phrase on the opposite arm (or add one if need be) and draw a line connecting the two circles. These items are the differences.
4. After you have identified as many relevant similarities and differences as you can, write a thesis statement using the similarities and differences you have identified that would answer the question.

Here is an example of what the students might place on the Y chart and write for their analysis of the information.



Direct Comparison #1: (Similarity)

“Liberation Theology was similar to Black Theology in that both attempted to change the social structure in their respective regions.”

Direct Comparison #2: (Difference)

“Liberation Theology was different from Black Theology in that the goal of Liberation Theology was to fight injustice based mostly on economic inequalities; however, Black Theology’s goal was to fight injustice based mostly on racial distinctions.”



## Operational Rubric: Liberation Theology Comparison Essay

Question: Analyze the similarities and differences in social justice movements sponsored by Christian churches in Latin America and South Africa between 1950 and 1989.

### 1. Has acceptable thesis (1 pt)

The thesis must be stated directly and must be in the beginning of the essay. No split theses. Two topic sentences in two separate paragraphs are not a thesis.

There must be a minimal explanation of *both* similarities and differences for the thesis to be acceptable. "Liberation theology in Latin America was similar to black theology in South Africa in that they both attempted to provide material support for people who were not the elites of their society; however, they were different in that liberation theology in Latin America was primarily designed to remove barriers to economic equality while black theology emphasized a desire to remove barriers to political equality" is acceptable; "There were similarities and differences" is not acceptable.

Thesis cannot simply restate the question.

Information contained in thesis cannot count toward any other part of this rubric.

### 2. Addresses all parts of the question, though not necessarily evenly or thoroughly. (2 pts)

Students must describe at least two similarities and two differences to earn 2 points.

1 point is earned for describing at least one similarity and one difference.

### 3. Substantiates thesis with appropriate historical evidence (2 pts)

If there is no acceptable thesis, evidence must be related to the task.

Student must present 6 or more correct/relevant pieces of information to earn 2 points.

Students must use 4 or 5 correct/relevant examples to earn 1 point.

At least 1 piece of information must come from each of the two regions selected.

### 4. Makes at least one or two relevant, direct comparisons among or between societies (1 pt)

Students must make at least 2 direct, explicit comparisons/contrasts between the two regions to earn this point. The comparisons/contrasts must be distinct from the thesis (cannot count the same item for both rubric #1 and rubric #4).

### 5. Analyzes at least one reason for a similarity or difference in a direct comparison. (1pt)

Students must analyze the basis of at least one of the direct comparisons offered in the essay to earn this point. While the analysis may be based upon evidence, evidence alone will not be sufficient to earn the student this point.

## EXPANDED CORE (0–2 pts)

**Students may only earn expanded core points if they earn all 7 basic core points.**

**Possible examples of expanded core points:**

Has a clear, analytical, and comprehensive thesis.

Thoroughly describes both similarities and differences.

Has a good balance of evidence from both regions.

Provides ample historical evidence to back up the thesis.

Shows ability to relate comparisons to larger global context(s), for example:

- Role of other major belief systems in promoting social justice
- Change/continuity in social justice movements as compared with those in the modern period (1750 to 1914) and the pre-World War II era
- Establishes substantial and relevant connections between the ideologies in the two regions and another region in the world at the same time

Makes direct comparisons/contrasts consistently between both regions

Provides innovative links with relevant ideas, events, and trends

## Textbook Coverage of Liberation Theology

Bentley, Jerry, and Herb Ziegler. *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003.

Bentley's coverage of liberation theology provides the reader with a rough definition of liberation theology, but does not go in depth into the reasons for its repression or connect it to the beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church as a whole.

Spodek, Howard. *The World's History*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.

The coverage of liberation theology in the Spodek text is fairly detailed and provides not only information regarding how liberation theology grew, but also the reasons why the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church (in particular Pope John Paul II) rejected it.

Stearns, Peter, Michael Adas, Stuart B. Schwartz, and Marc Jason Gilbert. *World Civilizations: The Global Experience, AP Edition*. New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.

The Stearns text discusses the basic concept of liberation theology and provides a perspective from Latin America regarding the reasons for its necessity. It does not go into much detail regarding the reasons for its lack of acceptance among the members of the Catholic hierarchy.

## Annotated Bibliography for Liberation Movements

Boff, Leonardo and Clodovis Boff. "The Basic Question: How to be Christians in a World of Destitution." *Social Policy* 33:4 (Summer 2003): 28–32.

This article provides an overview of the theory behind liberation theology using specific examples from the authors' lives as members of the liberation theology movement in Brazil.

Du Boulay, Shirley. *Tutu: Voice of the Voiceless*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988.

This biography of Archbishop Desmond Tutu provides an insight into the growth of the black theology movement in South Africa and how Tutu used it in his fight against apartheid.

Gichaara, Jonathan. "Issues in African Liberation Theology." *black Theology: An International Journal* 3:1 (January 2005): 75.

This article provides an overview of African liberation theology as it exists on the continent today, along with the historical background of African theology. This article can be used as part of an extension activity with the students in an effort to have them analyze why black theology in South Africa might have been different from the liberation theology practiced elsewhere on the continent.

Higgins, Richard. "The Martyr of El Salvador." *Boston Globe*, 24 March. 2005: A15 (3).

This op-ed piece, written on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Archbishop Oscar Romero's assassination, discusses Romero's legacy and the efforts by the Catholic Church and others to curtail the work of liberation theologians in Latin America and what little this attempted repression has actually accomplished.

Hulley, L. D. "Liberation Theology and Beyond: The Contextual Ethics of Desmond Tutu." *Anglican Theological Review* 79: 3 (June 1, 1997): 327–340.

This article places Archbishop Desmond Tutu in the context of the liberation theology movement. It also gives a glimpse into what can be identified as black theology in Apartheid South Africa.

Keen, Benjamin, and Keith Haynes. *A History of Latin America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.

This is a survey text covering the history of Latin America from just before Columbus through the contemporary period. For teachers unfamiliar with the origins of liberation theology in Latin America (or other topics concerning Latin America), this is an excellent resource.

"Ratzinger Assails WCC (Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger; World Council of Churches)." *The Christian Century* 114: 19 (June 18, 1997): 582.

This article gives a brief overview of the Roman Catholic Church's stance with regards to liberation theology in Latin America. The article is especially relevant because it cites the 1997 stance of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (presently Pope Benedict XVI).

*Romero*. Videocassette. Directed by John Duigan. 102 min. Paulist Pictures, 1989.

This film discusses the life of Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador, who was a leading member of the liberation theology movement until he was assassinated in 1980. The film shows the transformation of Romero over time, and this could be useful for students. Be forewarned, however, that this film is rated PG-13 due to some violent scenes, so preview it before using it in your classroom.

Tutu, Desmond. *Nobel Lectures, Peace 1981-1990*. Ed.T. Frängsmyr. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company, 1997.

This lecture, given by Tutu following his award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, shows how he used allusions to Christianity and God in order to persuade others to see the wrongs of apartheid.

Wright, Robin. "Church's Role Woven Into Latin America: 'Liberation Theology,' 'Base Communities' Help Change Politics." *Oregonian* (Portland) 31 Dec. 1987: B5.

This article, part of a series entitled "Politics in the Name of God," provides a fairly basic overview of the liberation theology movement in Latin America and its connection to base communities. For teachers and/or students who are unfamiliar with this connection, it might be wise to read through this article before tackling the Boff article.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Religion in Politics: A Global Phenomenon." *Christian Science Monitor* 4 Nov. 1987: 16.

This article, part of Wright's series entitled "Politics in the Name of God," provides an overview of the role religion played in world politics by the late 1980s. Aside from liberation theology in Latin America, Wright highlights the role of religion in the conflict between "modernity and morality" throughout the world. This reading would be an excellent choice to provide to students in an effort to generalize the role of religion in the late twentieth century beyond Latin America and South Africa.

## Appendix I

"The Basic Question: How to be Christians in a World Of Destitution" by Leonardo & Clodovis Boff

## The Basic Question: How to be Christians in a World of Destitution

by Leonardo & Clodovis Boff

From *Introducing Liberation Theology*, published by Orbis Books.

*Leonardo Boff has been preaching an activist gospel in Brazil for decades. A dispute with the Vatican led Boff to leave the priesthood. He is still a theologian and an active member of a Christian community in Brazil.*

*Clodovis Boff is a Servite priest and a professor of theology at the Catholic University of Sao Paulo. He also works with the poor in basic Christian communities and assists in pastoral work in favelas. Among his books are Theology and Praxis.*

A woman of forty, who looked as old as 70, went up to the priest after Mass and said sorrowfully: "Father, I went to communion without going to confession first." "How come, my daughter?" asked the priest. "Father," she replied, "I arrived rather late, after you had begun the offertory. For three days I have had only water and nothing to eat; I'm dying of hunger. When I saw you handing out the hosts, those little pieces of white bread, I went to communion just out of hunger for that little bit of bread! The priest's eyes filled with tears. He recalled the words of Jesus: "My flesh [bread] is real food... whoever feeds on me will draw life from me" (John 6:55, 57).

