Year 12 History Transition Work

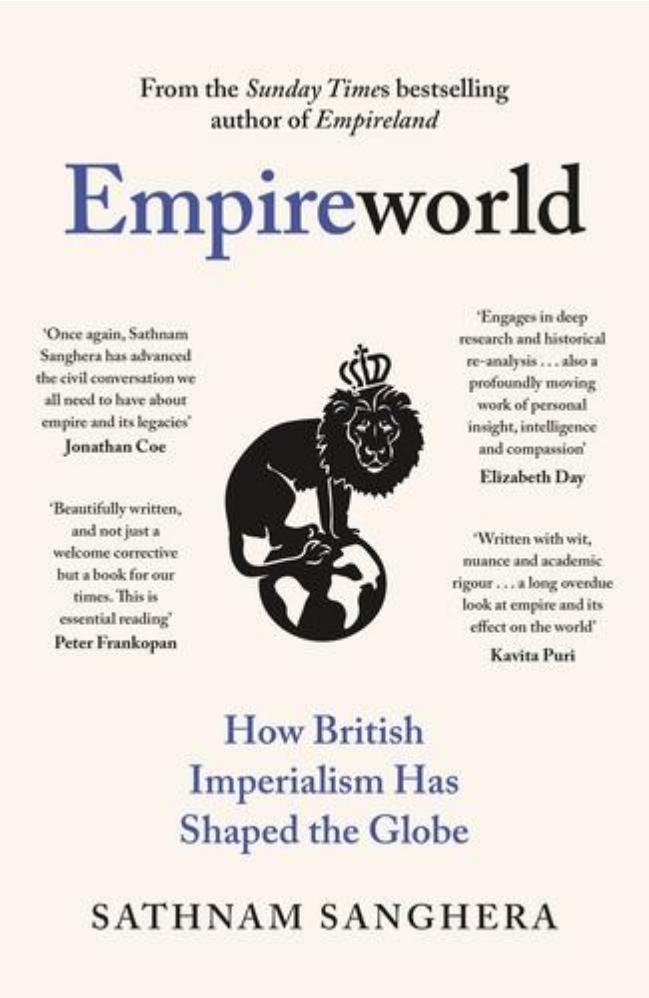
Please bring your notes with you on the first day of lessons!

AQA 1J The British Empire c. 1857-1967

'Empireworld' Introduction: Spot the Colonial Inheritance

Task: Read the Introduction to 'Empireworld' by Sathnam Sanghera. Write a short summary (no longer than one page of A4) answering the question: **why is it important for students in Britain to study the British Empire?**

You may refer to this chapter and any other sources you find through independent research.



There is nowhere on earth that crackles with the atmosphere of British empire like New Delhi. The British may have fled the subcontinent many decades ago, but you can still feel the influence of the largest empire in human history in the city which was designated India's capital by the British, in the place of Calcutta (now Kolkata), in 1931. You can sense it in the streets, the uptight diagonals and preternaturally tidy but scorched patches of lawn sitting in contrast to the chaos of Old Delhi, with its winding, narrow roads, some accessible only on foot. You can divine it in Parliament House which, designed by the British architects Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker in the classical style, mostly ignores Indian architecture, except for the occasional nod to its context in its decoration. You can almost smell it around the bungalows that Indians invented as a form but the British embraced as a colonial ideal, scattering them on tree-lined roads in what is known as the Lutyens Bungalow Zone. It's a 7,000-acre area originally established to house government officials, the colonnaded verandas offering imperial administrators somewhere to cool down, somewhere to take refreshments and somewhere to maintain, in the paranoid colonial way, surveillance.

The mood even seeps into Old Delhi, where the Maidens Hotel, my home for half a week in the middle of a series of international research trips tracing the legacies of British imperialism, doesn't seem to have got the memo that empire ended at all. Established in 1903 by an English- man, but now run by the Indian Oberoi chain of luxury properties, its website talks proudly about how it 'offers a journey back in time's The welcome letter in my room waxes lyrical about how the hotel retains its "original 19th century colonial charm and architecture' (I've seen British colonialism described in all sorts of ways, but never 'charming'). One of the hotel restaurants is called the Curzon Room, after one of the viceroys who exercised authority in India on behalf of the British sovereign. And it all goes down curiously well with a clientele that consists of a mix of Indian and European guests, one of its many rave online reviews declaring that it is 'one of the nicest hotels... Brings you back to the colonial British time.'

It's a surreal place to base myself for my tour examining the inter- national influence of British empire, not least because there are also few places on earth, in the twenty-first century, more committed to the task of decolonization than New and Old Delhi, or what, when combined, India calls its National Capital Territory. I'm not just thinking here of Coronation Park, the 52-acre plot which was once the site of the grandest imperial spectacles, including the Delhi Durbars' but has in recent decades become the dumping ground for the unwanted statues of British imperialists, and now, having been cleaned up, is home to only a handful of viceroys and monarchs. I'm thinking of Hindu nationalist Prime Minister Narendra Modi's claim in 2014 that India had been trou- bled by '1200 years of slave mentality' (he combined British rule with preceding periods of Mughal/Muslim rule in his definition of colonial- ism), and of his efforts to delete all things colonial since. These decolonization efforts have included redeveloping the capital's Parliament in a $1.8 billion initiative, replacing the building opened by the British in 1927 with one dreamed up by Indian architect Bimal Patel. The two Parliament buildings face each other, but on the day I visit the smog caused by Delhi's intense pollution is such that you can barely make out the edges of one building when standing next to the other. New Parliament House is not quite complete, but there has already been an opening ceremony, when Modi unveiled a 28-foot-tall statue of the militant Indian independence figure Subhas Chandra Bose, near the India Gate memorial - where the statue of the British monarch George V once stood. Bose, who was popularly known as Netaji, and whose defiance of British empire extended to seeking alliances with Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, is something of an obsession for Modi's governing, Hindu nationalist party, the BJP. I'm in Delhi on the

very holiday Modi created in tribute to Bose's birthday: so-called Bravery Day, also known as Parakram Diwas, which is being marked by, among other things, a terrifying fly-past of fighter jets that makes this part the world feel like it's being invaded all over again.

