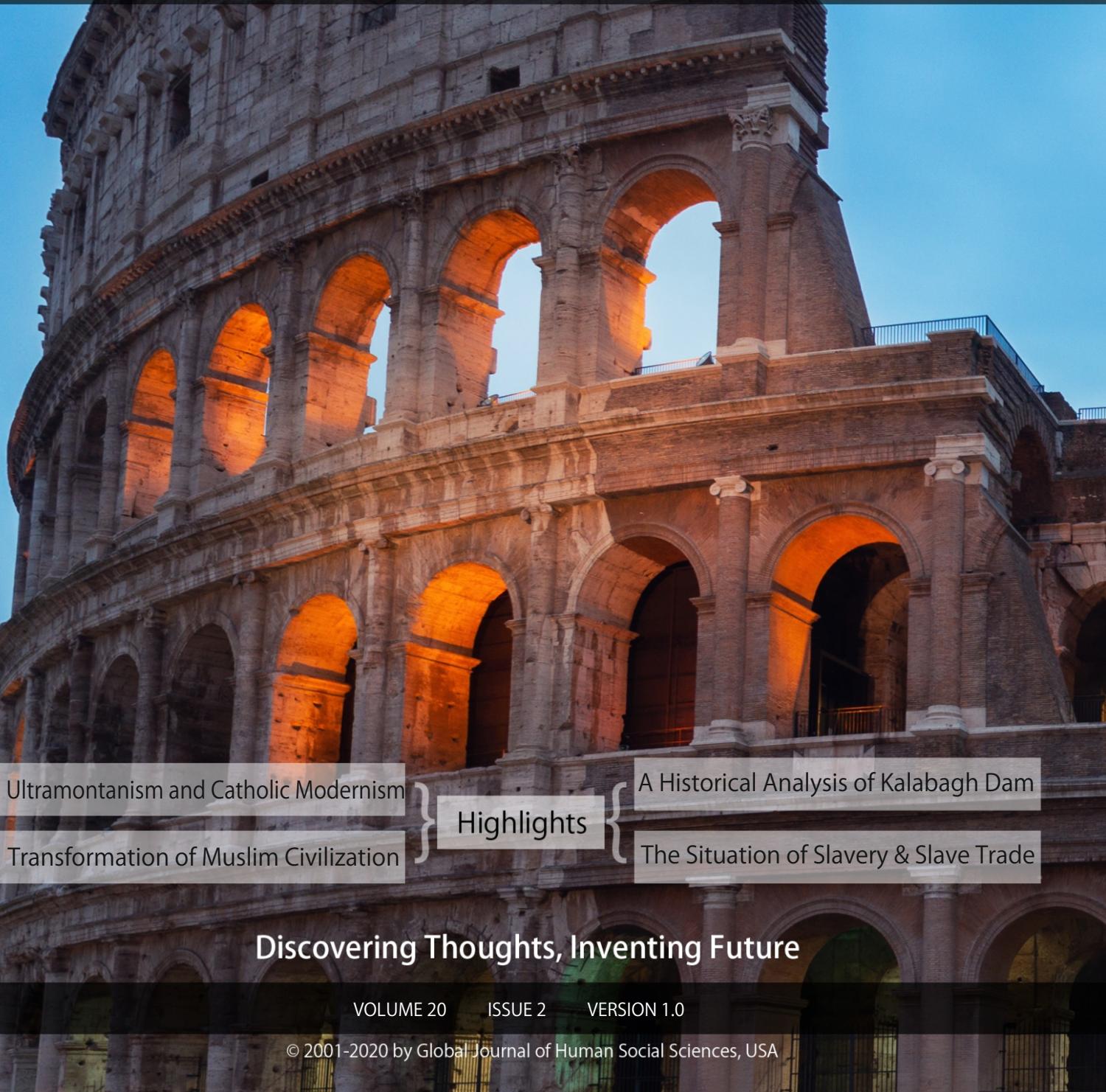


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Ultramontanism and Catholic Modernism

Transformation of Muslim Civilization

Highlights

A Historical Analysis of Kalabagh Dam

The Situation of Slavery & Slave Trade

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 20 ISSUE 2 VERSION 1.0

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Ultramontanism and Catholic Modernism: An Analysis of Political-Ecclesiastic Controversy in Germany of the 19th Century

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Abstract- The purpose of this paper is to analyze the roots of Catholic modernism in Germany from previous intellectual and theological movements, such as Catholic Enlightenment. Therfore, this paper analyzes the internal and external conflicts of the Catholic Church in Germany during the process of consolidation of modernity, in the 19th century, until culminating in the modernist movement and its consequences in the beginning of the 20th century.

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Ultramontanism and Catholic Modernism: An Analysis of Political-Ecclesiastic Controversy in Germany of the 19th Century

Robson Rodrigues Gomes Filho ^a & Felipe Monteiro Pereira De Araújo ^a

Abstract The purpose of this paper is to analyze the roots of Catholic modernism in Germany from previous intellectual and theological movements, such as Catholic Enlightenment. Therefore, this paper analyzes the internal and external conflicts of the Catholic Church in Germany during the process of consolidation of modernity, in the 19th century, until culminating in the modernist movement and its consequences in the beginning of the 20th century.

Keywords: modernism, catholic church, ultramontanism.

I. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the Catholic Church and modernity - in its most varied aspects, theoretical, technical and practical - was a conflict at least until the Second Vatican Council, between 1962 and 1965. Therefore, throughout the 19th century and half of the 20th century, modernity was seen by the Catholic Church, at its institutional and papal level, as an enemy of Christianity to be fought, sometimes externally, sometimes internally to the institution itself. In Germany, in a special way, the consolidation of modernity took place in a process that united both technical advancement and the discursive dispute for the political and cultural legitimacy of building national identity. There, therefore, the Catholic Church found itself caught up in political, cultural and theological disputes that culminated in the persecution from the German State, newly unified in 1870, to the institution, through a set of laws called *Kultukampf*.

However, despite the clashes between the papacy and triumphant modernity in the 19th century, several movements within the Catholic Church have emerged over these nearly two centuries in support and attempt to adapt the institution to the modern world. From the Enlightenment to the Catholic modernism, the Church went through conflicts not only external, but, above all, internal to remain antimodern in a world in constant transformation.

Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the roots of Catholic modernism in Germany from previous intellectual and theological movements, such as Catholic Enlightenment. Therefore, this paper analyzes the internal and external conflicts of the Catholic Church in Germany during the process of

consolidation of modernity, in the 19th century, until culminating in the modernist movement and its consequences in the beginning of the 20th century.

II. THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE ROOTS OF CATHOLIC MODERNISM IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

The crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in Europe triggered political, cultural and ideological upheavals in the western world also within institutions that were in force with it in the form of an absolutist monarchical system. However, even though strongly criticized by the Enlightenment (main adversary of the *Ancien Régime*), the Catholic Church remained active throughout the European continent. Whether in its political aspect or in its cultural dynamics, the Catholic Church has survived the collapse of all the institutions that have supported it since the Roman Empire, adapting to new circumstances and reshaping its dialogue with the society that surrounds it. The context of the rise and consolidation of the modern world was no different. Although the Roman central curia took more than a century to adapt to the moral, political, cultural and social transformations of modernity, at the local level, several adaptations made possible the survival of Catholicism in the face of the collapse of the regimes on which it was based.

In Germany, in a specific way, it is possible to affirm that the survival of Catholicism in the country that was the cradle of the Protestant Reformation was the result mainly of two main factors: on the one hand, by the vigor of popular Catholicism widely supported by lay management in a country marked by religious contrast biconfessional¹; and, on the other, the emergence of an Enlightened Catholicism², which made it possible for the

¹ The "popular Catholicism" in nineteenth-century Germany treated here refers, in general, to the practices of lay Catholicism popularly accepted and widespread in the German kingdoms until the rise of ultramontanism and the end of *Vormärz* in 1848. About popular Catholicism in Germany nineteenth century, see: SPERBER (1984). The expression *Vormärz* (in free translation, "before March"), which is widely used by German historiography about the 19th century, refers to the period between the end of the 18th century and the liberal revolutions of March 1848.

² "Enlightened Catholicism" refers to a late 18th century Catholic tendency to adapt the Church to the Enlightenment's intellectual



rising bourgeois class to institutionally support Catholicism in Germany.

Unlike its neighbors in Europe, Germany at the end of the 18th century had neither a unified state nor a single established religious confession - two essential factors in understanding the nature of German Illustration. The Enlightenment in Germany, therefore, was the product of an educated middle class, of readers and writers who increasingly found themselves at the service of the State or the Church. The Catholic aspect of Enlightenment thought, in turn, was only possible due to a series of historical factors from the end of the 18th century that allowed the middle class and Catholic bourgeoisie in Germany to have a social self-awareness that prompted them to rethink their own religious institution belonged. According to Michel Printy,

In the eighteenth century, German Catholics rethought the church in a series of efforts at practical reform. Their efforts were made possible by a confluence of crisis and opportunity. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the papacy seemed to be at a political low point. The easing of confessional tensions in Germany – as well as the perception that Catholics and Protestants could make common cause against freethinking as well as superstition – rendered the need for defensive postures less acute. The rethinking of the church, therefore, proceeded in a pragmatic and detailed fashion, but it could not anticipate the total collapse of the Empire. (PRINTY, 2009, p. 214).

In this sense, we can affirm that the attempt to reform the Catholic Church at the end of the 18th century through the bias of Enlightenment thinking was mainly due to both the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in general and the rise of the German Catholic bourgeoisie and middle class which, in confluence with the end of the most serious tensions of the religious wars of the previous centuries, they began to see in Protestants a kind of socioeconomic model in which the Catholic Church could mirror.³

However, although mirrored in the Protestant bourgeoisie, the middle class and Catholic bourgeoisie in general projected on themselves the attempt to model the Church according to their needs, and not a pure adherence to the Protestant model. Like this, "on one side, German Catholics laid claim to the nation against similar attempts of their Protestant counterparts. On the other side, they sought to assert their vision of social, moral, and religious reform as part of a broader *Aufklärung* [Enlightenment]." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 07).

claims to freedom of thought and progress through reason. Although it was not an exclusivity of Germany, in the specific case highlighted, this aspect attempted to found a national Catholic Church, independent of the Roman Church, but in dialogue with it. On the subject, see: PRINTY (2009); KRAUS (1993); MIDELFORT (2005).

³ According Michel Printy, "Over the course of the eighteenth century, educated middle-class Catholics would progressively try to model themselves on their Protestant counterparts." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 142).

Therefore, the 18th century Catholic reform intended by Enlightened Catholicism, although socially mirrored in Protestantism, rejected an abandonment to the institution (although it wanted independence from it), intending, on the contrary, to adapt it to the political, cultural and temporal transformations by which the modern world passed. This non-abandonment of the Catholic bourgeoisie from its own religious institution is justified in the fact that, although they desired their political independence from Rome, these bourgeois, still Catholics, were spiritually dependent on the Church. This means that an analysis of such eighteenth-century reformers (whether lay or clergy) should not dispense with the substantial fact that religious belief is a determining factor in the way of thinking and acting of such subjects. As the Franco-German historian and philosopher Bernhard Groethuysen reiterates,

In order to understand the development of bourgeois consciousness in its relation and opposition to the church, we must not proceed from particular views of the church which allow themselves to be presented and formulated, but rather from the shape of ecclesiastical life itself [kirchliche Leben]. In the eighteenth century, the Catholic church remains "reality." In large measure it still determines the thoughts and feelings of an entire segment of the population: it is a social reality ... Millions of people continue to go to church, to confess, to follow processions. They continue to live in the ecclesiastical community: indeed, most of them could not even imagine life outside this community. It is this social-historical reality that the bourgeois must confront. (GROETHUSYEN, 1927, p. 52).

Thus, "in rethinking the church, educated German Catholics 'scrutiniza [ed] the signs of the times' and imagined a Catholicism that, they felt, would do away with outworn accretion and would be suited to the world in which they lived." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 144) The Catholic Church imagined by German Enlightened Catholicism, therefore, should be "independente of, though still in communion with, Rome. Led by educated, 'Enlightened' German Catholics in partnership with the state, the church they envisioned would satisfy the link between religion, civilization, and morality." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 144).

But after all, against what, or who, should Enlightened Catholicism fight? Who was the enemy to be defeated, or convinced in this battle for the internal reform of the Church and the conduction of it to "civilization and morality"? Despite the fact that the "century of lights" has produced several enemies external to the Catholic Church, especially coming from liberalism, Freemasonry and the Enlightenment ideas themselves, it was an internal enemy against whom the German Catholic Enlightenment side invested its campaign: the popular Catholicism.

Popular Catholicism prevailed strongly in German Catholic states as the main fruit of the *Ancien Régime*. The strength of this Catholicism, however, stems from a double aspect: on the one hand, from the strength of the noble tradition, which, in general, benefited from the structure of the *Reichskirche*,⁴ given the way the benefits were distributed between nobility and clergy; and, on the other, the strength of the peasant tradition, which, at the other end of the social spectrum, has rooted practices of piety and devotions that are still felt today in the way Catholics deal with their saints, patrons, relics, parties, etc.⁵ In this sense, we can affirm that the rethinking of the Catholic Church by the Enlightened Catholicism was, therefore, turned in two directions: "first, against the structure of the *Reichskirche* and the ways that the predominance of the nobility threatened to make the church too worldly; and second, against the practices of the broad population which many reformers perceived as superstitious." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 126).

The Holy Empire and the *Reichskirche*, on the one hand, were seen as "a regrettable hindrance to Germany's emergence as a nation-state", and later, "as a prime culprit in the pathology of a misdeveloped German modernity" (PRINTY, 2009, p. 126). Popular practices, on the other hand, represented superstition and, with it, a medievalism that must be overcome to achieve the desired modernity. These two elements, therefore, demonstrate the willingness of Enlightened Catholicism in adapting the Catholic Church to the emerging modern world. In the words of Otto Weiβ, "the demand for a 'rational' religion meant not only the dismantling of pagan forms of popular piety, but also the internalization and priority of feelings over all formulas and regulations of state or Church authorities." (WEIß, 1995, p. 38).

Overcoming the *Reichskirche*, however, was facilitated by Napoleonic rule as early as the 19th century; popular religiosity, seen as superstitious, on the other hand, needed a longer process, whose victory, evidently, was not achieved.⁶

In this sense, while German Enlightened Catholicism saw the need to reform the national clergy

⁴ By *Reichskirche* it is possible to understand the long period of cooperation between German Catholic Church and German States that lasted from the beginning of the medieval era until the beginning of the 19th century. Through this political-religious regime the Church remained linked to the State, yielding to this great interference in their internal affairs while receiving financial support and the status of nobility from it for bishops and other members of the high clergy. On the subject, see: DECOT (2001).

⁵ On this double aspect from which German popular Catholicism derives, see: FORSTER (2008); CHÂTELIER (1997).

⁶ The fight against popular Catholicism by the illustrated Catholic reformers took place on two main fronts: on the one hand, the elimination of the notion of miracle, replacing, with it, the notion of sin and punishment by moral duty; and on the other, the blaming of the regular and missionary clergy for the condition of medievality of popular Catholicism. On the subject, see: GOMES FILHO (2019).

in favor of Catholic adaptation to modernity on the rise, the Roman Church, in contrast, was increasingly moving in the opposite direction to this trend, seeing itself also on the verge of reforming their clergy to preserve themselves from these same modern transformations, the culmination of which would take place in the following century with ultramontanism. The consequence of this imbroglio was the clash between the bishop-princes and the Roman Catholic Church, whose core was the struggle for the authority of reform of the German Catholic clergy. Thus, although the initial struggle of Enlightened Catholicism attacked the *Reichskirche* and the noble tradition of the Church in Germany, insofar as the Roman See behaved as an agent of difficulty in the intended reform, the alliance with the German clerical nobility was inevitable, especially when it comes to the increasingly imminent need to found a national Catholic Church.

In this way, the dialogue and adaptation of the local Church with the Enlightenment ideas, already in the agonizing absolutist regime, allowed the confessional identities of the late 18th and early 19th centuries to develop "out of the religious establishments of Old Regime Germany and that, more importantly, these identities survived the collapse of the legal and institutional underpinnings that had been worked out in the Reformation settlements of the sixteenth century." (PRINTY (2009, p. 3-4). For Michael Printy, therefore, the Enlightenment was the agent of this possibility of Catholic institutional transition from the *Ancien Régime* to modern conditions. Although undermined by nineteenth-century ultramontanism, in the transition from the 18th to the 19th century it was attempts to create an Enlightened Catholicism that led to a

[...] rethinking the relationship of Christianity to the state, to civil society, to notions of progress and human nature, and to history, Germany's religious Enlightenment enabled the transition from the 'Holy Roman Empire of the two churches' to the modern dilemma of competing Protestant and Catholic ideas of what it meant to be German. (PRINTY 2009, p. 4).

The relationship between the Catholic Church and the advent of modernity in nineteenth-century Germany is therefore paradoxical. On the one hand, Catholicism represented medievality, popular piety, the *Ancien Régime*, etc., on the other hand, it was precisely these elements that Enlightened Catholicism was confronted with. Throughout the 19th century, therefore, the Holy Roman Empire and the persistence of German popular Catholicism represented major obstacles to a coherent historical narrative. Thus,

German Catholicism was cast as an anomaly in a nation widely – if incorrectly – believed to be essentially Protestant in nature. The Catholics seemed out of place and puzzling in, when not downright



disruptive of, the land of Luther, Ranke and Bismarck. (PRINTY 2009, p. 18).

As a result of this paradox, while modernity was unfolding on the horizon of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, German illustrated Catholics realized that the forms of expression of the devotion and traditional religiosity of popular Catholicism had become a sign of obsolescence of his own Church, especially under the specter of superstition.⁷ Thus, German Catholic intellectuals rethought the Church and its devotions in the language of their own time, and, in doing so, sought to create a new form of religiosity that they saw as appropriate to modern times, while still faithful to the traditions and doctrines of Church.

In addition to a practical project to reform the Church and create an autonomous national institution, however, these adaptations needed internal legitimization, something that only the intellectual and philosophical field, within the Enlightenment perspective, could build and legitimize. Among the Catholic intellectuals charged with producing a history of the German Catholic Church that favored such a project, Michael Ignaz Schmidt stood out, above all.

Born in Arnstein (Germany) in 1734, Schmidt was a Catholic priest and professor of history of the German Empire [*deutschen Reichsgeschichte*] at Würzburg University and director of the Archives of the Austrian States [*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv*] from 1780 until his death in 1794. On account of his works and the importance of his ideas from the historical-philosophical point of view, Schmidt can be considered as the main name of the German Catholic intellectuals of the 18th century. More than that, according to Christina Sauter-Bergerhausen, Schmidt would have been the first to try a history German culture on a national scale in the spirit of Enlightenment philosophical history, so he was called in the early 19th century "the first German historian."⁸

In his great work, *Geschichte der Deutschen* [History of the Germans] published from 1778 in a total of 6 volumes, Schmidt synthesizes a series of ideas on which he based his intellectual production throughout his career. In all of them, in general, the author seeks to argue that, instead of a factor of backwardness and mediievality, the Catholic Church in Germany would have been the main civilizing element and, therefore, one of the main agents of modernity in the empire⁹. In general,

therefore, "Schmidt's vision of the civilizing role of religion in German history was in part a projection of Reform Catholics' ambitions to make the church an agent not only of religious and moral education, but also of Enlightenment." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 200). Such a project, however, failed, since the Catholic universalism from which the bourgeois class was unable to detach itself was incompatible with the cosmopolitan proposal of Enlightenment thought.