One day, in the arid region of northeastern Brazil, one of the most famine-stricken parts of the world, I (Clodovis) met a bishop going into his house; he was shaking. "Bishop, what's the matter?" I asked. He replied that he had just seen a terrible sight: in front of the cathedral was a woman with three small children and a baby clinging to her neck. He saw that they were fainting from hunger. The baby

seemed to be dead. He said: "Give the baby some milk, woman!" "I can't, my lord," she answered. The bishop went on insisting that she should, and she that she could not. Finally, because of his insistence, she opened her blouse. Her breast was bleeding; the baby sucked violently at it. And sucked blood. The mother who had given it life was feeding it, like the pelican, with her own blood, her own life. The bishop knelt down in front of the woman, placed his hand on the baby's head, and there and then vowed that as long as such hunger existed, he would feed at least one hungry child each day.

One Saturday night I (Clodovis) went to see Manuel, a catechist of a base community. "Father," he said to me, "this community and others in the district are coming to an end. The people are dying of hunger. They are not coming; they haven't the strength to walk this far. They have to stay in their houses to save their energy...."

### COMPASSION, "SUFFERING WITH"

What lies behind liberation theology? Its starting point is the perception of scandals such as those described above, which exist not only in Latin America but throughout the Third World. According to "conservative" estimates, there are in those countries held in underdevelopment:

- five-hundred million persons starving;
- one billion, six-hundred million persons [with dramatically decreased life expectancy]: when a person in one of the developed countries reaches the age of forty-five, he or she is reaching middle age;

**One Saturday night I (Clodovis) went to see Manuel, a catechist of a base community. "Father," he said to me, "this community and others in the district are coming to an end. The people are dying of hunger. They are not coming; they haven't the strength to walk this far. They have to stay in their houses to save their energy...."**

Here what is needed is not so much contemplation as effective action for liberation. The Crucified needs to be raised to life. We are on the side of the poor only when we struggle alongside them against the poverty that has been unjustly created and forced on them.

- one billion persons living in absolute poverty; one billion, five-hundred million persons with no access to the most basic medical care;
- five-hundred million with no work or only occasional work and a per capita income of less than \$150 a year;
- eight-hundred-fourteen million who are illiterate;
- two billion with no regular, dependable water supply.

Who cannot be filled with righteous anger at such a human and social hell? Liberation theology presupposes an energetic protest at such a situation, for that situation means:

- on the social level: collective oppression, exclusion, and marginalization;
- on the individual level: injustice and denial of human rights;
- on the religious level: social sinfulness, "contrary to the plan of the Creator and to the honor that is due to him" [Report of the Latin American bishops' conference, CELAM, Puebla, Mexico, *Puebla and Beyond: Documentation and Commentary*. §28. Ed. John Eagleson and Philip Scharper, Maryknoll, 1979]

Without a minimum of "suffering with" this suffering that affects the great majority of the human race, liberation theology can neither exist nor be understood. Underlying liberation theology is a prophetic and comradely commitment to the life, cause, and struggle of these millions of debased and marginalized human beings, a commitment to ending this historical-social iniquity. The Vatican Instruction, *Some Aspects of Liberation Theology* (August 6, 1984), put it well: "It is not possible for a single instant to forget the situations of dramatic poverty from which the challenge set to theologians springs -- the challenge to work out a genuine theology of liberation."

#### MEETING THE POOR CHRIST IN THE POOR

Every true theology springs from a spirituality -- that is, from a true meeting with God in history. Liberation theology was born when faith confronted the injustice

done to the poor. By "poor" we do not really mean the poor individual who knocks on the door asking for alms. We mean a collective poor, the "popular classes," which is a much wider category than the "proletariat" singled out by Karl Marx... (it [includes] the workers exploited by the capitalist system, the underemployed, those pushed aside by the production process -- a reserve army always at hand to take the place of the employed, the laborers of the countryside and migrant workers with only seasonal work).

All this mass of the socially and historically oppressed makes up the poor as a social phenomenon. In the light of faith, Christians see in them the challenging face of the Suffering Servant, Jesus Christ. At first there is silence, silent and sorrowful contemplation, as if in the presence of a mystery that calls for introspection and prayer. Then this presence speaks. The Crucified in these crucified persons weeps and cries out: "I was hungry... in prison... naked" (Matt. 25:31-46).

Here what is needed is not so much contemplation as effective action for liberation. The Crucified needs to be raised to life. We are on the side of the poor only when we struggle alongside them against the poverty that has been unjustly created and forced on them. Service in solidarity with the oppressed also implies an act of love for the suffering Christ, a liturgy pleasing to God.

#### THE FIRST STEP: LIBERATING ACTION, LIBER-A(C)TION

What is the action that will effectively enable the oppressed to move out of their inhuman situation? Many years of reflection and practice suggest that it has to go beyond two approaches that have already been tried: aid and reformism.

"Aid" is help offered by individuals moved by the spectacle of widespread destitution. They form agencies and organize projects, the "Band-Aid" or "corn-plaster" approach to social ills. But however perceptive they become and however well-

intentioned--and successful--aid remains a strategy for helping the poor, but treating them as (collective) objects of charity, not as subjects of their own liberation. The poor are seen simply as those who have nothing. There is a failure to see that the poor are oppressed and made poor by others; and what they do possess--strength to resist, capacity to understand their rights, to organize themselves and transform a subhuman situation -- tends to be left out of account. Aid increases the dependence of the poor, tying them to help from others, to decisions made by others: again, not enabling them to become their own liberators.

"Reformism" seeks to improve the situation of the poor, but always within existing social relationships and the basic structuring of society, which rules out greater participation by all and diminution in the privileges enjoyed by the ruling classes. Reformism can lead to great feats of development in the poorer nations, but this development is nearly always at the expense of the oppressed poor and very rarely in their favor. For example, in 1964 the Brazilian economy ranked 46th in the world; in 1994 it ranked 8th. The last twenty years have seen undeniable technological and industrial progress, but at the same time there has been a considerable worsening of social conditions for the poor, with exploitation, destitution, and hunger on a scale previously unknown in Brazilian history. This has been the price paid by the poor for this type of elitist, exploitative, and exclusivist development in which, in the words of Pope John Paul II, the rich become ever richer at the expense of the poor who become ever poorer.

The poor can break out of their situation of oppression only by working out a strategy better able to change social conditions: the strategy of liberation. In liberation, the oppressed come together, come to understand their situation through the process of 'conscientization,' discover the causes of their oppression, organize themselves into movements, and act in a coordinated fashion. First, they claim everything that the existing system can

give: better wages, working conditions, health care, education, housing, and so forth; then they work toward the transformation of present society in the direction of a new society characterized by widespread participation, a better and more just balance among social classes and more worthy ways of life. ["Concientization" was a term brought into general use by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. In his work with illiterate Brazilians, the basic learning unit was always linked with the social and political context of the learner.]

In Latin America, where liberation theology originated, there have always been movements of liberation since the early days of the Spanish and Portuguese conquest. Amerindians, slaves, and the oppressed in general fought against the violence of the colonizers, created redoubts of freedom, such as the quilombos and reducciones, led movements of revolt and independence. [Quilombos were villages formed and inhabited by runaway slaves. Reduccionos were enclaves of relative freedom from colonial powers for baptized Latin Americans, especially Amerindians, supervised by religious orders, especially the Jesuits, in Paraguay and elsewhere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.] And among the colonizers were bishops such as Bartolomé de Las Casas, Antonio Valdivieso, and Toribio de Mogrovejo, and other missionaries and priests who defended the rights of the colonized peoples and made evangelization a process that included advancement of their rights.

Despite the massive and gospel-denying domination of the colonial centuries, dreams of freedom were never entirely extinguished. But it is only in the past few decades that a new consciousness of liberation has become widespread over the whole of Latin America. The poor, organized and conscientized, are beating at their masters' doors, demanding life, bread, liberty and dignity. Courses of action are being taken with a view to release the liberty that is now held captive. Liberation is emerging as the strategy of the poor themselves, confident in

**Reformism can lead to great feats of development in the poorer nations, but this development is nearly always at the expense of the oppressed poor and very rarely in their favor.**

**Christianity can no longer be dismissed as the opium of the people, nor can it be seen as merely fostering an attitude of critique: it has now become an active commitment to liberation.**

themselves and in their instruments of struggle: free trade unions, peasant organizations, local associations, action groups and study groups, popular political parties, base Christian communities. [The Portuguese term *comunidade* (in Spanish, *comunidad*) *eclesial de base* is variously translated "base church community," "basic Christian community" "grass-roots community" etc. They are small groups that come together for Bible study, liturgy, and social action, usually without a priest but with trained leaders. Smaller than parishes, they represent the "base" of society. They are the operational base of liberation theology in practice.] They are being joined by groups and individuals from other social classes who have opted to change society and join the poor in their struggle to bring about change.

The growth of regimes of "national security" (for which read "capital security"), of military dictatorships, with their repression of popular movements in many countries of Latin America, is a reaction against the transforming and liberating power of the organized poor.