As a tribute to Bose, Modi - who is reportedly keen to rename India 'Bharat' (the Hindi name for the country) on anti-colonial grounds- has also rebranded three islands of the Andaman and Nicobar archipelago, previously named after imperial figures and once serving as a colonial penal colony, and this impulse to relabel things in the name of decolonization is hardly new. Since independence, the cities of Bombay, Bangalore and Calcutta have been given more indigenous names - Mumbai, Bengaluru and Kolkata respectively.*

* The names of Cawnpore and Jubblepore have also changed (to Kanpur and Jabalpur) to convey indigenous pronunciations and there are campaigns across the former empire to restore the names of other landmarks, villages, towns and cities. In Febru- ary 2021, South Africa changed the names of several cities, including Port Elizabeth, named after a nineteenth-century governor's wife, to their previous names in Xhosa (Port Elizabeth now being known as Gqeberha). There was a failed campaign in Malaysia to change the name of George Town, the capital of the state of Penang, back to Tanjong Penaga. In 2012, Tasmania formally recognized thirteen traditional place names, including Kunanyi for Hobart's Mount Wellington and recently approved fif- teen new dual names including Kennaook for Cape Grim, the site of an 1828 massacre in which thirty Aboriginal people died, and Taneneryouer for Suicide Bay. In 2017 Queensland's s government in Australia renamed seven places that featured the word 'nigger', and in the south-eastern region of that state there are efforts to relabel places where massacres of Aboriginal people occurred. In Canada the Ogimaa Mikana Pro- ject is campaigning to restore indigenous 'Anishinaabemowin place-names to the streets, avenues, roads, paths, and trails of Gichi Kiiwenging (Toronto)'.

But efforts have intensified. The ceremonial avenue that links the two Secretariat buildings in central New Delhi was once called Kingsway (and, in translation, as Rajpath), but is now known as Kartavya Path (the Hindi word for 'duty'), the Prime Minister's website declaring that the renaming dis- plays a 'shift to public ownership and empowerment'. Elsewhere, Modi has unveiled a new ensign for the Indian Navy in place of the St George's Cross (described casually in news reports as 'a sign of slavery'); the hymn 'Abide With Me', traditionally played to conclude Republic Day celebrations, has been replaced with the patriotic song 'Aye Mere Watan Ke Logon'; Indian musical instruments including the sitar and tabla have been introduced for Independence Day ceremonies; and the government launched the 'Har Ghar Tiranga' campaign in 2022, to mark seventy-five years of India's independence, encouraging Indians to put up the national flag (the Tiranga, meaning 'three-coloured') in celebration. A campaign which means that, as I walk around in 2023, there appear to be more national flags per square foot of the capital than there are posters featuring Modi's face.

The government has also declared war on the English language, colonial use of English having, in the words of Robert Young, 'alienated colonized people from themselves' by devaluing their own languages. In October 2022, officials in BJP-ruled Maharashtra were forbidden to say 'hello' when

greeting the public16- they were instructed to say 'Vande Mataram' instead or 'I bow to thee, oh motherland'. And, following a 2020 move to allow practitioners of ayurveda, the traditional Indian system of medicine, to perform surgery (to the dismay of many medics), the Madhya Pradesh state government has declared its intention to offer medical degrees in Hindi. Speaking to the Guardian, Dr Rajan Sharma, former head of the Indian Medical Council, described the move as 'regressive, backward- looking, pathetic, deplorable'. He continued: 'Where are the Hindi speaking teachers to teach medicine? I am not even going to talk about how good the translations are going to be because that implies one accepts the policy which I don't. The policy will be a failure.'

Sharma's fury echoes through my mind as I continue to walk around India's capital, Googling information within the confines of my inter- national roaming data allocation. I understand why he objects and can see why other people might also have problems with this aspect of India's decolonization project. After all, there are factors besides British colonialism which make English today the world's most spoken language, with approximately 1.5 billion speaking it as a first or second language:19 the enduring popularity of Friends, the dominance of Eng- lish on the internet, American English in general. Also, what happens amid this decolonization to the many English words, not least 'bungalow' and 'veranda', which derive from Indian languages? And what about the practical challenge of removing English from a society which sprinkles it in almost every advert, every TV/Bollywood script, every other conversation, and provides linguistic common ground for India's speakers of at least 121 languages? To see it through, India would need to disown writers like Rohinton Mistry and Arundhati Roy, who happen to be among the best on the planet at writing in English. It would need to take on the popularity of English-language books across India: walk or drive around long enough and someone will try to flog you a pirated copy of Harry Potter or Malcolm Gladwell. It would need to undo its intensely competitive English-language newspaper market,* in which the Times of India enjoys a readership of some 15 million, and the Hindu has some 6 million readers. It would need somehow to erase the fondness across India for classic writers such as Dickens and Shakespeare, and then it would have to ban the intense study of English literature, which, as Gauri Viswanathan has pointed out, has a longer academic history in India than in Britain.

