Introduction: Shaping the "New Man" in South Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Practices between Hope and Anxiety (1940s–1960s)

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ABSTRACTS

Dieses Heft untersucht die sozialen Praktiken zur Schaffung des „Neuen Menschen" von den 1940er bis zu den 1960er Jahren anhand von fünf Fallstudien aus Südasien, Afrika und dem Nahen Osten. Entgegen häufig verwendeter, tendenziell eurozentrischer Periodisierungen wird für die Persistenz des Konzepts nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg und jenseits des faschistischen und des sowjetischen Modells argumentiert. Außerdem geht der Kontext von spätkolonialer und erster postkolonialer Entwicklungspolitik sowie nation-building über geschichtswissenschaftliche Paradigmen wie die Zeitalter des Faschismus, der Dekolonisierung oder des Kalten Kriegs hinaus. Unter Berücksichtigung sowohl lokaler Besonderheiten als auch transnationaler Verbindungen werden Fortschrittsideen in Bezug auf die Schaffung „Neuer Menschen" besonders im Zusammenhang mit den Themen Körper, Räume und Symbole betrachtet.

This special issue investigates the social practices of shaping the "New Man" between the 1940s and 1960s, through five case studies from South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Objecting to somewhat Eurocentric periodizations in common use, it argues for the persistence of the concept after World War II, and beyond the fascist and Soviet models. The context of late colonial

1 This introduction is to a large extent influenced by the fruitful conversations we had at various stages with our colleagues of the research unit "Progress: Ideas, Agents, Symbols" (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO), Berlin); these are in alphabetical order Paolo Gaibazzi, Malte Fuhrmann, Sophia Hoffmann, Kyara Klausmann, Rana von Mende Altaylı, Izabela Orlowska, Franziska Roy, Abdoulaye Sounaye and Julian Tadesse. We discussed the theme extensively during the conference "New Man" in Africa, Asia and the Middle East: Practices, Networks and Mobilization in the 20th Century (ZMO, 27-29 September 2017). Thus, we are grateful to all participants for their inspiring contributions. We would like to thank Rakiya El Matine and Ferdinand Schlechta for their help with the editorial work.

and early post-colonial developmentalism and nation-building also transcends historiographic paradigms, such as the eras of fascism, decolonization, or the Cold War. Looking for local specificities as well as for transnational links, ideas of Progress related to the formation of "New Men" are studied especially in connection with the issues of the body, of spaces, and of symbols.

1. The Rationale

This special issue investigates the social practices of shaping the "New Man" which evolved within a mood of hopes and hunger for change and development, the growing strength of anti-colonial movements, the introduction of welfare-measures and the strong influence of the developmentalist promise and the first wave of post-colonialism. Simultaneously, great anxieties were gaining ground that these socio-political projects, which grew out of a huge socio-political optimism, might fail.[2]
We explicitly employ the term "New Man" to counter the argument that the concept and larger societal projects of engineering a "new human being" had fallen out of use after the second half of the twentieth century. We argue that this perception is to a large part the result of Eurocentric discussions of the theme that has largely focused on the "Fascist New Man" (notably German and Italian and, to some extent, British and French) and the "Socialist (Soviet) Man."[3] Current research on the "New Man" of the radical right during the inter-war period and the Second World War, which includes Latin America, Japan or Eastern Europe, already gives a more nuanced picture.[4] These studies are not denying that authoritarian and often brutal regimes such as those under Salazar in Portugal, Perón in Argentina or Vargas in Brazil were fascinated with Italian or German fascist answers to perceived degenerative effects of modernity and the "communist threat."[5]

2 The English term "New Man" is misleading because of the semantic overlaps of man / male and man / person. Fully acknowledging the gendered and generational differences, we definitely understand the "New Man" in the more general sense as *Neuer Mensch* (German), *addis sew* (Amharic), *mtu mpya* (Swahili), *insān jadīd* (Arabic), *naya admi* (Hindi) or *novo humano* (Portuguese). As a conceptual container, it included women and especially children. The supposedly most malleable part of the population – youth – often constituted an ideal target for social experimentation. For discussions about "New Women" in this context see e.g. J. Krais, Girl Guides, Athletes, and Educators: Women and the National Body in Late Colonial Algeria, in: Journal of Middle East Women's Studies 15 (2019) 2, pp. 199-215.