#### THE SECOND STEP: FAITH REFLECTS ON LIBERATING PRACTICE

Christians have always been and still are at the heart of these wider movements for liberation. The great majority of Latin Americans are not only poor but also Christian. So the great question at the beginning and still valid today was -- and is -- what role Christianity has to play. How are we to be Christians in a world of destitution and injustice? There can be only one answer: we can be followers of Jesus and true Christians only by making common cause with the poor and working out the gospel of liberation. Trade union struggles, battles for land and for the territories belonging to Amerindians, the fight for human rights and all other forms of commitment always pose the same question: What part is Christianity playing in motivating and carrying on the process of liberating the oppressed?

Inspired by their faith--which must

include commitment to one's neighbor, particularly to the poor, if it is to be true (Matt. 25:31-46) -- and motivated by the proclamation of the kingdom of God -- which begins in this world and culminates only in eternity -- and by the life, deeds, and death of Christ, who made a historic option for the poor, and by the supremely liberating significance of his resurrection, many Christians -- bishops, priests, religious, lay men and women -- are throwing themselves into action alongside the poor, or joining the struggles already taking place. The Christian base communities, Bible societies, groups for popular evangelization, movements for the promotion and defense of human rights, particularly those of the poor, agencies involved in questions of land tenure, indigenous peoples, slums, marginalized groups, and the like, have all shown themselves to have more than a purely religious and ecclesial significance, and to be powerful factors for mobilization and dynamos of liberating action, particularly when they have joined forces with other popular movements.

Christianity can no longer be dismissed as the opium of the people, nor can it be seen as merely fostering an attitude of critique: it has now become an active commitment to liberation. Faith challenges human reason and the historical progress of the powerful, but in the Third World it tackles the problem of poverty, now seen as the result of oppression. Only from this starting point can the flag of liberation be raised.

The gospel is not aimed chiefly at "modern" men and women with their critical spirit, but first and foremost at "nonpersons," those whose basic dignity and rights are denied them. This leads to reflection in a spirit of Prophecy and solidarity aimed at making nonpersons full human beings, and then new men and women, according to the design of the "new Adam," Jesus Christ.

Reflecting on the basis of practice, within the ambit of the vast efforts made by the poor and their allies, seeking inspiration in faith and the gospel for the commitment



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to fight against poverty and for the integral liberation of all persons and the whole person -- that is what liberation theology means.

Christians who have been inspired by its principles and who live out its practices have chosen the harder way, exposing themselves to defamation, persecution, and even martyrdom. Many have been led by its insights and the practice of solidarity at its origins to a process of true conversion. Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador, who had been conservative in his views, became a great advocate and defender of the poor when he stood over the dead body of Fr. Rutilio Grande, assassinated for his liberating commitment to the poor. The spilt blood of the martyr acted like a salve on his eyes, opening them to the urgency of the task of liberation. And he himself was called to a martyr's death in the same cause.

Commitment to the liberation of the millions of the oppressed of our world restores to the gospel the credibility it had at the beginning and at the great periods of holiness and prophetic witness in history. The God who pitied the downtrodden and the Christ who came to set prisoners free proclaim themselves with a new face and in a new image today. The eternal salvation they offer is mediated by

the historical liberations that dignify the children of God and render credible the coming utopia of the kingdom of freedom, justice, love, and peace, the kingdom of God in the midst of humankind.

From all this, it follows that if we are to understand the theology of liberation, we must first understand and take an active part in the real and historical process of liberating the oppressed...It is vital to move beyond a merely intellectual approach...We have to work our way into a more biblical framework of reference, where "knowing" implies loving, letting oneself become involved body and soul, communing wholly -- being committed, in a word -- as the prophet Jeremiah says: "He used to examine the cases of poor and needy, then all went well. Is not that what it means to know me? -- it is Yahweh who speaks" (Jer. 22:16). So the criticisms made of liberation theology by those who judge it on a purely conceptual level, devoid of any real commitment to the oppressed, must be seen as radically irrelevant. Liberation theology responds to such criticism with just one question: What part have you played in the effective and integral liberation of the oppressed? †

**Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador, who had been conservative in his views, became a great advocate and defender of the poor when he stood over the dead body of Fr. Rutilio Grande, assassinated for his liberating commitment to the poor.**

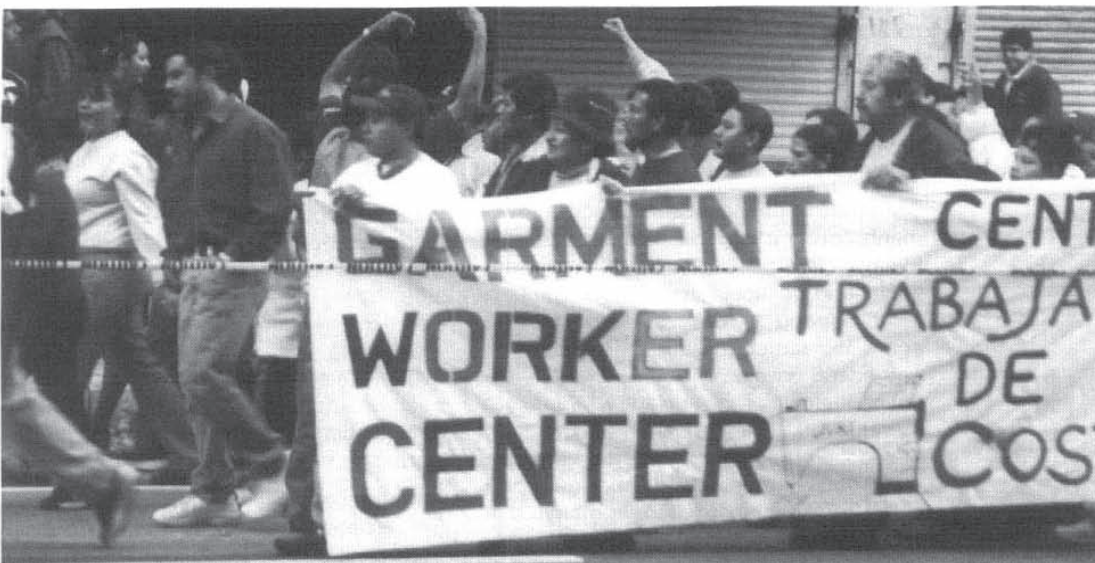


Photo courtesy of Mayron Payés & CHIRLA

## Including Africa and Latin America in Teaching the Cold War

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### Introduction to Unit and How it Relates to AP World History Content and Skills

In the “Major Comparisons and Snapshots” section of Unit 5, 1914—Present, for the AP World History Course Description, there is a task entitled “Analyze the notion of ‘the West’ and ‘the East’ in the context of Cold War ideology.” Have you wondered how Latin America and Africa fit into this task when you teach the Cold War? Are you concerned that, in the limited time you have, using examples from these regions will be “extra” Cold War lessons? This unit will help you see that not only are Latin America and Africa central to an understanding of the Cold War, but also that these examples can help students work on their skills in comparing global patterns through the other relevant “Major Comparison and Snapshot”: “Compare legacies of colonialism and patterns of economic development in two or three areas (Africa, Asia, and Latin America).”

This lesson could be done in two 90-minute lessons or over three days of 45-minute lessons.

### Lesson on the Cold War in Africa and Latin America

#### Instructional Goals

By the end of this mini-unit, students will be able to:

- Compare the legacies of colonialism and patterns of economic development in Latin America and Africa;
- Compare the Cold War’s impact in Latin America and Africa; and
- Identify and compare points of view expressed by government leaders in Africa, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Latin America through analysis of primary source texts, artifacts, and photographs.

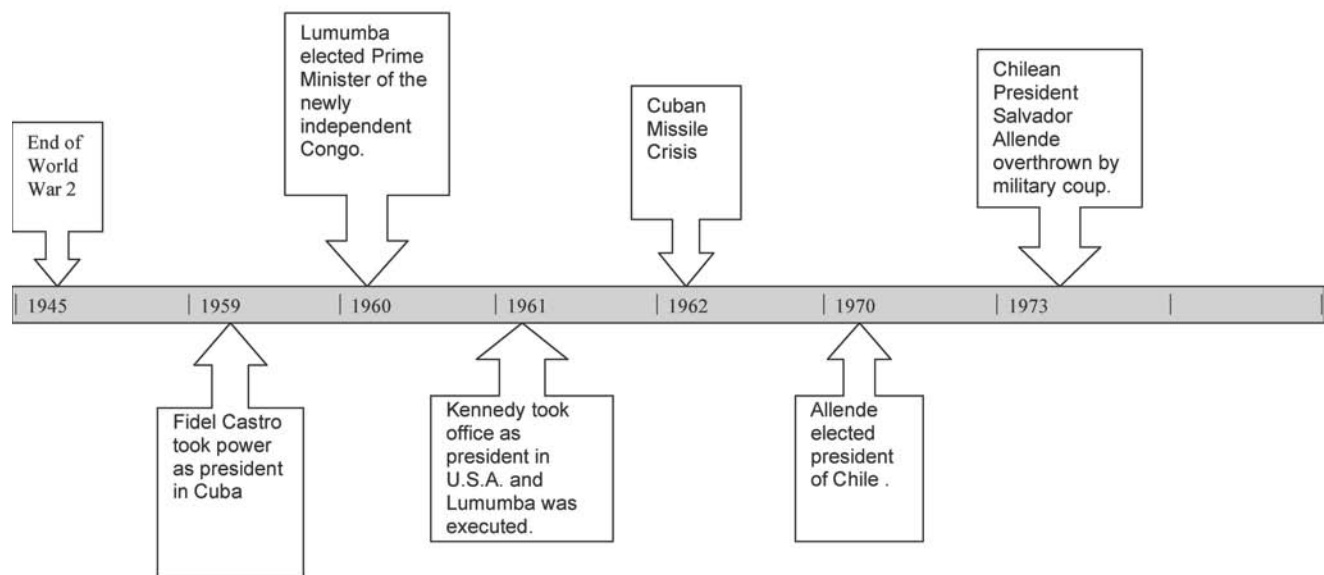
#### Day One

**Motivational Activity (15 minutes):** Begin class by asking students to identify the men in the stamp from Grenada found in Appendix I. Show the students how to analyze the symbols in the stamp, e.g., the sickle is a symbol for Communism and the USSR. Ask them to guess why a meeting between these two men in 1961 was important enough to others in the world for a stamp to be made of it. Next, show students the photograph in Appendix I

on which the stamp was probably based and the photograph's caption to compare with their predictions.