But Sharma, and other critics of the Indian decolonization mission, need to pace their anger. For if Modi continues with or even accelerates his initiative, which seems to have proved popular so far, there will be bigger things to get exercised about. Such was the depth and length of British imperial involvement in the Indian subcontinent that ongoing decolonization could reshape India in profound ways. Not least, the nation's built infrastructure would have to be rethought. Banning new Western-style apartments and office blocks might be relatively achievable and even admirable; it turns out they're not particularly suited to the climate, Time reporting recently that 'many Indian architects [have] abandoned the vernacular traditions' - such as 'the earthen walls and shady verandas of the humid south, and the thick insulating walls and intricate window shades of the hot dry northwest' - only to find that Western-style buildings struggle to cope so well 'with the weather extremes of different regions' in India. But removing other colonial features of the built environment could be rather more disruptive. Take, for instance, the wide streets that would have to go because British colonialists introduced them for reasons of public health (to 'ventilate the towns and blow away smells and dis- ease'), temperature regulation (though if anything they 'proved to be environmentally unsuited to hot climates') and security (to 'preserve colonial power through surveillance'). Digging them up would be quite a task, as would be removing Delhi's

postboxes and the associated system of mail, the empire having introduced the imperial postal service to India in 1854. However, electronic communication has probably done for them anyway, and it was very much Indians who made it work, in a country where few towns even had street names and a dozen different languages might be spoken in one town.

* The British empire helped spread newspapers around the world, but as the printed word began to undermine imperialism it also spread censorship. John M. MacKenzie explains: 'Initially, it seemed to the rulers of empire that the printing press and its products could be a valuable handmaiden of imperialism by transmitting information, laying down regulations, as well as propagating the dominant language and ideas of European civilisation. But... the press ultimately overwhelmed imperial rule by stimulating forces menacing its very existence... By the 1830s, the genie was truly out of the bottle and a prolific Indian-language press was in existence, the first indigenous, non-English press in the empire.'

In turn, even these challenges would be dwarfed by the task of curing India of its obsession with cricket, a palpably imperial spectacle which, in India, is only marginally less popular than breathing. As Brian Stod- dart explains, 'cricket was considered the main vehicle for transferring the appropriate British moral code from the messengers of empire to the local populations. Colonial governors were especially important in emphasising cricket as a ritual demonstration of British behaviour, standards, and moral codes both public and private." Imperialists were so successful that the Bollywood film industry plans its releases around the cricketing calendar; gambling on cricket makes up the vast majority of sports betting in the country; India's national cricket team has many of the world's top players; and the Indian Premier League is the most lucrative domestic league on the planet.

And as if that wasn't enough imperial heritage to face up to, Modi could, if he wanted, take on the popularity of other sports introduced by the British, from horse racing ('the sport of kings, as it was known widely, was inevitably among the first of sporting activities to be introduced to new colonial situations, partly because of the availability of horses, partly because of its traditional association with the English landed gentry, and partly because of its established gambling tradition') to croquet (genteel croquet were to be found in most outposts of empire along with indoor activities such as billiards, board games, and different forms of card playing'), tennis (the Colonial Secretary Lord Milner once came to visit Palestine and, after taking tea with the Governor of Hebron and his guests, played tennis with them; the ball boys were two Arab convicts who had been excused from prison for the occasion, but had to fulfil their duties on court while in leg-irons)and football (Sir Richard Turnbull, a governor of Aden, once remarked that 'when the British empire finally sank beneath the waves of history, it would leave behind it only two monuments: one was the game of Association Football, the other was the expression "Fuck off")." *

Let's face it, Modi would have less on his hands if he attempted to delete dal, or honking in traffic, or religion, from Indian culture. But the ultimate point I'm making here is not that decolonization is futile. Some of these initiatives, and those elsewhere around the globe, are crucial steps in restoring the self-respect and agency of the formerly colonized. In India, they clearly mean a great deal to lots of people: outside New Parliament House, I'm approached by a homeless man who I assume is going to request money, but he instead enquires where I come from and then asks, with pride, 'Do you have anything like this in your country?', indicating the new Parliament. I have to admit that we probably

* 'Britons were directly involved in the beginnings of football in about 60 per cent (well over 100 of them) of the world's countries, and indirectly involved in the spread of football to the rest of the world's countries,' claim Stuart Laycock and Philip Laycock in How Britain Brought Football to the World.

don't: while the Indians have rapidly put up this building, plans to refurbish the disintegrating Houses of Parliament in London are the subject of interminable argument. My ultimate point is that decolonization, which is growing in popularity as an idea across India, across the former British empire and in Britain itself, can only ever be tokenistic. Having spent years tracing the legacies of British imperial- ism in Britain, and having now spent several more years tracing the legacies of imperialism across the globe, I realize that the British empire's influence upon the quarter of the planet it occupied, and its gravitational influence upon the world outside it, has been profound. British imperialism is baked into our world and, frankly, it would be easier to take the ghee out of the masala omelettes I've become addicted to eating for breakfast in India.

Not convinced? Well, to demonstrate what I mean, let's play a game on my journey back from New Delhi to my home in London, noting down every imperial legacy we happen across, and imagining a decolonized world without it. The list can begin on my autorickshaw ride back to the hotel from what was once Viceroy's House (and is now the official residence of India's President, known as Rashtrapati Bhavan) with the direction of traffic: if about one in three of the world's population drives on the left side of the road it's because of British empire. And if you've ever thought Indian traffic couldn't get any more chaotic, just imagine what it would be like if this rule changed in the name of decolonization. Pulling up at the hotel, there's another imperial legacy in the jackets and ties sported by the hotel desk staff, the popularity of Western dress having been sowed in large parts of the world during British empire when, as Timothy Parsons explains, 'in most territories, missionaries and administrators dressed as gentlemen. This made Western clothes into symbols of affluence, education, and social status. '* In a world set free from British imperial influence, people in all sorts of places would be getting ready for school and work in very different ways.

The cultural legacy of empire is further evident in the music and theatre listings printed in the newspapers available in the hotel lobby: as Caroline Ritter notes, British culture was pushed through imperial bodies such as the Empire Press Union and the Imperial Relations Trust. 39 Meanwhile, my hotel TV, tuned into BBC World News, alerts me to the fact that the BBC would need to be disconnected in our decolonialized world, given that it once distributed imperial Christmas messages from the royal family and programming about Empire Day; indeed the World Service used to be called the British Empire Service.