3 For a comparative discussion see, P. Fritzsche and J. Hellbeck, The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany, in M. Geyer and S. Fitzpatrick (eds.), Beyond Totalitarianism. Stalinism and Nazism Compared, Cambridge, New York 2009, pp. 302-341 and J. Dagnino, M. Felman and P. Stocker, Building illiberal subjects. The New Man and the Radical Right Universe, 1919-45, in: J. Dagnino, M. Feldman and P. Stocker (eds.), The "New Man" in Radical Right Ideology and Practice, 1919-45, London 2018, p. 3, and for anthropo-political perspectives on the "New Man" in the Soviet Union see T. Tetzner, Der kollektive Gott. Zur Ideengeschichte des "Neuen Menschen" in Russland, Göttingen 2013, pp. 219-370.

4 See the contributions by R. Almeida de Carvalho and A. Costa Pinto, A. Spektorowsky, A. Kallis in: Dagnino, Feldman and Stocker, The "New Man".

5 Recent scholarship on the fascist "New Man" argues that the concept always included different aspects that were being highlighted in different circumstances, even within Italian Fascism: see L. Klinkhammer and P. Bernhard, L'"uomo nuovo" del fascismo. Tra progetto e azione, in: P. Bernhard and L. Klinkhammer (eds.), L'uomo nuovo del fascismo. La costruzione di un progetto totalitario, Rome 2017, pp. 9-27.

However, they show that by opening the analytical lens a little wider we see very different ideas about the "New State" and the "New Man" which resulted in other practices in these cases.

A similar argument on the multiplicity of ideas and practices can be made with regard to the "Socialist Man." While the Soviet Union and, later, other socialist states remained a strong source of inspiration and support, Maoist China provided an "Uncorrupted Socialist Man," which gained currency amongst the revolutionary and independence movements worldwide.[6] Furthermore, from the late 1960s onwards, Cuba provided a socialist-internationalist version of the "New Man" through its concrete involvement in various parts of Africa, most notably Angola, which went far beyond military assistance, but included especially the medical and educational sector.[7]

Discussing concrete examples from South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, which focus on the historical period between the 1940s and the 1960s, we argue that these complexities resulted in specific practices of "New Man" formation, which despite continuities inherited from earlier attempts by colonial powers, had new qualities and answered to new and radically different necessities. We further argue that the study of the "New Man" in post- or late-colonial contexts reveals important aspects of the dialectics between optimism and belief in socio-economic "Progress"[8] and fears of unpreparedness against internal and external threats. Such an approach links directly with an earlier argument that "progress as an idea and a project of social transformation is partially grounded in actors' recognition that things could be/come otherwise. This recognition is then articulated as a specific modus to apprehend, limit, navigate or exploit the horizon of wayward, possible scenarios envisioned at a given place and time."[9]

On the global level, the historical period we are concerned with was, on the one hand, influenced by experiences of the devastating effects of two world wars and the threat of a nuclear annihilation during the Cold War period. On the other hand, the inter-war as well as the post-World War II period saw huge waves of optimism and internationalism, especially in the Global South. The formation of the non-aligned movement, emerging Pan-African or Pan-Arab movements are among the most prominent examples. This era was marked by an unprecedented wave of nation-building projects in Africa, Asia and the Middle East many of which proclaimed high ethical standards that also served to set them apart from former political regimes. At the same time, developmentalist ideas had gained ground on a global scale, which set in motion the reliance on transnational

6 For the influence of the Maoist "New Man" on Cuba see chapter four (The global impact of the communist New Man) in Y. Cheng, Creating the New Man. From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities, Honolulu 2009, pp. 190-213.