In addition to an inconsistency inherent in the very project of Enlightened Catholicism, however, the Catholic Church's attempts at adapting to modernity, historically legitimizing it as a civilizing agent, came up against a problem that became increasingly crucial in the formation of identity German national: the Protestant Reformation.

The consequences of the Protestant Reformation were crucial elements in the arguments about the Catholic or Lutheran religious legitimacy in the formation of German national identity at the end of the 18th century. Contrary to what prevailed in the anti-Catholic liberal ideas of the following century, Schmidt's central thesis in his sixth volume of his *Geschichte der Deutschen* is that the Reformation broke the path towards the progress, social, cultural and religious illustration of the German people. In other words, for Schmidt, the Reformation should not be seen as a cultural landmark in the formation of German identity, but as a tragedy in its history.

In general lines, therefore, the thinking of Michael Ignaz Schmidt represents the example of a Catholic attack in the intellectual field in favor of rethinking the Church about itself in adapting to the transformations underway in the modern world. The debate between Catholics and Protestants then left the combat arenas of the 30 years' war to orient themselves in the intellectual field, seeking both parties to establish themselves, through History, as bastions of progress and, mainly, as the main defining element of German national identity.

In this sense, with regard specifically to Enlightened Catholicism, Catholic participation in German national identity meant a triumph in the religious dispute against Protestantism. Generally speaking, illustrated Catholics needed to situate themselves both in relation to an international and socially diverse Catholic community, and in relation to the notion of what German identity was in the face of the rise of Prussia and the solidification of a vernacular literary culture increasingly associated with Protestantism. This same Protestantism, on the other hand, built "a powerful narrative that

⁷ The question of superstition was one of the main motives of Catholicism illustrated in its struggle to adapt the Church to nascent modernity. Regarding this relationship between Enlightened Catholicism and its fight against popular superstition in Germany, we recommend Rudolf Schlögl's studies on the North Rhine region: SCHLÖGL (1995).

⁸ See: SAUTER-BERGERHAUSEN (1996).

⁹ Among Schmidt's various arguments in his *Geschichte der Deutschen*, for example, his description of the supposed transition from barbarism to Christian civilization in Germany and France stands out from the union between Charlemagne and the Catholic Church. In

addition, Schmidt further proposes that the refinement of everyday practices in Germany as part of what Norbert Elias would later call the "Civilizing Process" owes fundamentally to Catholic missionary practices. On the subject, see: BAUMGART (1996).

emplotted German nationalism as a rejection of Roman Catholicism." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 01).

Internally, however, there were many practical and theoretical challenges that Catholic intellectuals should face in order to try to guarantee a position of importance in the construction of the German nation. The most important of them, from a theoretical point of view, refers to the double universality with which an Enlightened Catholicism should deal: on the one hand, Catholic universalism, and on the other, Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, for which the idea of the "national" represented a real obstacle.¹⁰ From a practical point of view, the obstacle was precisely the universalist and centralized claim of the Roman curia. The theoretical-practical result thought by the German Enlightened Catholicism was the attempt to create a German Catholic Church (therefore, national and independent), but still linked theologically to Rome. As such, the nation provided a model for rethinking the Catholic Church at the national level, while the Catholic model (as a religious and non-political system) offered an identity model for thinking about the nation. Thereby, "in trying to reform the Church, educated Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire questioned not only what it means to be Catholic, but also what it meant to be German, and in the process they created German Catholicism." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 21).

This alleged balance between a national church and a universal church has, of course, failed. Although the German Catholic Church was born in a moment of political weakness in the papacy throughout the 18th century, the implementation of these ideals - at the end of the century - coincided with a peculiar political moment in Europe. In addition to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars undermining its political and social bases of support, the creation of this supposed national-universal church occurred in the midst of two movements of centralization of power: on the one hand, the consolidation of the secular absolutist state, and, on the other, the strengthening of the pope's political figure since the rise of Pius VII in 1800.

Thus, the results of German Catholic adaptation efforts to modernity through enlightenment were thwarted in the early 19th century, with Napoleon Bonaparte's victories over Austria in 1805 and Prussia in 1806, which dismantled the already weakened Sacro-Empire Germanic Roman and with him the *Reichskirche*. The destruction of the *Reichskirche* eliminated the practical conditions that would allow German illustrated Catholics to rethink the Church on a national and independent model from Rome, because, although essentially bourgeois, this attempt at reform was openly dependent on the power and nobility influence on the structure of the National church. However, this does not

mean that the whole effort was in vain. Instead, "in rethinking the church in the eighteenth century, German Catholics entered a new century of revolution and upheaval with a greater sense of identity and cohesion than they had at the close of the seventeenth century." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 212).

Indeed, German illustrated Catholics envisioned the possibility of institutional reform that would produce an independent Church adapted to the coming transformations of nascent modernity. What German Enlightenment Catholicism did not foresee, however, was that the institutional (and international) Catholic Church would be able to mobilize religious allegiances throughout the 19th century and become a powerful political force in the era of liberalism and nationalism. In this sense, we can affirm that the defeat of the ideals of an Enlightened Catholicism was not exactly due to the victories of Napoleon and the fall of the *Reichskirche*, but, years later, with the rise of ultramontanism and an unequaled strengthening of the Church and Roman clergy (and romanizing) among the population. Thus, it was the victory of ultramontanism in the 19th century that ended the plan for adapting Catholicism to modernity at that time. Thus, "given that the nineteenth-century church was by some measure more ultramontane, populist, and even superstitious (by the standards of the *katholische Aufklärung*) than it had been at the close of the eighteenth century, it would seem that the break with the Catholic Enlightenment was total." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 214).

The limbo created between the end of the *Reichskirche* in 1805 and the definitive rise of ultramontanism from 1850 onwards created a fertile field for missionary action that produced a real political rise and social influence of Catholicism. More than that, from a socioeconomic point of view, ultramontane Catholicism concentrated on the popular strata, leaving aside a bourgeois project that was largely supported by Enlightened Catholicism. This preference would lead the German Catholic bourgeoisie to support – in general – liberalism, leaving the German middle class, to use Thomas Mergel's expression, "between the class and the confession" (MERGEL, 1994). For Michel Printy, this idea of "middle ground" of the German Catholic middle class, "rather than representing a 'peculiarity' of German Catholicism, was indeed its defining feature, a situation that fundamentally changed only after 1945." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 216).

In any case, the fact is that the Catholic experience with the Enlightenment gave German Catholicism the conditions to fight with Protestantism for the foundation of the German nation, as well as for the legitimacy also to fight for modernity and progress - at least until the rise of 19th century ultramontanism. However, in the course of the 19th century, ultramontane identity reached such hegemony in Catholicism that, in the words of Franz Schnabel, "in Protestant and liberal

¹⁰ On this dual universality of German Enlightened Catholicism, see: MAURER, (2005).

Germany almost never made a sincere effort to distinguish between Catholics whoever was 'liberal' or 'Roman". (SCHNABEL, 1951, p. 269).

III. FROM ENLIGHTED CATHOLICISM TO ULTRAMONTANISM: ROMANTICISM AS A TRANSITION

The Napoleonic crisis and, with it, the Catholic Enlightenment itself in Germany, led the German scene to an important transition whose result would be the rise and strength of the ultramontane movement. However, this transition was marked by another important movement of opposition to the Enlightenment ideals that, as a consequence, would open the doors directly to ultramontane radicalism: romanticism.

Thus, in the face of the first major crises of meaning in nascent modernity, the fruit of results achieved through bloody battles, whether in the French revolution itself or in the Napoleonic wars, the West found itself on the verge of the transit of a rationalism and belief in objectivity for a tendency increasingly centered on the subjective individual, on the mystique and on the predilection for a lyrical past, whose medieval aspects would come to be highlighted as the opposite of the obscurity believed by the Illuminists of the previous century. This aspect of idyllic appreciation of the medieval past by Romanticism was in stark contrast to the look always on the future, which for decades sustained the Enlightenment. This contrast of temporal perspective was further widened with the rise of ultramontanism, which, by appropriating this overvaluation of the medieval, underpinned a radically anti-modern posture of the German Church.

From literature to philosophy, fine arts and religion, romanticism can be described as the intellectual movement "more specifically German of all" (CARPEAUX, 2013, p. 89)¹¹. Born in the university city of Jena (close to Weimar), under the influence of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), German romanticism spread as a direct opposition to Napoleonic enlightenment, rationalism and imperialism¹². With important names in intellectual production - such as brothers August and Friedrich Schlegel, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Gottfried von Herder, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, Friedrich von Schiller, among others - romanticism opened the

necessary path for overcoming enlightenment and his ideals not only in philosophy and arts, but especially in religion. Thereby, "German Catholicism benefited from the change in mentality in Romanticism. Just think of the intellectual conversions of names like Friedrich Schlosser, Zacharias Werner and Friedrich Schlegel." (WEISS, 1983, p. 158).

In practical terms, romanticism exerted an important influence on German Catholicism in the first decades of the 19th century with a significant "emphasis on the irrational, the mystical and the magical" (WEISS, 1983, p. 31), making possible - and to some extent, habitual - a approach with mystical secret societies, such as Rosicrucian and groups linked to Kabbalah, or even - from a scientific-philosophical point of view - with mesmerism.¹³

In Bavaria, in particular, the most influential name in Catholic romanticism was the theologian and respected university professor Johann Michael Sailer.¹⁴ Sailer's sirenist stance, as well as his political and religious influence in Bavaria, earned him the formation of a true "school" of followers, among whom King Louis I stands out (who greatly influenced his characteristic of romanticism), and other important and controversial names in Catholic theology and Bavarian politics in the following decades, such as the president of the Lower Bavarian government Johann Baptist von Zenetti, the theologian Joseph Franz von Allioli, the priest and later pastor founder of the Allgäu Protestant revival, Martin Boos, and the Bavarian theologian and historian, founder of the Altkatholik, Ignaz von Döllinger.

The so-called "Sailer School" [Sailerschule], or Sailer Circle [Sailerkreis], consequently, became the biggest influence in the so-called "spiritual revival" of the Catholic clergy in Bavaria in Vormärz, acting, in a special way, in the formation of all a generation of priests between the 1820s and 1840s, and thereby becoming a new model in the country's clerical formation. According to Werner Blessing:

This model has grown in the priestly formation of the Bavarian dioceses [...]. Concentrating on this narrow clerical role further widened the gap between the

¹¹ Carpeaux also emphasizes in his argument that "it is enough to compare this German romanticism, of Novalis and Brentano, Eichendorff and Arnim, Tieck and Fouqué, with the French romanticism of Chateaubriand, Lamartine and Hugo or with the English romanticism of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley to understand the profound difference." (CARPEAUX, 2013, p. 89).

¹² Fichte himself, in his Speeches to the German Nation (Reden an die deutschen Nation), delivered between 1807 and 1808 at the Berlin Academy shortly after Napoleon's victories over Prussia, highlighted, according to Carpeaux, "the first impulses, the complex of superiority and terms of future German nationalism." (CARPEAUX, 2013, p. 91).

¹³ Otto Weiss (1983, p. 34), points out that "mesmerism" was fashionable during the romantic period. Philosophers like Franz von Baader, Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert, Carl Gustav Carus, physicians and naturalists have extensively focused on magnetism and somnambulism, sometimes associated with 'supernatural' phenomena, such as ghosts, obsession, clairvoyance, or even hypnotic state."

¹⁴ Of Jesuit formation, son of a shoemaker and born in the small town of Aresing in 1751, Johann Michael Sailer can be considered one of the most influential religious people in Bavaria in the first half of the 19th century. With easy transit between the main politicians of the time, and adept in an irenist political-religious stance, Sailer moved and dialogued with ease both with Catholic enlightenment in its heyday, and with romanticism in the early decades of the nineteenth century. On Sailer's relationship with Catholic Enlightenment and its subsequent adaptation to romanticism, see: (VONDERACH, 1958).

priestly level and the "world". At the Lyceum and at the Seminar, their seclusion from society was rehearsed, as well as the elimination of popular pleasures, especially the visit to the taverns, the spiritual habit, the "dignified" appearance, without bad "mundane" habits such as smoking, and even political abstinence. For a "spiritual renewal of the clergy" the reading of the Bible, prayer, frequent reception of the Sacraments and spiritual exercises were strongly prescribed. (BLESSING, 1982, p. 87.)

In summary, therefore, it is possible to state that "Sailer's example shows how the connection between Catholic Enlightenment, traditional Jesuit religiosity and experience with mystical theology in romanticism achieved a fabulous synthesis, which led to a profound religious renewal in followers of Sailer." (WEISS, 1984, p. 38). If, on the one hand, at the end of the 18th century the Catholicism of the Bavarian intellectuality and bourgeoisie presented itself as one of the great centers of a possible religious enlightenment, on the other hand, between the second and the fourth decade of the 19th century, it was the Catholic romanticism that gave the tone in the way the new generation of priests would direct the religious life of the local population, rekindling in the daily practices the mystical and miraculous character that the Illustration had tried to erase, and thus anticipating in at least two decades a religious revival claimed by the ultramontanism in the other German states. As Blessing rightly noted, "Bavaria, after two decades as a stronghold of rationalism, has again taken on a decidedly Catholic profile, whose real scope of that mentality corresponds to something more than this picture can show." (BLESSING, 1982, p. 111).

In any case, the reevaluation of popular religiosity through the emphasis given to the mystical experience as opposed to the enlightenment rationalization also opened space for an important ascending trend in the Catholic Church, whose appropriation of that same religiosity with the purpose of centralizing and strengthening the institution itself (especially compared to the ecumenical tendency of the Sailer Circle) was strongly expressed in ultramontanism.

The transition from romanticism to ultramontanism in the mid-1840s in Germany took place in a very tumultuous context. Concomitant to the growing industrialization, the rural exodus and the consequent class clashes, several academic productions, especially in the areas of Philosophy and History (the latter already in the process of consolidation as a discipline), started to debate something that the Catholic Enlightenment from the previous century has managed to camouflage to some extent: the historical existence of Jesus. Authors such as Johannes Voigt, Ludwig Büchner, Arnold Ruge and Jacob Moleschott produced several works of impact and religious challenge. Nothing, however, compared to Friedrich David Strauß's famous *Das Leben Jesu*, published in

1835 and the philosophical materialism of Ludwig Feuerbach in his 1841 *Das Wesen des Christentums*. According to Sérgio da Mata,

The publication of *The Life of Jesus* (1835) would place Strauss at the center of an unprecedented controversy - and not just in theological circles. At a time already shaken by growing liberal political unrest, Strauss shook German public opinion in a way that would only be surpassed, thirteen years later, by the publication of the Communist Party Manifesto. Applying to the figure of Jesus the method of "allegorical interpretation", he dared to search the symbolic axis of Christianity, questioning its "historical" authenticity. (MATA, 2010, p. 50).

In the face of this turbulent context of social (which would culminate in the 1848 revolutions) and ideological transformations - in which historicism and materialism, as well as liberal/modern ideals, came to represent an intellectual threat to the rising mystical religiosity - German Catholicism it began to project itself more and more markedly in a radical discourse of Catholic unity under the banner of the Pope and total rejection of liberal-modern and non-Catholic ideological tendencies in general. This general change in the German *Zeitgeist*, as Otto Weiss points out, led to the rise of the ultramontane spirit so that, "a real encounter with time has been avoided and has only reinforced [among Catholics] the isolation in society and culture." (WEISS, 1987, p. 161).

Romanticism, therefore, served as an important bridge between the overcoming of Catholic Illustration and the rise of ultramontanism in Germany. Notwithstanding its equal opposition to rationalism, however, the romantic movement in Catholicism has far distanced itself from ultramontane papist fundamentalism, adopting tendencies closer to ecumenism and the national autonomy of the German Church, typical of the claims of Catholic Enlightenment. The result, however, was the ultramontane victory, predominant in German Catholicism from the 1840s.

IV. ULTRAMONTANISM AND THE CATHOLIC FIGHT AGAINST MODERNITY

In general terms, the ultramontane movement can be described as "a series of attitudes by the Catholic Church, in a movement of reaction to some theological and ecclesiastical currents, to the regalism of Catholic states, to the new political trends developed after the French Revolution and the secularization of the modern society." (SANTIROCCHI, 2010, p. 24). In this sense, it has some characteristics, such as: the defense of the overlapping papal authority over national states, the return to scholasticism as a basic doctrine for Catholicism, the reestablishment of orders and missionary activities (such as the Society of Jesus and

Redemptorists), and, among other things, pointing out the “dangers” and “enemies of the Church” (Galicanism, Jansenism, regalism, liberalism in all its aspects, modernism, Protestantism, Freemasonry, socialism, separation between Church and State, etc.). This Catholic current became predominant in positions of importance for the management of the institution, especially during the papacy of Gregory XVI (1831-1846) and Pius IX (1846-1878) culminating in the First Vatican Council, held between 1869 and 1870.

From a more incisive point of view, ultramontanism can still be seen as a kind of “papal absolutism”¹⁵, especially when considering its character not only anti-modern, but, fundamentally, its opposition to democracy, individual liberties and free thought, of in order to centralize the political and cultural power in the figure of the Pope and the Church. Thus, from this “Catholic fundamentalist turn” (MATA, 2007, p. 225), it is possible to affirm that the Church in the 19th century “is at that point that Émile Poulat defined as ‘absolute zero’ of dialogue with modernity.” (MATA, 2007, p. 226).

The rise and consolidation of ultramontanism in German states from the second quarter of the 19th century is directly linked to the effects of the liberal revolutionary upheavals of 1848 and 1849. With a large majority of supporters from the German countryside, Catholicism also became imperative among the mass of urban workers, the result of the rural exodus in Germany's industrialization process. (SPERBER, 1984, p. 39).

The result of this migratory movement was, therefore, the reinforcement of social stratification, especially in urban areas, whose religious character stood out in the class division itself. In general, even in areas of Catholic majority, the Protestant minority was disproportionately bourgeois, made up especially of merchants, industrialists, bureaucrats and professionals. In contrast, in the working class the Catholic majority predominated, which, in general, was largely confined to the lower strata of the population, working in factories and mines as day laborers, or, at most, as small independent entrepreneurs or masters of the trade.

These new social configurations aggravated the climate of instability that preceded the revolutions of 1848 and 1849. In general, the news of the March 1848 uprisings in Berlin, as well as the serious economic crisis and the progress of socialist and liberal-democratic criticism about the current political system,

generated widespread social unrest in several states of the German Confederation.¹⁶

Faced with this climate of social tension, whose strength was mainly in the hands of the popular masses (mostly Catholic), the Catholic Church rose as the main arm of the State in containing political and social instability. In addition to the political counter-revolutionary measures¹⁷, the Prussian State (which divided sovereignty over the states of the Confederation with the Catholic monarchy of Austria) saw in the ultramontane Catholic Church an important ally against the social unrest of the masses.

With broad support gained among the secular and regular clergy throughout the first half of the 19th century (taking advantage especially of the desire for reform fostered, but not realized, by the Enlightened Catholicism of the previous century), ultramontanism saw in crises and revolts from 1848 the opportunity to gain space with the Prussian State. Concomitantly with the Frankfurt Assembly, where King Frederick William IV of Prussia debated solutions with the liberals and democrats for social upheavals, the bishops and archbishops of the German Catholic dioceses met in Würzburg (just over 100 km from Frankfurt) to evaluate the situation of the confederate states and planning a counter-revolution¹⁸. For the clerics in Würzburg, at the end of their meeting, the revolts were not just the result of political, economic and social problems, but, above all, “cause and effect, they reasoned, of a failure of religion and morality that threatened the church as much as monarchical authority.” (GROSS, 2011, p. 30).