* 'Colonial peoples who aspired to British respectability also used Western-style clothing to subvert the imperial order,' continues Parsons. 'In the early decades of the twentieth century, a form of popular dance known as Beni spread throughout East Africa. Beni consisted of competing troupes of dancers who satirized European popular culture and military brass bands by affecting elaborate and often outrageous Western styles of dress.'

As Simon J. Potter has reported, the BBC considered the overseas projection of 'Britishness' an element of its public-service remit, and worked to connect the white people of the British empire

together. of sweet tea I imbibe as I wait for my airport transfer is, of course, one of the most famous British imperial legacies of all, the British not only developing a taste for the beverage, but setting up tea and sugar plantations across the planet to cater for demand, and then shipping in enslaved people and indentured labourers to work on them. The world's agriculture would have developed differently without the British empire: entire one-crop economies based on commodities required by the imperial machine wouldn't have become monocultural economies, and the Indian diaspora would look very different too.

And there's no respite from the legacies of British colonization at the airport. The tour guides getting out of taxis and making their way to Arrivals are a reminder that some travel firms have their roots in empire, not least one of the poshest, Cox and Kings, the upmarket travel agent with over 260 years of experience, which was originally founded in 1758 by Richard Cox, assistant to the British Army's Commander in Chief, 'to supply British troops as they plundered the subcontinent' with goods such as uniforms as well as services such as banking. It became 'an important cog in Britain's imperial war machine', and also carried back to Britain loot taken by the East India Company. The sniffer dogs placed at strategic points around Departures serve to remind us that the British empire was one of the largest drug-trading enter- prises of all time, with imperialists smuggling opium grown in India into China (to help pay for the tea they needed before they learned to grow it themselves) and then going to war with China to insist it accepted its imports of the drug.* The first attempts to police the international drug trade came as a consequence of that imperial trade in and the emerging international trade in cocaine was influenced, indirectly, by British imperial policies. Without the British empire, people would be getting their kicks in all sorts of different ways. And at the check-in and immigration desks there's another imperial legacy in the form of the maddening paperwork required for entering and leaving India. Ironically, a large number of academic papers have been published analysing the prominent role that paper bureaucracy played in British empire, paper and wood being described as 'the key material foundations of the colonial state'.

Meanwhile, the airport shops are packed with produce that remind us of British empire's commercial drive. There's a good chance that any diamonds in the jewellery on sale will be from De Beers, which is majority-owned by the miner Anglo American, both companies having deep imperial roots in South Africa.

* Thomas Manuel maintains that 'at its peak, opium was the third-highest source of revenue for the British in India, after land and salt. This makes the Honourable East India Company a drug cartel masquerading as a joint stock corporation masquerading. as a government. The British Raj in the nineteenth century was a narco-state-a country sustained by trade in an illegal drug.'

If you're shopping for more pro- saic fare and pick up some, say, Vaseline, or Lux soap or Sure deodorant, you'll be providing custom to Unilever, the British multinational, which is one of the largest consumer goods companies in the world, and has its roots firmly in British empire, having merged with the company that descended from the Royal Niger Company, the nineteenth-century British mercantile enterprise which pioneered the British colonization of Nigeria. The cigarettes in duty-free serve as a reminder that the tobacco trade had been intrinsic to British empire from its earliest days, various people having been proposed as the first to bring tobacco t England, including crew members on John Hawkins' pioneering slave trading voyage in 1562, and imperialists proceeding to make a fortune from farming it, often with the use of enslaved labour. Some academics argue that tobacco companies continue to function in imperial ways today, the Tobacco

Control Research Group at the University of Bath arguing that 'there is a line of heritage and practice that runs from 17th modern-day century slave-trading merchants [of British empire] to tobacco companies', which still have a 'colonial mindset', using bribes when necessary in Africa, engaging in corruption, exploiting cheap labour, often interfering in the governance of post-colonial regions, making widespread use of unlawful child labour, using predatory marketing to target black customers, while still preaching racial justice.51 The booze in duty-free is a reminder that British imperialists tried to control the production of local spirits in all sorts of places, as the revenue generated from imported alcohol was so lucrative for them,52 alternating profiteering with bouts of alcohol prohibition, often under the influence of missionaries. The sight of travellers drinking enthusiastically before their night-time flights is a reminder of the fact that British imperialists spread drunkenness across the planet, most notably among indigenous Americans. * And the mention of 'curry' on numerous menus serves to remind us how British empire shaped modern cuisine. Walking up to the airport destination and arrival boards, the names of all sorts of cities and countries alert us to the fact that navigating the

* A medical paper published in 2000 maintained that the extraordinary barrage of inducements to drink heavily in the first years after European contact should be taken into account in order to understand the rise of 'native drinking cultures'. 'Alcohol has a disproportionately negative impact on Native Americans; their age-adjusted alco- holism mortality rate for the period 1992-1994 is around six times that of the US population as a whole in 1993... In areas north of Arizona and New Mexico there were no significant traditions of fermented or distilled beverages before European contact, and alcohol's effects were largely unknown through much of North America.' Several historians have shown evidence of the early Americans' conscious and planned exploitation of alcohol as a highly lucrative trading product. 'Alcohol was also used as a tool of "diplomacy" in official dealings between authorities and natives, which later evolved into a de facto policy of using alcohol as a bargaining chip in the appropriation of traditional land holdings.'`