7 C. Hatzky, Cubans in Angola. South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge, Madison 2015.

8 As laid out earlier, we differentiate between "Progress" as teleological idea, which indicates linearity and temporal orderliness of social change and "progress" as a "horizon of possibilities, a temporal blank screen upon which visions of reality can be projected". (K. Bromber, P. Gaibazzi, F. Roy, A. Sounaye, J. Tadesse: "The Possibilities Are Endless". Progress and the Taming of Contingency, ZMO Programmatic Texts No. 9, p. 1) https://www.zmo.de/publikationen/ProgramaticTexts/progress2015.pdf (accessed 8 March 2019).

9 Ibid.

agents. These experts, who by no means only came from the Western and Eastern Blocs but also from within the Global South, were heavily involved in projects of social engineering which came with the package of building new nation states.
If we agree that the vital question about what the future should look like evoked multiple and often contradicting answers and projects, we cannot do justice to this multiplicity by forcing the equally varied "New Man" practices into the straightjacket of a single socio-historical category such as "decolonization," although colonialism certainly played a major role in various relevant projects – be it colonial reform policies, anti-colonial activism, or early post-colonial nation-building efforts. Looking at five very different case studies from South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, we rather suggest using the "New Man" as a conceptual lens to better understand the "contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous" – the simultaneity of late colonialism, recolonization, decolonization and post-independence – and, thus, the continuities as well as changes pertaining to the practices of subject formation.
By foregrounding the multiplicity of "New Men" ideas and practices beyond the Eurocentric bias, this special issue is not only in full support of an empirical and conceptual opening of the theme. The case studies are also situated at a historical moment of transformation from the late colonial order to the world of independent nation states. But this was a long and complicated process that cannot be easily matched with common periodizations (which also often tend to be somewhat Eurocentric). While discourses and practices in post-liberation Ethiopia were influenced by the experience of Fascist occupation between 1935 and 1941, the decolonization of the Congo and Algeria in the early 1960s occurred at a moment when completely different paradigms of development had been in use for a long time. Programmes to shape "New Men" were set up in Ethiopia, a state with an imperial tradition going back millennia, as well as in Algeria, whose very existence as a nation was still being questioned around 1960. But as the individual contributions show, for all the local specificities, there were striking similarities and inspirations from different models available during the "fascist," "Cold War," or "decolonization" periods which are not neatly separable. We therefore also suggest a specific periodization for the study of the "New Man": it starts during the interwar period when, on a global level, concrete attempts of social engineering proliferated through diverse internationalisms as well as the growth of "moral Empires"[10] such as the Scouts movement, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) or the Red Cross. We argue that these attempts were instrumental to ideas and, especially, practices of shaping "New Men" at a time when independence and liberation produced hopes and fears about radical change or a power vacuum. Often conceived as tabula rasa, this vacuum had to be filled with new leaders, new citizens and new economies that would fundamentally reshape social relations. In contrast to "New Man" ideologies and practices in Europe or Latin America which entailed a radical break with a perceived decadent past, the ruptures

10 Although Ian Tyrrell coined this term in relation to the American YMCA, it makes sense to use it for other volunteer movements, which aim to spread moral values through public engagement.

in the cases discussed in this special issue were brought about by a break with a (violent) colonial past. This did not exclude a certain self-critical attitude, though, which led to a clear orientation towards a "modern" future. On the one hand, "New Man" projects in Africa, South Asia or the Middle East did not advocate a "return" to pre-colonial models but rather an "authentic" form of "Progress", which implied a definite break with a past tainted by compromises with colonialism. On the other hand, the colonial setting had already offered possibilities for planners to enact their programs, which were often deemed unfeasible in the metropoles.[11] While of course inverting ideological contents, anti- and post-colonial actors could well borrow aspects of such earlier projects during the period in question.

We suggest that this period of "New Man" projects ended with the disillusionment with the leadership that robbed it from the legitimacy it had enjoyed during the immediate aftermath of independence. Utopian or even millenarian hopes connected to the decolonization project itself set it up for disappointment when the promises of freedom, equality and universally better standards of living did not materialize. Although, disillusionment appeared in different post-colonial countries at different times it can be linked to the neoliberal operationalization of attitudes and skills and the growing economization of life, in general, from the late 1970s. It was the time of student protests, rural uprisings and military coups. It was a period when a new wave of ethno-nationalist tendencies and religious reform started as a consequence of this disillusionment with the "New Man" of the post-independence era. In many parts of Africa, Asia and the Middle East, people realized that the "New Man," under the control of post-colonial elites, had become corrupted or even a "Reactionary Man" of the past.