The outcome of both the assembly in Frankfurt and Würzburg was a successful counter-revolution that appeased political (with democratic concessions that, in the last analysis, very little altered the nobility benefit regime) and popular, giving real opening from the Prussian state to ultramontane action between Catholic and non-Catholic faithful. The victory of the counterrevolution produced an informal alliance between Church and State that would last for two decades; enough for a radical transformation of Catholic influence both in the population and in politics, something that aroused the mistrust and open

¹⁵ Although imprecise, the idea of a “papal absolutism” here refers, on the one hand, to the ultramontane political tendency in support of the monarchical regime that prevailed in pre-French Revolution Europe (known by historiography as Old Regime, or absolutism), and, on the other, for the defense that all spiritual and temporal power be submitted to the pope and the Church. Other authors referring to the theme even coined expressions such as “papist Shi'ism” to refer to the secular policy of ultramontanism. Cf.: MATA, 2007, p. 226.

¹⁶ German Confederation [*Deutscher Bund*] was the economic and political association created at the Vienna Congress in 1815 by which the German states dissociated from the Rhine Confederation (started by Napoleon in 1806 after it has dissolved the Holy German Empire) were united, bringing together a total 39 states (among kingdoms, duchies and free cities) under the hegemony of Austria and Prussia. The German Confederation actually existed until 1866, when Prussia defeated Austria and created the North German Confederation [*Norddeutscher Bund*], which the end result of was the unified German Empire from 1871. On the subject, see: (BLACKBOURN, 2003).

¹⁷ In order not to dwell on descriptions of the political contours of this historical period, we recommend for this discussion: BLACKBOURN (2003); BROSE (1997).

¹⁸ About the role of the Catholic Church as a counterrevolutionary agent in the 19th century, see: JAEGER (1976).

opposition not only of liberals and democrats, but of the Prussian Protestant state itself, culminating in the so-called *Kulturkampf*.¹⁹

A factor of significant importance in this process of the rise of ultramontanism, both in Germany and in Europe in general, was the progressive proliferation of means of communication linked to the most radical Catholic interests. Thus, the formation of Catholic newspapers and magazines in line with his perspective marked a fundamental strategy to establish a discursive space in which "the press could play a crucial consciousness-raising role." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 24). That way,

In the Italian states, the few Catholic titles successfully launched during the Restoration era were mainly of ultramontane inspiration. In France, the single most important journal of Catholic opinion in the 1840s was *L'Univers*, initially founded by Abbé Migne in 1833 for purposes of general edification but subsequently transformed by its new editor-in-chief, Louis Veuillot, into the most combative and influential organ of European ultramontanism. In Spain, the 'New Catholic press' of the 1840s – *La Revista Católica* of Barcelona, *El Católico* of Madrid and *La Cruz* of Seville – focused Catholic attention on incidents of government harassment and provided a forum for ultramontane opinion in the parishes. In Germany, too, where a detailed survey has been made of the Catholic press in the Restoration era, journals of ultramontane orientation accounted for the lion's share of the ninety-five new titles launched between 1815 and 1847. (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 24).

These publications represented an institutional direction of the Catholic Church that was moving towards the centralization of ecclesiastical power in Rome, or more specifically, in the figure of the Pope. Although initially reaching a small audience, these initiatives already presented some evidence of the Catholic search for the dissemination of its precepts in the popular imagination.

This trend has intensified over time, causing the papacy itself to develop "a broad-circulation press organ of its own." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 26) Thus, in 1850, the foundation of *Civiltà Cattolica* was born, a newspaper that gained international notoriety as a kind of official voice of the pontificate of Pius IX, so that "provided the pope with a potent means of influencing public opinion." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 29).

Through these means, and papal encyclicals, Catholicism - and, more specifically, ultramontanism - conditioned a worldview in which the composition of European society was divided binary, in such a way that "the forces of Christ were arrayed against those of Satan." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 39) In this way, the

Church instigated the idea that all those who did not align themselves with the norms given by the Holy See were necessarily involved with the forces of evil.

In addition, the very way in which the Holy See built its image fueled the upsurge of these conflicts, because in addition to condemning its opponents, it treated itself as a victim of the onslaught of secular powers, in such a way that "there was a widespread tendency to equate the Sacred Heart of Jesus with the person of the 'suffering' pontiff." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 22) In this way, the Holy See expanded its legitimacy in the eyes of the faithful, begging itself for the position of martyr.

All this rhetorical apparatus guided the lines by which ultramontanism conditioned its action in the discursive field. In the practical field, there were also important actions carried out by missionary movements (especially Jesuits and Redemptorists) in an attempt to appropriate popular religiosity, under the institutional support of the Holy See.

Fulfilling its role as a counterrevolutionary agent, already in the wake of the upheavals of 1848 and 1849, the Catholic Church called for its missionary crusade in favor of reversing the contesting political framework and, more importantly, revitalizing the clerically controlled Catholic faith. The counterrevolutionary environment and the broad support of the State greatly benefited the Catholic Church.

In practically every mission call, clergy called on Catholics to repent of the revolutionary uprisings of previous years. In return, the civilian authorities expanded as far as they could the area of influence of counterrevolutionary Catholicism. After the mission in Düsseldorf in 1851, for example, the local police commissioner ordered the Jesuit sermons to be printed and distributed to the public, "in order to restore order in a city that had once been a center of democratic radicalism during 1848 and 1849." (GROSS, 2011, p. 42).

This ultramontane and, therefore, reactionary and papist character of the missionary congregations left the Catholic middle and bourgeois class divided, especially those who descended from the attempts to create a national and illustrated Church. On the one hand, religious loyalty, but on the other, a Church that became increasingly averse to the modern project and eagerly approached ignorant peasants, reinforcing the pietistic and devotional practices of a Baroque Catholicism, while still justifying the system of privileges of the aristocracy. In addition, for the traditional local clergy, as well as for many episcopal authorities, ultramontanism often seemed coercive and repressive.

In any case, despite localized suspicions, missionary activities in the 19th century were unquestionably successful and resulted in the revival of institutional Catholicism in a surprising way. Men and women who had not confessed or received the

¹⁹ About the *Kulturkampf*, see: GOMES FILHO, 2019.



Eucharist for decades did so piously in missionary activities. Many of those who had been "seduced" by Enlightened Catholicism or modern ideas appeared as signs of victory in reports by various pastors and missionaries. On January 20, 1859, for example, a priest from the city of Worbis in the Diocese of Paderborn reported that "The indifference that ran like a thread through the so-called illustrated strata and that also often infected the working class [...] was now transformed into religious conviction."²⁰ In the small town of Jücken in the Diocese of Cologne, young people of the upper class, "who had become indifferent and morally depraved as a result of reading and traveling", now recanted their ridicule of religion and declared their loyalty to the Church.²¹ As early as 1853, the Bishop of Eichstätt, Georg von Öttl, declared with joy that "a fear of God and Christian propriety blossomed again"; those "bedazzled by the arrogance of a false Enlightenment were awakened again to belief in God by the power of the divine word."²²

In this way, the Holy See called upon its clergy and faithful to adhere to the Chair of Peter, in order to preserve the Catholic faith from the investiture of perceptions which it considered impious.²³ In addition, this line of action led to a whole process of missionary expansion that widened the means of influencing public opinion.

Thus, the "civilizing" mission bequeathed to ultramontanism against the impious forces of the modern world identifies a strong combative content in dealing with the nuances that mark the period. This whole strategy, however, raised an inherent paradox in this conflict, because at the same time that the Church takes a reactionary position regarding the progress of the world identified by modern currents, it sees itself as the bearer of the legitimate narrative as opposed to "profane debacle" that it believes to be present in what, later on, would be called pejoratively by itself "modernism".

V. CATHOLIC IDENTITY: THE MODERNIST CASE AND THE *ALTKATHOLISCHE* IN GERMANY

The period following the papacy of Pius IX is marked, despite the decline of ultramontanism as an

²⁰ Pf. Huschenbett na Bischof Konrad Martin, Worbis, 20 Jan. 1859. *Aktenstücke*, 276. Apud: GROSS, (2011, p. 54).

²¹ Pf. Döhler na den Erzbischof Paulus von Köln, Jüncken, 21 Jan. 1868. *Aktenstücke*, 373. Apud: GROSS, (2011, p. 54).

²² Fasten-Hirtenbrief des Bischofs Georg Öttl von Eichstätt, Eichstätt, 23 Jan. 1853 *Aktenstücke*, 186. Apud: GROSS (2011, p. 54).

²³ In the words of Pope Pius IX himself, the main name of ultramontanism: "[...] errors that not only try to ruin the Catholic Church, with its healthy doctrine and sacrosanct rights, but also the eternal natural law engraved by God in all hearts and still right reason." (PIO IX, Papa. *Quanta Cura*. MONTFORT Associação Cultural. Sítio eletrônico: <http://www.montfort.org.br/index.php?secao=documentos&subsecao=enciclicas&artigo=quantacura>. Acesso: 13/02/2020)

influential force within the body of the Church, still for the preservation of the discourse contrary to the modern world. However, differently from the height of ultramontanism, from the papacy of Leo XIII (1878-1903), the struggle against modern influence passed from the outside to the interior of the Church, therefore, with a focus on the clergy, reaching the tendencies to update Catholic theological that became pejoratively known as "modernisms".

As a result of Catholic adaptations to modern political, cultural and theological trends - and, indirectly, heir to Catholic Jansenism, Galicanism, Irenism, Enlightenment and Liberalism - the so-called "Catholic modernism", in general, was opposed to the "backwardness of science ecclesiastical, as they said, in relation to secular culture and scientific discoveries." (POULAT. *Apud*: LE GOFF, 2013, p. 174) Despite its pluralities, Catholic modernism was thus named by Pius X (1903-1914) as if it were a single movement.²⁴ For the pontiff, it was the new enemy to be fought, and this one should be sought no more "among declared enemies; but, which is a lot to feel and fear, they hide in the very heart of the Church, thus becoming more harmful as less perceived." (PIO X, 1907, p. 2).

This new "declaration of war" of the papacy against modernity, it is necessary to realize, has in the speech of the "internal enemy" a very important differential. It is no longer a struggle against national states, nor against modernization and its practical effects. Rather, this new Catholic stance appears to be averse no longer to the modern world itself, but to the modern world not institutionally controlled by the Church. Therefore, a new possibility of expectations for nineteenth-century Catholicism opens up: it is necessary to adapt to modernity, but not to allow it to be "corrupted"; a survival in the inevitable future, assuring "the guarantees of the Catholic name." (PIO X, 1907, p. 2).

The disputes, which would become even more accentuated in the twentieth century, begin to gain, therefore, a new character, much more abstract and focused on issues of the Catholic Church's own faith and apologetics. In spite of this, the maintenance of an entire body of clergy oriented to the formation and conditioning of an imaginary contrary to modernism continued to be an important issue in this period,

²⁴ According to Pius X, "And since modernists (such is the name by which they are commonly and rightly called) with astute deception tend to present their doctrines uncoordinated and together as a whole, but dispersed and as separate from each other, in order to be considered doubtful and uncertain, while in fact they are firm and constant, it is fitting, Venerable Brothers, to first show the same doctrines here in one frame, and show them the nexus with which they form one body, and then to inquire into the causes of errors and prescribe remedies to curb their harmful effects." (PIO X, 1907, p. 3)

creating institutional spaces just as in the predecessor papacy. About this institutional paradigm shift, therefore, it is possible to say that:

The church's leaders, the popes and their secretaries of state, attempted to freeze their policy in relational forms that were no longer possible. As that struggle became more and more impossible, there occurred a retreat from all effective foreign policy and a concentration upon the inner forum: the minds, hearts, wills and consciences of the institution's members. A review of the Vatican's foreign ministers and their policies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will reveal that the anti-Modernist spasm at the turn of the century represents the final stage of a failed foreign policy program of almost a century's duration. (LEASE, 2000, p. 32).

In other words, with the decline of the ultramontane movement and the irreversibility of the triumph and consolidation of modern, liberal and republican ideals, the Catholic Church turned to itself in order to preserve the values it considered correct, since the very success of the modernist proposal had also infiltrated the institution itself. This need, moreover, was already marked in the papacy of Leo XIII, in such a way that they understood that "a Church State was absolutely essential for Christian civilization to flourish and for Europe to enjoy tranquility." (LEASE, 2000, p. 47) But it is in the next papacy, in Pius X, that the expression of this proposal becomes more latent, as it progressed "notion of an internation treaty that would confirm the independence of the Holy See." (LEASE, 2000, p. 49).

Another point to stand out from the papacy of Pius X, also, concerns his secretary of state, Merry del Val, who had, during his life, very close links with ultramontanism. According to Gary Lease:

[...] Merry del Val, under the direction of Pius X, abandoned any attempt to achieve reconciliation or accommodation with the new political constellations in Europe, North and South America, and the East. Instead, their reaction to the collapse of a Church State and the resultant decline in the political power and role of the Vatican was to refocus the church's attention and energies upon the so-called inner forum, namely the consciences of the faithful. If one cannot control the actions and policies of other countries and their governments, then one can at least control what their populations believe. (LEASE, 2000, p. 50).

In this way, the internal policy of the Catholic Church maintained its fundamentalist character, adopting a kind of post-ultramontanism that continues, under other guidelines, to fight the modern world, now under the banner of "modernism" within the very heart of the Church. Above all, Pius X's policy has therefore become "na anti-Modernist campaign to protect the substance of faith." (LEASE, 2000, p. 51) This campaign

can be seen in the main papal document released on the subject, the encyclical *Pascendi dominicigregis*, published by Pope Pius X in 1907. In it, according to the pontiff,

[...] Modernism emerges as an orchestrated movement, constituting an assault upon orthodoxy on many fronts. The Modernist appears now as philosopher, then as apologist, elsewhere as historian or critic, other times as reformer or as theologian. The encyclical gathers up these fragments and organizes them into a coherent system that their dispersive presentation conceals, thus revealing Modernism as "the synthesis of all heresies"-a step beyond the errors of Protestantism, teetering on the brink of atheism. (TALAR, 2007, p. 493).

In other words, the encyclical *Pascendi* guides a whole discourse that is contrary to the propagation of the modernist ideology within the heart of the Church, since it understands that "what is intended to 'modernize' is the conception and the same structure of the Faith." (FELÍCIO, 2002. p. 374) To this end, the encyclical itself makes use of some measures in order to develop control mechanisms to confront such ideas, in such a way that:

[...] these countermeasures, augmented by a campaign of denunciation conducted by so-called "integralists," succeeded in creating their own climate of fear that inhibited Catholic scholarly initiatives in a number of theological subdisciplines for decades. (TALAR, 2007, p. 493).

In this way, the Church restrained the advance of modernism within religious institutions and seminaries. And even the very substance of the modernist faith, according to anti-modernists, provoked a sense of betrayal to the Church, which understood this disruptive factor as an affront to the Catholic faith. In this way, the apologetic changes proposed by the modernists were viewed in a pejorative way by those who were in tune with Pius X's discourse. Therefore, it was common to transpose immanence as the foundation of faith, according to the modernists, for whom:

The negative principle of agnosticism finds its complement in a positive principle of vital immanence; the two provide for a naturalistic basis for the religious sense. This sense evolves, and with it evolves the symbolic expressions that derive from it - in short, a third principle of evolutionism that Modernists apply to dogmas. (TALAR, 2007, p. 496).

Much influenced by philosophy and science, the modernists transferred the character of faith from transcendental revelation to an immanent feeling that affects the faithful, in which "the religious feeling, which by vital immanence arises from the hiding places of the subconsciousness, is therefore the germ of all the



religion and the reason for everything that has been and will still be in any religion". (PIO X, 1907, p. 6) This proposal, in addition to individualizing the faith, consequently depriving the Church's imbued function of conceiving dogmas necessary to the faith, establishes a profusion of possibilities that marks the opening to a magnitude of strands of interpretation of the faith, even because the modernists understood, according to the Holy See, that "dogmas can not only, but positively must evolve and change" (PIO X, 1907, p. 6), then proclaiming an ecumenical sense of faith; tendency, by the way, hindered by the Catholic Church at least until the Second Vatican Council, already in the second half of the 20th century. In response to this problem, therefore, it was suggested that the only way to escape this principle "lies somewhere in the turn to transcendence, that is, through the full hearted love of some good beyond life." (TAYLOR, 1996, p. 27).

Upset, the modernists bluntly asserted that "there are modernisms rather than a Modernism" (TALAR, 2007, p. 498) and, therefore, the Church's attempt to model a single, standardized system was improper, causing them to formulate criticisms of the institutional *modus operandi* established by the Holy See, since:

[...] this aroused the protest of the scholars concerned who managed to prove that they had no common philosophical presuppositions but only a sincere desire to understand and accept the general development of scientific knowledge. (BERTALOT, 1959, p. 25).

Despite this, Bertalot leads us to the reasoning that, in spite of not constituting itself as a system as described by the Church, the formation of modernist thought, in its most varied forms, was raised through a cornerstone, since "the Modernists' notion of immanence is the vital a priori of their theology." (BERTALOT, 1959, p. 26).

This complete mismatch between the accusations made by the Holy See and the respective defense of the modernists produced, at times, a certain paradox. The case of the Italian modernist Ernesto Buonaiuti is interesting in this sense, because although he contradicted the Church's accusation that the modernists were giving priority to philosophy and placing the Church under the yoke of the philosophers' opinions, he also assumed that "in experience there is an implicit philosophy that waits to be properly formulated." (BERTALOT, 1959, p. 30) This contradiction, on both sides, was present in almost the entire period of existence of the battle between Catholic modernism and the Holy See.

Still regarding this change in conceptions about Catholic apologetics, the anti-modernist wing defined modernism as "the view that believers draw the object and motive of their Faith from within, denying historically

revealed truth and the teaching authority of the Church." (ERB, 2015, p. 259) Basically, there was an opposition to the consensus of objective truth marked in the apologetic philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, for a proposal of faith based on subjective truths arising from the religious feeling of each believer. Like this:

Dogmas, such as that concerning marriage, can be altered radically, because the identity of a nature is changeable according to circumstances, desire, or, as the modernists say, "life." For Aquinas, by contrast, a nature is not an accidental feature of life, but refers to the necessities of the species itself. (ERB, 2015, p. 265-66).

From this, a conflict of narratives was drawn that lasted for decades, between two poles of meaning. These perspectives fostered a vacuum of meaning in the constitutive of the Catholic faith, bringing up a problem of latent identity. This sense "is nothing more than a complex form of consciousness: it does not exist in itself, but it always has an object of reference" (BERGER; LUCKMANN, 2004, p. 39). and, from the moment that this objective reference is undermined, there is an emptying of identification in this process. With the insertion of a multitude of competing proponents of meaning, therefore, "where the modern form of pluralism is fully developed, the orders of values and the reserves of meaning are no longer common property" (BERGER; LUCKMANN, 2004, p. 39), that is, with the proliferation of modernist apologetics. and the diversity of propositions defended by them, the Catholic identity closest to the outdated ultramontanism would begin to collapse and fall apart, since it would no longer represent a safe nucleus of meaning. Overtime:

With self-referentiality, the distance, the independence, the isolation that separates man from the relationship with the divine and with Nature, grow by force, like Narcissus, so much to look and fixate on himself. And, at the same time, the process of decomposing the balances advances, the harmony of the whole is dissipated, the awareness of crisis and the undefined symptom of the day that gets dark worsens. In its dispersion, each fragment has a history to invent the drift of a world that shattered. And he clings to that fiction as a castaway who, in the uncertainty of the moment, can still hold him to the absolute of life. (ABREU, 2016, p. 26.)

