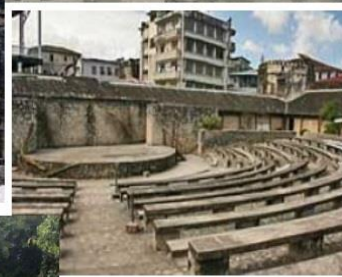
IDEOLOGUE



BOAZ ADHENGO

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PREFACE

It is common for sociological discussions of ideology to begin by acknowledging, if not bemoaning, the plurality of different ways of using the term ideology. Marx and Engels used it to denote the most abstract conceptions that populate an imaginary world of ideas independent of material life; later Marxists often used it to denote conspiratorial ideational wool pulled over the eyes of the masses; political scientists use it to denote packages of positions, often believed to be unifiable in a single preferred optimal state, and, of course, many of us use it to denote the beliefs, attitudes and opinions of those with whom we disagree. Thus ideology is a generalization of social relations; it is the ideal form of the actual relations, seen from the perspective of one position in this set of relations, but universalized, idealized and abstracted.

If one accepts that ideology is shared, that it helps to interpret the social world, and that it normatively specifies (*or requires*) good and proper ways of addressing life's problems, then it is easy to see how ideology reflects and reinforces what psychologists might refer to as relational, epistemic, and existential needs or motives.

Specific ideologies crystallize and communicate the widely (but not unanimously) shared beliefs, opinions, and values of an identifiable group, class, constituency, or society. Ideologies also endeavour to describe or interpret the world as it is - by making assertions or assumptions about human nature, historical events, present realities, and future possibilities - and to envision the world as it should be, specifying acceptable means of attaining social, economic, and political ideals. To the extent that different ideologies represent socially shared but competing philosophies of life and how it should be lived (and how society should be governed), it stands to reason that different ideologies should both elicit and express at least somewhat different social, cognitive, and motivational styles or tendencies on the part of their adherents.

One of the perennial questions asked by social and political psychologists concerns the structure of ideology, that is, the manner and extent to which political attitudes are cognitively organized according to one or more dimensions of preference or judgment.

Since the time of the French Revolution, ideological opinions have been classified most often in terms of a single left-right dimension. This usage derives from the fact that late-eighteenth century supporters of the status quo sat on the right side of the French Assembly hall and its opponents sat on the left. In the United States and elsewhere, it is becoming increasingly common to substitute "*liberal*" and "*conservative*" for "*left*" and "*right*," respectively, and this equation expresses well the long-lasting ideological divide concerning preferences for change versus stability, which goes back at least as far as 1789.

This formulation of the left-right distinction and many others contain two interrelated aspects, namely (**a**) advocating versus resisting social change (*as opposed to tradition*), and (**b**) rejecting versus accepting inequality.

Treating ideology as an interrelated set of attitudes, values, and beliefs with cognitive, affective, and motivational properties implies that ideologies can (*and should*) be analysed both in terms of their contents and their functions. That is, ideology can be thought of as having both a discursive (*socially constructed*) superstructure and a functional (*or motivational*) substructure. The discursive superstructure refers to the network of socially constructed attitudes, values, and beliefs bound up with a particular ideological position at a particular time and place. Defined in this way, the discursive superstructure can be thought of as a "social representation" that guides political judgment in a top-down schematic fashion and is typically transmitted from political elites to the public at large.

The functional substructure refers to the ensemble of social and psychological needs, goals, and motives that drive the political interests of ordinary citizens in a bottom-up fashion and are served by the discursive contents of ideology. The socially shared content of a discursive superstructure, that is, its specific bundling of attitudes, values, and beliefs, presumably results from both communicative and strategic forms of interaction between partisan elites and their followers.

It has been suggested that ideology serves as a guide and compass through the thicket of political life, that is, it addresses a number of epistemic needs, such as explanation, evaluation, and orientation. We should not be surprised to learn, then, that psychological variables pertaining to the management of uncertainty predict both reliance on ideology in general and endorsement of specific policy positions.

Ideological self-placement is strongly predictive of intergroup attitudes. More specifically, conservative and right-wing orientations are generally associated with stereotyping, prejudice, intolerance, and hostility toward a wide variety of outgroups, especially low-status or stigmatized outgroups. The fact that conservatives express less-favourable attitudes than liberals express toward disadvantaged or stigmatized groups is not seriously disputed in social science research, although there is some debate about whether the differences are motivated by intergroup bias or a differential degree of commitment to individualism, traditionalism, meritocracy, and other conservative values. Thus ideology is not only an organizing device or a shortcut for making heuristic judgments about various political objects; it is also a device for explaining and even rationalizing the way things are or, alternatively, how things should be different than they are.

The power of ideology to explain and justify discrepancies between the current social order and some alternative not only maintains support for the status quo, but also serves for its adherents the palliative function of alleviating dissonance or discomfort associated with the awareness of systemic injustice or inequality.

CHAPTER ONE

ancient

In the ancient world slavery accounted for perhaps two-thirds of the population of Athens under Pericles, and perhaps half the population of what is now Italy under Julius Caesar. Ancient Egypt probably had a higher percentage. In Ancient Greece and Rome, the slave population was increased by servile births, by prisoners of war, and by debtors. Slaves included house servants, athletes, doctors, accountants, artists, philosophers, show business personalities, and men and women used for the pleasures of the flesh (sexual comfort). Almost all the professions - *with the exception of the army, the priesthood and the law* - were manned by slaves, and many by slaves alone. Priests, farmers, soldiers, legislators, and some of the traders and artisans were citizens. To a poor man in Athens or Rome, to become a slave might be a way to eat, to live in a better house, to avoid debt, and to be secure under the protection of a good master.