2. Qualities of the "New Man" between Continuities and Changes

In contrast to arguments that the (historically overloaded) term "New Man" had fallen out of fashion by the second half of the twentieth century, then, the contributions of this special issue demonstrate that the term, its derivatives and, most importantly, the ideas associated with it gained new momentum. The need for large-scale social engineering and the creation of the right type of personality not only persisted but also acquired new urgency, especially, in recently decolonized nation-states and their various nation-building projects. We argue that this time of intense socio-political transformation demanded a vanguard that not only worked for a larger aim, but was also specifically trained to cope with changing circumstances. In Algeria after 1945, for instance, the potential young vanguard trained in the Scout movement had to be ready for violent conflict and

11 Apart from Jerónimo's contribution to this issue see also for the case of North Africa M. H. Davis, "The Transformation of Man" in French Algeria: Economic Planning and the Postwar Social Sciences, 1958-62, in: Journal of Contemporary History 52 (2017) 1, pp. 73-94; J. Krais, Mastering the Wheel of Chance: Motor Racing in French Algeria and Italian Libya, in: Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East 39 (2019) 1, pp. 143-158.

an anti-colonial insurrection, which many nationalists deemed imminent. At the same time, they were supposed to prepare for new options offered by colonial reforms and the opening up of new political horizons.

Similar to earlier "New Men" myths, ideologies, and practices emerging throughout the twentieth century, also the cases discussed in this volume targeted children and youth. They represented purity, vitality and offered a hope to form radically different subjectivities for radically different times. The focus on youth as the prime target should not override cases which conceptualized the "New Men" in terms of "conversion" or "rebirth" as well as geniality. First prime ministers or presidents of newly independent states in Africa such as Julius K. Nyerere, Amílcar L. Cabral or Léopold Sédar Senghor were and still are referred to as the "New African Men." In contrast to leaders such as Mussolini, Stalin or Mao, they did not emphasize bodily traits or youthfulness. They rather represented the "Civilized Man" as well as "philosopher king."[12] Furthermore, the people who worked and lived in villagization projects of sorts were by no means all young in terms of age. Whole families were relocated. Arguably, the forward-looking character of these projects as well as the (perceived) necessary strength to implement them conveyed a sense of youthfulness to all those who were involved.

"New Men" were thought of as a vanguard, a force that was already tamed and, thus, itself a potential taming force counteracting all kinds of deviation from the "right path" to "Progress". "New Men" were conceived as both, "mass men" in organicist models of society that were widespread in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and, especially in the post-world war contexts, as leaders and good examples, often highly educated.

The training courses of leaders, cadres and experts mushroomed all over the Global South. However, the focus on internationally circulating training courses does not do justice to local initiatives, which even requires separate analysis. With its Pan-African outlook, the *Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideology* in Ghana explicitly targeted all "African Freedom Fighters," as Botchway's contribution to this special issue shows. Similarly, student migrations between Algeria, France, and Arab countries, particularly Egypt, made the formation of future leaders in late colonial North Africa into a transnational endeavour. The growing body of literature on students and student movements in countries outside of Western Europe or North America will further testify to the internationalist nature of student life as well as to differences in the nationalist elite production.

"New Men" were supposed to embody both, discipline and individual responsibility. They acquired these character traits in specialized units such as clubs and associations. These might be directed by the (colonial or independent) state through educational institutions or "modernization" programmes. But they might also be part of civil society initiatives from below that explicitly aimed at challenging a system of colonial domination. The "New Man" was, in any case, associational in nature and formed through a wide range of extra-curricular activities in schools and universities, or through regularly

12 S. Chan, The New African Men. Lecture Series in African Political Thought: part 3. https://africanarguments.org/2015/10/15/african-political-thought-part-3-the-new-african-man, (accessed 7 March 2019).

organized community work, which might rely on earlier structures. Furthermore, there was no uniform or single "New Man" model. According to the specific context, the category could mean members of the educated elite or university students, or, as in Bajpai's contribution, citizen-soldiers and citizen-farmers. Changing political contexts, such as the threat of war, re-appropriated and reshaped "New Man" concepts according to immediate necessities.