planet would be a very different experience without British imperial influence. The British claim to have founded the Indian cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay (in their modern forms, as they were then known). Modern Singapore was established in the nineteenth century by imperialist Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, at a time when the British empire was looking for somewhere to base its merchant fleet. Nairobi was established by colonial authorities in 1899 as a rail depot on the Uganda-Kenya Railway. Sierra Leone, and its capital, Freetown, were created and shaped by British imperialists. 58 Hong Kong became the global capital it is today after being developed by the British. Not only was the modern nation of Nigeria created by the British, but the story goes that it was a writer on The Times who came up with the name, rather putting my career achievements on the newspaper into * And then, flickering across the destination and arrival boards, there is the presence of the nation that India increasingly wants to see itself on terms with: the United States of America. Which would have to go too. One of the biggest lies America tells itself is that it rejects everything the awful empire ever stood for. In accordance with birth to a brand- this version of events, the American Revolution gave new country dedicated to the ideals of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness when the Thirteen Colonies faced off against the British Crown over the issue of local taxation. However, the Thirteen Colonies in themselves, and most of the settlers involved, represented a unique phase of British empire. The US was a British imperial creation.

I'll admit that the deletion of entire superpowers makes me doubt the wisdom of continuing with this game in decolonization. If nothing else, the counterfactuality it inspires is silly. Imagining alternative narratives in world history occasionally makes for diverting novels and films, but it's an inane way of viewing history. Who is to say that if the Puritans, members of that reform movement that arose within the Church of England in the sixteenth century, had not set up a successful society in a specific part of North America, someone else would not have? Or that if British imperialists had not got into the tea trade, other people wouldn't have done so, or that if the British had not built around to it, or that if the British hadn't insisted on driving on the left, railways in India and Africa, the indigenous would not have the Indians wouldn't have decided to drive on the left anyway. But the book I happen to be reading, I Didn't Do It for You: How the World Used and Abused a Small African Nation, provides unexpected encouragement when its author, Michela Wrong, reveals that others play a version of the game.

*"The name "Nigeria" was a consciously invented one, first appearing in an article of the London Times on 8 January 1897, at the beginning of the year in which Queen Victoria celebrated her Diamond Jubilee,' asserts Kwasi Kwarteng. 'Flora Shaw, a journalist and commentator on colonial affairs, suggested the name, which she thought would be a good title for the "agglomeration of pagan and Mohammedan states which have been brought... within the confines of a British protectorate"."

"Those who travel around Africa will be familiar with the mental game of "Spot the Colonial Inheritance", she says.

Is that Angolan secretary's failure to process your paperwork the result of Mediterranean inertia, fostered by the Portuguese, or a symptom of the bureaucratic obfuscation cultivated by a Marxist government? Is the bombast of a West African leader a legacy of a French love of words, or a modern version of the traditional African village palaver? Which colonial master left the deeper psychological mark: Britain, France, Portugal, or Belgium? There are places where the colonial past seems to have left only the most cosmetic of traces on a resilient local culture, and places where the wounds inflicted seem beyond repair.

So, I carry on and I'm afraid that the sight of 'Melbourne' on the departures board, a city named after the one-time British Prime Minister William Lamb, 2nd Viscount Melbourne, alerts me to the fact that decolonization would require the renaming of thousands of places. For it's a curious fact that after long, difficult, dangerous journeys colonists often named the new places they had 'discovered' after the places they had just left, or after British monarchs and aristocrats whom they had just escaped. Various online sources used in combination reveal61 that there are at least thirty-five places called York in the world, there are at least eighteen places named Birmingham, there are more than eighty named Victoria" (in Mauritius, a couple of days before I arrive in India, I find myself driving through a village called Queen Victoria - the colonists in that case not even bothering to delete the royal title), there are at least fifty-three Plymouths, and there are at least forty-one places in the world named Jamestown (I'm not sure if it's flattery or an insult that no one has named anything anywhere after my hometown of Wolverhampton). Elsewhere, there are at least seventy-six Kingstons or Kingstowns outside the UK, at least fifty places called Georgetown, including the capital of Guyana, and at least fifty-one places named after Queen Elizabeth II, including two sets of

Elizabeth Islands, a national park in Uganda and an old, abandoned mine in Australia. Indeed, a Twitter user informed me recently that their regular drive from Allentown, Pennsylvania, to Baltimore, Maryland, would take them through, in order, Reading, Lancaster, York, Shrewsbury and Hereford, places all named after British counterparts.

I encounter adverts for HSBC on the walk to the plane - the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation having been established in 1865 to facilitate British imperial trade. And upon boarding, I spot a BP truck refuelling another aircraft on the tarmac, and remember that BP grew out of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which was founded by the British when oil was discovered in Iran. So the thousands of BP operations across the planet might have to go. I'm flying with an Indian airline, but there are more than a few British Airways planes on the tarmac, an airline which would have to go as it was formed from a com- bination of the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC), British European Airways (BEA) and Imperial Airways, which offered routes to imperial territories. And once we're in the air, the darkness is not enough to stop the identification of potential imperial legacies. If that's a freight ship lit up on the ocean below, there's roughly a one-in-three chance that it's run by DP World, which operates five terminals in India, and which not long ago acquired P&O Ferries," the 'O' in P&O standing for 'Oriental' and coming from the success the company had navigating new journeys to and from the empire." If that is Cyprus lit up in the distance, then British empire can take some of the credit, the British colonial government having launched an island-wide electrification scheme after the Second World War in order to counter a 'legitimacy crisis' over its continued rule.