**Part I of Lesson (30 minutes):** Students should then gather information from the “Background Essay” in Appendix II to make annotations on the timeline below that explain the significance of these events for the effects of the Cold War in Latin America and Africa.

## Brief Timeline of the Cold War



**Part II (45 minutes):** (If Part I took all of the time for your class period, then you can assign the analyses of the texts from Kennedy and Khrushchev for homework.)

Students should read the statement by American President Kennedy in Appendix III. Instructors may want to have students read the excerpt silently and then have volunteers read it out loud. Students should analyze the source by identifying Kennedy's point of view or perspective on the role of Latin America (especially Cuba) and Africa in the Cold War contest between the United States and the Communist bloc. Follow the same approach for the document with quotes from Khrushchev. Ask students to compare the two points of view.

## Day Two

**Part I: (Students' analyses of the sources on the coups in the Congo and Chile will take about 45 minutes. This should be an individual activity, because students will share their insights during the seminar.)**

Students should compare two examples of the impact of the Cold War in Latin America and Africa:

- 1) The Congo crisis of the early 1960s, culminating in the death of radical nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba in 1961
- 2) The overthrow of Chile's leftist President Salvador Allende and the establishment of a military junta in 1973

Students should analyze the excerpt from Lumumba's letter to his wife in Appendix IV, to determine his point of view or perspective on how the Cold War is affecting his country, Congo. Students should then analyze the photograph of Lumumba, under arrest, to determine the point of view or perspective of Mobutu and his supporters in the Belgian and American governments on what Congo should do in the Cold War. Finally, students should analyze the Soviet stamp commemorating Lumumba to determine the Soviet point of view or perspective on the Congolese role in the Cold War.

Students should then analyze the excerpt from Allende's last speech in Appendix V to determine his point of view or perspective on how the Cold War affects his country, Chile. Students should then analyze the photograph of the September 1973 Chilean coup and its supporters in the American government on what role Chile should play in the Cold War. Finally, students should analyze the Soviet stamp commemorating Allende to determine the Soviet point of view or perspective on the Chilean role in the Cold War.

### **Part II: Seminar (30 minutes)**

Students participate in a fishbowl discussion where the half of the class discusses the following questions while the other half listens to their discussion.

1. What are the similarities and differences between the documents by Lumumba and Allende?
2. What similarities and differences do you see between the Congo crisis of 1961 and the Chilean coup of 1973?
3. What do you think was the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the events in Congo and Chile? What other kinds of primary sources do you need to help you answer this question?

The students then switch roles and the other half of the class now discusses the following questions:

How did you do think events in Africa such as the Congo crisis affected the civil rights movement in the United States? What other kinds of primary sources do you need to help you answer this question?

What remained constant and what changed in the policies of United States administrations in this period? What other kinds of primary sources do you need to help you answer this question?

What is similar and different about the Grenadian and Soviet stamps? What is similar and different about the photos of Lumumba under arrest and Allende on the day of the coup? How did the two men's texts affect what you understood about the meaning of the events for them?

### **Part III: Summative Assessment (15 minutes)**

The culmination of the lesson would be to go back to the annotations on the timeline and assess what point of view or perspective each student used in his/her interpretation of the significance of the events to the Cold War, and if students would change their annotations based on analyzing the primary source texts, the stamps, and the photographs.

### **Formative Assessment**

An extension to this lesson might be a writing exercise where students could practice the skills they need for the DBQ portion of the AP World History examination.

Using the sources in this lesson, the teacher could assign one of the following potential DBQ questions:

1. Analyze the effects of the Cuban Revolution on the foreign policies of the United States and the USSR in the Third World.
2. Trace the changes in global affairs between the early 60s and early 70s due to changes in the Cold War.
3. Compare the effects of the Cold War on the Congo crisis of 1961 and the Chile coup of 1973.

### **Further Reading**

De Witte, Ludo. *The Assassination of Lumumba*. London and New York: Verso, 2001. This study provides crucial context on the independence leader and clears up key historical controversies on his death.

Gleijeses, Piero. *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Using extensive archival research and interviews, the author traces Cuba's role in African events from Algerian independence to the defeat of South African troops in Angola.

Haslam, Jonathan. *The Nixon Administration and the Death of Allende's Chile*. London and New York: Verso, 2005.

This recent study explains the origins and fate of Allende's coalition, together with United States (and Soviet-bloc) policies toward Chile.

Rabe, Stephen G. *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America*. Chapel Hill, N.C., and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

A brilliant study of how JFK's reaction to the Cuban Revolution shaped his foreign policy.

Twain, Mark. *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule* (1905). Online: <http://www.chss.montclair.edu/english/furr/i2l/cls.html>.

A little-known classic of American anticolonial thought.

## Relevant Films

*Lumumba* by Raoul Peck. This fine dramatic rendition gives a vivid feel for the events.

*Battle of Chile* by Patricio Guzman. One of the most important documentaries on Latin American history, this film is very long, so teachers will need to choose the most relevant selections.

## Appendix I



Grenadian stamp of Soviet Premier Khrushchev and United States President Kennedy [www.southalabama.edu/univlib/sauer/coldwar.html](http://www.southalabama.edu/univlib/sauer/coldwar.html)



Photo of Soviet Premier Khrushchev and United States President Kennedy, Vienna, June 1961

Photograph from the U.S. Department of State in the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston.

<http://www.jfklibrary.org/>

They met to discuss divided Germany but didn't reach agreement and Khrushchev approved the building of a wall in Berlin to stop Germans in the eastern sector from going over to the western sector.

## Appendix II

*Background Essay by Dr. Steven Sándor John, Hunter College, New York City, October 2006*

### **Cold War and the “Third World”**

The Cold War began shortly after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended World War II in August 1945 and ushered in the “Atomic Age.” The wartime anti-Axis alliance of the United States and USSR gave way to decades of conflict between a U.S.-led bloc of anti-Communist powers and the Soviet bloc. Among the best-known episodes were the Berlin crises of 1948 and 1961, symbolizing the split of Europe into U.S.- and Soviet-aligned zones, and the Korean War of 1950-53 in East Asia.

Far from the conflict’s European and Asian theaters, the continents of Africa and Latin America also became Cold War battlegrounds. Colonial peoples, who had been drawn into the vortex of two world wars, generated pressure for decolonization leading to a series of national independence struggles during the Cold War period. It was at this time that the concept of a “Third World” came to the fore. This “Third World” was largely made up of former colonies and “developing nations,” many of which chose not to formally ally with either the Soviets or the Americans in their ongoing conflict. Africa had been divided among European empires since the time of the Berlin Conference of 1884. Now, movements for national emancipation gave rise to new African nations from one end of the continent to the other. Intense rivalry ensued between the United States and the Soviet Union as each side vied for the allegiance of these new African countries.

At the same time, African independence struggles were a significant part of the international context in which movements against racial segregation intensified within the United States. Moreover, the persistence of Jim Crow proved an acute embarrassment to Washington’s efforts in Africa. Soviet-bloc spokesmen pointed to America’s “race problem” as evidence of hypocrisy in the heart of the self-proclaimed free world. United States support to South Africa as a bastion of anti-Communism further alienated many African activists. So did Washington’s financial and diplomatic support to the French war against Communist-led independence fighters in Indochina. Many African independence leaders spoke of creating an “African socialism,” and, while not aligning fully with the Soviet bloc, were favorable to Soviet aid offers.

### **Impact of the Cuban Revolution**

At the same time that competition for allies heated up in Africa, in 1959, guerrilla forces led by Fidel Castro and Ernesto “Che” Guevara defeated the Cuban dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, who had long associated himself with United States interests. The triumph of the Cuban Revolution opened a new situation in the Cold War. As Castro’s government aligned itself with the USSR, it altered the global balance between the “West” and the Soviet bloc. Vowing to be more effective against Communism than his Republican predecessors and to counteract the rise of a Soviet-backed government “90 miles from home,” the young John



F. Kennedy became United States president in 1961. After the spectacular failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion sponsored by the Kennedy administration, the world watched him face off with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. For 13 days the Cold War brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear catastrophe.