Until the insane cruelties of the emperors who succeeded Julius Caesar, there is no substantial evidence that slaves were treated more harshly in Rome than in Athens. But after about 50 B.C. servitude became increasingly onerous. In Rome, slaves never had civic rights; slaves could only give evidence under torture (*because without torture, the witness could not be believed*); when a man died suddenly, all his slaves were murdered, regardless of guilt to frequently speak their native foreign language, these slaves who were largely European would be strangers from capture to death; thus, the revolt of Spartacus (73 - 70 B.C.), which shook the Roman Republic to its foundations, made the relationship between masters and slaves much more severe; so did the sale of huge numbers of slaves by triumphant generals such as Crassus and Julius Caesar. At one time during the reign of Augustus, the slave population might have outnumbered that of free persons. It is fashionable to suggest that Roman cruelty existed, in all its obscenity, long before slavery became essential to the Imperial economy. If this

assumption is accurate, then Rome's mass slavery gave sadism a wide opportunity.

The Arabs, by and large, understood the inefficiencies of servitude. Moslem thought was much more common sensual than the contradictory Romano-Christian views on slavery. Though Christianity had been adopted first by the poor and the slaves of the Mediterranean world, the Church was ambivalent about slavery once Christianity became the established religion; for slavery was essential to civilized life unless the rich and powerful were prepared to work themselves. The well-born could fight and write verses and philosophize, appear in law courts and engage in disputation, haggle and trade, gamble and socialize, but not for them the hard graft of the same daily grind of business. This situation could be sustained only in a sedentary, settled society, and slavery diminished with the breakup of the Empire, to be replaced by warfare, murder, the slaughter of prisoners, and all the other horrors associated with the time between the end of the Roman Empire and the onset of feudalism.

Feudalism grew in Europe quite logically after the troubled times associated with the end of Roman rule. After the barbarian invasions, settlements were always threatened by strong and ruthless peoples wandering through the former Empire. A tribe in the Loire valley, for example, would seek the protection of a neighbouring lord and his gang of desperadoes. At best this protection, which was exchanged for so many days' work on the lord's land, or so many bushels of grain for the lord's grain store, or so many *men-at-arms* for the lord's company, was no more irksome than the protection which we all pay today in another form for defence from our foreign enemies and for crime-free villages. At worst it was no better than the protection paid to a mobster by a small store in any large modern city which has an inefficient or corrupt police force. In time, feudalism became institutionalized so that the king had a small

number of great lords who supplied him with men-at-arms; the great lords had many minor lords, the minor lords had free men, and the freemen either had to fight for the lords themselves or to produce goods and services provided by serfs. Serfdom was better for the servile than slavery, since they could enjoy a home, marriage, a little land, and some communal life; nor could the serf be separated from the land, though when the land was sold the serf usually went with it.

By the time that the African joined into the slave metric of Europe, serfdom had succeeded slavery in most of Europe for nearly a thousand years, and except in Germany, Poland, and Russia it had been much modified; in England, the Netherlands, and parts of France and Portugal, it had actually given way to a cash relationship between landlord and tenant. Even where the full rigors of medieval serfdom still obtained such as in darkest Mother Russia, the serf was better off than most slaves.

The Arabs too, found serfdom more efficient than slavery, and for the same reason. While the feudal Lords might take from the peasant two or three days a week, the man had his own land to cultivate for the rest. The serf was not the passive victim of the master's incompetence, as were many slaves who suffered malnutrition or even starvation. The serf had protection and security and an incentive to work hard. The slave was insecure, with no remedy against an unjust master, and with no incentive except the lash to help him labour. The serf had the right, too, to protection from abuse and was allowed to worship at the church or mosque, whereas slaves could not enter the latter and were not encouraged in the former.

Though the Arabs had and still have a very low opinion of actual physical work, they were excellent planners, managers, and agriculturists. In addition, all Arabs enjoyed haggling and bargaining, and would trade in anything, including slaves. Arabs made warfare pay for itself, and Moslem pirates made the whole

maritime life of the Mediterranean insecure; Arabs sold prisoners of war; Arabs traded far down the coast of West Africa and raided the interior for the black servants and personal bodyguards much esteemed in Moslem cities, just as they established themselves in Zanzibar for the same purpose. But under the Arabs the African slaves were few in number, generally house servants and rarely acquired for industrial or agricultural purposes.

Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1394 - 1460) was a leader who, despite his sobriquet, rarely left his castle. As far as we know he went overseas only once, and then only to Ceuta, near Tangiers, opposite Gibraltar, a mere 30 miles from the nearest point of Europe. Nevertheless, in many ways he inspired, drove, and directed the whole Portuguese maritime effort in the Atlantic, contributing as much as any single other man to make the *Age of Exploration* what it became. Joined after his death by the Spaniards in the century of development which started about 1420, the Portuguese discovered most of the world about which they knew nothing at Prince Henry's birth, nearly all the globe except the Southern Pacific, more than as much again as the Mediterranean peoples knew when the 15th century began. The Portuguese discovered Africa and this would transform the slaver inclinations as more Europeans became serfs, Africans were captured to replace them as slaves.

Prince Henry the Navigator, perhaps obsessed with the myth of Atlantis, sent many ships along the coast of West Africa, as well as to the East Atlantic islands - the Canaries and the Azores. One of his ships, returning fruitlessly from Equatorial Africa in 1443, fell upon a galley and captured and enslaved the crew. These men, who were of mixed Afro-Arab parentage and Moslems, claimed that they were of a proud race and unfit to be bondsmen, they argued forcefully that there were in the hinterland of Africa many heathen blacks, the children of Ham, who made excellent slaves, and whom they could enslave in exchange for their

freedom. Thus began the modern slave trade - not the transatlantic trade, which was yet to come, but its precursor, the trade between Africa and southern Europe.