To solve the problem of this identity crisis, the Church proposed a return to Thomism, revisiting its premises and advocating for the objective truth in the Catholic faith, found, according to Aquinas' philosophy, in the revelation of Jesus Christ. This return to Thomism, however, had been proposed since the papacy of Leo XIII.

With the encyclical *Aeterni Patri* (August 4, 1879) he enjoined a return to the traditional metaphysics of St.

Thomas Aquinas. With the *Providentissimus Deus* (November 18, 1893) he expressly condemned the "disquieting tendencies" in biblical interpretation. (BERTALOT, 1959, p. 7)

It is in this scenario that, therefore, under the banner of defending the substance of the Catholic faith, the Holy See established modes of action against the modernist onslaught, imbuing itself with the legitimacy to obstruct the modernist incursion, in such a way that:

If, therefore, at a glance we look at the whole system, no one will be surprised to hear us define them, claiming to be the synthesis of all heresies. What is certain is that if someone proposed to add, as it were, the distillate of all errors, which have been raised up to date with regard to faith, it would never be able to reach a more complete result than the modernists have achieved. So far have they gone, as we have already noted, that they have destroyed not only Catholicism, but any other religion. (PIO X, 1907, p. 26).

In its struggle against modernism, therefore, the Church established seven guidelines to be followed, in the conflict between the imaginary between the modernist and anti-modernist bodies. The first one concerned changes in the teaching of the seminaries, so that "scholastic philosophy is taken as the basis of sacred studies." This option for scholasticism and, let it be used, primarily through the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, aimed at preserving the objective substance of faith. It is also worth remembering that they considered that "for the future the doctorate of theology and canon law must never be conferred on anyone who has not first of all made the regular course of scholastic philosophy; if conferred, it shall be held as null and void." (LEMIUS, 1908, p. 119).

The second, more practical guideline concerned the appointment of directors and professors at Catholic seminaries and universities. The attention to the choice guided the perception that "everyone who has modernist tendencies, whoever he is, must be removed from both positions and teaching; and if you already have possession, it must be removed." (PIO X, 1907, p. 32) The third corroborated the control of reading, in order to "ensure that the books of the modernists already published are not read, and that new publications are prohibited." (PIO X, 1907, p. 33) The fourth constituted the control of the printing of books, ordering that "there are, therefore, in all the episcopal Curias censors for the revision of writings in the process of publication." (PIO X, 1907, p. 34) The fifth guided the attempt to prevent the meeting of the modernists. The sixth promulgated the establishment of councils of men whose task it was to examine, in its local context, the profusion of modernist "errors". Finally, the Church still establishes a final norm, so that:

[...] one year after the publication of these Letters, and then, after every three years, with diligent and sworn exposition, the Bishops inform the Holy See about what is prescribed in these Letters and the doctrines that circulate in the clergy, and particularly in seminaries and other Catholic Institutes, not even those who are exempt from the authority of the Ordinary. We have ordered the same thing to the Superiors general of the religious Orders, in relation to their subjects. (PIO X, 1907, p. 37).

All the formation of this institutional apparatus in order to combat modernism demonstrates, above all, the impregnation of modernist theology within the very heart of the Church and its attempt to reject it. The "cultural wars" experienced in the 18th and 19th century,²⁵ as demonstrated in the previous sections, bequeathed to the turn of the century a relationship of duality in the Catholic vs. Catholic's modernism opposition. At the same time that the context of the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth marks the sedimentation of national states and the victory of political and cultural models promulgated by modernist movements, an inexorable feature of the solidification of modernity as such, Catholic modernism encountered strong internal resistance of the Church itself, still preserving traces of the ultramontane fundamentalism of the last century. This duality ended up causing an instability in the Catholic identity, which was shaken in some of its basic aspects.

In the German case, whose prominence we give in this article, Catholic modernism found an even more conflicted environment, whose context was still inserted in the so-called *Kulturmampf*. Even so, it is worth noting that, in the German case, a current derived from Catholic modernism, originating in the liberal bourgeoisie and in intellectual circles, gained special attention: the self-styled *Altkatholische*.

Founded out of opposition to the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870, and still of a highly charged character by the intellectualism of Enlightened Catholicism, the small but significant group of the *Altkatholische* was very well accepted by liberalism and the German State, especially for their declared allegiance to emperor and opposition to ultramontane Catholicism and its values.

For Roman Catholics, however, the group was seen as an anti-Catholic and arrogantly intellectual sect. In a pastoral letter of 1874, the bishop of Paderborn, Konrad Martin, referred to the *Altkatholische* as "a church of statesmen and professors" (SPERBER, 1984, p. 236). Already at a meeting at the Mainz Association in Düsseldorf, a local speaker referred to the group as "men of German scholarship who esteem their academic arrogance more highly than they esteem the Pope and the bishops" (SPERBER, 1984, p. 236).

²⁵ The term "Culture Wars" to describe this context is by Christopher Clark (2003).



Roman Catholics' opposition to the *Altkatholische* became more tense from 1875, when the Reichstag passed a law that defined the sectarian group as an independent religious confession. Because of this status, this law guaranteed that in the area where there was a considerable number of followers of the said confession, the Roman diocese should share its temples with the new religious segment.

The consequence of the new legislation was a set of violent revolts by Roman Catholics, encouraged primarily by the ultramontane clergy who saw the *Altkatholische* not only as apostates, but as traitors to the political cause of Catholicism and the papacy in the newly created empire. In Lippstadt, for example, a reportedly *Altkatholisch* priest, Friedrich Michelis, was attacked when he tried to preach. In Witten (Bochum district), a group of *Altkatholische* was attacked by an angry mob after they performed their first services in a Catholic church that the authorities had given them. (SPERBER, 1984, p. 231) In Cologne, according to Jonathan Sperber, the men who joined the sectarian group were afraid to make their public adherence, keeping it secret even from their wives, fearing their pious wrath from women who were very involved in the Ultramontan Catholic revival throughout the second half of the century. (SPERBER, 1984, p. 234).

Not only women, but the significant majority of the Catholic laity made the practical application of *Kulturkampf* laws gradually inoperative. Not only in expressive political support for the Catholic candidates of the Center Party during the elections, but especially in the indisputable allegiance to the clergy, the Catholic laity frustrated each year that the liberal expectations for the transformation of the German empire succeeded from the annulment of Catholicism. In 1874, for example, the Bishop of Paderborn, Konrad Martin, issued a pastoral letter condemning the *Altkatholische* and summoning all of his pastors to read it in his sermons. Although the provincial governor of Westphalia was determined to prosecute, under the law of the pulpit, every priest who read the letter, the authorities had enormous difficulties in finding witnesses who assumed they would remember the incriminating sermon. Called to testify about the church process in Paderborn, for example, the local schoolmaster explained that he was on the organ and could not hear the sermon; already another witness of the same case stated that he had a headache that day and therefore did not pay attention; other witnesses claimed to have suffered sudden memory losses and, therefore, said that they knew nothing about the said sermons. (SPERBER, 1984, p. 249).

The condemnation of the *Altkatholische*, as well as in modernism itself, by the German Catholic Church, therefore, followed the trend already outlined throughout the entire 19th century of a real "cultural war", whose

specific context of the *Kulturkampf* very much corroborated for the theme it did in fact reach physical conflicts and, ultimately, matters of state.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The Catholic modernist movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries should not be seen as the result of its specific context alone. On the contrary, the theological, political and cultural disputes within the Catholic Church for the adaptation or not of the institution to the modernity in consolidation took place through important internal movements, such as Catholic Enlightenment, Romanticism, Ultramontanism, the *Altkatholische* and, finally, Modernism. Such movements, more than internal Catholic disputes, should be seen as examples of the vast cleavage of ideas and the gradient of possibilities that exist within a complex institution such as the Catholic Church.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the struggles between the Catholic Church and modernity throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries demonstrate, on the one hand, the complex context of consolidation of the modern world in view of the traditions rooted in the world that preceded it, and, on the other hand, the need to realize that modernity, although triumphant in the 19th century, was never a univocal and coherent process.

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Transformation of Muslim Civilization from Devoted Believer to Despotic: A Study of Islamic History after Prophet Muhammed's Death

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Abstract- The journey of Muslim civilization started from Arabian Peninsula during the 7th century AD. After a long age of inertia, an impetus of regeneration thrived by which all kinds of racial and ethnic discrimination eliminated from Arab society. The founder of Islam prophet Muhammed disseminated the gospels of egalitarianism by countering century-old evil social order, challenged the dogma of violence, fostered education for women and slaves. Through the victory of Muslims over Mecca in 630 AD, the process of infant Islamic state began its shaping. Immediately, after the death of Muhammed his four legitimate heirs -Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique, Hazrat Uthman Gani, Hazrat Umar Faruq, Hazrat Ali is popularly known as the 'Rushidun Caliphate' by Sunni Islamic theology, continued the administration quietly based on prophetic doctrine. In the course of time, circumstances began to be altered with the hand of Umayyads and Abbasid Caliphate; few noticeable changes occurred, which turned the holy principles once abided by the four great Caliphs and Prophet himself.

Keywords: muslim, despotism, islam, caliphate, sultanate, umayyad, abbasid, turkish.

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Keywords: muslim, despotism, islam, caliphate, sultanate, umayyad, abbasid, turkish.

I. INTRODUCTION

The history of Islam witnessed the transformation of ideology among the Muslims towards the end of four 'Rushidun Caliphate'. Prophet Muhammed was the founder of Islam who introduced new principles of humanity based on equality, love, and brotherhood in contrary to existing socio-religious orders. In each of his policy he initiated a prospect of harmony, despite so many dissents and clashes with the Jews, Christian and other primitive tribal communities those who had been hostile against the gospels, were treated cordially under his authority in Mecca. By implementing a dynamic nexus between religious and political institution, he became an example to the Arabian world. But, in the course of time power of Muslims handed over to Caliphates which remarkably led to considerable

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changes of prophetic philosophy, mostly taken place under the Umayyads and Abbasids.

Through the advent of the Umayyads it did not only bring a change of dynasty, it also meant the reversal of a principal and offspring of new factors that exercised the most potent influence on the fortunes of the empire and the development of nation¹. During the age of Pious Caliphate, according to tradition, they were elected by a public vote, and that was fully supported by outside non-Arabian Muslims², But from the time of Muawiyah, the reigning ruler began to nominate his heir. Hence, this system hindered at the root of the Republican spirit of Islam. Bayat Al Mala, a provision of Muslim civilization had been considered as public treasury, on which there was no authority of any individuals or particular group, and every man of the commonwealth has similar right to it. Since the days of Caliph Muawiyah, it was transformed into a family property of the Umayyads³. Except for Umar bin Abdul Aziz, all other Umayyad Caliphs considered the Bayt al-Mal as their personal property and utilized it by their needs . In the days of the republican Caliphate, each Caliph was assisted by the council of elders, and all valuable matters were discussed publicly; even ordinary peoples had the right to participate in the government. Moreover, open claims and criticism of the authoritarian policy formulated the most remarkable features of this period⁴. But the Umayyads eliminated the council of elders, and free criticism of the government policy was not bearable. As it's a well familiar fact that during the days of Prophet socio-religious discrimination had been sternly prevented, it has been apparent from the Last Sermon:

"You all descend from Adam, and Adam was created from dirt. The most noblest in the sight of God is the most pious. No Arab is superior to a non-Arab, except by their intimate consciousness of God"⁵.

Most regrettably, the Umayyad Khalifah regenerated the tribal jealousies to serve their own purpose by creating conflict among the tribes. As for an instance, the racial antagonism between the Mudarites and the Himyarties weakened the strength of empire which was became a causative factor behind the decay of Umayyad dynasty. Indeed, the government functionaries under the Umayyads had totally ignored



the true spirit of Islam, unfair and oppressive acts were the order of the days. As instance, Hajjaj Bin Yusuf, as said by historian Masoodi, killed no less than 125000 innocent persons. Yet Abdul Malik bin Marwan who was wise and astute ruler connived at the misdeeds of Hajjaj. He looked upon the oppressive acts of Hajjaj to be useful for the consolidation of his despotic ruler. The philosophy of Islam widely based on simplicity and austerity, the prophet and pious Caliphs set an example of this livelihood. The great Caliph Umar used to wander at night to observe the condition of his subjects without any guard. Many of them had been assassinated, despite they didn't feel the necessity to appoint bodyguards for individual safety⁶. On the contrary, the Umayyads lived in pompous palace and castles and drinking, gambling, racing became the formal practice of society.

As like as the Umayyads the advent of Abbasids introduced a remarkable change. The new characteristic of this period were that the caliphate no longer connected with the bound of Islam. The supremacy of the new dynasty was never considered in Spain while in east independent dynasties emerged. The Arab nation following the attitudes of new dynasty lost martial value. It having been commonly stated "to their hardy life and martial fire were mainly due to the first spread of Islam, and material prosperity of the Khalifate. But the race by this time lost much of its early hardihood"⁷. Moreover.. Persian influence for the first-time occurred in Caliphate court by which Arab life has been softened. The pillage of occupied people had gradually weakened their great virtue, and they settled down with well field Harem. Thus, the age of conquest had concluded with the assimilation of rejoicing in material life. The transformation of Capital from Syria to Iraq escheated the sway of Syrian in Abbasid court, who were the intimate supporter of Umayyads. Hence, it created discontent through the regional and ethnic lines. In this period, a noticeable alteration appeared in government post, i.e. 'Wazir', who was the representative of Caliph, and this post did not exist at the time of Umayyads⁸. The Caliphate was left in name; the office of a minister also became a commercial commodity. The High amount of bribery was provided to obtain an office of ministers. The appointment order for a ministerial post were issued from the central secretariat of caliphate for a candidate who offered the maximum amount of gratification. In the 4th century, AH Ibn-e-Maqlah obtained the office of a minister after payment of 500000 Dinars to Raazi Billah, the then Abbasid Caliph. The abominable jobs of a ministers, named Khaqani had been apparent from the writing of a contemporary poet:

"He is such a minister who is never tired of writing letters of appointment. He appoints a man and, after an hour, terminates his service. Persons who are

quick in giving him illegal gratification, they become his close associates. But the persons who try to get jobs by recommendation, they are not allowed to approach him. When persons willing to bribe him to come to his audience, the richest among them is successful in getting an appointment from minister Khaqani"⁹.

During the Caliphate of Raazi Billah his rule was confined to Baghdad and its near suburbs. He died in 329 AH. After his death, as many as sixteen Caliphs came upon the throne. But the downfall which had strayed in the fabric of the caliphate went on increasing. In between, if a caliph had personal goodness and virtues, he could not bring about any great improvement in the body politic of the Caliphate, which had become fallen. No caliph of this last dying period had any de-facto authority. At long last, in the year of 654 AH, the so-called Caliphate came to its logical end. The last Caliph, Motasim Billah was mercilessly killed by the Tartars through the conspiracy of his minister, Alqami. Truly, the condition of Abbasid period was neither Islamic nor un-Islamic, as narrated by Maulana Shibli Nomani, a great scholar, and theologian. Therefore, this period had nothing to offer, of which the Muslims could be proud as 'golden age of Islam'¹⁰.

Following the expansionist policy of Umayyads, and Abbasids the territory of the Islamic world exempted from the boundary of Arabs and it reached too far Spain also directed in central Asian region, by which no doubt Significant changes occurred in the nature of Muslim civilization. We have seen the actions of scattered Caliphate in this period immediately after the decay of two great caliph house. It has been apparent during the last days of Banu Umayyads rule in Spain the country was wrapped in complete anarchy. The Arabs, the Barbars and the Mawalis were divided into different sects and these heterogenous elements began to rule over all such parts of the country where they could lay their hands .They, also had the covet to assume the Caliphate titles like "Motazid", "Mamoon", "Mustaeen", "Muqtadir", "Motasim", "Motamid", "Motawakkil" and "Motawaqif". A poet of that time annoyed these childish assumption of titles and he alluded

"My hatred for the land of Andolusia and the reason of my leaving that country for good was that the timely rulers had assumed title of former dignified Caliph like "Muqtadir" and "Motazid". These titles were now misnomers and ill-suited and looked like cat expanding herself to imitate a lion"¹¹.

The perspective of regional and tribal-ethnographic identity too shaped the ideas of autocracy and anarchy in Muslim world. Several factors and actions we can assess from central Asian continent in Early medieval and medieval period which foments the gradual growth of antagonism among various Muslim

Ethnicity. The reasons supposed to have discernable on account of the priority over tribal and ethnical character rather than so called accepted "Islamic" dogma.

The Samanid state was a provincially succeeded kingdom of Abbasid caliphate centred on Iraq. As was almost universal in the Islamic world at this time, society was hierarchical, with the caliph-imams being, in theory at least, the delegators of all authority, so that the Samanid amirs were their representative. In practice, the amirs enjoyed virtual independence but were careful to pay lip-service to the caliphate ideal. This ideal was one of a hierarchical, socially static society under a ruler governing with the ultimate authority of God and the divinely ordained shariah and exercising power in the Sunni Islamic tradition¹². In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Sunni form of orthodox Islam became firmly established in the eastern lands. even though Islam was generally accepted as the state religion and had spread to almost all parts of Central Asia but there continued to exist vestigial communities of Zoroastrians, Manichaeans and Christians. In the first half of the tenth century, the propaganda of Ismailism achieved a foothold in Central Asia. The movement was initially led by the Samanid commander Husayn Ali Marwazi. In an attempt to turn it to his advantage, he quickly provoked an uprising but was defeated and captured¹³. Leadership next passed to the Ismaili fighter Muhammad bin Ahmad Nakhshabi, whose activities were at first highly successful. Many eminent dignitaries converted to Ismailism and the movement gained strength, particularly during the reign of Samanid king Nasr II who said to have accepted its teachings. This incensed the orthodox Sunni Muslim religious classes, who conspired against Nasr II with representatives of the Turkish palace guard. Even though the plot was discovered, Nasr II was obliged to renounce the throne in favour of his son Nuh I (943–54). Nuh organized the extermination of Ismaili supporter and the execution of the leaders of the movement of Muhammad Nakhshabi. The doctrine survived in Transoxiana only as a clandestine tendency, although in Bukhara a secret organization of supporters of the heresy may have been active. One thing should be earmarked here in early Islamic times, there were a number of Iranian peoples in Khurasan and Transoxiana. The Zarafshan valley, the Kashka Darya oasis and Usrushana were occupied by Sogdians. The upper Oxus basin and its tributaries by the Bactrian-Tukharian population, the basin of the lower Oxus by the Khwarazmians, the Ferghana valley by the Iranian Ferghanans, the southwestern oases of Central Asia by the Iranian Khurasanians, and the Pamir mountains and their foothills, and the mountains surrounding the Ferghana valley, by the remnants of Saka and other early Iranian peoples. All these peoples were ethnically related and spoke languages and dialects of the Middle Iranian and New Persian language groups they were the pioneer for the emergence and

gradual consolidation of what became an Eastern Persian-Tajik ethnic identity¹⁴.

let us analyse the emergence of Turkish ethnicity as a powerful monarchical group. In accordance with historical chronology, after the murder of Caliph Mutawakkil, the de-facto authority of Khalifat came into the hands of Turkish slaves who gave the throne of Khalifat to an Abbasid of their own choice. But, in course of time Turkish slaves were dissatisfied towards the behaviour of Abbasids and gradually controlled the paramountcy of which made them to act as 'power behind the throne'. Not only that, later they went to extent of killing the caliphs after tormenting them in various ways. Most of the Banu Abbasid Caliphs precisely after Mutawakkil were the victims of the Turkish slaves. Even Mutawakkil was killed by these slaves at the instance of his son Muntasir. Likewise, these Turkish slaves kept the caliph Mustaseen Billah as a captive for some days and then beheaded him in 252 AH¹⁵. Immediately after the rise of Ghaznavid and Ghurid house in central Asia the dominance of Turkish vehemently augmented. The Centralization of political authority and bureaucratization of the army, for instance, were essential features of the Sultanate polity under the Ghaznavid Sultans. All officers and soldiers were paid in cash, revenue assignment in lieu of the cash salary to army personnel. Mahmud, the most dynamic of all Ghaznavid sultans, also made compromise with the religious leadership over the division of power. The Sultan became the fountainhead of political power and could use his discretionary power in dealing with offenders against him or the state¹⁶. Such cases were not generally referred to the qazi's court. In the same vein, the Saljuqs left a tradition of their own with regard to the polity and the governing class. Though inspired by the political system of the Ghaznavid, Tughril, the founder of the Saljuq dynasty, had to respect the concept of equality among his tribesmen as they were originally nomads. Therefore, the Saljuq polity was guided by the principle of shared sovereignty and diffusion of authority among the princes and the tribal chiefs was a common feature. After the fall of the Ghaznavid and the Saljuqs emerged the kingdoms of their respective vassals in Ghur and Khwarazm. The models of government left by their overlords served as example for the ruling elites of these dynasties¹⁷. Since the Ghurid were associated with the Ghaznavid court, they acquired a higher level of urban culture of the Ghaznavid ruling class. Wherever they went, they attempted to produce a replica of the governance model of their former master¹⁸. When they came to India, they brought with them the Abbasid polity deeply soaked in Persian culture and Ghaznavid polity. Most interestingly, Muslim political thinkers widely contributed to the evolution of a system of despotic governance under the Turkish through their theological explanations. Imam Al-Gazzali, a great scholar of medieval central Asia, he

thought about the state as a living organism and compared it to the human body. In working out the details of the analogy, he called the Sultan the heart of the system. He has to guide the affairs of mankind and cleanse the world of anarchy. Very great was his responsibility for he will be questioned on the Day of Judgment regarding the condition of the people and about all the acts of justice and injustice committed by him. Great too was the reward of a righteous king for he will find place under the banner of Prophet on the Day of Reckoning. Later writers also insisted that the righteous monarch was the 'vicegerent of God' and 'His shadow on the Earth'¹⁹. Therefore, by the time Islam reached India the monarchy had assumed a despotic and autocratic character with the Sultan presiding over a grand durbar, well-structured nobility and powerful army.