Less well known is Kennedy's concern, even before entering the White House, with Cold War competition in Africa, where he feared the United States was falling behind the Soviets in the race to win hearts and minds. In particular, he feared that the Cuban Revolution might put the USSR even further ahead in this competition. The issues the United States faced in Latin America were linked to those in Africa, in Kennedy's view, requiring a coordinated geopolitical response in which counterinsurgency would be a crucial element.

### **Lumumba and the Congo Crisis**

Cold War conflict over Africa came to a head in the Congo. This enormous, resource-rich land had been one of Europe's most lucrative African colonies. In the early twentieth century, Belgium's harsh rule over the territory led to international controversy, notably the American writer Mark Twain's blistering attack on United States complicity with the Belgian King Leopold's "claim to personal ownership" of the Congo and the "horrors" this inflicted on its people.

The young and energetic Patrice Lumumba emerged as a public figure in the Congo's anticolonial struggle, which culminated in the colony's gaining independence from Belgium in June 1960. Lumumba's Congolese National Movement got the largest number of votes in nationwide elections, so he became prime minister of the new government, a coalition representing diverse political, ethnic, and regional forces. Yet both the Belgian and United States governments looked askance at Lumumba, viewing him as a dangerous radical who might take the new country into the Soviet camp. Immediately after independence was declared, army officers mutinied, leading to intervention by Belgian paratroopers. Simultaneously, with backing from Belgian interests, the key mining province of Katanga threatened to secede. Soon the United Nations sent thousands of troops, who remained in the Congo for four years.

After Belgium provided planes to the Katanga rebels, Lumumba requested military aid from the Soviet bloc, a decision that magnified Western distrust of the nationalist leader. In a move backed by United States diplomats and UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, the Congo's pro-Western president (who up to then had played a largely ceremonial role) attempted to dismiss Lumumba from his post. When this failed, an army colonel named Joseph Mobutu seized power in a military coup.<sup>1</sup> (Mobutu would become dictator of the country for more than three decades.) Mobutu's troops seized Patrice Lumumba, who was executed in late January 1961 in an incident whose details remained controversial for years to follow.

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1. See David N. Gibbs, "The United Nations, International Peacekeeping and the Question of 'Impartiality': Revisiting the Congo Operation of 1960," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 38:3 (2000), 359–382.

Reviewing the events decades later, the United States State Department wrote that the threat of “Soviet influence on the charismatic Patrice Lumumba and on his followers was a major concern of both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations.” However, Lumumba’s death “just before Kennedy’s inauguration . . . eased American fears that the crisis would open an avenue for Soviet power into the heart of Africa.”<sup>2</sup>

Through much of Africa and the “Third World,” Patrice Lumumba was seen as a martyr of anticolonial struggle. Appealing to this sentiment, the Soviet Union named an international university after him in Moscow. In the United States, Malcolm X called Lumumba “the greatest black man who ever walked the African continent,” a leader who made Western colonialists “so scared they had to kill him.”

The Cuban connection feared by Kennedy had a new twist four years after Lumumba’s death, when Che Guevara traveled secretly to the Congo to try to lead guerrilla warfare against the United States-backed regime. Guevara’s efforts ended in failure, and he would soon undertake a new guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, which ended in his death.

### **A New Phase in the Cold War**

From the Central American isthmus to the Tierra del Fuego, the Cuban Revolution led to a wave of radicalization in Latin America. Proclaiming itself “the first free territory of the Americas,” under Fidel Castro, the Caribbean island defied United States power. This stance was widely popular among many political and social sectors in a region that often felt itself dominated by Uncle Sam.

For a significant number of Latin American youth, the military success of the guerrilla movement led by Castro and Guevara provided a model for struggle against right-wing governments at home. Many believed that while traditional leftist parties lacked the will to launch “armed struggle,” the action of small groups of dedicated militants could replicate the Cuban example.

Under Kennedy and his successor Lyndon B. Johnson, the White House responded with a combination of aid programs (many under the umbrella of the Alliance for Progress) and “counterinsurgency” training. For youth in many parts of Latin America who hoped to emulate Che, prison, exile, or death would instead be the outcome.

The situation changed in important ways in the late 1960s and early ‘70s. Cuba continued to worry United States policymakers, but the long, costly, and increasingly unpopular war in Vietnam had moved to the center of their concerns. Under the impact of the Tet Offensive against United States forces in Vietnam and unrest on the home front, Democratic President Johnson decided not to seek reelection. An increasing number of mainstream political voices expressed the view that the United States could not win the war.

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2. United States Department of State, Office of the Historian, “Congo Crisis,” on line [http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/erc/frus/summaries/950113\\_FRUS\\_XX\\_1961-63.html](http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/erc/frus/summaries/950113_FRUS_XX_1961-63.html)

In 1968, Kennedy's old rival Richard Nixon won the presidency. Closely advised by Henry Kissinger, a self-proclaimed master of *realpolitik*, Nixon would combine massive aerial bombing with a plan for "Vietnamization" of the war, together with peace negotiations in Paris and a new policy of "détente" with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. Most dramatically, Nixon leveraged the Sino-Soviet rift into a rapprochement with Mao Zedong's China.

Incongruously, this eventually led to a *de facto* alliance between Washington and Beijing in Africa, as both mobilized against the Soviet-supported Movement for the National Liberation of Angola, one of the last European colonies on the continent. When South Africa's white-minority regime intervened in Angola, Cuban troops played a key role in defeating them.

### **The Election and Overthrow of Salvador Allende**

Closer to home, the Nixon White House was intensely concerned by the election of Socialist leader Salvador Allende as Chile's president in 1970. Although he provided refuge to guerrilla fighters from Bolivia, Allende did not follow Che Guevara's strategy of "armed struggle." Instead, he had served as Minister of Health in the Popular Front coalition government that came to power in 1938, and pursued a long career in parliament over subsequent decades.

It was as leader of another such coalition that Allende assumed office in 1970. His Unidad Popular (UP—People's Unity) was composed principally of the Socialist, Communist, and Radical parties, drawing much of its support from Chile's powerful labor unions. While promoting a wide-ranging reform program, Allende pledged to respect the institutional framework of the Chilean state, including the armed forces.

Allende's "peaceful road to socialism" was endorsed by Fidel Castro, who had turned away from the late Che Guevara's concept of spreading Cuba's guerrilla model. In Washington, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger declared of Allende's victory: "I don't why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its people." With encouragement from American companies like International Telephone and Telegraph, a wide-ranging covert program was put in place to promote civilian and military opposition to Allende's UP government.

After Nixon's downfall in the Watergate scandal, this was one of many covert operations scrutinized by a special Senate committee, which revealed that Nixon had ordered the head of the Central Intelligence Agency to "make the [Chilean] economy scream" in order to set the stage for a military coup.<sup>3</sup> As social and political polarization deepened over the next years, decisive sections of the armed forces moved toward a military takeover.

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3. U.S. Department of State, "Covert Action in Chile, 1963–1973. Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities," online <http://foia.state.gov/Reports/ChurchReport.asp>.

The coup came on September 11, 1973. Fighter jets bombed the La Moneda presidential palace, as army units took over strategic points throughout the country. Proclaiming that he would not resign or surrender, Allende died in the coup (either by suicide or summary execution). Tens of thousands of his supporters were rounded up in Santiago's National Stadium and prison camps throughout the country. Under the leadership of General Augusto Pinochet, whom Allende had made head of the army, a military junta dismantled leftist parties and labor unions. Pinochet would remain in office until 1990, and remained commander in chief of the armed forces until 1998.

The coup in Chile opened a new phase of Cold War conflicts in Latin America. The military takeover set the stage for a "Southern Cone model" of dictatorships that acted together against leftist opponents in a coordinated plan called Operation Condor. Less than a decade after Allende's death, Central America drew United States attention after revolution broke out in Nicaragua, accompanied by civil war in El Salvador and indigenous peasant and guerrilla struggles in Guatemala. A new Washington administration, under veteran Cold War Warrior Ronald Reagan, gave priority to combating these insurgencies. Under Reagan and his successor George H. W. Bush, the United States was able to proclaim victory in the Cold War with the collapse of the Soviet bloc. For Africa and Latin America, the new "unipolar" world would be fraught with new dangers and difficulties.

### Appendix III

*When running for president in the fall of 1960, John F. Kennedy engaged in a series of television and radio debates with his Republican opponent Richard Nixon. Here are some excerpts from what Kennedy said in the fourth debate, held on October 21, 1960.*

"Is our relative strength growing? Is—as Mr. Nixon says—our prestige at an all-time high . . . and that of the Communists at an all-time low? I don't believe it is.

I look at Cuba, 90 miles off the coast of the United States. In 1957 I was in Havana. I talked to the American Ambassador there. He said that he was the second most powerful man in Cuba, and yet even though [two] Republican ambassadors both warned of Castro, the Marxist influences around Castro, the Communist influences around Castro, both of them have testified . . . that in spite of their warnings to the American Government, nothing was done.

Our security depends upon Latin America. Can any American, looking at the situation in Latin America, feel contented with what's happening today, when a candidate for the Presidency of Brazil feels it necessary to call, not on Washington during the campaign, but on Castro in Havana? Do you know today that the . . . Russians broadcast 10 times as many programs in Spanish to Latin America as we do?