The novel feature of this particular slave trade was not only that the slaves were Africans and the traders were European, but that a whole new mythology grew up to justify the industry. The Africans were children of Ham, and therefore unworthy of consideration as human beings; the African was discouraged from becoming a Christian, and forbidden to read and write, so that he could continue to be regarded as hardly human. These theories became accepted within two generations of the first shipload of slaves arriving in Lisbon in 1443, and they were perhaps necessary to blunt men's minds to this monstrous aberration in the history of the Western world. The Portuguese also sold slaves in Spain. Long before Spanish Christians knew about the African homeland, the port of Seville was a thriving slave market into which a hundred shiploads of blacks were brought every year from the Portuguese trading stations in West Africa.

In the fifteenth century Arabs took sugar cane to the European countries of Spain and Portugal. Because it was a highly profitable crop, both countries became very active in finding new places to grow sugarcane. In 1493, the explorer Christopher Columbus took sugar cane to the Caribbean Island of Santa Domingo for trial plantings. The crop flourished and Columbus reported to his patron, Queen Isabella of Spain, that it grew faster in the West Indies than anywhere else in the world.

Farmers from elsewhere in Europe including Britain, France and Holland made the most of Columbus's discovery and sailed to the New World to grow sugar on plantations in Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and the West Indies. This sugar was grown for export, and early on the local population was employed to look after the sugar-cane crops. As the industry grew, large numbers of

workers were needed, and slaves were brought from Africa to farm the plantations. Sugar farming became so profitable that people soon referred to sugar as white gold, because owning a sugar plantation was equated to owning a gold mine; the precious labourers from Africa who were better than the former European slaves were seen as black gold. They could work longer hours and their bodies resisted many diseases that initially suffered the European slaves, whom at this era, had been made serfs.

If the Spaniards were responsible for inventing the moral respectability imposed on African slavery, it was the Turks who made it an economic necessity. Between 1520 and 1570 the Ottoman Turks conquered *Cyprus*, *Crete*, the *Aegean*, *Egypt*, and much of the *North African littoral*. The black gold would be precious along these coasts of Ghana and Gambia; this precious human who laboured better in addition to being considered primitive. Indeed, he was gold.

Historians generally recognize that a variety of indigenous African religions were prevalent throughout the enslaved population. A significant portion of those enslaved practiced ancient African tribal religions that were pagan in nature. Protestants and Catholics were both shocked by the traditional rituals involving charms, magic, polytheistic beliefs, ancestors, and ghosts in which many Africans engaged as part of their religious practice. Protestants, in particular, refused to accept these traditions, deciding that they must be eliminated completely for proper Christianization to begin. But this sometimes proved difficult because the enslaved often brought a hierarchy of spiritual leadership with them. The Medicine Men, for example, were particular religious specialists for Africans, serving a role similar to an Imam for Muslims, or a Reverend for Christians.

Under the bondage of slavery, these Medicine Men served numerous roles, including perpetuating the African religions in the New World. In addition to protecting their religions, Medicine men actively sanctioned resistance to slavery and gave slaves the conviction that their forefathers were aiding them in their attempts to gain freedom. Like paganism, *Vodun* or *Voodooism* was popular in enslaved communities. These religions were largely a mix of a variety of African religions and Roman Catholicism. Followers of *Vodun* believed in an all-powerful, all good Deity that manifested itself in a pantheistic form.

The effect these religions had on Africans worship systems in America is undisputed. As C. Eric Lincoln of Duke University writes, "*The Africans brought their religion with them. After a time, they accepted the white man's religion… it became [their] purpose…to recreate the religion offered them by the Christian slave-master…their religion was the peculiar sustaining force that gave them the strength to endure… and courage…in the face of their own dehumanization*". In essence, the slaves took many customs of their "African religion" and infused them into the new Christian religion.

The Bible was commonly used as justification for slavery, and for motivation to encourage the slaves not to revolt. For example, Christian leaders commonly quoted Ephesians 6:5, "*Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ*." Once enslaved, evangelist preachers propagandized slavery with written catechisms to outline the basic tenets of the orthodoxy and discourage thoughts of insurrection. The catechism might ask a slave, "*For what did God make you*?" The slave would answer, "*The crop*." The second question inquired, "What is the meaning of Thou shalt not commit adultery?" The slave would answer, "*to serve our heavenly Father, and our earthly master, obey our overseer, and*

not steal anything". Slaves received indoctrination to believe that they were "*predestined to be servants that the institution of slavery had divine sanction, and that insolence was against both God and the master*". Those who obeyed their masters were obedient to God, and would receive eternal life, while those who disobeyed would suffer God's punishment in the afterlife.

CHAPTER TWO

globalism

Economic historians tend to see religion as justifying servitude, or perhaps as ameliorating the conditions of slaves and serving to make abolition acceptable, but rarely as a causative factor in the evolution of the 'peculiar institution.' In the hallowed traditions, slavery emerges from scarcity of labour and abundance of land. This may be a mistake. If culture is to humans what water is to fish, the relationship between slavery and religion must be understood from its core, paganism. It takes a culture that sees certain human beings as chattels, or livestock, for labour to be structured in particular ways. If religions profoundly affected labour opportunities in societies, it becomes all the more important to understand how perceptions of slavery differed and changed.

It is customary to draw a distinction between Christian sensitivity to slavery, and the ingrained conservatism of other faiths, but all world religions have wrestled with the problem of slavery. Moreover, all have hesitated between sanctioning and condemning this embarrassing institution. Acceptance of slavery lasted for centuries, and yet went hand in hand with doubts, criticisms, and occasional outright condemnations.

Romans

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Roman slaves were people who were generally captured in battle and sent back to Rome to be sold. However, abandoned children could also be brought up as slaves. Roman law also stated in priority that fathers could sell their older children if in need of money. A wealthy Roman would buy a slave in a market place. Young male slaves with a trade could fetch a slave master some large sums of money and their age meant that they could work for quite a number of years. This represented a good value for money.

Once bought, a slave was a slave for life. They could only get their freedom if it was granted by their owner or if they bought their own freedom. To be able to purchase your freedom, however, a slave had to raise the same sum of money that his master had paid for - a seemingly impossible task. If a slave married and had children, the children would automatically become slaves.