It'll be a shame to plunge places like these back into darkness. Just as it will be unfortunate to dig up or erase all the things that might or might not be passing below, including the nations with unnatural,

arbitrary borders drawn by colonists,* the cities laid out by British imperialists in rectilinear or grid-iron form (a feature of imperial cities beyond New Delhi- not least Brisbane, 'a striking example of the failure of the rectangular plan in undulating or hilly country, sometimes generating road gradients as steep as 1 in 3'), the thousands of public squares (British imperialists, having admired what was done by the London aristocratic estates', spread them across the empire, from the North American colony of New Haven to Savannah, 'the Ulster plantation towns' and Charleston in 1680), the shanty towns and informal settlements which are 'perhaps the most serious legacy of the colonial city' (such informal building being a feature of colonial urban development from its outset, with patterns of informal settlement on the edge of the city which the colonial authorities had little interest in control- ling or managing")," the hundreds of miles of canal (the British having doubled the area under irrigation in India between 1891 and 1938)," the 'water supply and sewerage systems, electricity, streetcars, hospitals, railways, telephones, paved roads, and other amenities' installed else- where, the 'mines [which] brought the outside world into central Africa', the 'harbours, shipping lines, and the telegraph [which] linked the tropical lands to the rest of the world', the 'irrigation works, tele- communications networks, and botanical research stations', the freight railways in Africa, the bridges, the modern port in the Israeli Haifa, the treaty ports built outside empire in places like Shanghai and packed with Western buildings, the hill stations like Simla, Ootacamund and Penang Hill built to offer

* Academics sometimes label countries with political borders which are not with how their citizens wish to be distributed as 'artificial states", Alberto Alesina et al. aligned elaborate on the phenomenon: 'Former colonizers or post-war agreements among major powers regarding borders

have often created monstrosities in which ethnic, religious or linguistic groups were thrown together or separated without any respect for those groups' aspirations. Eighty percent of African borders follow latitudinal and longitudinal lines, and many scholars believe that such artificial (unnatural) borders, which create ethnically fragmented countries or, conversely, separate the same into bordering countries, are at the root of Africa's economic tragedy.'

the British 'an escape from discomfort, illness and homesickness', the libraries, museums, public parks, botanic gar- dens, zoos, art galleries, universities and hospitals, the general post offices, the cathedrals, churches and cemeteries, the Freemasons' lodges, and the new towns that spread across empire even as the imperial project began to dissolve, the population growth and political chaos it inspired creating the need for them in India, Israel, Malaysia and elsewhere.*

*Any reflection upon the incredible built legacies of British empire needs to take in the fact that British imperialists were also enthusiastic demolishers. The wide street that was developed into the primary physical feature of the colonial urban landscape was frequently imposed at great social cost by destroying densely populated areas, as was the case in Indian cities following the Rebellion of 1857 and in port cities during the early twentieth-century plague epidemics. 'Entire villages and sections of Calcutta and Bombay were pulled down for reasons of security,' writes MacKenzie. The for- tresses of Indian rulers were reduced to make sure they could not be used against the British. 'After the second Anglo-Burmese War in the 1850s, the British destroyed the indigenous town on the banks of the Yangon River and set about building the new capital of Rangoon. In the third Anglo-Burmese War, the British demolished parts of Mandalay... In Africa, the great Abyssinian fortress of Maqdala was totally razed to the ground after the British invasion in 1867-68. Part of the city of Kumasi and the then royal palace were destroyed by the British during the third Anglo-Asante War in 1874. In 1897, the city of Benin was seriously damaged in the British campaign... In many parts of the world, villages were destroyed as acts of war or of revenge and punishment.'

+ Strings states earlier that 'it is not surprising that the French and British were at the helm of eighteenth-century racial scientific discourse marking black people as "gluttonous." The growing codification of black people as greedy eaters developed against the backdrop of the accelerating slave trade among these two colonial powers of the eighteenth century. This, together with the exigencies of reasoned self- management in the context of the High Enlightenment, transformed the act of eating from personal to political. Indulging in food, once deemed by philosophers to be a lowbrow predilection of slow-witted persons, became evidence of actual low breeding... Such behaviour was deemed wholly uncharacteristic of the rational thinkers sitting atop the new racial hierarchy... The tail end of the eighteenth century would mark the dawn of a new era. In an attempt to rationalize even aesthetic values, the beauty of the plump feminine form was reconsidered.'

There comes the inevitable moment when I succumb to the onboard entertainment, and you've guessed it, there's no respite here from British imperial legacies. If the Indian content is dominated by light-skinned actors and models, it's partly because the British empire was one of the enterprises

that pushed light skin as an ideal. It's sometimes claimed that such attitudes in India are a consequence of globalization - or of the eco- nomic liberalization of the late 1980s, which exposed the nation to Western influence. But Mobeen Hussain has shown that this colourism began to take root in India in the colonial age, through the sale and advertising of products such as Hazeline creams and Pond's Vanishing Cream. If most actors and models, across all of the onboard content, are relentlessly skinny, then it's a consequence of French and British imperial attitudes, Sabrina Strings arguing that 'at the same time that gluttony and fatness were becoming associated with African women in scientific racial literature, the values of delicacy, discipline, and a slimmer physique were becoming associated with English women by the arbiters of taste and the purveyors morality'. And if a striking number of Hollywood films feature the modern Hollywood phenomenon of the British baddie, in the form of Alan Rickman, for instance, taking on the role of a sinister Sheriff of Nottingham opposite Kevin Costner in Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves, Christopher Lee playing Count Dracula, Frankenstein's monster and the gruesome Kharis in The Mummy, I reckon it's because of British empire. Let's face it, Hollywood has a history of favouring British actors when casting villains, even when those villains are actually German Nazis." Film enthusiasts offer a variety of explanations for this phenomenon, including the British stage tradition and the relative affordability of British actors, but in my opinion British imperialism explains it entirely. Having famously fought the British empire, America finds it natural to equate Britishness with 'evil', even though it is itself a creation of the 'evil' enterprise in question.