Rightly pointed out by Prof. K.M. Ashraf "the teaching of Quran appear to have worked more or less satisfactory in the tribal surroundings and the strong democratic traditions of Madina. But as soon as Islam began to expand beyond the limits of a city state, the 'inspired word of God 'failed to be elaborated for the working of a more extensive political structure'"²⁰. The fact which I must explain here that through the territorial and political expansion, in course of time, Islam occupied a vast part of whole world, Muslims lost their value of life, it was, therefore essential to them to organize the fragmented nation under a strong ground of ruling government. Intimate support of the Muslim thinker of that time felt a necessary injunction to philosophically ideate the rise of kingship even only to maintain peace and order. They never dared to abstain from strict "Shariate" law which never fostered the concept of "monarchy" based on power mongerness. It has been manifested from their dissemination, to prevent anarchy and inequities in that circumstance the inevitable step was to stand on behalf of kingship, to them an autocratic and unlawful Sultan was more endurable than that of unrightful freedom. Indeed, Muslims in this period became much confused that what to choose Monarchy or anarchy, being prudent with time they probably compelled to opted the first one. Thus, we have seen the growth of regional rites and customs gradually combined with the Muslims which were beyond the favour of Islam and ultimately led to the growth of territorial, ethnical and regional identity. Thus, so called "universal brotherhood" and "republican Islam" eliminated with the offspring of despotism.

II. CONCLUSION

Historically we have witnessed that geographical, territorial and ethnical identities are much important rather than religious belief. When Islam spreads into different parts of the world Islam became regionalized and formalized with existing customs of special territory. In Persia, racial superiority

accomplished much priority to form a strong monarchy, the same characteristic goes towards the nature of Delhi Sultans and the Mughals of Hindustan who felt auspicious for being the descendants of Afrisian, Turkish, and Timurids. When despotic tendency appeared among a particular section of Muslims it generated casteism and sectarian rivalry, in medieval period adequate numbers of incidents are available in this regard.

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Some Water Mass Activities within the Gulf of Gurnea: The Situation of Slavery and Slave Trade and Sea Piracy from the Nineteenth to the Twenty First Centuries (Part One)

By Suh Hillary Sama

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Abstract- The History of Slavery and Slave Trade and Piracy are known to be activities that took place within water-masses and in to the close hinterlands. These two historical activities have made human kind to be continuously leaving in precaution avoiding surprise attacks, hijacking and trafficking of all sorts. Our main objective here will be to prove their existences, the threat to human kind, their manifestations, some efforts raised to fight against and the results of these important historical issues. It should be noted that all cooperations or links existed between these two studies thus these aspects were general issues that touch all the water bodies such as the Atlantic sea and Ocean in The Gulf of Gurnea.

It should be noted that to best develop and enhance these studies our research has been concentrated mainly and specifically on some methods or historical sources such as documentations, Internet Sources and others. It is with these that we shall be able to come out with some statistics, tables, maps that will show prove that the above two phenomenon has been chaotic and demand retracement and redressing for continuous and further global fight.

Keywords: *history, slavery, slave trade, piracy, water masses, hinterlands, hijacking, manifestation, gulf of gurnea.*

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INTRODUCTION

Slavery and slave activities in the Gulf of Guinea brought in mine past dreams of havoc and horrors, was made known of it existences through efforts to put an end to this abominable act that treated mankind to the lower degree ever known throughout life. In spite of these attempted solutions presented as below, in the forms of resolutions in later days, another glaring activity that was actually gloomy emanated in the form of Sea Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea and Close interior of the Western Coastline of Africa. Whatever be the case events proved that these two historical diagnoses brought history and reshaped certain pattern of this history that determined our study today to see if these dangerous Water Masses jamboree could be examine and resolve in subsequent times. It is here that we draw the curtain to ask that; How was slavery and the Slave Trade Activity couple with that of the

Transatlantic sea and Ocean Witness Sea Piracy all that has a disturbing effects in the Gulf of Guinea and adjacent environments or vicinities? To better answer this question it will be important to asserting the following point as label or presented below. Part one, Slave trade activities at the Gulf of Guinea during and after the transatlantic slave Trade era and Part Two: Sea Piracy in the Gulf of Gurnea in the Nineteenth and the Twenty First Centuries

I. SLAVE TRADE ACTIVITIES AT THE GULF OF GUINEA DURING AND AFTER THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE ERA

Indeed, the act of slavery, slaving and slave trade activities and later sea piracy was highly felt at the Gulf of Guinea: Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, Fernando Po, Rio del Rey to the Congo Basin. Areas like the Island of São Tome, Príncipe, Cape Verde in the Atlantic Gulf with its extension to Angola was engaged in conflicts, wars in pluralism forms depending the area were the activities took place, with the Transatlantic Gulf of Guinea South or Sub Saharan territories¹.

II. SLAVE TRADE ACTIVITIES TO ACQUIRE SLAVES AT THE GULF OF GUINEA DURING THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE ERA

a) The Employment in Southern Yoruba land

In Southern Yoruba land, some authors such as Osifekunde who can be supplemented by Samuel Johnson who was a Yoruba historian lived in Ibadan and its close vicinities from 1858 to 1901 gave us facts on the conflicts and wars that led to slavery, slaving and slave trade activities within the Gulf of Guinea, through Oral tradition, on the Yoruba land, wars in 1870s via 1897. Due to political instability in the Oyo heartland went ahead and redirected trade into non-Oyo areas. An area where slave trade was booming erupted another that also expanded the level and amount of slaves captured.

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¹ A.F.C Ryder, Portuguese and Dutch in West Africa before 1800, In A Thousand Years of West African History, edited by J.F Ade Ajayi and Lan Espie, Nelson/IUP, 1968, PP. 220-222.



The animosity came as a result of the changed and opening of new slave routes that passed through Central Yoruba land linking Ilorin to Owu, Ife, Ondo and Ijebu and through the Lagoon to Lagos, near the Owu-Ife border where the New North-South route crossed the East-West Yoruba route from Ile-Ife to Ibadan emerged the market town of Apomu where slaves including many Oyo captives were bought by Ijebu traders in exchange for cowries, foodstuff, textiles, and after 1820, firearms and tobacco.²

However, it should be acknowledge that, the war appetite of the Oyo land increased due to the fact that banditry attacks against Oyo traders also increased hence forcing the chief to look for an allied such as Owu attacking nearby Ife villages blamed by victimizing Oyo traders. Now tension changed towards between Owu and Ife that collided with the Southward push migration of the displaced Oyo inhabitant searching for peaceful terrain and homes hence let to social conflicts in Central Yoruba land placed the Egba towns in a desperate condition that drew the emotion as Oyo victims of refugees migrants, got much encounter on slaving activities thus play vital and greater role in the Atlantic slave trade³. The pushed became wave-like as the Egba state of the forest and Ijebu who were barriers to Oyo state population. It should be noted here that after a period of five years of long combate Owu's became captives as their village was destroyed and its inhabitants enslaved. They seek refuge in to the Egba, Ijebu and Ife towns their neighbor close to the seas. Furthermore, chief Ogunbona of Abeokuta said, one attacked led to another. For example, after the fall of Owu, Ikija was the next attacked due to her assistance to the former during her siege since the Ikereku people were supported by the Ikija inhabitants. Here we also note the Ife-Oyo alliance that led to clashes and ethnic rivalry divided them into two camps. A group was led by an Ife army chief; Maye Okunde occupied Iporo an Egba town. Under LabosindeLakanle mostly of Oyo and Ijebu town of Ipara and later Isara, the Ijebu fighters came under his controlled. Here Maye and Labosinde post sacked Egba and Ijebu Remo towns enumerated at about 150 between 1823 and 1827 which captives were sold to Ijebu traders who sold captives to European trader in Lagos for the oceanic drive or journey. This military pursuit that ramshackle the Yoruba land successfully and profits from banditry and the trade guaranteed peace⁴.

² Olatunji Oji, The slave ship Manuelita and the story of a Yoruba community, 1833-1834, Department of History, Brock University, St. Catherine, Canada, 03 march 2017, PP. 124-125.

³ Ibidd, p. 124 also Peter F. Cohen, Oriisha Journeys: The Role of Travel in the Birth of Yoruba-Atlantic Religions In Arch. De soc. des Rel. Janvier-Mars, 2002, P. 19.

⁴ The wars went on and on, each fighting for hegemony but creating captives, slaves for the transatlantic slave trade. Subsequently, Ijebu forces struggle and series control over the destructive Ife town in 1833,

As a resolution of this conflicts that led to disastrous escalation of war some solutions were attain to or at. In the war Great Warriors were attributed with military titles medals. Some were ordained like the case of the Owu and Erunmu wars, some songs were chanted to the actors Kurumi received much praise for his warring from his admirers who composed a poem of honor to him.

“Opa Maye, OpaOgini

Opa Degesin, Ofiokoti Ife laya”

“he killed Maye, Ogini and Degesin,
And plunges his spear into the chests
Of Ife fighters”⁵

The war transformed Ibadan into an Oyo-Yoruba town and a new super power in Yoruba power politics. As a regards to the slave affairs, the British House of Common ratifies in 1833 the 1807 law that went operational or was promulgated in 1808. The Ecomosho slaves that reached the coast via the popular Central Yoruba slave route from Ilorin to Owu-Ife-Osun border to the Ijebu lagoon Port towns of Ikosi or Ikorodu and on the Lagoon to Lagos to practice the legitimate trade of goods from the hinterland to the outlet to the sea in the Yoruba region. The territory Lagos became a trade receptacle according to George Rebertson who was a British trader on this way. Lagos became a new born city from 1860 to 1900 and henceforth. The major Port today in Nigeria as it lies between the branches of the Niger and Dahomian trade which the inhabitants are now disposed of good industries. Additionally, the head-work of slaves coming into Lagos via the routes gave or served as a spring board for the slave ship Manuelita to be very busy and active here. The slave-ship was combated at sea by the British Naval Warship which in the ship some number of slave was rescued. Others slave ships like Esparanea Feliz which Ajayi (Ajai) crowther Samuel was sold with 186 others making 187 sold were held in chains for three to four months for Brazil⁶. Intercepted at sea, he was rescued, later we learned he became a Bishop hence Ajayi and wright were prevented or rescued from the slave ship, from docking or anchor or harbor at Lagos. At sea the slave ship could not douched or escaped the Naval forces and another slave king who was sold to a Muslim trader, who took him first to Iereku Ida (big Ikereku) and later Oko and into the hands of long distance slave traders. On the way in Spanish from Lagos to Cuba he was captured at sea and landed in Sierra Leone.

the Remo towns secured the Yoruba coastal trade, as she remove the nearest trade rival which the Ijebu finally took control and secured virtual monopoly of the Yoruba slave trade like the Aro leaders in the Bight of Biafra, the Ijebu traders were dispersed all over Yoruba land especially in major trade towns and near war camps.

⁵ Olatunji Ojo the slave ship Manuelita and the story of a Yoruba community, 1833-1834, ..., P. 128;

⁶ Ibid, pp. 129-130

Demographically, the Ecomosho slaves liberated and the Manuelita ship was condemned ten days after it capture and register of the slaves aboard was compiled two weeks later. Their names were changed and Christian names given to them. This made them have a unique identity as an adequate census of slaves processed by the court. Cases were tried involving interpreters, translators in other to identify the slaves on board the Manuelita. Some data clearly shows the active works of the British to end conflicts wars and raids of all sort or type during the transatlantic slavery slaving and slave trade. The existed some statistics; the demographic profile of the said ship about 477 slaves were liberated hence 412 males (86.4%) and 65 females (13.6%) or 379 adults (79.5%) and 98 children (20.5%), children from 0 to 13 years consisted of 69 boys and 29 girls while the women included 343 men and 36 women (the oldest women was about 21 years). The age breakdown was more fascinating the youngest slaves on board were three ten year old girls. There were eleven children estimated to be eleven years old, 27 slaves twelve year, 49 were thirteen years and eighteen were fourteen years old, 49 were in their late teens, 206 in their twenties, nineteen in their thirties and only two slaves were above 40 years, one 46 and another 48. The age profile related closely to some features of Yoruba wars. Soldiers often killed senior citizens and captured prime adults and children. At this moves many were liberated and the town of Lagos became a giant city we see today, since abolition gave chances for developmental processes. It should be noted that crisis also arise between the Dahomians and Yoruba⁷.

b) The Western Yorubaland and Dahomey conflict of conquest

As it existed in the northern Yorubaland, so was the same case that existed in the Western Yorubaland. Conflict and war emanated which several slaves were engulf and exported for the Transatlantic slave trade. There was a series of clashes between the Oyo and Llorin forces during which the later sacked some towns, capital like Old Oyo, Kanla, Gbogun, Ikoyi and Akese all located to the West and North West of modern Llorin and Ogbomoso. These cities fell between 1831 and 1822 afterwards that the Egba, another section of the Yoruba, had established a new kingdom not far away from Dahomey. Dahomey repeatedly but unsuccessfully attempted a total annihilation of the nascent Egba kingdom in furtherance of its economic and political interest.

More so, the relations between Dahomey and Yoruba go far back into history as narrated by Oral traditions, of the Yoruba, the Aja and the Ewe peoples. Under the leadership of Tado of Aja, contact had existed

culturally and political identify and the Yoruba peoples under the leadership of Ife. This cultural contact was very strong as the Yoruba language was the lingua franca of both the Aja and the Ewe. The religious beliefs of Dahomey derived from the Yoruba country. Due to a first and second invasion in 1680 and 1682, and 1698 Allada would seem to have become a vassal state to the Ala fin of Oyo⁸

Furthermore, since Dahomey depended more on the slave trade and therefore the most hard hit economically by the abolition. Dahomey became the aggressor while the Yoruba states of Abeokuta, Egbado and Ketu were on the defensive. Gezo of Dahomey became offensive against Yorubaland, which he end up to destroy Egbado town of Refurefu about the middle of the 1830s. later in 1844 Egba and Dahomey forces clashes as mention above at Ardo, another Egbado town, the Egba emerged victorious which many slaves were captured for domestic and transatlantic purposes or mission⁹. Mentionable was the episode were the royal insignia of the king, his Umbrella, royal stool and royal war charms were destroyed with 16,000 forces which Gezo never recover all lost until he died in 1858. Gelele the successor of Gezo 1858 to 1889 took over. Inspite of all effort made, all was abortive. Though he conquered Ketu but he did not occupy it. He was succeeded by Behanzin 1889 to 1894 who attacked and had a conquest over Cotonou which brought him into a clash with the French who defeated him in 1894 and annexed his territory. From 1726-1821 Dahomey suffered raids, conquest and oppression at the hands of Oyo¹⁰. From the attacks from both side slaves were captured and the captives was used domestically while some, for the Atlantic slave trade. As Dahomey paid to Oyo an annual Anbute of forty men, forty women, forty guns and 4000 loads of cowries and corals all of this amounted to about £32,000. They were able to reorganize and strengthen her government and her armed forces¹¹.

The result of the war Dahomey-Yoruba tantamount to far reaching effects. The state of Dahomey was ruined militarily and economically. After the 1864 much loses were incurred as the military strength was drastically reduced or broken. It was only when the French came that she gain or recover from the defeat in 1894. She, Dahomey never enjoyed the rich Egbado country as her kings had hoped to do. But her economy dropped and probably the attacked could

⁸ Twice between 1680 and 1700 the Oyo army invaded Allada (Arda) the capital of the Aja family of states... (IA Akindjogdin, Dahomey and Yoruba in the Nineteenth century, In A Thousand Years of West African History..., pp. 312-316)

⁹ K B C. Onwubiko, *History of West Africa, 1800-Present Day Book Two*, Africana-FEP Publishers limited, 1973, PP. 77-81

¹⁰ Ibid, pp 75, 76 and 777

¹¹ Ibid, 76 and Jo Sagay, D A Wilson, *Africa : A modern History (1800-1975)* Evans Brothers limited, Nigeria, 1978, PP. 102-110.