Hinduism

The roots of slavery stretch back to the earliest Hindu texts, and belief in reincarnation led to the interpretation of slavery as retribution for evil deeds in an earlier life. Servile status originated chiefly from capture in war, birth to a bondwoman, sale of self and children, debt, or judicial procedures. Caste and slavery overlapped considerably, but were far from being identical. Brahmins tried to have themselves exempted from servitude, and more generally to ensure that no slave should belong to someone from a lower caste. In practice, however, slaves could come from any caste.

Although Hindu opposition to slavery is seemingly not documented, Bhakti movements, spreading from the early centuries CE, stressed personal devotion to one divine being. They welcomed followers from all caste backgrounds, and thus at least criticised slavery by implication. Faced with the British colonial challenge, a new generation reinvented Hinduism as a reformed world religion, but still emphasised caste over slavery.

Buddhism

Buddhism grew out Hinduism, marginalising or rejecting caste, but with an ambiguous attitude to slavery. The canonical texts mentioned servitude without criticising it, and excluded slaves from becoming monks, although religious practice diverged from this norm. The Buddha forbade his followers from making

a living out of dealing in slaves, and showed compassion for their lot. Ashoka (*reigned 269 - 32 BCE*), the archetypal Buddhist ruler, inscribed in stone his injunctions to cease slave trading and treat slaves decently, but without eliminating servitude.

Merciful Buddhist precepts may nevertheless have hastened a transition from slavery to serfdom, similar to that of mediaeval Western Europe. Restricted to Sri Lanka and Mainland Southeast Asia by the thirteenth century, Theravada Buddhist kingdoms contained many more serfs than slaves. The main goal of frequent military campaigns was to seize people and settle them as whole communities attached to the soil, sometimes on monastic estates. Unredeemed debtors, who were numerous, blended into this wider serf population.

Serfdom, slavery, debt bondage and *corvée* labour were abolished in stages in the Theravada Buddhist world from the nineteenth century. Western imperialist pressure was significant, together with rising population, commercialisation of the economy, belief in the superiority of free labour, and royal desire to restrict noble powers. However, a Buddhist revival, premised on a return to original texts and the exemplary life of the Buddha, also played a part. The initial Thai abolition decree of 1873 was couched in terms of Buddhist ethics, and the private correspondence of King Chulalongkorn (*reigned 1868 - 1910*) indicates that he was sincere in these beliefs.

Confucianism and the East Asian synthesis

In East Asia, Confucianism generally dominated *Mahayana Buddhism* and *Daoism* in social matters. Confucianism initially sanctioned forced labour for the state only, to be inflicted on captives and criminals. However, private, commercial and hereditary forms of slavery and serfdom soon became rampant. As Neo-Confucian reform movements spread from the twelfth

century, some Korean scholars criticised private slavery as un-canonical and inhumane, for slaves are *'still Heaven's people*.' Servitude engendered endless lawsuits, brutalised both owner and chattel, and undermined the family, the cornerstone of Confucian ethics. However, other sages argued that patrimonial property should be protected at all costs.

Ming and *Qing* Chinese rulers cited Neo-Confucian norms to improve the lot of mean people, including slaves. A wave of servile uprisings prompted noted reforms in the 1720s. The authorities prohibited raiding, kidnapping, and trading in people, while tolerating servitude by birth, self-enslavement, and the sale of children in cases of dire necessity. Forced labour for life persisted as a punishment, and officials allocated such people to private individuals, but these *state slaves* could be neither transferred nor manumitted without official permission. Moreover, the worst offenders were more rarely castrated than in earlier centuries.

Confucianism was weaker in Japan, and *Mahayana Buddhism* may have played a greater role in the transition from slavery to serfdom, more or less complete by the tenth century. Serfs in turn slowly evolved into a free peasantry in early modern times. Prisoners of war ceased to be legally enslaved from the early seventeenth century, although descendants of former captives might still be traded, and destitute parents continued to sell their children into some kind of bondage. The modernising Meiji regime after 1868, faced with an upsurge in exports of girls to Southeast Asian brothels, passed a law forbidding all buying and selling of females in 1872. A Japanese-sponsored cabinet then imposed complete emancipation on Korea in 1894.

In response to growing Western pressure, Chinese abolition became more secular in tone. The sale of girls, in part for export to Southeast Asia, provoked an international scandal from the mid- nineteenth century. The Qing thus took the ultimate step of

abolishing slavery in 1906, to take effect in 1910. The prohibition was repeated by the Republicans after they took power in 1911, and again by the Communists after 1949. Even the latter found it hard to stamp out sales of abducted women and children, however. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was necessary to 'make propaganda to persuade rural people that buying women and children is wrong.

Judaism

Slavery was as old as the Torah, and posed few problems as long as outsiders were the victims. Deuteronomy, 20:13-14, taught that *'when the Lord your God delivers* [the city] *into your hand, put to the sword all the men in it. As for the women, the children, the livestock and everything else in the city, you may take these as plunder for yourselves*.' Leviticus 25:44 further allowed purchases of gentiles: *'Your male and female slaves are to come from the nations around you; from them you may buy slaves*.'

Although holding Hebrew slaves grated with the founding story of liberation from bondage in Egypt, exceptions were made and safeguards were ignored. Exodus 21:2-16 allowed the purchase of Hebrew children, but commanded the release of males in the seventh year of their bondage, and forbade kidnapping on pain of death. Deuteronomy 15:1-18 allowed self-enslavement, but called for the release of female as well as male slaves in the seventh year, together with the cancellation of debts. Leviticus, 25:10, further commanded that slaves be freed after seven times seven years, in the year of the jubilee.

The prophetic books criticised slavery. Isaiah, 61:1-2, trumpeted that God *'has sent me ... to proclaim freedom for the captives*,' and to *'proclaim the year of the lord's favour* [the jubilee].' Ezekiel, 46:17, also referred to freedom in the year of the jubilee. Jeremiah, 4:8-22, identified disobedience in releasing Hebrew slaves in the seventh year as causing the wrath of God

to fall upon his people. Joel, 3: 6, fulminated against the sale of Jewish slaves to Greeks, while Amos, 1:6 and 1:9-10, condemned the sale of whole communities of captives.