In contrast to current neoliberal ideas, the individual responsibility of the "New Man" we are talking about was inextricably linked to notions of the greater good and common goals rather than to a rhetoric of individualistic self-optimization. We argue that this combination of discipline and individual responsibility for the community or nation constituted a fundamental difference to earlier concepts of the "New Man."

The "New Man" was to be an (ideal) citizen. This special issue looks at transitions from (colonial, imperial) subjects to citizens of formally independent nation-states. According to the specific context, this could mean very different things. Obviously, citizenship could be acquired only through learning and training and was, thus, relegated for most people to the future. Those already advanced in that process served as good examples and, hence, as educators. Furthermore, Boy Scouts Associations, which were well established in various countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, inculcated in children at a very early age notions of the ideal citizen, which incorporated elements of the soldier-citizen. These ideals became also part and parcel of the "patriotic citizen" in anti-colonial movements and post-colonial states for which violent conflict constituted a concrete experience. On the one hand, this militarized form of social reform, with its emphasis on patriotism, moral character, and physical strength, tapped into a "set of rhetorical conventions" around duty and privilege, responsibility, and opportunity to support and even sacrifice for a greater idea or goal.[13] On the other hand, tying existing militarized youth movements to ideas of citizenship and nation-building provided the opportunity to demilitarize and control youth in immediate post-independence settings when volatile and semi-military outfits constituted concrete threats to newly established governments. Thus, the "New Men" in post-colonial environments tended to be epitomized by teachers who received special leadership training rather than generals who commanded (para) military contingents.

In the Ethiopian example, the Boy Scout Association combined civic education with the militaristic ethos of the monarchy's elite which consisted, to a large extent, of army officers.These "New Men" were, thus, individuals who served in the educational system but had strong links to the Armed Forces.[14] In Algeria, the Muslim Scout movement was ac-

13 R. R. Krebs, The Citizen-Soldier Tradition in the United States. Has Its Demise Been Greatly Exaggerated?, in: Armed Forces and Society 36 (2009) 1, p. 161.

14 For the embeddedness of Scouting in formal education and its adaptation to local and especially colonial contexts in the Middle East and Africa, see J. Dueck, A Muslim Jamboree. Scouting and Youth Culture in Lebanon under the French Mandate, in: French Historical Studies 30 (2007), pp. 485-516 or W.C. Jacob, Working Out Egypt, Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870–1940, Durham 2011, pp. 107-124 and T. Parsons, Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa, Athens 2004, especially p. 115.

tive at the intersection of the Arabic school system and paramilitary associations working for independence. Under colonial rule, the education system in question was private and run by the Islamic reformist movement. The paramilitary groups, which tried to make the Scouts into "the soldiers of the future," were clandestine organizations set up by the radical nationalists. Although reformists and nationalists differed in their approaches, both stressed the need to educate the "citizens of tomorrow."

As discipline was increasingly complemented with a sense of responsibility and initiative, the soldier, obeying orders, was not the only model any more. As future leaders, "New Men" of the decolonization era had to be experts endowed with a capacity for rational planning. Although discourses and practices around hygiene continued to play a role, social engineering projects were not predominantly relying on biologistic approaches or eugenicist designs any longer. Rather, such projects tended to follow a technocratic approach: natural and social sciences laid the groundwork for national development plans, for which experts (mostly from abroad) were supposed to produce the "New Man" in the form of cadres. However, the formation of cadres and experts was often also based on transnational networks that transferred relevant knowledge within the Global South.[15] The global development (aid) "market" did not only offer various models and ways for implementation. It also proliferated in terms of an exchange of practical knowledge gained in the various colonial territories, as Jerónimo rightly argues in his contribution. Jerónimo's case study from Belgian colonialism in Africa further indicates that, despite all perceptions that link "New Men" exclusively to the urban, they were in fact also rural. We here second Nicole Sackley's argument that, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, the village became the site of social experimentation and, in fact, the focal point of decentralized nation-building – regardless whether the nation was still colonial or an independent nation-state, or where on the ideological spectrum it was situated.[16] Jerónimo's case study reminds of the Salazarist ideal of "New (Portuguese) Man" thar was part of a rural utopia.[17]