Africa is now the emerging area of the world. It contains 25 percent of all the members of the [United Nations] General Assembly. We didn't even have a Bureau of African Affairs

until 1957. If there's one thing Africa needs, it's technical assistance, and yet last year we gave them less than 5 percent of all the technical assistance funds that we distributed around the world.

We look to Asia, because the struggle is in the underdeveloped world. Which system, communism or freedom, will triumph in the next 5 or 10 years? That's what should concern us, not the history of 10 or 15 or 20 years ago.

By 1965 or 1970 will there be other Cubas in Latin America? Will Guinea and Ghana, which have now voted with the Communists frequently as newly independent countries of Africa, will there be others? Will the Congo go Communist? Will other countries? Are we doing enough in that area?

I believe that this struggle is going to go on and it may be well decided in the next decade. I have seen Cuba go to the Communists. I have seen Communist influence and Castro influence rise in Latin America. I have seen us ignore Africa. . . . The average income in some of those countries is \$25 a year. The Communists say, "Come with us; look what we've done." And we've been, on the whole, uninterested.

I think the Communists have been moving with vigor. Laos, Africa, Cuba—all around the world they're on the move. I think we have to revitalize our society. I think we have to demonstrate to the people of the world that we're determined in this free country of ours to be first. . . . And when we are strong and when we are first, then freedom gains."

## Appendix IV

### Soviet Leader Khrushchev on the Congo and the Third World

In 1961, as the Congo crisis escalated, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev responded to an appeal for assistance from Patrice Lumumba with the demand that the West keep its "hands off the Congo." In a lengthy report on the crisis, the *New York Times* (July 16, 1961) noted United States worries that the situation might "enhance the Soviet leader's efforts to pose as the guardian angel of the African peoples." It emphasized Western leaders' fear that "unless the Congo can be pacified quickly the situation could provide an opening wedge for Soviet penetration of Africa."

The article went on to note that the Soviet press agency Tass had published a telegram from Lumumba stating: "We may have to ask for the Soviet Union's intervention should the Western camp not stop its aggression against the sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo." The *Times* reported that Khrushchev used his reply "as a platform for calling on the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia to align themselves with the Communist states against the Western powers, headed by the United States."

“Your struggle is the struggle of millions of people of Africa, Asia and Latin America, Indochina, Algeria, Suez, Guatemala, Lebanon and Jordan, Guinea, Cuba,” Mr. Khrushchev told the Congolese leaders. “It is an established fact,” he added, “that the old Congo was not only a Belgian colony. The bayonet was Belgian but the bosses were the United States, Belgian, British and West German big monopolies.”

The *Times* reported that the USSR “charged the West with seeking to restore the Congo to colonialism.” It noted that “the Soviet Union has made the Congo and Cuba pivotal positions in its contest for the sympathy of the uncommitted peoples.”

In his reply to Lumumba, Khrushchev vowed:

“If states which are directly carrying out imperialist aggression against the Congo and those who are pushing them on continue their criminal actions, the United States will not shrink from resolute measures to curb the aggression.”

In practice, the Soviet leader limited himself to sending a small amount of military equipment to the Congo, while urging the United Nations to help resolve the crisis.

After Lumumba’s arrest at the end of 1961, the *New York Times* (December 7, 1961) reported that “the Soviet Union sought full-scale United Nations backing... for Patrice Lumumba, the imprisoned former Premier of the Congo.”

The USSR “demanded that Mr. Lumumba be freed and that the [United Nations] Security Council act on its charges that the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] powers were fomenting trouble in the Congo,” the newspaper reported. The NATO alliance had been formed by the United States and other Western nations, including Belgium, after the onset of the Cold War.

The statement by the Soviet government vowed “support to the people of the Republic of the Congo in the struggle against the imperialists.” It continued:

The developments in the Congo for the last few days show that the NATO colonial powers with the United States at the head have openly embarked on the road of abolishing... the legitimate Government headed by Mr. Patrice Lumumba....

Attempts are being made in fact to restore in the country the rule of the colonial administration of the old (Belgian) and new (American) colonialists....

Soviet leaders’ charges that UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld was actually working in favor of the United States and Belgium (and for that reason had failed to heed their calls to back Lumumba) led to stormy debates within the United Nations. When Lumumba was executed, the USSR protested, but soon gave diplomatic recognition to the pro-Western regime that replaced him.

## Appendix V:

Excerpts from Patrice Lumumba's last letter, to his wife Pauline, before his assassination:

[Translation by Steven Sándor John, Hunter College, from the text found at [www.congonline.com/Forum1/Forum05/Mangalaboyi03.htm](http://www.congonline.com/Forum1/Forum05/Mangalaboyi03.htm) and [www.haitiwebs.com/haitianforums/showthread.php?t=21887](http://www.haitiwebs.com/haitianforums/showthread.php?t=21887)]

My dear companion,

I write you these words without knowing if or when they will reach you or if I will still be alive when you read them. Throughout my fight for the independence of our country, I never doubted the final triumph of the sacred cause to which my companions and I have dedicated our lives. But our country's right to an honorable life [and] unrestricted independence goes against the wishes of Belgian colonialism and its Western allies, who have gained direct and indirect support... from certain high officials of the United Nations, an organization in which we placed all our confidence when we called for its assistance... They have corrupted some of our countrymen, bought off others, and contributed to distorting the truth and sullyng our independence... Dead, alive, free or in prison at the colonialists' orders, I am not what matters. What matters is the Congo and our poor people, whose independence has been turned into a cage...

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, free and liberated people from every corner of the world will always be found at the side of the millions of Congolese who will not abandon the struggle until... our country is free of colonizers and their mercenaries... I may never see my children again, but I want them to be told that the future of the Congo is beautiful and that it is up to them and every Congolese to accomplish the sacred task of rebuilding our independence and sovereignty; for without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, without independence there are no free men...

Neither brutality nor abuse nor torture can make me ask forgiveness, since I prefer to die with my head held high, with unshakeable faith and deep confidence in the destiny of my country, than to live in submission amidst disdain for sacred principles. One day history will have its say, but it will not be the history taught by the United Nations, Washington, Paris or Brussels, but the history that will be taught in the countries emancipated from colonialism and its puppets. Africa will write its own history... a history of glory and dignity... Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!

Patrice

## Appendix VI



Photograph of Lumumba being arrested.

## Appendix VII



Soviet stamp commemorating Lumumba  
[home.nestor.minsk.by/fsunews/ussr/1961/su2487.jpg](http://home.nestor.minsk.by/fsunews/ussr/1961/su2487.jpg)



## Appendix VIII

Excerpts from Salvador Allende's last speech, Palacio de La Moneda, September 11, 1973:

[Translation by Steven Sándor John, Hunter College, from the text found at [www.salvador-allende.cl/Textos/Discursos/Despedida.pdf](http://www.salvador-allende.cl/Textos/Discursos/Despedida.pdf).]

This will be my last opportunity to speak to you. The Air Force has bombed the [radio] broadcasting towers.... At a moment of historical transition, I will pay with my life for the loyalty of the people.... [Our opponents] have the power, they can crush us, but they cannot stop historical processes with crimes or by force. History belongs to us, and it is the peoples who make it....

In this moment of definition, the last time I will be able to address you, I want you to benefit from this lesson. Foreign capital and imperialism, united with domestic reaction, created the opportunity for the Armed Forces to break with their tradition... [and serve] that sector of society that is waiting in their houses with alien hands bent on reconquering power in order to go on defending their landed estates and their privileges....

Workers of my fatherland: I have faith in Chile and in its destiny. Other men will overcome this gray and bitter moment when treason seeks to impose itself. Know that sooner rather than later, the great avenues will open once again for free men to go forward and build a better society.

Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers! These are my last words. I am certain that my sacrifice will not be in vain. I am certain that at the least it will serve as a moral lesson that will punish crime, cowardice and betrayal.

## Appendix IX



Photo of Allende outside the presidential palace during the coup  
<http://img454.imageshack.us/img454/2829/wpp19738qs.jpg>

## Appendix X



Soviet stamp commemorating Allende  
<http://home.nestor.minsk.by/fsunews/ussr/1973/su4179.jpg>

## Film in Latin America and Africa

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Lights! Camera! Action! These words conjure an image of Hollywood filmmaking over the last 100 years. Most young people today still think of Hollywood when they see the advertisements for cinematic entertainment. However, filmmaking is a global venture and has been since its first commercial demonstration by the Lumière brothers in Paris in December 1895. This article will present a brief overview of filmmaking in Africa and Latin America and suggest films that might be appropriate supplements to the teaching of world history.

Films have long been used in the classroom as a teaching tool or complement to the curriculum. There is a fairly extensive literature of the use of film in the teaching of history. (A search of the ERIC database with the strategy *DE=films and TI=history* results in a number of relevant articles.) Most of this research focuses on the inclusion of U.S.-made films, not those originating overseas. Some films shown in a history class may be about African or Latin American peoples or countries, but they usually present a Eurocentric perspective. Educational films were often documentaries; feature films were considered “entertainment” and not appropriate for the classroom. However, in teaching African and Latin American history, the use of films made by African or Latin American filmmakers can add to the educational experience. Outside of school, students are continually exposed to a wide range of ideas and images through the media (movies, television, Internet), more so today than at any time in the past. By incorporating feature or documentary films made by African or Latin American filmmakers, whether in their entirety or in the form of clips,<sup>1</sup> into the curriculum, the societies and events being studied are illustrated in a way that makes them more real for students.