Sects, flourishing around the beginning of the Common Era, took this a step further. The austere and pacifist Essenes, centred in Palestine, declared enslavement to be against God's will. Through John the Baptist, they may have influenced early Christianity. The Therapeutae, in Egypt, pronounced slavery to be contrary to nature. They probably reflected the ideas of Stoics and other Ancient authors, who opposed Aristotle's views on *'natural slavery*.'

Despite this sectarian ferment, rabbinical Judaism clung to slavery after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. At best, rabbis were uncertain whether uncircumcised gentiles broke purity rules by residing in the household, whether efforts should be made to convert slaves, and what impact this might have on their servile status. At the same time, they tightened rules on manumitting Jewish slaves, to keep the community united. The twelfth century Maimonides code recognised both Jewish and non-Jewish slaves, and the Genizah records of tenth to thirteenth century Egypt depict slavery as part of everyday life. Early Modern rabbis debated whether it was right to hold '*Canaanite*' gentiles as slaves, but Jews participated in Atlantic slave trading and slave production. The onset of Judaic repudiation of slavery came in the nineteenth century, when some Jews were affected by Western abolitionist fervour.

Islam

The founding texts of Islam were ambiguous about slavery, and it could be argued that a certain libertarian ethos reigned briefly. In the early Meccan phase of Muhammad's preaching, he was heavily reliant on marginal elements in society, including slaves.

In the later part of his mission, however, Muhammad was effectively the ruler of Medina, and became less dependent on such groups.

Sectarians were most likely to be critics of slavery in the first centuries of Islam, especially millenarians in the Isma'ili tradition. The only unambiguous process of abolition was that enacted by the *Druzes* in the eleventh century. This had no obvious consequences for emancipation among the wider Muslim community, but sectarian views of slavery remain a somewhat obscure subject, and further research may hold surprises.

A new phase of Islamic unhappiness with slavery emerged in gunpowder empires from the sixteenth century, this time emanating from enlightened despots and their religious advisers. Many reformers simply concentrated on clipping the wings of elite slaves. The usual explanation is that such slaves constituted an obstacle to political and military efficiency. However, royal collaboration with *sharia-minded* ulama has been underestimated. More work needs to be done on attitudes to elite slavery in the context of the wider desire for conformity with holy law.

Some rulers went further, questioning the legitimacy of modes of enslavement. It is perfectly plausible to argue that this was intended to head off damaging rebellions, as reforms emerged mainly in areas where numerous subjects stubbornly refused to convert to Islam, as in the Balkans, India, West Africa, and Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, the possible religious wellsprings of these measures need to be scrutinised, especially as a deeper unease about servitude surfaced here and there, hard to explain purely in terms of social and political tensions.

Western diplomatic and military intervention, from the late eighteenth century, was partly justified by a desire to suppress

the slave trade and slavery. Writers desiring to portray anti-imperialist leaders as spotless heroes have thus tended to downplay violent Muslim reactions, or even deny them altogether. As the lustre of nationalism fades, examples of strong-armed defence of slavery need to be recognised more openly, and dissected more dispassionately.

Much less research has been undertaken on Muslims who took the opposite tack, believing slavery to be a deviation from the path of God, and therefore contributing to the community's weakness. From the 1870s, radical and gradual rationalists, together with moderate literalists and progressive ulama, could all be placed in the broad category of opponents of slavery, despite their manifold disagreements. In the present state of research, it is difficult to tell what audience they had among the bulk of the faithful. The greatest uncertainly concerns the beliefs of slaves themselves, especially when they imbibed millenarian ideas of justice filling the earth.

The majority of the faithful eventually accepted abolition as religiously legitimate, but pinpointing this crucial moment is difficult. Khaled Abou el Fadl, writing at the dawn of the third millennium, is vague: *'Muslims of previous generations reached the awareness that slavery is immoral and unlawful, as a matter of conscience*.' Reuben Levy is probably overly optimistic in thinking that victory had been achieved by the 1950s, for examples of slave holdings, and belief in the legitimacy of slavery, abounded in that decade. The 1960s seem to have constituted the true watershed, when an Islamic accord against slavery triumphed, hastened by secularist agitation, and mainly informed by the cautious gradualism of Amir 'Ali.

The Organisation of the Islamic Conference [OIC], emerging from1969 as an association of Muslim governments, financed a conference on human rights in Belgrade in 1980, co-sponsored by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural

Organization [UNESCO]. The published proceedings asserted the right to freedom, and rejected the enslavement of prisoners and conquered peoples. Representing 54 countries by 1990, the OIC published the 'Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam.' Article 11a stated that, *'human beings are born free, and no one has the right to enslave, humiliate, oppress or exploit them.*' The authors hedged their bets, however, stressing that all human rights were subject to the authority of the shari'a.

There remains the tricky problem of estimating the size and influence of Muslim groups who refuse to accept the new consensus. Persistent manifestations of bondage in remote deserts could be dismissed as antediluvian relics of scant significance, but urban literalists are also calling for the restoration of slavery, considering the legitimacy of the institution to be engraved in God's law. Internet web sites defending such views show that this position is no mere archaic remnant in Islam.

A dogged refusal by some Muslims to accept the modern consensus about the sinfulness of slavery is not unique, although surprisingly little is known about such strands in other faiths. Islamic minorities refusing to let go of slavery have perhaps been larger, or at least more vocal, than in other religions. At one level, this merely reflects the entrenched position of Islam across the great arid zone of the Old World, where environmental conditions have impeded the penetration of new ideas. However, a certain reluctance to let go of slavery also stems from a broader salience of traditionalism and literalism, in a faith which often perceives itself as singled out for persecution by a triumphant West.