In fact, all contributions to this volume demonstrate that "New Men" were, in some way, tied to "the soil." Late colonial and early post-colonial settlement schemes, for instance, tried to establish model villages for a "modernized" agricultural society, which served as laboratories of large-scale socio-economic transformations as well as "miniatures," i.e. "a more easily controlled micro-order."[18] Post-colonial model village schemes substantially built on the colonial experience that "Progress" (often understood as welfare) in the rural

15 When re-establishing the Boy Scout movement in Ethiopia in 1948, for example, the Imperial Government relied on experienced personnel from the Global North as well as from India and, increasingly, Kenya. Furthermore, "Western" experts had mostly served elsewhere in the Global South, which had shaped their ideas about Scouting in the (colonial) tropics.

16 N. Sackley, The Village as Cold War Site. Experts, Development, and the History of Rural Reconstruction, in: Journal of Global History 6 (2011), pp. 481-504.

17 R. Almeida de Carvalho and A. Costa Pinto, The "Everyman" of the Portuguese New State, in: Dagnino, et al. (eds.), "New Man" in Radical Right Ideology and Practice, pp. 135-137.

18 J. Scott, Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed, New Haven 1998, p. 4.

areas was the responsibility of the local population, as the well-researched example of the *Ujamaa* villages in Tanzania shows.[19] "The Workers Brigades," to mention another prominent example from Ghana, did not only work at construction sites such as the Akosombo High Dam but also at collective state farms.[20] Since the majority of the population in Africa, Asia and the Middle East lived in rural areas and the model of a large industrial working class as the driving force of "Progress" was not applicable, farmers became the target of social engineering. This does not only refer to the post-independence period but, as Jerónimo's contribution shows, especially to the time of late colonialism. Thus, instead of portraying the rural population as backward, farmers became a symbol of "Progress" across a wide ideological spectrum. In India, farmers represented one ideal type of the post-colonial model citizen, because of their strategic function of feeding the population and, most importantly, the armed forces. Bajpai's contribution details how this trope was foregrounded by official propaganda in times of anticipated or actual armed conflict.

Rural areas also became the training ground for the intelligentsia. Thousands of students in various countries of the world did compulsory agricultural service during or immediately after their university studies, often supervised and accompanied by staff members. "Land to the Tiller!", the slogan of the Ethiopian student movement of the late 1960s, laid the ideological ground for a specific practice of compulsory service in rural areas.[21] The first *zämäča,* the "development-through-cooperation campaign" in Ethiopia (1975–1976), is but one example how the post-revolutionary government turned the central demand of the student movement for a fundamental land reform into a mechanism of "encadrement."[22] Thousands of students went out to "revolutionize the countryside" by educating the rural masses.[23] Arguably, they were inspired by widespread Maoist ideas that the village was the lynchpin for the socialist revolution. Research into campaigns which were conducted in post-revolutionary or post-independence rural contexts offers the possibility for understanding historical continuities in forming "New Men" through tying them to "the soil." However, the importance attached to "the soil" was not confined to revolutionary actors or proponents of agricultural reform. In various countries, youth movements based in the major urban centers "discovered" the countryside – with multiple aims in mind: a "return" to nature or the rustic "authenticity" of peasant life, an examination of living conditions and future potentials, necessary for the aspiring planner.

19 E. Hunter, Voluntarism, Virtuous Citizenship, and Nation-Building in Late Colonial and Early Postcolonial Tanzania, in: African Studies Review 58 (2015) 2, pp. 48-51.

20 P. Hodge, The Ghana Workers Brigade: A Project for Unemployed Youth, in: The British Journal of Sociology 15 (1964) 2, pp. 113–128.