Film studies can be approached on a number of levels: as a business, as a medium of mass communication, or as an art form. At first glance, these three aspects may appear to be separate and distinct areas of study, but they are in fact symbiotically related. Even in the early days, the ability to experiment in the new medium was dependent on the basic need to acquire film stock and equipment from those countries where they were produced. Additionally, a reliable electricity supply was necessary, as well as venues for viewing.

African cinema and Latin American cinema have followed different paths in their respective development, stemming from the divergent historical circumstances on each continent. In fact, while all-encompassing categories (i.e., continent-wide) are commonly applied to the film industries in Africa and Latin America, the reality is that there are distinct variations

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1. Tong, Luding, and Mark Bagshaw, “Exploring East Asian Culture Through Video Clips,” *Education About Asia*. 7:1 (Spring 2002) 13–21. The authors describe how they incorporated video clips into classroom presentations.

from country to country. Until the onset of World War I, movies made in Europe and the United States comprised the preponderance of films exhibited throughout the world. With the war's interruption of trade, local filmmaking increased in countries such as Brazil and Argentina.

While some countries have well-developed film industries, others have not had the resources to invest in supporting indigenous activity. Searching the Internet Movie Database by country of origin and year<sup>2</sup> clearly demonstrates the different pace of development of the movie industries in Africa and Latin America. From 1890 to 1950, nine films came from South Africa; Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, and Nigeria had none listed. For the same time period, Mexico had 1,838 films, Brazil had 365, and Argentina had 845. Most of Africa was under colonial rule until about 1960, contributing to the lack of indigenous filmmaking until after 1970. Even then, a number of the films were shorts or documentaries, not narrative features. Comparing film output in the period 1990 to 2006, the disparity continues: South Africa, 245; Kenya, 17; Nigeria, 41; Ghana, 10; Senegal, 46; Mexico, 4,465; Brazil, 1,213; Argentina, 3,018. Few of these films are distributed in the United States; those that are screen primarily in art house theaters or film festivals.

The *Film Year Book* for 1927 provides a fascinating look at the development of the film industry worldwide at that point in time, just prior to the introduction of "talkies." It describes the import and export of films in countries around the world, with an indication of the percent of American films shown in each country. For example, Mexico—90 percent (700 theaters); Brazil—95 percent (200 theaters); Argentina—90 percent (200 theaters); East Africa—80 percent (but only 5 theaters); South Africa—80 percent (380 theaters).

The definition of African or Latin American film can be variously construed as films made by filmmakers from their respective countries or films about people in those countries. In the early years, films made in Europe and the United States and exported to Latin America and Africa reflected the colonial supremacist worldview of Eurocentric filmmakers. The portrayal of Africans and Mexicans (the most familiar Latin Americans to filmmakers in the United States) often reinforced racist stereotypes prevalent in the dominant society. In the present context, the focus is on films made by filmmakers *from* Africa or Latin America, wherever they might be working.

As a new means of communication, many early films took the form of "actualities" or recordings of real events. It may seem that we have come full circle with the popularity of today's "reality" television shows. However, the subject matter of early cinematography included recording current events that would become historical events. For example, many battles of the Mexican Revolution, from 1910–1920, were fought with the camera in mind. "... Each of the principal combatants had his 'own' camera crews on hand to record

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2. The Internet Movie Database ([www.imdb.com](http://www.imdb.com)) allows a Power Search, providing an easy way to identify films from a specific location or time period. The search results listed above are gross numbers, with no differentiation between short films, documentaries, or features. However, the numbers do reflect the startling difference in film production between the two continents.

his achievements . . . . The Zapatistas were filmed by several cameramen; Pancho Villa and Carranza favored the United States cinematographers, who rushed across the border to produce newsreels and documentaries . . . .”<sup>3</sup>

Many early films made in Africa were ethnographic in nature, reinforcing the images of Africans as “primitive,” spear-carrying “natives.” These are the images that can be contradicted by showing films made by African filmmakers, depicting the variety and vibrancy of life on the continent. Some films are based on historical epics, others are contemporary narratives, and some are documentaries. The African film industry came into its own in the 1960s, when most of the continent threw off the yoke of colonialism. It would be another thirty years before South Africa overthrew the apartheid system and began to use film as a means of telling its story to the world. Burkina Faso (formerly the French colony Upper Volta) has assumed the role of the center of the African film industry. The Pan African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou (FESPACO) was founded in 1969 and became a government-supported institution by governmental decree on January 7, 1972. FESPACO, now a biennial festival beginning on the last Saturday in February in odd-numbered years, draws thousands of people from around the world to see the latest films. It showcases the best films made on the continent and provides a venue for the intersection of commercial and intellectual segments of the industry.

Students in the United States are not often exposed to “foreign films” and may be reluctant to view them because of the need to read subtitles. However, incorporating films made by African and Latin American filmmakers into a history curriculum can broaden the learning experience. The adage “one picture is worth 1,000 words” is an apt summary of why this is so. After reading about an historical event, to see it depicted on the screen can reinforce the lesson. Having to read subtitles encourages a more focused attention on the film, or viewing a French- or Spanish-language film can be used as a reinforcement of foreign language study. In some instances, discussion may include whether the subtitles were accurate translations of the original dialogue.

As the Latin American historian E. Bradford Burns wrote:

Those film makers who faithfully depict and explain their own society provide historians with valuable documents to study from yet another vantage point the history of Latin America. The films immerse them in the reality of Latin America; they expose them to new perspectives, insights, and explanations; they cannot do other than further deepen and broaden their understanding of Latin America. The scholar, of course, must exercise proper caution in using the film, but those cautions need be no greater than those observed in the more familiar consultation of a text.<sup>4</sup>

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3. López, Ana M., “Early Cinema and Modernity in Latin America,” *Cinema Journal* 40:1 (Fall 2000) 68.

4. Burns, E. Bradford, “The Latin American Film, Realism, and the Historian,” *The History Teacher* 6:4 (August 1973) 574.

These sentiments are equally applicable to using films made by African filmmakers. The inclusion of films from Africa and Latin America can greatly enhance the educational experience of secondary school students. A lesson idea appears after the filmography and annotated bibliography.

### Selected Filmography

*Camp de Thiaroye* (Senegal, 1987). Directed by Ousmane Sembene and Thierno Faty Sow. Based upon a real incident that took place in a camp near Dakar, Senegal, in 1944, the film illustrates why a group of African veterans rebel against the racist injustices they faced on their return from fighting for France in World War II.

*Chavez: Inside the Coup* (Ireland/Netherlands/United States/Germany/Finland/UK, 2003). Directed by Kim Bartley and Donnacha O'Briain. Also known as *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*, this powerful, inside look at the contemporary political scene in Venezuela can be the basis for classroom discussion.

*Daresalam/Let There Be Peace* (Chad, 2000). Directed by Issa Serge Coelo. When civil war breaks out after peasant farmers and workers rebel against an autocratic regime, two childhood friends end up political foes. Soon war becomes a business and violence, the sole means of communication. Bold and beautiful, this stunningly crafted saga of war focuses on how the lives of ordinary people get swept away by extraordinary events. The issues raised in this film find parallels in the current situation in several African countries.

*Keita: The Heritage of the Griot* (Burkina Faso, 1995). Directed by Dani Kouyaté. A dramatization of the thirteenth-century Sundjata Epic within the story of Mabo Keita, a contemporary boy from Burkina Faso who is learning the history of his family. During the film, Mabo and his distant ancestor, Sundjata, engage in parallel quests to understand their destinies, to “know the meaning of their names.” In so doing, Keita makes the case for an “Afrocentric” education, where African tradition, not an imported Western curriculum, is the necessary starting point for African development.

*Last Grave at Dimbaza* (South Africa, 1974). Directed by Chris Curling and Pascoe Macfarlane. This powerful, clandestinely filmed documentary was filmed in South Africa during the height of the anti-apartheid movement. It was smuggled out of that country, won many awards at film festivals around the world, and was used to inform people about the social and economic conditions in South Africa. available from First Run Icarus Films.

*The Last Zapatistas, Forgotten Heroes* (Mexico, 2002). Directed by Francesco Taboada Tabone. Almost 100 years after the 1910 Mexican Revolution, surviving soldiers of the legendary Liberation Army of the South who fought with General Emiliano Zapata reveal a truth not to be found in any book. They speak of the failure of the revolution and of today's neoliberal governments, of the agrarian and ecological disaster threatening their

country, and of imminent civil war if the Zapatista ideals they represent continue to be ignored.

*The Life and Times of Sara Baartman: "The Hottentot Venus"* (South Africa, 1998). Directed by Zola Maseko. In the early nineteenth century, Sara Baartman was taken from South Africa and exhibited as a freak across Britain. This documentary is a graphic depiction of how racism infused scientific discourse in the nineteenth century.