CHAPTER THREE

genicalia

Genetic diversity across human populations has been shaped by demographic history, making it possible to infer past demographic events from extant genomes. However, demographic inference in the ancient past is difficult, particularly around the *out-of-Africa* event in the Late Middle Paleolithic, a period of profound importance to the history of humanity.

Eugenics is the name given to all prospective studies and purposes to improve, cure and create a race that would be exempt of various diseases and disabilities (perhaps a race superior to the genome of black Africa). The linguistic roots for eugenics comes from the Greek "*eughenos*", combining "eu" (good) and "ghenos" (birth). It was used for people who were "*born wealthy*" or "*born to a royal family*", but in fact it meant born good. Eugenics is the focus-based usage for certain races and nations with the aim of evolutionary selection and assortment. In another meaning, just like in the biological selection that occurs in the animal and plant kingdoms, it is the study of the implementations that would improve and benefit the human race by combining desired characteristics, genetics and hereditary conditions of - *physically and mentally* - fit male and female subjects with the aim of creating better species. The eugenic ideas appear as various policies within nations seeking to modernize themselves in the context of conservatism and an ideological strategy in 20th century social and cultural movements. These wide varieties of policies include population control, social hygiene, public health concerns and sexual education.

Even though the word *eugenics* is a new term, its content is actually very old. The ancient world's philosopher Plato is possibly the first person to have studied this subject. He claimed that the most important ideas in creating an ideal government was a human replication system based on a eugenic program that could be checked regularly. Furthermore, he stated that the

failure to check this eugenic birth cycle would result in a flawed government and a degenerated race. He finalized his views as *"... those who are the best should match up with the best and the worst should match up with the worst in reproduction..."*

Following Plato, the widely perceived view that most characteristics in a child come from the parents themselves appears in the expression "*similar gives birth to similar*" and some people would even take this view by suggesting that the only way to keep their race pure and safe was to marry with their siblings. This elitist idea was shown to be mistaken in later experiments by scientists. It was believed that the main hereditary item was blood itself, but it was observed that a marriage amongst siblings weakens the blood.

In later periods, marrying to a relative was not accepted and banned as monotheist religions appeared in history. The Christian church banned this type of marriage as a tradition. Furthermore, it was banned in Islam: As indicated in Qur'an:

"*It is banned and stated as a sin to you all to marry with your mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts, daughters of your brothers, daughters of your sisters, mothers who fed you with their milk, your mother in laws, your step daughters that you had the first night with their mothers -unless you did not have the sexual encounter with these mothers of your step daughters-, your daughter in laws, and getting married to two sisters as wives at the same time*." (Nisa, 23)

In the beginning of the 20th century the eugenic ideology was deployed in more than twenty countries in Europe such as Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia and Canada to which eugenics developed into different social movements and ideologies in different social and cultural circumstances. The educated middle class conservative members

of such societies joined those movements in the hope of scientifically addressing the social degeneration.

Two underlying assumptions were shared by most eugenicists during this time. The first assumption was the heritability of behavioural traits. Most eugenicists believed that all of our social problems were rooted in our inherited traits; thus, eliminating our social problems required the minimisation of undesirable traits and the maximisation of desirable ones. The second assumption was the fear of degeneration. Building on Darwin's theory that only the most fit survive, eugenicists believed that because we nurture and rescue unfit members of our population, our gene pool will degenerate with the spread of damaging hereditary traits. It was believed that to preserve our gene pool, sterilisation and other eugenic measures should be taken. The degeneration of the gene pool may also be understood in racial terms. Nazi eugenics, for example, aimed to preserve racial purity to prevent the degeneration of the gene pool through laws against interracial marriages, sterilisation, and finally through the brutal elimination of inferior racial stock. Although no eugenics program could compare to those initiated by Hitler, there were several immoral eugenics programs supported by governments in other parts of the world. Not until the discovery of the superior genome associated with Africa, the continent was mistakenly seen as biologically inferior hence segregated from association with only benefit being to labour in areas where the other human genomes failed to withstand in climate.

The origin of the word race is thought to be derived from the Arabic *ras*, meaning '*beginning*', '*origin*', or '*head*.' The idea that all the peoples of Europe belonged to one white race is credited to Professor Johann Blumenbach (1752 - 1840). Blumenbach, a pioneer of comparative anatomy, and skull analysis (*craniometry*) is generally credited with the invention of the *five-race scheme*. According to his analysis, Europeans

represented the highest racial type within the human species. His ideas became conventional wisdom and others followed in his footsteps. In 1855 Joseph-Arthur, *Comte de Gobineau* (1816 – 82) made the following statement: "*History shows that all civilization derives from the white race, and that a society is great and brilliant only so far as it preserves the blood of the noble race that created it. Peoples degenerate only in consequence of the various admixtures of blood which they undergo*." Perhaps at this time they had not yet discovered that the African was himself better than gold, for it was not only golden to work at the plantations but golden to stand as natural amidst chemical deterioration of an ever evolving universe as ordained in plan by God; nothing is new under the sun.

This racial hierarchy was used in many cases to justify European dominance and imperialism. Although these ideas have been scientifically discredited and have *gone out of fashion*, for close on a hundred years they remained acceptable in scientific circles and accepted in society at large.

Charles Darwin's (1809 - 1882) ideas about evolution and the processes of natural selection and the constant struggle for existence were picked up and extended by philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820 -1903). He applied the theory of evolution to philosophy, psychology and the study of society. The result was the development of *Social Darwinism*, which espoused the idea of the '*survival of the fittest'*. The idea of human society being in an evolutionary process led some of Herbert Spencer's followers to believe that society ought to weed out its unfit and permit them to die off so as not to weaken the racial stock. It was Charles Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton that explicitly coined the term eugenics to mean '*well born'* in 1883. Galton applied the principle of natural selection to humans, believing that the biological health of humans could be improved by selective breeding. He defined eugenics as "*the study of agencies under social control that may improve or*

impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally." The eugenics movement saw itself as fostering the public good. It believed that scientific changes to human breeding habits would solve many of the complex problems faced by modern society. Eugenicists favoured: better public health, family planning, more thoughtful preparation for marriage and education about human reproduction. Yet amidst all these garbage of thought, I have a child whose mother is German; for she knew deep inside that the ontology of life depends less on science but on chance as enabled by God.