⁷ Ibid



have weakened the Oyo and led to the incursion of the Fulani in the Oyo Empire from the North of Nigeria. Cotonou was ceded into France in 1878 and in 1880s, the French acquired control over the coast of what is now Dahomey. For example, in 1883, Porto Novo, little Popo, and Grand Popo accepted French protection. As a resolution since the economy of the Dahomian in the 18th and 19th century had come to remain and depend on slave trade for survival, the abolition led to economic depression as a resulting dependence upon the slave traffic. The areas of slave supply in the West of Dahomey had been exhausted; the slaves from Oyo were now passing through the Porto Novo and in great level. Then in 1807 the British Government abolished the slave trade and began to persuade other European powers to do same" ¹²

From the above, it was only in 1851 that the British decided and blockaded the Port and coast of Dahomey via Badagry and Lagos that it became effectively blocked and Gezo began a change from slave to trade in palm oil. Palm oil trade change positively to the growing increase oil production. The Nineteenth century that opened with Dahomey on a mood of political crisis began actually with the assassination of Agonglo (1790-1797) in 1797, the reign of his son and successor Adandoza (1797-1818) was very uneasy one as attempts were made to change the dynasty and finally Gezo overthrew Adandoza and succeeded at last in establishing a new dynasty hence all this while slavery and slave trade had gain grounds which Gezo and his successor Gelele made efforts to accept the British abolition principles as they established royal palm plantation and encouraged their officials and other subjects to do so. The slaves became engaged and diverted to plantation labour since their tendency to be exported to the Americas has ended. In 1870s and 1900 the trade on palm oil and other related goods proved successful which about £500,000 worth of palm production was shipped out of Dahomey. Food crops productions were carried out at or near Abomey to feed the expanding population. Livestock production like goat, sheep, cattle and pigs was bred for consumption and exportation. Fishing and hunting was not left out as the seas, oceans and rivers such as Momo, Xou, Weme, Yewa, LakNokue. The slave trade routes change from the exportation of slaves to that of legitimate goods. Areas like the Port Novo, Savi, Badagry, Tokple, Whydah, Jakin, Ketu, Sabe,

Abomey, Mahi, Lama Marshes around the Gulf of Guinea became busy. This came as a result of the Resolution of the conflicts and wars fought that enhanced slavery or enslavements and slave trade¹³.

Furthermore, as a resolution of the wars and conflicts that made resurfaced slavery and slave trade, to end it, the United Nations in fostering the abolition around the Yoruba areas, of Lagos, Benin, Oyo, Badagry, Porto Novo, Dahomey carried out some activities which the Secretary General in his message read by the National Information Officer of the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) in Nigeria, Dr. Oluseyi Soremekun, Zho explained that the United Nations remember slavery programme was aimed at ensuring that the lessons of slavery were learned and headed today. "We need to tell the stories of those who stood up against their oppressors, and recognise their righteous resistance". He added, "on this International Day of Remembrance, we pay homage to the millions of African men, women and children who were denied their humanity and forced to endure such abominable cruelty¹⁴.

The Transatlantic slave trade was one of history most appealing manifestations of human barbarity which we must never forget the crimes and impacts in Africa and beyond. The should be honour by standing up against the ongoing forms of slavery, by raising awareness of the dangers of racism¹⁵. Still as a resolution of the of the slavery and slave trade activities emphasizing on the abolition, this was organised at the Yorubaland in Badagry Nigeria by the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) at Lagos Education District V, the observance held at Grammar school Badagry attended by 1,200 students, school principals, teachers, traditional rulers and some parents. The educational programme featured a visit to the Mobee Royal family Slave Relics Museum, Badagry and the Heritage Museum, Poster Exhibition and series of Drama was presented by various schools in attendance. He went ahead to speak on behalf of the National Information Officer/Director Mr. Ronald Kayanja who called on parents and guardians to shun all forms of modern slavery including Child labour and human

¹² Ibid, P 83 (various steps were taken by Dahomean kings in the 19th century to prevent the economic collapse of the state. At the first Gezo stoutly resisted the Abolition of the slave trade. He rejected all offers of compensation by the British and maintained a close collaboration with Brazilians and Portuguese traders at Whydah who continued to smuggled out to the New World. As a result the slave trade continued ... the Dahomean coast until the 1850s. It is estimated that his annual revenue from the slave trade at this time amounted to about £600,000.)

¹³ « Domestic slaves were now increasingly diverted to the farms to cultivate these crops and prepare them for export. Palm oil export was thus becoming important. In 1856, 15,000 tons of palm oil was exported from Egbaland alone. Lagos was the chief port of Yorubaland. There were five routes from Lagos to the interior but the three most important were the Egbahroute..." K P.C Onwubiko, *History of the West Africa...*, P. 95

¹⁴ Oluseyi Soremekun, The National Information Office of the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) in Nigeria.

¹⁵ Th United Secretary-general Antonio Guterres in his message on the 2019 International Day of Remembrance of the victims of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade commemorated in Nigeria on the 25 March 2019 at Badagry, a slave trade Port over 400 years ago.

trafficking. "The grass is always not green on the other side", he added"¹⁶.

More still, Dr. Soremekun disclosed that the victims are in memory as the General Assembly commemorated in its resolutions 62/122 of December 2007, declared 25 March the International Day of Remembrance of the victims of slavery and the Transatlantic slave trade to be observed annually to inculcate in future generations the "causes, consequences and lessons of the transatlantic slave trade, to be observed annually to inculcate in future generations the "causes, consequences and lessons of the transatlantic slave trade, and to communicate the dangers of racism and prejudice. Additionally, the Tutor General who is permanent secretary of Lagos Education District V, Mrs. Anike Adekanye, noted that slavery in any form was evil and should not be condoned in the modern society. She urged the students to be bold to report teachers, parents, uncles and anyone that attempted to subject them to any form of abuse or inhuman treatment be it in school or at home.¹⁷

More so, this resolution became practical as Mrs Anike Adekanye shared to student telephone numbers of police in the Badagry area and the Lagos state and child protection office with the audience. This was a memorable one as students highlighted the brutality of slavery, harms of modern day slavery, human trafficking and forced labour through dance, music, poetry and drama. In an exhibition of twenty one posters titled, "Remember slavery: say it loud" the student were brief on the role that architectures of African descent to various sectors of the American society and promoting their professional development which the designs explains voice to the African diaspora consciousness. The students learn that the port of Badagry was major for the transportation of enslaved African people¹⁸. The entry and objective here was to remember the horrific moment in life that human beings in Africa went through and which should not repeat itself in any format or way, hence it was styled, "International Day of Remembrance of the victims of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. This took place on March 27, 2019 under the auspices of Oluseyi Soremekun¹⁹. However, UNIC in partnership with African Renaissance Foundation, organised victims

¹⁶ The National Information Officer who represented the Director Mr. Ronald Kayanja. Slave trade according to him was racism and prejudice as Africans were the main targets leading to an extensive exodus of Africans spread to many areas of the world over a 400 years period which was unprecedented in the annals of recorded human history.

¹⁷ United Nations Information Centre, Service to Nigeria, slavery: We must Never Forget the crimes and Impacts in Africa and Beyond-Guterres (date consulted 11/09/2019 at 10:27).

¹⁸ Badagry is a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) designated slave trade Route and widely noted as a major port in the export of slaves to the Africans.

¹⁹ UN House Abuja, Sustainable Development Goals Guterres advocates Greener Future for all, United to Reform.

of slavery for above 400 years ago in memories. The approximately, 15 million people who were deported from Africa through the Transatlantic slave trade were women. The endurance harsh conditions of forced labour as a slave experienced extreme forms of discrimination due to skin colour²⁰.

c) *The Conflicts and War with the People of South Eastern Nigeria during the period of Slave Trade.*

The coastal people found south stretching to the Eastern part of Nigeria and up to the Niger confluence had undergone some people of conquest due to one reason or the other that could be as an example struggle for successorship. This tribes or people could be the Benin, Warri, Bonny, the Niger-Ibo states, the Niger Delta states, Kalaberi, Ibo, Ibibio and others. It should be noted that all this wars gave chances for the capture of slaves which motivated the transatlantic slave trade. Although Benin was in decline or less powerfull but still engaged in warfare. A bloody civil war erupted in 1804 when the Obanosa died which brought about a dispute between the two claimants Osemwede and Ogbebo which the bloody conflict or civil war led to the death of Ogbebo lost. His partisan became captives though existed revolt in the provinces. Still the existed another issue or affaire of succession dispute after the death of Oba Osemwede in 1848 which lastly Oba Adolo emerged successful but was confronted with much conflicts of raids from his rivals forces operating from a place called Ishan²¹.

The Niger-Ibo States threw off their allegiance especially Abo and Onitsha which were growing as a result of the opening of the lower Niger to commercial activities. Since Benin had a trading ports all slaves gotten as a result of war flow out of the territory as bondage consequences of warring. This outlet river Benin was controlled by the Itsekins of Warri was governed by a wicket or tyrannical King. Two ports were opened which taxes were highly collected; by Olu Akengbuwa the king via his chief customs officers. A small town was belt called Reggio at the Ughoton creek and the Benin River. But due to quarrels, conflicts and wars, the king died followed by his two children but trade on slaves with the European still went ahead or on. Those at Bonny also had attacks which destroy Kalaberi on two occasions but it was still powerful. Pepple or Perekule promoted trade. From the wars, Bonny was able to export as many as 20, 000 slaves annually which about 16,000 of this slaves came from the heart of Iboland²². The trade canoes could carry about 120

²⁰ Chukwudi Nweji, Nigeria: Remembering victims of slavery, Dismantling Modern Trends, In <http://www.independentngonline.com>.

²¹ « This was also the time when the rising power of Nupe, carrying the Fulani Jihad Southwards, and that of Ibadan, were beginning to be felt... » J O Sagay and D.A Wilson, *Africa: A modern History (1800-1975)* ... P, 111.

²² J O Sagay and D A Wilson; *Africa: A modern History (1800-1975)*..., p114.

persons in the form of slaves which the war canoes carried about 140 persons each with guns. At the time king Pepple died, Bonny inhabitant amounted 20,000 persons due to traders presence²³.

Conflicts still goes on in other areas or avenue like the Kalaberi conflict in the Canoe Houses in Bonny had resulted in the evacuation of one of the houses, in Kalabari. It should be noted that George Amakin of Amakin House was successfully in the establishing a position of pre-eminence in the Kalabari state over Zill Braid and the Barboy House. For a long time Bonny and Kalabari fought a series of wars over the acquisition of market. Here many slaves were also obtain which benefited the Europeans as a result of the activities of the warring groups as it was the moment that the French and the Germans activities, business was very active and increasing. The Europeans became ally and supply weapons to the skirmishes groups which later extort trading concessions from its ally. In later period the consulate of the British was transfer to Old Calabar from Fernando Po which the Spaniards refused to sell and became the centre of administration along the Bight of Biafra. But it should be noted that the British open its courts to adjudicate on matters as a Resolution of slaving activities²⁴. But, Nigeria was noted; the government was typically controlled by councils and composed or made up of leading merchants and headed by an amanyanabo who was the chief executive, an office that in time became hereditary. By the end of the eighteenth century, the area that was to become Nigeria was far from a unified country due to the slave trading activities that emanated wantonly wars and conflicts but some Resolutions were adopted to combat the activities that brought the slave trade manifestations²⁵.

As a Resolution in later days, the British Naval forces were able to carry out its search. Treaties that forbade slaving along the Transatlantic Ocean were several slaves were freed on board the slave ship Dragon and Regulo that were piloting slaves for the Americas, some numbers of slaves were rescued and the chief of the coastal areas Nigeria-Cameroon were given some compensation annually not to continue the trade on slaves. Some of these chiefs were King Jaja of Opobo, King Manga William of Victoria and King Bell and Akwa of Douala. The Monroe Doctrine was brought forth that gave opportunity-law that the Negroes should come back to the continent of Africa. Some humanitarian like William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp the British Lord Lugard who had been at this point or

²³ Ibid. here king Jaja of Opobo is also noted for his control of trading activities at Bonny Nigeria South Eastern Area.

²⁴ By 1471 Portuguese ships had reconnoitered the west African coast South as far as the Niger Delta, although they did not know that it was the delta and in 1481 emissaries from the King of Portugal visited the court of the Oba of Benin... Portuguese soldiers aided Benin in its wars; Gwatto, the port Benin, became the depot to handle

²⁵ Ibid

coastal Calabar in the 1900s. Checked perpetrators to this act which definitely came to an end. This trade on slaves actually and glaring brought disorder and chaos at the entire Gulf of Guinea. The abolition stops all the conflicts and ideological wars. The metropolis brought wealth as the people now leave in peaceful settlements which underwent remarkable political and social developments. The city states emerged more enlarged with increase in population density. The most important were; Warri, Sapele (Itsekiri and Urhobo), Bakana, (Kalabari), Bonny (Ibano) and Creek town, Henshaw Town and Duke Town (Efik). The social structures became more intelligible and stability came to effect. Instead of the remarkable social groups like the Ekpe society to inflict harm or confusion to get slaves now enforced peace and order-harmony safeguarded the interest and privileges of the nobility. The British abolition as a Resolution of the slavery and slave trade because it caused a lot of havoc in the neighbourhood transformed the economic life of the Delta and Cross River coastlines communities²⁶. To have kept its important position in the slave trade throughout the great expansion of the transatlantic trade after the slightly increased of slaves that came from the Nigerian coast around the Niger Delta and Eastern section than from Angola in the eighteenth century. In the Nineteenth century, about 30% of slaves came from Nigeria across to the New World, as estimated more than 3.5 million slaves were shipped from Nigeria to Americas. They were Ibos, Ibibios, Hausas, Yorubas, Ijaw, Ifik, Tiv and other ethnic groups. The Oyo and the Aro were responsible for most of the slaves export in the eighteenth century while in the Nineteenth century slaves exports was a result of the fall of the Oyo. The other major confederation in charge for slave exports was the Arfo, Igbo and Ibibio who at one time occupied the escarpment between the central Igbo districts and the Cross River²⁷. The Aro built a complete network of alliances and treaties with many of the Igbo clans. They served as arbiters in villages throughout Igboland and their famous Oracle at Arochukwu located in a thickly wooded gorge, was widely regarded as a court of appeal for several kinds of conflicts and wars. The Aro guaranteed the welfare of the traders and received slaves as payment of fines. The slaves automatically became the property of the Aro priest at liberty to sell.

²⁶ The court of Equity at Calabar was established and that of Victoria that was highly fostered by the British Naval vessels along the Gulf of Guinea. The British commanders Edward Nicolls declared that his intention was to make the coast areas a glory to humanity, the Peppers, Ivory and increasing numbers of slaves offered by the Oba in exchange for Coral beads; textile imports from India; European manufactured articles, including tools and weapons; manillas (brass and bronze bracelets that were used as currency and also were melted down for Objects d'art) Portugal also may have been the first European power to import cowries shells, which were the currency of the far interior.

²⁷ The U.S library of Congress-Nigeria the slave trade.

Another clan in the South Eastern Nigeria that due to conflicts from the Hausaland, they were greatly touched and their activities highly hampered. The Ijaw who occupied the tidal area in proximity to the Igbo, had also wrested a frugal living from the sale of dried fish and sea salt and later the slave trade. They were federated and had a general assembly in the presence of all males. In the heyday of the slave trade, the major Ijaw village grew into cities of 5000 to 10,000 occupant ruled by an allied to the Aro to combat conflicts and war and conquest in raids expedition in all sorts²⁸. This was a means to protect their trading activities in the forest. They sold to European agent via entrepreneurial communities who received slaves from the Aro for sale to the Europeans agents. Wealth acquisition was the basis of political power and social status. The League of Nations made some efforts to suppress the slave trade following a number of reports referring to some areas in Enugu and Mamfe. In the Enugu area slaves were released from their masters following court decisions not leaving out those at the Mamfe area. Some slaves were freed with certificates issued in the 1920s. Some were registered in the 1919 to 1929 and it should be noted that some of this slaves were traced by officers and individuals in the 1920s to 1939 and after the war the United Nations placed more emphasis in the abolition of slave trade. Calabar, Bonny, Warri, Benue and Mamfe not leaving out Victoria (Limbe) in the 1950s experienced conventions in slavery and slave trade Nigeria-Cameroon. A lot of petitions like that of the Native High Court on March 36th 1955 and 1957 banned slavery and slave trade in Nigeria which the federated law officers respected²⁹. With the application of law, many of the Latin Americans returnees or Amaro started migrating to Africa after slavery was abolished. No more exception was Nigeria, she received returnees who came and settled in Nigeria for cultural, missionary and economic reasons which the greater majority were

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Hillary Sama Suh, *Some Historical Essentials : From the slave trade to Present and Past legacies and memories in Eastern Nigeria and Cameroon from 1800 to 1914, Gulf of Guinea First Edition, December 2017*, Maryland publishers Bamenda, Cameroon, December 2017, pp. 50-70. (The returnees mostly resided in the Lagos colony, with substantial populations in Abeokuta and Ibadan. Some also settled in Calabar, Port Harcourt and other cities in the Niger Delta. Though many were originally dedicated Anglophones in Nigeria, they later adopted an indigenous and patriotic attitude on Nigeria affairs due to a rise in discrimination and were known as cultural nationalist. The were some people called the Saros or Creols in Nigeria during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, were freed slaves who migrated to Nigeria in the beginning of the 1830s. They were known locally as Saros or Amaro migrants from Brazil and Cuba and chief or captain James Pinson Labul Davies and his wife, Princess Sara Forbes Bonetta were some of the most prominent Saros in Victorian Nigeria (Saro Nigeria-wikipedia.org consulted 11-09-2019 at 10:25 AM)

Yorubas, Efik, Igbo, Hausas and Nupe not leaving out the Krio population³⁰.

Another Resolution on slave trade from religious conflict was the practically enforcement of conventions to all acts contrary to William Wilberforce which later on 26th of April 1955 D.G Cudmore (sgd) in his annual report assessment influence some notables role in slavery and slave trade. Also on 3rd July 1957 those who called others as slaves were requested to stop hence on the 26th of July 1957 laws were made applicable to Nigeria and the Federated law officers to fight against the trade. This was also applied in Mamfe, under code decision 195/75 D.O Mamfe, 21st September 1957. Furthermore, some Christians missionaries' who had been at the Gulf of Guinea cannot be left out in many Christians and Muslims communities. Some liberty villages have also been created by colonial administrators like Lord Lugard which still exist till date. Muslims laws has also been reshaped which accompanied with missionaries activities, slaves escaped from their masters while some reclaimed their rights from their masters, Lamidos slaves became runaway to the missionaries and administrations in 1955, 1957 to 1961. The routes of some laws on Nigeria criminal code 369,371,384 and 269 was grossly enforced hence helped reduced slavery and slave trade within the Gulf of Guinea, by 1961 was enforce in British Cameroons³¹.