I fall in and out of sleep while watching Ralph Fiennes do a half-decent job of making Lord Voldemort appear forbidding, his appearance merging in my half-dreams with the noseless abandoned imperial statues I'd encountered earlier that day in Delhi's Coronation Park. It'll be a shame to get a non-Brit to play him in the name of decolonization. Just as it will be a shame to get rid of the other imperial motifs I spot on the remainder of my journey home, not least the green belt which I spot bordering English cities visible below me in the light of dawn (it might be a planning concept closely associated with England but the concept of the 'physical separation of town and country by a building-free zone, usually encircling the town', was there in early colonial plantations, such as Ulster and Philadelphia, which reserved a common for sheep pasturing, and was extended to all sorts of imperial developments including Adelaide) and the pet dogs being walked around my neighbourhood (academics have argued that thinking and processes involved in the creation of modern breeds were influenced by imperial notions of race). **

Yes, even your resident floof would get it in this fully decolonized world, though not even imagining my life without Betty, Renée and Fluffy has me finally quitting this game. If I eventually give up, or at least take one day off, it's because of the pile of unread newspapers waiting for me at home in my study. For the endless news stories they contain with imperial explanations demonstrate that full decolonization is ultimately impossible not only because of the sheer volume of imperial legacies (truly, to understand the modern world, you need to understand British empire), but because many of the legacies are contradictory. For instance, just as imperialists both put up and pulled down buildings, just as the spread of newspapers across empire led to the spread of press censorship, and just as British colonialism both introduced people to alcohol and kept them away from it, a news item about an impending election in New Zealand reminds me that British empire spread

democracy to large parts of the world, as another news story, about violence in the former British Mandate of Palestine repression in Myanmar, reminds me that the imperial enterprise also sowed discord in ways that still destabilize many other regions of the planet. A story about tea workers being exploited in Kenya reminds me that the British empire both dehumanized millions of Indian labourers across its plantations through indenture and laid the foundations of international labour laws, which have protected millions of others.

On it goes. The British empire both spread malaria and other diseases to millions and helped millions survive them. The British empire was an incubator and propagator of white supremacy, as well as a forum in which humanitarians founded campaigns that liberated people from crude ethnic classification. The British empire spread anti-gay repressive legislation which continues to delimit lives, but in other places it encouraged fair treatment through the establishment of the rule of law. The British empire at times facilitated the smooth delivery of justice and at others set up colonial police forces which brutalized their own people, and some descendent police forces continue to do so into the twenty-first century. The British empire played a formative role in identifying hunger as a blight to combat across the globe, but colonial policies also caused deadly famines and imperialists used claims of charity as a cover for cynical exploitation. British empire drove some animal species to the point of extinction and was a pioneer in inflicting man- made climate change upon the planet, but then created ways to protect both animals and the environment. It brought communities together by giving them the common ground of the English language and alienated people from their own culture and traditions by insisting on the use of English. It supercharged education in Nigeria and allowed illiteracy to thrive in Iraq out of total self-interest. It displaced and unmoored mil- lions, and millions of others work and shelter. The British empire was both haphazard and planned. It was involved intensely in slavery and in the mission of anti-slavery. It resisted dissent with brutal violence and was also innately auto-critical. It transported the human race into a world of instant global communication, yet propagated prejudices that meant millions closed their hearts to, and sometimes raised their fists at, their own neighbours. Not only would fully decolonizing the planet of British empire be more difficult than, as I said earlier, get- ting the ghee out of a breakfast-time masala omelette, it would also involve putting the ghee back in. And then repeating the impossible process over and over and over and over again.

**Dog breeds were essential to Charles Darwin's early thinking on species, and just a glance at W. Gordon Stables' 1877 book The Practical Kennel Guide shows how dogs were racialized in imperial ways. Stables writes: 'it is... a strange fact, that the more highly civilised a nation is, the greater is its care and culture of the canine race, and the more highly bred are its dogs. Look at China, for example, or even native India whose semi-civilisation seems to have been crystallised in the bud many, many hundreds of years ago - look at these nations, and look at their dogs-mongrel, gaunt, and thievish, and only half reclaimed from the wild state.'

AQA 2Q American Dream: Reality and Illusion 1945-1980

Task 1: Timeline of USA up to 1945

Using the internet, research US history up to 1945 to help you put the pictures below into chronological order on a timeline. We have given you a date or brief heading for each event to help you out. Pick 5 or 6 events to find out a little more about and write a caption under the pictures.

Task 2: How does the US Political System work?

In order to understand the events we will study in this course you will need to have an understanding of how the US system of government works, including understanding the system of "checks and balances" established under the constitution within the three branches of the federal government.

Your task is to read the information on the sheet "How does the US Political System work?" and complete the diagram showing the three branches of government.

Task 3: Did the US live up to the ideals set out in the Constitution? (Linking the politics to the history!)

Read the preamble to the Constitution on the page "How does the US Political System work?" (beginning "We, the people…")and study your timeline.

a) Can you find any evidence that the US lived up to the ideals listed up to 1945?
b) Can you find any evidence that the USA did not live up to the ideals listed up to 1945?

You could set this out in a table if you wish: Evidence the US has met the ideals/Evidence it has not.


Union v. Confederation


Flapper


Wounded Knee

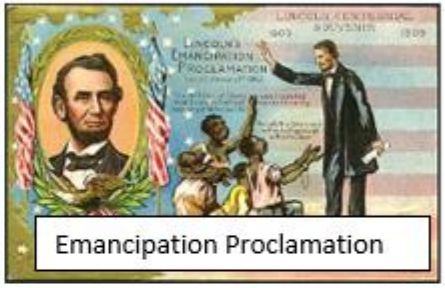

Jamestown


FOR A NEW DEAL
FDR


1773


1929


1941


Emancipation Proclamation


California, 1848


Nuclear bomb


1920s


Louisiana Purchase


The Chicago Daily Tribune.
U.S. AT WAR: WILSON
USA joins War

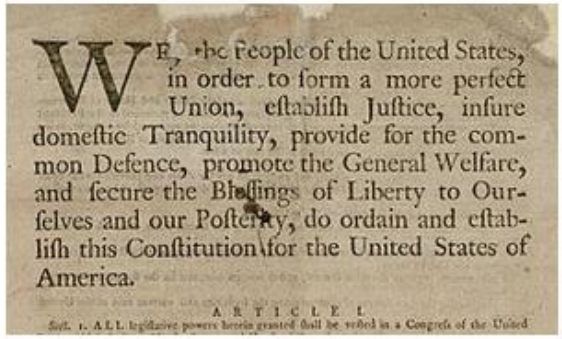

1776


Hooverville


American Revolutionary War

How does the US Political System work?