Eugenic theory and practice was used to justify Nazi racial ideology and ultimately resulted in the '*Final Solution'* - the extermination of the Jews of Europe.

In 1838 J.C. Prichard, a famous anthropologist, lectured on the "*Extinction of Human Races*" asserting it obvious that "*the savage races*" could not be saved. It was the law of nature.

In his lecture on the Philosophy of History in 1830 - 1831 in Berlin, Hegel postulated that Africa, as a continent "*without movement and development*", had no place in the human history. To understand the reasoning behind this claim we must put it in the historical context. In the desperate need of land, food, natural resources and cheap labour, Europe began its expansion towards other continents as early as the 15th century. This expansion resulted in a tremendous crime against humanity - the transatlantic slave trade that continued for 400 years and the brutal colonization (*associated with forced labour, torture, concentration camps, massacres, even genocide*) of African people. When the spirit of Enlightenment with its egalitarian values gained importance in the early 18th century Europe, this inhuman treatment of Africans needed justification. European scientists and philosophers established what nowadays is termed scientific racism - an ideology of domination and subordination, inclusion and exclusion.

This ideology disguised as science, distinguished groups of people mainly by the colour of their skin, assigned them intellectual and psychological properties and decided about their role in humanity. In this process, Africans had been bereft of their humanity, culture, development and consequently, their history. Thus the construction of unhistorical Africa must be viewed as an essential part of racist knowledge that was used to legitimate unlawful and immoral appropriation of Africa and crimes committed against its people. This activity culminated in the infamous Congo Conference in Berlin 1884-1885, when nearly the entire continent of Africa was partitioned among eight European powers.

During the reformation (16th Century [1500s] & 17th Century [1600s]), a key question among Christian religious hierarchy was whether *Black Africans* and *Indians* had souls and/or were human. In this time period, Europeans were exposed more frequently to Africans and the indigenous people of North and South America, and the church vacillated between opinions. The Catholic and the Protestant churches arrived at different answers to the question at different times, which created significant differences between the two systems of slavery. The Catholic Church was the first to admit Blacks and Indians had souls, which meant in many Catholic colonies it was against the law to kill a slave without reason. The Protestant-Calvinist Church wanted to separate and distinguish themselves from Catholicism, and therefore was much slower in recognizing the humanity of Africans and Indians.

CHAPTER FOUR

africa

Between 1400 and 1900, the African continent experienced four simultaneous slave trades. The largest and most well-known is the trans-Atlantic slave trade where, beginning in the 15th century, slaves were shipped from West Africa, West Central Africa and Eastern Africa to the European colonies in the New World. The three other slave trades - the trans-Saharan, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean slave trades – are much older and predate the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The beginning of the trans-Saharan and Red Sea slave trades dates back to at least 600ad. During the trans- Saharan slave trade, slaves were taken from south of the Saharan desert and to Northern Africa. In the Red Sea slave trade, slaves were taken from inland of the Red Sea and shipped to the Middle East and India. In the Indian Ocean slave trade, slaves were taken from Eastern Africa and shipped either to the Middle East and India or to plantation islands in the Indian Ocean.

When we see anything to be in any place in any instant of time, we are sure that it is that very thing, and not another which at that same time exists in another place, how like and undistinguishable so ever it may be in all other respects: and in this consists identity, when the ideas it is attributed vary not at all from what they were that moment wherein we consider their former existence, and to which we compare the present...when therefore we demand whether anything be the same or not, it refers always to something that existed such a time in such a place, which it was certain, at that instant, was the same with itself, and no other.

The quest for identity embodies the value of the first principle of being; the principle of identity. This principle states that every being is determined in itself, is one with itself and is consistent with itself. The knowledge of the identity of a thing helps you know what the thing in question is and what may be legitimately attributed to it. The quest for an African identity in African Philosophy has the same undergirding principle. The qualities of

matter, referred to in traditional metaphysics as accidents, such as size, colour, shape etcetera, distinguish one being from the other. If being does not have an identity, then everything would be everything, giving birth to one thing since nothing can be differentiated from the other. In this case, there would be no subject and object relationship. This would create a causal traffic in the order of being and knowledge.

The 19th century was the age of racism par excellence. At this time, so many theories and ideas about the nature of the human person were at cross-roads. This was when Charles Darwin produced his theory on the *origin of species by natural selection* in which he stated that from all variations of life found in the world, nature selects certain of them for survival while others are marked for extinction. It swept through Germany in the 20th century and sowed in it one of the most heinous manifestations of racism in human history, culminating in the crematoria of death camps in the 1940's; and also through Africa, giving rise to the most widespread, enduring and virulent form of racism.

Having classified the African as backward, inhuman, primitive, illogical, emotional and capricious, and by no way equal to the white race, the West had no qualms in exploiting Africans to their benefit. With the dawn of the *Industrial Revolution* in the Western hemisphere, the European expanding empires lacked manpower to work on new plantations that produced sugar cane for Europe, and other products such as coffee, cocoa, rice, indigo, tobacco, and cotton. Contrary to the native Americans, Africans were excellent workers: they often had experience of agriculture and keeping cattle, they were used to a tropical climate, resistant to tropical diseases, and so the Atlantic slave trade became an integral part of an international trading system which was then guarded by international laws.

Missionaries took an increasing part in extending European interests. All this exploration and evangelism frequently led to

trade. Yet it soon realized that profitable trade depended on maintenance of peace and that this peace could not be assured without administrative intervention and control in the hinterlands; that because the explorers came from several different European countries - *Spain, Portugal, France, Britain, Belgium and Germany* - Africa soon became a field for the conflicting ambitions of the major European colonial powers.