III. SEA PIRACY IN THE GULF OF GURNEA IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURIES

a) Natural Conflicts

To it wider extension, the slave trade that came or sur-emerged as a result of provoked, willingness and natural conflicts which was the tendency at the time has gone too far or brought about the check at sea any illegal activities as did the British Navy. Sea piracy had been the order of the time since the 1960s. It has gone wider and International like slave trading activities. Piracy at the Gulf of Guinea greatly affects a number of countries in West Africa from Senegal to Angola. They are heavily armed criminal enterprises who manifest or employ violent methods and procedure to steal oil cargo which could be in money terms. It should be noted that it became exasperating in Roll which in 2012 the Bureau for International Maritime expound on matters of such act of piracy on Humanitarian Response, program under

³⁰ Peter F. Cohen, "Orisha Journeys: The Role of Travel in the Birth of Yoruba-Atlantic Religions," In *Archeologie de Science Sociale de Religion*, Columbia University, New York, EHESS, Paris, Janvier-Mars 2002, pp, 17-18

³¹ Hillary Sama Suh, "The suppression of slavery and slave trade in British Cameroons 1916-1961," In *Nka lumiereNumero 19, 1st semester 2018*, Dschang, University of Dschang, 2018, pp, 290-293. (Under UNSC of 1958.

the sea and that the number of vessels up to date amounted to 966 sea farers attacked. The Risks control department group reiterated that pirate attacks in 2013 were at a steady level of close or above 100 attempted hijackings in the year which is second behind South Eastern Asia. Piracy has actually affected trading or commercial activities in the Gulf of Guinea significantly³²

b) Sea Piracy Intervention

This as noted was another level of sea intervention after the Naval Squadron that stretched from Senegal to Angola covering over 6000 km of coast line is the Gulf of Guinea. It has become a phenomenon in the region categorized as simple maritime robbery which has extended to as profile denote, serious and armed at directly acquired cargos containing refined petroleum as the region has increasingly been marred by illegal oil bunkering. This was due to the discovery of greatly quantity of hydrocarbon as stipulated by some governments with parliamentary option in Europe. The exclusion from the welfare, illegal maritime activity on the notion of traffic in the diverse form especially the form of petro-piracy,³³ just as slaves were traffic in the early ages and in the modern periods of human organs and other related actions pave away from the abolitionist personalities and countries. In 2010, 45 and by 2011, 64 cases was received by the United Nations International Maritime Organization. The act interrupted with the legitimate trading interest within the Gulf of Guinea like Benin, Togo, Côte D'ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo which trading activities within the ports such as Cotonou was reported in 2012

to have dropped by 70 % which lost has been estimated to be about \$2 billion. As time went by Navies and law enforcement agencies were sent to remedy the situations, after haven taken thorough analysis of different unprecedented attacks. In 2014 the violence modus operandi catalyst and destroy "business model" adopted by them in which violence and intimidation plays a major role. Due to the agencies established, in 2016 and 2018 passing through 2017 witnessed a reduction from 1,921 to 1,726 sea farers because they were failed attacks and boarding occurrences. The amount of 21 episodes of kidnapping gave way to 100 seafarers taking hostages. According to statistics given, in total there were 97 piracy and robbery incidents involving weapons, 13 of those with guns and 2 with heavy machine guns. However as noted, the total estimated cost in the area due to stolen goods, contracted maritime security, insurance has been estimated to be totaling \$818.1 million. More so, because of the continue emancipation of the entire Gulf of Guinea, during the mandate of Kofi Ata Annan, at the International Peacekeeping Trainings Centre in Ghana and the International Maritime Organization (IMB) have engaged by taking measures influencing African governments to encourage the renewal or ratification of International Conventions to strengthened legal requirements implementation in view of combating the maritime crime in the Gulf of Guinea. As a consequence or impact of the slave trade abolition, the Gulf of Guinea piracy has got some officials statistics, as seen below, as regards to some countries.

Table 1: Actual Attack by Piracy in Some Countries at the Gulf of Guinea

Year	Benin	Cameroon	Gambia	Ghana	Nigeria	Togo
2009	1	2	-	3	22	-
2010	-	4	-	-	13	-
2011	18	-	-	2	7	-
2012	2	1	-	2	17	6
2013	-	-	2	1	15	3
2014	-	1	-	4	8	-
2015	-	1	-	2	9	-
2016	1	-	-	3	18	1
2017	-	-	-	1	20	-
2018	5	6	-	9	30	-

Source: *Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea-Wikipedia.htm#Yaounde-code-of-conduct*.

³² Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea from wikipedia.htm#Yaounde-code-of-conduct.

³³ The word piracy is widely used in the media and in official reports to generally medias refer to maritime crime in the region, but this is formerly incorrect as the United Nations convention on the Law of the sea defines, piracy as an act conducted on the high sea that is, beyond territorial waters. Similar criminal activities that takes place within territorial waters are not defined as acts of piracy

From the above table it is glaringly clear that, Nigeria emerged has got the highest number of sea piracy at the Gulf of Guinea, followed by Ghana, Benin, Cameroon, Togo and Gambia as the least that have got piracy attacks. Also, from the above we could also deduced that Nigeria most has experienced all these due to the fact that it has the longest seashores after which operation usually takes place from 2009 to 2018. Likewise, Gambia has experience a minimal piracy as she and Togo, Benin has the least expected, shores and

less business activities. One could also draw the perception that developmental factors brings about piracy since the pirates search more areas that are well developed or under-going the process of Development as seen in the table above. These areas needed tide security as such it must be guaranteed by all means because it is the era for Development³⁴. Another table of attempted attacks illustrates activities at the Gulf on piracy.

Table 2: Attempted Attack of piracy Recorded at the Gulf

Year	Benin	Cameroon	Gambia	Ghana	Nigeria	Togo
2009	0	1	-	-	6	2
2010		1	-	-	6	
2011	2	-	-	-	3	6
2012	-	-	-	-	10	9
2013	-	-	-	-	3	3
2014	-	-	-	-	3	2
2015	-	-	-	-	5	-
2016	-	-	-	-	9	-
2017	-	-	-	-	13	-
2018	-	1	-	1	18	1

Source: *Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea-wikipedia.htm*, Yaounde

As far as the attempted attacks were recorded from the above table Gambia register zero attacks, Ghana one, Benin two in 2011, Cameroon three in 2009,2010, and 2018. Nigeria witnessed attempted attacks throughout from 2009 to 2018 while Togo experienced attacks 20 times between 2009 to 2018.

c) Recorded Attacks in the Gulf of Guinea

- January 4, 2009: Pirates hijacked the French ship Bourbon Leda with five Nigerians, two Ghanaians, one Cameroonian and one Indonesian on board. It was freed January 7.
- January 21: Gunmen attack the diesel tanker MT Meredith and kidnap a Romanian, who was released a day later.
- April 21: Rebels attacked the Turkish ship *IlernaMercan* and kidnapped two crewmen.
- November 24: Pirates hijacked the Liberian-flagged *Cancale Star* off Benin and killed a Ukrainian officer before robbing the ship.
- December 1: The Ghanaian Navy intercepted the hijacked oil tanker *African Prince* a week after it had been taken. The pirates escaped; they had killed the ship's chef.
- March 13, 2010: A Chinese fishing vessel was hijacked off the Bakassi Peninsula, Cameroon. Seven fishermen were abducted. The kidnappers demanded a ransom and later released the vessel and its passengers on March 18.
- September 23: Three Frenchmen were kidnapped from a vessel belonging to the company Bourbon off the Nigerian coast.

- August 3, 2011: Two Panamanian-flagged tankers were attacked off Benin's coast but the ships were not taken in the previous week, an Italian diesel tanker and a Swedish tanker were also attacked off Benin
- August 19, 2012: A British-owned oil tanker was hijacked in the Port of Togo. Authorities suggest that the same group hijacked a Greek-owned oil tanker in this region.
- August 28, 2012: A Greek-owned oil tanker was hijacked in the Port of Togo on Tuesday. Authorities suggest that the pirates will siphon off the gas oil from these types of vessel hijackings in this region.
- September 4, 2012: A Singaporean-flagged oil tanker, the *MT Abu Dhabi Star*, was hijacked off the coast of Lagos, Nigeria. They broke glass windows to access a bridge into the 183m (600-ft) long vessel. The pirates fled as soon as they realized a Nigerian naval ship was approaching. It is suspected that although the pirates fled, they may have attempted to siphon off the gas from the ship.
- October 15, 2012: A Luxembourgish-flagged anchor handling vessel named *AHT Bourbon Liberty 249*, was hijacked while off the coast of Nigeria.
- December 23, 2012: an Italian-registered ship was hijacked by seven Nigerian pirates, off the coast of the state of Bayelsa. Pirates successively released the ship with most of the crew, but took three Italians and a Ukrainian as hostages, who were freed a couple of weeks later.

³⁴ International Maritime Bureau, Piracy and Armed Robbery against ships. Annual Reports. January 2009 to April 2019.



- January 16, 2013: A Panamanian-flagged vessel, *ITRI* (owned by the Ivory Coast company, *Koda Maritime*), was hijacked while transferring 5,000 tons of oil near Abidjan.
- February 3, 2013: A Luxembourg-flagged oil tanker, *Gascogne* (owned by France) was hijacked approximately 130 km (70 nmi) south of the port city of Abidjan.
- February 4, 2013: A Marshall Islands-flagged chemical tanker, *Pyxis Delta* (owned by the UAE), was hijacked off the coast of Nigeria. A Filipino crew-member was killed during the hijacking.
- February 11, 2013: A UK-flagged cargo ship, *Ester C* (owned by the Isle of Wight-based Carisbrooke Shipping), was hijacked by pirates between the Cameroonian port of Douala and the port of Malabo in Equatorial Guinea.
- April 16, 2013: A Greek-flagged crude oil carrier, *Cap Theodora*, was attacked by pirates 67 km (36 nmi) off the coast of Principe Island, Gulf of Guinea. The ship thwarted the attack by increasing its speed and performing evasive maneuvers.
- April 25, 2013: A Liberian-flagged container ship, *Hansa Marburg* (owned by Hamburg-based shipping firm Leonhardt and Blumberg), was hijacked 240 km (130 nmi) off the coast of Equatorial Guinea, with four crew members on board.
- May 25, 2013: The Nigerian-flagged oil products tanker, *MT Matrix*, was hijacked approximately 74 km (40 nmi) off the Bayelsa State of Nigeria.
- September 22, 2018: Swiss cargo ship *MV Glarus*, laden with wheat, pirated; of 19 crew members, 12 were taken hostage.
- From Cameroon to the Angola via Gabon also register some few attacks that enhance this history of Piracy.

IV. PIRACY IN THE GULF OF GUINEA: FROM WIKIPEDIA, THE FREE ENCYCLOPEDIA

a) *Resolutions on both activities*

As resolution, other measures were now taken by the United Nations International Maritime Organization in the Gulf of Guinea and the compliance of some nations or country to ratify conventions and imposed maritime laws that has help bolstered the quitting of the practices and related activities. But noticing is the fact that Nigeria developmental obligations and practices still experience or witness sea piracy in their water shores and followed by close Togo. Others like Gambia never got or registers one, meaning none surfaced. Cameroon had just 03 in 2009, 2010 and 2018 attempted pirate attacks while Ghana had 01. This has been so because of Regional Responses, through operation prosperity, Maritime Trade Information Sharing Centre Gulf of Guinea, Yaoundé code of conduct. On

International Responses, the United Nations Organization, International Maritime Organization, the European Union Interpol³⁵.

But, it should be noted that due to the fact that, the problem is still wide spread and the government remains unable to restrict corrupt practices couple with the major relevant controversy that has involved the governments of Cameroon and Nigeria, the two countries have been at logger head or log horns about the sovereignty over the Bakassi Peninsula which has caused a lack of cooperation between the governments resulting to at least some measures to counter corruption. Operation prosperity was launched by Nigeria and Benin in 2011 to guarantee a secured maritime environment or vicinity, which was to last for six months. This profited Benin who trained with Nigeria for this operation in addition to technical collaboration with the presence of continues presence of military forces in the maritime domain. The maritime Trade Information Sharing Centre Gulf of Guinea (MTISC-GOG) lack involvement of regional states in maritime security which the report from RDDC in 2016 changed its name to maritime Domain Awareness for Trade-Gulf of Guinea which worked as a voluntary reporting system that encouraged vessels to report their position and course of direction as well as any suspect activity they might encounter³⁶.

According to the Yaoundé code of conduct concerning the Repression of Piracy, Armed robbery against ships and illicit maritime activity in West and Central Africa adopted in June 2013 hence in view of promoting maritime cooperation and information sharing and coordination. In particular signatory state committed to arresting, investigating and prosecuting persons who have committed piracy or are reasoning suspected of committing piracy, rescuing ships, persons and property subject to piracy, designating a national focal point to facilitate coordinated, effective and timely information flow: cooperating on the development and promotion of training and educational programs for the management of the marine environment. But it should be aware that the Yaoundé code of conduct is not binding document and as such does not impose any obligation on signatory state, but this could only be effective in implementation if necessarily dependent on the good will, wealth and capacity of such states. Internationally, the UN has requested ships to fly their flags while on

³⁵ Research has proven and agree that the presence of a series of maritime security has long been limited at the Gulf of Guinea hence a major problem; political commitment need to be enforced to tackle the issue of piracy in the region. There is also poor general maritime knowledge and sea blindness. Youth unemployment and under spread poverty which keeps triggering and easily recruitment into criminal organization into the illicit activities of corruption, legitise profile of piracy in the Region which is actually lacking at the Gulf of Guinea

³⁶ Ibid.

sea. This is due to concerted action on bilateral or regional maritime patrol which calls upon states to cooperate with shipping industry, insurance industry as appropriate advice and guidance within context of the Gulf of Guinea. As Resolution in 2012, Maritime security strategies have been established with legal framework for the prevention and repression of the activity that has gone wide like the slave trade³⁷.

The (IMO) has wantonly supported the development of the Maritime Sector which coasted as strategy of several elements. Implementation of IMO conventions and build the necessary legislative infrastructure to criminalize piracy hence facilitating channels of communications among IMO member states. The European Union has been one of the major fighters of sea piracy after the slave trade and some related activities of the slavery and slave trade. This IMO is helping government to put robust multiagency institutions, hence to support the development of prosperous economic and strengthening the existence cooperation structures. In addition, the European Union (EU) has encouraged inclusive growth, long term security and stability while generating benefits or profits from wealth and job creation for all people. While the Interpol has also launched a number of initiative to improve the capabilities of the local police forces to tackle piracy effectively. This has revolved around three main aspects. Improving on the evidence collection capabilities of the local police forces, facilitating a better cooperation between actors of the different countries involved. Making sure those hostages is debriefed and interviewed and all relevant information is gathered³⁸.

V. CONCLUSION

To Conclude, Slave trade activities and Sea Piracy at the Gulf of Guinea during and after the transatlantic slave Trade era, Sea Piracy in the Gulf of Gurnee in the Nineteenth and the Twenty first Centuries has been highly discussed. The are many aspects that prove that Sea piracy is a continuative sea activity like that of the Bight of Biafra, Benin, Cameroon, Fernando Po and others as far as slaving process was concerned. The Atlantic Slave Trade took place between Africa, the Americas and Europe what historians called The Triangular Trade. This trade came as a result of development in some part of the World which Sea piracy came as a result of development of the west coast of Africa and other section across other water masses. Also, ships were attacked at sea by other slavers to acquire slaves as well as the British Naval Squadron was in charge of putting an end to all form of slave

³⁷ Those in crime of piracy at sea deserve punishment and conviction in this regard.

³⁸ Osinowo Adeniyi, Combating piracy in the Gulf of Guinea, Washington D.C, Africa center for strategic studies retrieved on 09 May 2015 and the «Pirate take new territory West Africa Gulf of Guinea, the Christian science monitor Jan. 15, 2010.

exportations and as well as the Anti-Sea piracy known today as Sea Mariners from various countries team up in quenching the piracies at sea and close sea vicinities.³⁹ Furthermore, having a critical watch of the slave trade, it was very difficult to resolve the crises sartorially. The crises became abolished only when joint actions from Europeans led the end which later took another fold from the illegitimate goods to legitimate goods hence International Organization has been working with member countries and enclosure of Non-governmental Organization to put an end to the crises. It should be noted that the constant sea and ocean havoc started or dated from the slave trade period to the era of sea piracy. Here, the debate will fall on, what methods could be used to completely put an end to illegal Sea practices within the Gulf of Guinea as part of Water Masses in the World and what other areas has been on the same problems in the world?

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³⁹ Insecurity is still at a limelight thus methods should be adopted to make sure citizens right and development be encouraged to its fullest.

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Water Crisis in Pakistan: A Historical Analysis of Kalabagh Dam

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Abstract- Water is the requirement of life and a backing force of socio-economic development. Due to some human interference in natural activities, the global environment is changing rapidly. Resultantly, water resources are on the verge of diminution. The case of Pakistan is much alarming as it is an agricultural country depending on canal water. Any shortage of water will nearly defunctionalize the canal system of Pakistan. Some experts claim that Pakistan may become dry by 2025 if she did not build any big water storage. From the economic point of view, the agriculture portion in Pakistan's total economy is 21% to Domestic Gross Product (GDP) and above 45% to the labor force. Kalabagh Dam can be fruitful in these circumstances because it will generate 3600 Mega Watt (MW) electricity and will store 6.1 Million Acre Feet (MAF) water. After discussing the water crisis in Pakistan, this paper is analyzing the role of KBD as a remedy to water scarcity, electricity shortfall as well as the politics of water.

Keywords: *kalabagh dam, water scarcity, agriculture, economy, electricity shortfall, megawatt, resolutions.*

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Water Crisis in Pakistan: A Historical Analysis of Kalabagh Dam

Muhammad Ayaz ^a & Dr. Sadaf Farooq ^a

Abstract- Water is the requirement of life and a backing force of socio-economic development. Due to some human interference in natural activities, the global environment is changing rapidly. Resultantly, water resources are on the verge of diminution. The case of Pakistan is much alarming as it is an agricultural country depending on canal water. Any shortage of water will nearly defunctionalize the canal system of Pakistan. Some experts claim that Pakistan may become dry by 2025 if she did not build any big water storage. From the economic point of view, the agriculture portion in Pakistan's total economy is 21% to Domestic Gross Product (GDP) and above 45% to the labor force. Kalabagh Dam can be fruitful in these circumstances because it will generate 3600 Mega Watt (MW) electricity and will store 6.1 Million Acre Feet (MAF) water. After discussing the water crisis in Pakistan, this paper is analyzing the role of KBD as a remedy to water scarcity, electricity shortfall as well as the politics of water.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Kalabagh, situated on the bank of river Indus, is 50 kilometers downside town from Attock Bridge, linked with Islamabad, Khushab, Bhakkar, Bannu, Kohat, and Attock by railways and road. At Kalabagh, the river Indus is going through a narrow gorge with full speed. On both sides of the river, well-known hills of Salt Range are lying, famous in all over the world for its Geological museum¹.

The issue of the KBD is heard everywhere in Pakistan. The experts prepared the design of the dam at Kalabagh in 1953. However, it came to the limelight during Ayub Khan's regime. Ayub preferred Tarbela Dam over the KBD². In the same year, the World Bank declared that the construction of the KBD was highly needed to overcome the shortage of water and power, and Pakistan should complete it till 1976³. WAPDA then established a committee comprised of Pakistani and foreign engineers to prepare a feasibility report. They agreed to construct the dam downside of the meeting point of the river Swat and the river Indus. Under the guidance of F. F. Snyder, an expert on flood hydrology

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and Dr. Herbert Einstein, the dam was analyzed and observed from every aspect. The committee sent its final report to the four provinces, and it did not receive reasonable objection from neither province.

The government requested the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to grant financial assistance for a detailed engineering study of the site, which was accepted, and the World Bank sent a team of experts by June 1980. They declared the construction of the KBD technically and economically sound and viable. According to the price level of 1987, the estimated cost for executing of the project of the KBD was US\$ 3.46 Billion. Its completion duration was six years according to its building schedule, and its first generating unit would be functionalized by April 1993⁴. However, the government could not follow the roadmap due to the opposition of various political parties and provincial governments. In KP, the ANP with consistency stood against the construction of the KBD. On June 11, 1998, the issue of the KBD got momentum again when Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef (1997-1999) showed his enthusiasm to build the KBD. The ANP very strongly reacted to this statement.

Chief of Army Staff General Parvez Musharraf (1999-2008), in his first address to a public meeting in KP, talked elaborately on merits and demerits of the KBD against Basha Dam. President's speech was of great significance as he chose a venue that was likely to be affected by the KBD. It was Nowshera, which will suffer most in terms of dislocation of people and loss of fertile land due to building of the KBD. The audience felt that the President had announced the construction of the KBD. However, later he clarified in an interview that he had not made any announcement except the presentation of merits and demerits of the KBD and Basha Dam⁵. According to his viewpoint, the KBD would have the ability to store 90 MAF water while Basha Dam has only the capacity to store 50 MAF water. It would irrigate 300,000 acres of land in southern KP through a link canal that would increase crop yield and reduce poverty. The feasibility of the KBD was ready, while the feasibility report of Basha Dam would prepare in three to five years⁶. However, the politician of the ANP and the PPP (Sherpao) turned down all the assurances of the President.