*Lion of the Desert* (Libya, 1981). Directed by Moustapha Akkad. This historical drama of the resistance movement against Italian colonial rule in Libya, led by Omar al-Mukhtar during the period 1911–1931, is told from the Libyan viewpoint.

*Memories of Underdevelopment* (Cuba, 1968). Directed by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea. A wealthy bourgeois aspiring writer decides to stay in Cuba even though his wife and friends flee to Miami. He looks back over the changes in Cuba from the revolution in 1959 to the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 and ponders the effect of living in an underdeveloped country.

*More Time* (Zimbabwe, 1994). Directed by Isaac Mabhikwa. A musical, fast-paced youth drama exploring a young girl's transition into womanhood, the film depicts teenagers living in an urban setting who must deal with universal problems faced by young people everywhere in this time of AIDS. The contrast between life in a rural village during a visit to relatives with big-city life shows that the issues confronting adolescents are transferable between cultures.

*Quilombo* (Brazil, 1984). Directed by Carlos Diegues. A drama based on the seventeenth-century Palmares *quilombo*, or maroon community, founded by escaped slaves in northeastern Brazil. The roots of contemporary Afro-Brazilian culture can be found in the experiences of men and women who rejected their slave status and revolted against the Portuguese plantation owners.

*Yellow Card* (Zimbabwe, 2000). Directed by John Riber. This fast-paced, funny, and touching story of teenage love, lust for life, and passion for soccer is also designed to present important reproductive health issues in an accessible way. A rising star on the local soccer team, responsible son, and high school prefect, Tiyane can't seem to do anything wrong. But hormones are raging and everybody wants a piece of him, resulting in life-changing events.

## Selected Bibliography

Bluestone, Cheryl. "Feature Films as a Teaching Tool." *College Teaching* 48:4 (Fall 2000): 141–146.

Bluestone is a psychologist, but her discussion of the use of films can be extrapolated to the secondary school environment. She concludes by writing: "Feature films often make a wide range of issues relevant to a diverse student body. The more realistic, intimate quality

of films further enhances students' ability to understand and apply concepts. Film analysis, when linked with key themes and issues covered in class, not only can increase students' engagement in the course but also can help develop connected learning experiences and critical thinking skills" (p. 146).

Bonetti, Mahen, and Prerana Reddy, eds. *Through African Eyes: Dialogues with the Directors*. New York: African Film Festival, 2003.

Interviews with leading African directors discussing their work and the African cinema at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

Burns, E. Bradford. "The Latin American Film, Realism, and the Historian." *The History Teacher* 6:4 (August 1973): 569–574.

The late Prof. Burns writes about filmmakers in the early 1970s who brought realism to their films about events that occurred in their countries. He offers the caveat that teachers must be as critical in their selection of films as they are when they select printed material.

Cameron, Kenneth M. *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White*. New York: Continuum, 1994.

A survey of Africa's depiction in films from the early twentieth century to the 1990s, focusing on feature-length, English-language films made in the United States, Great Britain, or South Africa. Includes a useful filmography that lists the archetypes appearing in each film and a bibliography.

Cham, Mbye B., and Claire Andrade-Watkins, eds. *Blackframes: Critical Perspectives on Black Independent Cinema*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988.

Six essays by "noted critics and scholars of African descent" (James A. Snead, Jim Pines, Manthia Diawara, Kobena Mercer, Teshome Gabriel, and Clyde Taylor) offer a succinct overview of the development of independent black cinema from both historical and theoretical perspectives, with some discussion of the industry in Anglophone Africa.

Cortes, Carlos F., and Tom Thompson. "Feature Films and the Teaching of World History." *Social Studies Review* 29:2 (1990) 46–53.

A discussion of how film can be incorporated into the classroom to contextualize the information students absorb from going to the movies.

D'Sa, Benicia. "Social Studies in the Dark: Using Docudramas to Teach History." *The Social Studies* 96:1 (January/February 2005) 9–13.

A discussion of how to use movies, whether documentaries, docudrama, or historical fiction, to teach social studies. Includes practical techniques for how to organize the introduction of the film and relate it to the course content.

De Turegano, Teresa Hoefert. "Featuring African Cinemas." *World Literature Today* 77:3–4 (October–December 2003) 14–18.

A brief review of the contemporary African film industry throughout the continent, from Tunisia to South Africa. Major filmmakers and films are mentioned, as well as the sociopolitical environments in which they work.



King, John. *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America*. London; New York: Verso, 2000. A good overview of the growth of the film industries in Latin America, written in a highly readable style. A country-by-country examination of the development of cinema delineates how political and social changes affected the cinematic output across the continent.

*L'Afrique et le Centenaire du Cinéma*. Paris: Présence Africaine, 1995.

In honor of the 100-year anniversary of cinema, the Panafrican Federation of Film Makers (FEPACI) solicited essays from its membership and published this collection, presenting the ideas of African filmmakers about the state of the African film industry and its future.

Mora, Carl J. *Mexican Cinema: Reflections of a Society, 1896–2004*. 3rd ed. Jefferson, N.C.; London: McFarland & Co., c2005.

A chronological look at Mexican cinema, covering major films and their directors.

Pfaff, Françoise. “Five West African Filmmakers on Their Films.” *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 20:2 (1992) 31–37.

Brief descriptions of major filmmakers and their films, which often draw on historical themes, from Francophone Africa: Souleymane Cissé (Mali), Safi Faye (Senegal), Gaston Kaboré (Burkina Faso), Idrissa Ouedraogo (Burkina Faso), and the “father” of African cinema, Ousmane Sembène.

Pfaff, Françoise, ed. *Focus on African Films*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004.

A collection of essays by leading scholars from various disciplines addressing current issues in the study of African films, looking at individual filmmakers, expatriate filmmakers, and the relation between African film and Latin American and Soviet cinema.

Schnitman, Jorge. *Film Industries in Latin America: Dependency and Development*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Pub. Corp., 1984.

A historical account of the film industry in Latin America, with a focus on Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Bolivia, from 1930 to 1980. Includes statistical tables of films released and a bibliography.

Stevens, Donald F, ed. *Based on a True Story: Latin American History at the Movies*. Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1997.

A collection of essays on major feature films based on people or events in Latin American history, e.g., *Like Water for Chocolate* (Mexico), *The Official Story* (Argentina), and *The Last Supper* (Cuba). Each essay describes the historical record and how it was portrayed on film and includes suggested readings.

Tong, Luding and Mark Bagshaw. “Exploring East Asian Culture through Video Clips.” *Education About Asia* 7:1 (Spring 2002) 13–21.

The authors describe how they incorporated video clips into classroom presentations as a “dramatic way to capture a class’s attention.”

## Web Sites

These Web sites all include searchable film catalogs arranged by subject, such as Africa or Latin America.

[www.ilas.unc.edu/film/k-12.asp](http://www.ilas.unc.edu/film/k-12.asp)

The Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill provides an annotated list of films that are appropriate for K-12 students.

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/cinema/>

LANIC, The Latin American Network Information Center at the University of Texas, has a Web page with links to sources of cinema in Latin America, including a section for educational and distribution resources.

[www.wmm.com/filmcatalog/subjects/sub1.shtml](http://www.wmm.com/filmcatalog/subjects/sub1.shtml)

Women Make Movies is a multicultural, multiracial, nonprofit media arts organization that also distributes films.

[www.africanfilm.com](http://www.africanfilm.com)

Artmattan Productions distributes films from Africa and Latin America.

[www.newsreel.org](http://www.newsreel.org)

The Library of African Cinema, a division of California Newsreel, offers a wide selection of feature films by African filmmakers.

[www.der.org](http://www.der.org)

Documentary Educational Resources

[www.frif.com](http://www.frif.com)

First Run/Icarus Films is a leading distributor of documentary films, DVDs and videos.

[www.twn.org](http://www.twn.org)

Third World Newsreel includes some feature films in its catalog.

<http://sankofastore.com/catalog/homepage.php>

Mypheduh Films

## Lesson Idea: Analyzing Point of View in Feature Films

Students can choose from the films listed in the filmography above. They then find and summarize two published reviews of the film. The summary should take into account the country of origin of the film reviewer, the political orientation of the publication in which the review appeared, and the gender of the film reviewer.

Students then view the film and analyze the director's point of view. The students' analysis of point of view in the film could be organized as follows:

- A topic sentence about the point of view of the director.
- Identification of two examples of the following film techniques used in the film: camera angles, lighting, dialogue, music, pacing, settings, costumes.
- An explanation of how the techniques were used to show the point of view of the director. Use a minimum of two examples for each technique.
- Concluding sentence about how well the director's point of view is achieved.

## Contributors

### About the Editor

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### About the Authors

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**Judy Miller** teaches at Springbrook High School in Silver Spring, Maryland. She is a member of the Springbrook High School Literacy Committee and the U.S. History and Government teaching teams. Since 1990, her African American Studies course has been a perennial favorite. Moreover, she participates in several community organizations that promote and facilitate the education of students living in Montgomery County, Maryland, as well as help teachers and students in South Africa.

**Rob Plunkett** teaches world history at McLean High School in McLean, Virginia. He has been a Reader for the AP World History Exam since 2005. He is an active member of the World History Association and the American Historical Association, and has written book reviews for the College Board.