The quest for an African identity, as a historical and intellectual discourse, emerged from the frame built by racial discrimination, slavery and colonialism. It was an attempt to reaffirm their heritage and personality collapsing before Western bias. Africans wanted to accept and define their responsibility to assess the riches and promise of their culture and also to open dialogue with the West. As part of the process of self-affirmation and identification, a college of intellectuals have created images to project the African identity. Africa is of Phoenician origin and it was first used by the Romans to refer to the territory about the city of Carthage.

African is the world second largest continent. It covers an area of 11, 617, 000 square miles. It is three times the size of Europe (*10, 400, 000 square kilometres and 4,000, 000 square miles*) and contains about four hundred million inhabitants. Africa is divided into twenty five major ethnic groups speaking about seven hundred languages. It contains within it every known type of topography and climatic condition, except the Arctic cold. There are in the North the Sahara, and in the South the Kalahari Desert. There is permanent snow in the Kilmanjaro. Also found in Africa are jungle areas, temperate zones, swamps and Savanah. Finally, some of the highest falls and longest rivers in the world - the Nile, Niger, Zaire (*now Congo*), and Zambesi rivers - are found in Africa.

African history through the centuries has accumulated much of confused teachings and orientations from external influences:

colonial imperialists, Islamic and Euro-Christian elements, thus producing equally as confusing and conflicting vision. The situation has been worsened by the deceptive presentation of African history as a story of Western adventure. To undertake fully the venture of the unification and liberation of Africa, a reforming, revolutionizing and inspiring philosophical system is indispensable. Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people. It is from those conditions that the intellectual content of our philosophy must be created. The emancipation of the African continent is the emancipation of man. This requires two aims: first, the restitution of the egalitarianism of the human society, and, second, the logistic mobilization of all our resources towards the attainment of that restitution.

Although the slave trade, racism and colonialism affected the identity of Africans and were at the base of the initial quest for an African identity, the contemporary threat to Africa's identity is the issue of globalization. It is one of the most challenging developments in the movement of world history. Globalization, although is a positive and powerful force that would improve the material well-being of humankind and which aids developing countries to create better economic environment to leapfrog into the information age, improve access to technology, speed development and enhance global harmony, its effects on the political, economic, social and cultural nerves of the weaker member states cannot be ignored without severe consequences.

The status of the self in African socio-ethical thought is reflected in the communitarian features of social structures. This stems from the very essence of the African's cosmic vision which is not one where the universe is understood as something discrete and individuated but rather, it is conceived of as a series of interactions and interconnections. This general cosmic vision is particularly applicable in coming to an understanding of the relationship between self and community. In traditional life, the

individual does not and cannot exist alone except corporately. He owes this existence to other people, including those of past generations and his contemporaries. He is simply part of the whole. The community must therefore make, create, or produce the individual; for the individual depends on the corporate group…whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say '*I am, because we are; and since we are therefore I am*'. This is the cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man.

The widespread problems of Africa are largely attributable to the dislocation of its colonial past and the identity crisis this precipitated. Ethnophilosophers have addressed the problem of African identity by seeking to argue that it is derived from the community to which the individual belongs. This enterprise has not been without merit though its critics point to the fact membership of a community is, of itself, insufficient to enable individuation to take place while the oppressive communalism that is all too often the outcome may add to Africa's woes through the appearance of the global crowd.

During the era of colonialism, strong globalization tendencies were still at their starts, and even then, its limitation was exposed. Africa's economy was integrated into the capitalist economy, thus proving a legal framework for the dependence of the African economy on the economy of the western countries. The African economy became producers of raw materials for industries in advanced capitalist societies.

The 14th, 15th and 16th centuries were the *Renaissance Epoch*. It was a period of revival, rebirth, a revival of Greek learning and culture. The writings of many philosophers made irrelevant by the dominance of theology during the Medieval Era were revived and made available for studies. As a consequence, the medieval marriage between religion and philosophy was

strained, and there emerged a decisive separation of the two; the use of vernacular led philosophers to original formulations rather than running commentaries on authoritative figures. In time, the Modern philosophers wrote their treatises in the language of their own people; but at this time, Africa was still illiterate yet full of knowledge.

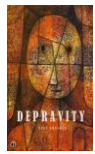
The relationship between ethnography about Africans and colonialism in Africa is evident in travelogues and novels often written by members of the British colonial service, and ethnophilosophy, which incorporates African literary criticism and presents itself as either resistance to, or resolution from the problems of colonialism. In this light, cultural difference cannot be an outdated preoccupation which needs to be pushed aside in favour of a more 'universal' or 'innocent' field of communication in the name of science. Eugenics remains a global utopia if genocide is not sanctified as ethical, to which we all know it is utmost inhumane even to comprehend. See the effects of such a confusion tested in Rwanda in the name of ethnic cleansing.

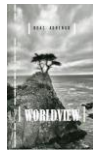
Having been perceived and mapped by colonialist anthropologies, difference still operates in terms like modern and traditional, which have become metaphors of contested space within and between societies, nations or cultures. African cultures and *oral-literatures* cannot be pushed idealistically or superstitiously into a place of spiritual isolation beyond and outside Western infiltration for evident historical reasons. The arguments surrounding Africa's '*otherness*' are already formed and caught in a syncretic and conflictual struggle with the West, and Africa's over-determination as well as its invisibility is part of that struggle.

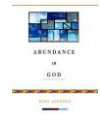
The Africa presented by the ethnologist is a legend in which we used to believe. African tradition as it appears in the light of neo-African culture may also be a legend - but it is the legend in

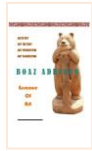
which African intelligence believes. With books such as this, the savage peacefulness can be seen not as a global crime but a space within the time of God.

Also by Boaz Adhengo









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