The United States Constitution was drafted in 1787 and came into force in 1789, following the War of Independence. The Constitution is the supreme law of the US. In the Constitution, the framework of national government is laid out. The first articles explain the separation of powers, whereby the federal government is divided into three branches: the **Executive**, the **Legislative** and the **Judiciary**. Later articles outline the system of **federalism**, describing the rights and responsibilities of state governments. Since the Constitution was written it has been amended 27 times to meet the needs of a nation that has changed considerably since 1787.



WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, eſtabliſh Juſtice, inſure domeſtic Tranquility, provide for the common Defence, promote the General Welfare, and ſecure the Bleſſings of Liberty to Ourſelves and our Poſterity, do ordain and eſtabliſh this Conſtitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Sect. 1. All legiſlative powers herein granted ſhall be veſted in a Congreſs of the United

Outline of the United States Constitution

Preamble

'We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and confirm the Constitution for the United States of America.'

Article I: The Legislature (Congress)

Congress is divided into two parts:

1. The House of Representatives: 435 members determined by population.
2. The Senate: 100 members since 1959 – two from each state.

The **House of Representatives:**

- may start impeachment against a President or other high government officials.
- All bills that deal with money must begin in the House.
- Speaker of the House presides over proceedings.
- Members, known as Congressmen, are elected every two years (minimum age: 25).

The **Senate:**

- was originally elected by state legislatures, but since Seventeenth Amendment in 1913 they are directly elected.
- approves or rejects nominations from President for senior government officials and Supreme Court justices (Advice and Consent Power).
- approves or rejects treaties with other countries (Advice and Consent Power).
- Debate is unlimited.
- The Vice-President presides over proceedings and can only vote in the event of a tie.
- Senators are elected for six years (citizens over 30 years). A third are elected every two years.

Article II: The Executive (President and Government)

President is elected every four years. Originally elected without limit. Since the Twenty-Second Amendment, can only serve two terms. Must be native born and at least 35 years of age.

President is:

- Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces
- Chief Executive (Head of Government)
- Head of State
- Chief lawmaker.

Article III: The Judiciary

US Supreme Court created as highest court of appeal for federal and state cases. Precise composition of Courts defined by Judiciary Act of 1789.

Article IV: Inter-state relations

- All states are guaranteed a republican form of government.
- Any new state is equal to the original 13 states.
- Each state shall respect the laws of the other states.

Article V: Amending the Constitution

Amendments must receive two-thirds support from both Houses of Congress and three-quarters of the states before they become law.

Article VI: Ratification of the Constitution

Nine of the original 13 states had to accept the Constitution before it could become law.

The three parts of the federal government

The Executive – the Government – comprises the President and the Departments of State.

The Legislature – the law-making branch of government – is the United States Congress, which is divided into two houses:

The Senate contains representatives of the 50 states. Each state – no matter how big or small – has two senators, so there are 100 senators.

The House of Representatives contains congressmen, who are elected from electoral districts with roughly equal populations. Two of the smallest states, Delaware and Rhode Island, have only one congressman each. But California, the most populous state in the Union, has 53 congressmen! There are 435 congressmen in all.

The Judiciary is the branch of government that interprets the laws passed by the Congress and state governments and actions by the President and state governments. The most important part of the judiciary is the US Supreme Court. It contains nine judges, nominated by the President and supported by the US Senate. It also has acquired the power to interpret the US Constitution. Under the Supreme Court are federal courts which deal with cases concerning federal or national law.

US elections: A brief guide

In the USA, people vote for the President and Vice President, the US Congress, State governments and legislatures, and city and county governments. Even the local sheriff is elected!

The President and Vice President are elected every four years by all US citizens over 18 (up to 1969 voters had to be 21).

Because it is a federal state, votes for the President are added up within each of the 50 states. Each state has votes to the 'Electoral College' based on its combined number of senators and congressmen.

The popular vote for the President takes place on the first Tuesday of November. The Electoral College then cast their votes for the President in December. The President then takes office on 20 January of the following year (up to 1933 it was not until March).

Senators are elected for six years. Congressmen are elected for two years.

The separation of powers between the federal and state governments

The United States is a federal state. This means that political powers and responsibilities are divided between the central (federal) government, based in Washington DC, and the 50 state governments.

Powers reserved for the federal government alone

- Regulation of foreign trade
- Regulation of inter-state commerce
- Minting money
- Running the post office
- Regulating immigration
- Granting copyrights and patents
- Declaring war and peace
- Admitting new states
- Fixing weights and measures
- Organising the armed forces
- Governing the federal capital, Washington DC
- Conducting foreign relations.

Powers reserved for state governments only

- Conducting elections
- Establishing voter qualifications
- Providing local government
- Regulating contracts
- Regulating trade within the state
- Providing education
- Maintaining a police force and internal law and order.

Powers shared by federal and state governments

- Taxation
- Controlling the state militia, later known as the National Guard.

The American Constitution: A system of checks and balances

	Executive	Legislative	Judiciary
Name:			
Members:			
How and when are they chosen:			
Roles and responsibilities:			