II. MERITS OF THE KBD

Kalabagh Dam reasonably will lead to the solution of three main problems of Pakistan. The most urgent is the issue of load shedding, after which it would deal with the challenges of irrigation and flood. These are the highlighted issues resulting in difficulties nowadays⁷. In the first week of April 2013, the demand for electricity was 11,000 MW, and the generation was about 8,000 MW⁸. It means 3,000 MW electricity shortfall, which could increase in the peak season⁹. The expected generation of cheap hydroelectricity is 3600 MW which would help to reduce power outage.

Hydel power costs 2.5 to Rs. 3 per unit. As compare to hydel power, thermal electricity is expensive. It will cost Rs — 16 per unit. Except for 30% line losses, the KBD will save \$4 billion for the country per annum¹⁰. To keep these figures into consideration, if the KBD were functional, there would have been no load shedding in Pakistan¹¹.

Pakistan is losing nearly 30 MAF water to the sea due to the absence of big dams and reservoirs¹². Another careful study claims the wastage of water to the sea as 36 MAF¹³. The dam will store 6.1 MAF water, and throughout the year, it would be available for irrigation purposes. It will water 2.4 million acres land: 0.44 million acres of KP, 0.68 million acres of Punjab, 0.8 million

acres from Sindh and 0.54 million acres land from Balochistan¹⁴. Another study measures its irrigation capacity close to a million hectares of barren land. It will guarantee the self-sufficiency of Pakistan in wheat¹⁵. The additional water of the KBD will cause the enhancement of crop production in three ways: by irrigating new lands, by cropping intensity enhancement on the prevailing tracts and by enhancing yields.

Pakistan had to bear a loss of more than \$45 billion caused by the floods recently¹⁶. Kalabagh storage capacity is 6.1 MAF water, which will be proved helpful in flood alleviation. On the other hand, this surplus water will ensure the flow of water during low flow seasons. According to WAPDA, the KBD is mandatory to compensate for the storage loss due to siltation of existing reservoirs. It will also provide additional storage and regulation on the Indus for water management and its timely supply. To control the floodwater, the project for the disposal of floodwater will use two spillways on the right bank. These spillways will have a water release capacity of over 2 million cusecs. There would be a powerhouse on the left bank connected to twelve conduits each 36 feet in diameter; this will ultimately generate 3600 MW electricity¹⁷. In low flow days, the KBD will release water according to the following provincial shares:

Table 1

Province	Percentage	Supply (Million Acre Feet)
KP	14	0.854
Punjab	37	2.257
Sindh	37	2.257
Balochistan	12	0.732
Total	100	6.1

Source: Muhammad Idris Rajput, *Kalabagh Dam, and Sindh: A View Point*, 40.

III. THE KBD: AN ISSUE OF RESENTMENT AMONG THE PROVINCES

The KBD has harmed the national integration and created a sense of provincialism. Three provinces are against the construction of the KBD. Punjab is the only province favoring the KBD because it will provide cheap hydro-electric power to industrial zones in Punjab¹⁸ with irrigation of six lacs eighty thousand acres of land of the province¹⁹. Answering a question regarding the sense of Punjab dominancy, the ANP's leader Asfandyar Wali Khan declared while he was addressing a large audience in KP that he and his party would not agree to accept Punjab as federation's commander²⁰.

As far as the viewpoint of Sindh is concerned, according to WAPDA, Sindh will receive 37% water of the KBD, which is 2.25 MAF. The availability of water will strengthen the agriculture sector. Still, Sindh is not ready to accept the KBD. Sindh is the lowest riparian of the

Indus river system; hence, it has the following observations and apprehensions.

1. The downstream flow of water is declining, and no surplus water is available every year to ensure better downstream flow.
2. Sindh will face a shortage of water due to the upstream proposed canals to off-take from the KBD which will draw excessive water.
3. Storing of 6.1 MAF will lead towards the reduction of water flow coming down to Sindh with the following effects:
 - a. Cultivation of nearly 500,000 acres, will be affected due to reduced flow.
 - b. It will, consequently, destroy the livestock in Indus delta.
 - c. Mangrove forests consisted of an area of 294,000 acres in Indus delta will be affected.
 - d. It will deteriorate the Indus river channel.
 - e. It will reduce the drinking water supply in the area below Kotri, as underground water there is saline.

- f. It will destroy forests of nearly three lacs acres in the riverine area.
- g. Sea intrusion will increase further because of low flow. According to the Board of Revenue of Sindh, already, nearly 1.2 million acres of land has become the prey of sea intrusion.
- h. Tube wells based on water seepage of the river will become saline due to low flow.
- i. The abovementioned facts will lead to poverty in Indus delta as their livelihood will be badly affected²¹.

The Provincial Assembly of Sindh has passed unanimously various resolutions against the construction of the KBD. A member of Provincial Assembly (MPA), Dr. Abdul Wahid Soomro, resolved thus:

This House resolves that the proposed Kala Bagh Dam being detrimental to the interest of Pakistan in general and Sindh Province in particular, be dropped. Provincial Assembly of Sindh had already passed two resolutions in this regard in the past, and this House reaffirm the same. The House, therefore, recommends to the Federal Government to abandon this project once for to remove the misgivings of the people of Pakistan.²²

The above mentioned proposal on the floor of Sindh Assembly was followed by resolutions no. 01, 413, 414 and 423, and were passed unanimously by the House. They demanded the federal government to stop the project of the KBD.

The claimed losses of the provinces were not observed objectively. Regrettably, provincial prejudices and biases made the case of the KBD complicated²³. The main objection of Sindh on the construction of the KBD is that Sindh will turn barren. Analysis of past facts and figures show that before the construction of Mangla and Tarbela Dams, Sindh was receiving an average three crore and sixty lacs acres feet water per annum²⁴. After building both these dams, Sindh was getting four crores and thirty lacs acres feet water. As it got more water after construction of Mangla and Tarbela dams, then certainly, by building the KBD, Sindh will record a considerable increase in water. As a settled fact, the KBD will not absorb the water of Indus; it will emit water that will reach Sindh ultimately. The experts have revealed that Sindh will get 40 lacs acres feet of water additionally²⁵.

Another apprehension of Sindh is that big dams need to fill every year, and during the year of low flow, it would be challenging to fill the KBD, resultantly Sindh will become the victim of low water. No matter water is less or more, Sindh will get its share according to the Accord of 1991 of the Indus River System Authority (IRSA). The IRSA includes nominated members of the federation and four provinces. Yet another objection that the construction of the KBD will result in two more downward canals on river Indus which will reduce water

share of Sindh. Seven water channels are presently carrying water from the Indus and providing water for irrigation to Punjab and KP. The withdrawal gauge of water through these canals is 65 thousand cusecs from the Indus river. Two downwards waterways of Kalabagh will be much less than those seven canals. Even after the construction of seven canals, Sindh is receiving its due share of water, so how the two small water channels will reduce the flow towards Sindh? Tarbela Dam locates in KP and it is receiving only 4 percent of its water, while Sindh is getting 70 percent water²⁶. Objection on this ground is wrong and meaningless and against the very spirit of the 1991 Water Accord of the provinces.

Balochistan had little concern with the issue of the KBD as it is not a direct riparian of the river Indus²⁷. Still, it receives water for irrigation by Pat Feeder Canal at Guddu Barrage. It seems to the authority of the province that in the post-Kalabagh Dam scenario, the request for more water will have little chances of kind consideration from the Indus river system. Thus, the share of the irrigation water of Balochistan will be reduced²⁸. Resultantly, according to the viewpoint of Balochistan, the fertile land of the province will be deprived of water for irrigation. Moreover... various resolutions were passed by the Balochistan Assembly against the construction of the KBD. A bill of the Provincial Assembly claims that it will deprive Sindh of water for irrigation, and fertile lands of KP will become barren due to water logging²⁹. Like Sindh, Balochistan fears that the KBD would cause a detrimental reduction in the irrigation water supplies³⁰.

IV. RESERVATIONS OF KP: THE KBD AND PROVINCIAL POLITICS

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the resident of three big multi-lingual groups, i.e. Pakhtuns, Hindko-speaking, and Saraikis. Overall, 73.9% of people speak Pashto, 3.9% converse in Saraiki and 20.4% are other linguistic groups (others include Hindko)³¹. Pakhtuns claim majority in the valley of Peshawar. Experts opine that Peshawar and its inhabitants are the principal sufferers of the KBD. The critiques say, Peshawar will suffer from a constant danger of flood in case of any kickback of the KBD water³².

Since the announcement of the construction of the KBD, the ANP had severely opposed it. Apart from the ANP, other mainstream provincial political parties, i.e. Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Qomi Watan Party (QWP), had raised objections over the construction of the KBD. The politicians politicized the issue and used it as a tool to grab political weight age in their constituencies³³. Not only the ANP and Abdul Wali Khan opposed the case of the KBD, Lieutenant Fazl-i-Haq initially opposed it. Then, Wali Khan opposed the construction of the KBD and even threatened the authority of its bad consequences³⁴.

Abdul Wali Khan raised the slogan that the KBD was not in Pakhtun's favor. He has clarified several times that we will struggle against the construction of the KBD at every cost. When he was alive, even the powerful rulers of Pakistan could not build the KBD³⁵. Later, his son, Asfandyar Wali Khan, stood against the KBD. While addressing a vast gathering at Nishtar Hall Peshawar, he remarked, "they have to make a choice, whether they want Pakistan or Kalabagh Dam³⁶". Asfandyar has considered it as the project of Punjab superiority over small provinces, so he and the ANP rejected the commandership of federation by Punjab³⁷.

The First objection of the politicians and people of the province is that Nowshera and its surrounding areas will have a constant danger of flood. They had made this observation on the base of the 1929 historical water cataclysm of Peshawar Valley, including Nowshera. In 1929, a part of the hill had fallen in the river Indus at Kalabagh and the water kicked back. Consequently, it drowned Nowshera and its surrounding areas. They fear that after the construction of the KBD, if it rains heavily in spring or monsoon season, the water of Peshawar's rivers will kickback. Consequently, Nowshera, Akora Khattak, Swabi, Peshawar, and Mardan will be highly flooded³⁸. Another apprehension is that the drainage of related areas, i.e. Mardan, Pabbi, and Swabi plains will be affected adversely by the reservoir, which will further result in water logging and salinity. The construction of the KBD will lead to the displacement of many people of KP³⁹.

However, careful studies and investigations had disapproved of these apprehensions. According to WAPDA, the backwater effect of the KBD will not affect Nowshera and its surrounding areas⁴⁰. In the modified design of the project, the reservoir conservation level has been lowered by 10 feet from 925 to 915 feet above mean sea level (MSL). Although this has eliminated the need for construction of any protective dike near Nowshera, still the government has decided to build 25 feet high protective fosse to save Nowshera and surroundings from any flood danger⁴¹. A state-of-art computer-based analysis revealed that the effect of backwater would end nearly 10 miles downstream of the town. The same objection was also discarded by international experts, i.e. Dr. Kennedy of the USA and Dr. Lianzhen of China⁴². Another observation of the proposed dam shows that the water within its usual level will remain 10 miles downstream of Nowshera. Moreover, the construction of the Munda Dam on the Swat River will be additional protection in cases of flood⁴³.

They object that the Mardan Salinity Control and Rehabilitation Project (SCARP) will be at risk. The water level in the KBD reservoir will be higher than the ground levels of the surroundings, including Mardan, Swabi, and Pabbi. Resultantly, the SCARP system will be damaged. WAPDA disapproves of this claim. The KBD

reservoir would be 915 feet above the MSL while the lowest ground levels at Mardan, Pabbi, and Swabi areas are 960, 970, and 1000 above the MSL, respectively. Thus, Mardan is 55 feet, Pabbi is 45 feet, and Swabi is 85 feet higher than the maximum conservation level of the KBD; this maximum level will only occur in 3 to 4 weeks of September and October. Then the water will be released for Rabi crops, which will reduce the water level and will reach 825 feet, a dead level. By this process, the land drainage will not be blocked. Thus, the danger of waterlogging and salinity in these three areas and its surroundings would be eliminated⁴⁴. Moreover... the Mardan SCARP system will not be disturbed because the river Kabul and Kalapani will remain functional as usual. The main drains of Mardan SCARP are situated 35 feet above the KBD reservoir's elevation. Thus, there is no fear of any blockage or obstruction to the SCARP system of Mardan⁴⁵.

Another objection on the part of KP is, that 4500 acres of land in which 100 acres of land is highly cultivable will be submerged in the KBD reservoir. The WAPDA explains that "the (lake) of the KBD project will extend 92 miles up the Indus River and 36 miles up the Soan River, and 10 miles up the Kabul River from Kabul-Indus confluence. At its maximum level of 915 feet from the MSL, the reservoir area would be 164 square miles. Total cultivable land under the reservoir will be only 35,000, acres but permanently submerged fertile land at the maximum elevation of 915 feet would be 27,500 acres —24,500 acres of Punjab and 3000 acres in KP. Out of this cultivable land, only 3000 acres is irrigated land (2900 acres in Punjab and 100 acres in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Furthermore... floods will submerge 7,500 acres land with a recurrence interval of 1 to 5 years. The government will compensate the owners of this land. They will also be allowed to cultivate this land as before"⁴⁶. To get advantages and cash benefits, a group of people must bear some losses. The sacrifice in the case of the KBD is less than 1000 acres of prime irrigated land which the provincial government acquired for Mardan SCARP⁴⁷.

Another expected issue of KP is the dislocation of people in large numbers due to the construction of the KBD. Except for those who will indirectly be suffered from the KBD reservoir, nearly 34,500 people will be dislocated directly⁴⁸. The dependents of the river, i.e. boatmen and fishers will be financially affected and will have to migrate. Ramzan bin Shabeer quotes WAPDA estimation of affected people that total of 68,664 people which include 38,075 of Punjab and 30,589 people of KP. However, according to the writer, for 80,000 to 250,000 people can be affected by this project. Five Degree Colleges, 237 Primary Schools, and various High Schools may be affected due to the reservoir of the KBD⁴⁹.

WAPDA claims that the number of dislocated people would be 120,320, in which 78,170 will belong to

Punjab and 42,150 from KP. To pay the affected, the authority had made a schedule of compensation. Moreover... the government will compensate loss of properties like buildings, lands, and trees according to the market price under the Land Acquisition Act. They expect to make provisions that they will offer every land-owning family a minimum of 12.5 acres of land which requires 74,000 acres land. They also planned to train the affected other than the agriculture sector in various trades in training institutions. For this purpose, the government will make 20 models and 27 extended villages. According to the prices of July 2005, the expected cost of the KBD project was USD 6, 124 million⁵⁰. On the execution of the total Resettlement Action Plan, the government desires to allocate an amount of 403 billion⁵¹.

Two issues, i.e. construction of the KBD and renaming of the province had dominated the provincial politics of KP in general and that of the ANP in particular. She achieved the objective of renaming of the province by Eighteenth Amendment to the 1973 constitution of Pakistan in April 2010. The issue of the KBD is not solved yet and still, is a bone of contention between the political leaders of KP and the central government. The project of the KBD has changed the style of provincial politics, which harmed national integration. On the question of the construction of the KBD, the country badly needs to achieve a national consensus, but here, the issue has not been dealt with enthusiasm as a national cause, and only interests of the provinces were favored.

In 1998 when Nawaz Sharif was the Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan, the PML-N government reopened the issue to construct the KBD. The ANP strongly protested this step of the PM. The ANP demonstrated and carried out rallies. Wali Khan, irrespective of his old age, bad health condition, heat, and suffocation of August, had participated in these demonstrations and rallies. He addressed a large gathering at Nowshera and condemned the decision of the Nawaz government of the construction of the KBD⁵². The Senator and spokesperson of the ANP, Zahid Khan, clarified that the ANP would oppose the KBD construction to "their last breath"⁵³. He termed it "a conspiracy for national (integration) destruction." According to him, the ANP would offer the same sacrifices as the party had given against terrorism. The ANP chief, Asfandyar Wali Khan, had recorded his opposition to the construction of the KBD. "The construction of the KBD will be opposed at all cost. . . . No one should misunderstand the position of ANP regarding Kalabagh Dam —we will resist it and subsequently defend the rights and interests of Pakhtuns"⁵⁴.

The ANP brought the issue of the KBD in the Provincial Assembly of KP. Begum Naseem Wali Khan moved an anti-Kalabagh Dam resolution in the House.

The federal government was requested to abandon the project of the KBD. There are various other opportunities available, i.e. Bhasha and Mohmand dams, which can be availed⁵⁵. The Assembly unanimously passed this resolution. Another anti-Kalabagh dam resolution was presented in KP Assembly by Abdul Akbar Khan, who demanded the federal government to avoid the construction of the KBD⁵⁶. Seven members of the Provincial Assembly, i.e. Haji Muhammad Adeel, Abdul Akbar Khan, Sardar Inayatullah Khan Gandapur, Behram Khan, Anwar Kamal, Malik Mian Noor, and Maulana Muhammad Asmatullah, resolved again in the Assembly. They demanded to abandon the construction of the KBD and proposed the government to overcome water and electricity shortage by building of Bhasha Dam as well as small and big dams at other suitable points in the province⁵⁷.

It is of immense importance that due to climate change all over the world, a country should have the ability to store more water. The state can use stored water in low flow season or dry periods. Unluckily, in Pakistan, big dams are opposed by some sections of the people. Especially the KBD is very much unpopular in KP and Sindh. The facts and figures show that the objections are baseless. The International Panel of experts (IOP) has declared the KBD project useful for Pakistan's economy⁵⁸.

V. CONCLUSION

Keeping in view the cries in opposition mostly in the provinces of Pakistan against the construction of the KBD, the country cannot overlook its disadvantages. Indeed, the project has some severe kinds of harms and disadvantages, i.e. huge debts for building, sentiments of disintegration and disharmony to the national cause, etc. However, the benefits of the dam, particularly in present conditions of severe shortfall of electricity and shortage of water, are more troublesome than its harms. The water flow of Pakistan has already been severely affected by the aggressive attitude of India as she is blocking water from entering Pakistan's river. Resultantly, the water resources are decreasing⁵⁹. After brief analyses of the abovementioned facts and figures, one can justify that the country should build the KBD, for which, she must achieve national consensus. Not only the KBD, but we should avail all the opportunities we have in this sphere. Only then will Pakistan overcome the issues of electricity and water shortfall; if not, the country and its inhabitants will face severe consequences.

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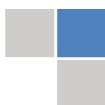
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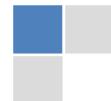
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- f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
- g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
- h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

- i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
- j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
- k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.



FORMAT STRUCTURE

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.



Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

PREPARATION OF ELECTRONIC FIGURES FOR PUBLICATION

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

Techniques for writing a good quality human social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of human social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow [here](#).



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grown readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference material and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

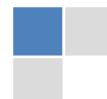
- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

THE ADMINISTRATION RULES

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Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.



**CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILED)
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS**

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
<i>Introduction</i>	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
<i>Discussion</i>	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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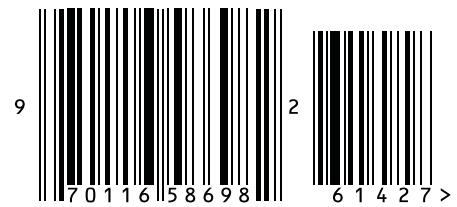


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