21 Bahru Zewde, The Quest for a Socialist Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Student Movement, C. 1960–1974, Suffolk 2014, pp. 18-26.

22 Dereje Feyissa, The Ethnic Self and the National Other. Anywaa Identity Politics in Reference to the Ethiopian State System, in: Bahru Zewde (ed.), Society and State in African History, Addis Ababa 2008, p. 132; R. Rønning Balsvik, Addis Ababa University in the Shadow of the Derg, in: S. Ege, H. Aspen, B. Teferra and S. Bekele (eds.), Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Trondheim 2009, pp. 260-264.

23 D. L. Donham, Marxist Modern. An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution, Oxford 1999.

The "New Man" was, furthermore, a volunteer. Apart from volunteering to sacrifice one's life as the most important element of the "patriotic citizen" figure, volunteering as such often featured as an attribute of the "New Man." The Scouts with their emphasis on unconditional loyalty, strict hierarchies, and (national) defence are a good example. Their understanding of volunteering, which was linked to the notion of sacrifice for God, the King / Emperor, and the nation, makes existential questions about life and death a component of the formation of "New Men." Furthermore, the historical moment of decolonization, global post-war reconstruction, and Cold War politics not only saw an aid boom in countries of the Global South, but also the growing influx of volunteers, such as the Peace Corps workers from the United States. They personified the "work on the self" as professionals-in-the-making in an internationalist context of aid and development interventions. We should, however, not overemphasize the influence of "newcomers from the North" on the perception and practice of volunteering in the Global South, but rather look at local agents, which forms a huge gap in historical research on volunteering.[24] Looking at volunteering in late colonial and early post-colonial Tanzania, Emma Hunter demonstrates how volunteering as a concept as well as social practice shifted according to changing conceptualizations of state, authority, and economy. She argues that complexities arise especially from the concept's inherent duality of meaning. On the one hand, volunteering taps into the rhetoric about virtuousness and duty towards the wider community that we have already described as a central characteristic of the idea of the "New Man." This rhetoric reveals a conceptual and persuasive continuity from the colonial to the post-colonial context and, arguably, continues into the present. The other way to conceive volunteer work, according to Hunter, is as service which the state has difficulties to provide, bringing it close to unpaid labour. She argues that conceiving the modern personality as the "virtuous" or "patriotic" citizen of a (post-colonial) nation state in the making was a way to balance this contested nature of volunteering.[25] Thus, it is no wonder that youth organizations such as the Scouts, the YMCA, or the Youth Brigades included volunteering as part of citizenship training. In the case of Ethiopia in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, volunteers took an active part in citizenship training at the YMCA, which meant that they offered basic education to the poor that the state was not able to provide.[26] In the case of Ghana, people who gained experience as volunteers in organizations such as the Boy Scouts or the YMCA, became cadres in post-independence youth organizations which cultivated volunteering as a virtue of the "New (socialist) African."

The contributions to this special issue approach the "New Man" as umbrella category predominantly used by states or institutions to bring about social transformation. Thus, they discuss examples of an instrumentalist reading of the term that relies on authority.

24 The role and aspirations of local volunteers in current Africa, Asia and the Middle East has been widely discussed. The use of relevant conceptual approaches for historical cases is still to be explored.

25 Hunter, Voluntarism, Virtuous Citizenship, and Nation-Building, pp. 44–45.

26 K. Bromber, Make Them Better Citizens: YMCA Training in Late Imperial Ethiopia (1950s–1970s), in: Annales d'Éthiopie 32 (2019), forthcoming.

What we do not see are aberrant concepts of the "New Man" that did not fit the state or developmental agendas.

3. Practices

Throughout this special issue, we argue and demonstrate that the qualitative changes, described above, were brought about by context-related practices of subject formation. They could be completely new, reframed and adapted or continue older precedents. Earlier practices of shaping the "New Man" persisted, to be sure: physical training and soldiering to form the militarized "New Man" remained important, especially in times of anticipated military conflict or recently experienced defeat. However, they changed to become more technocratic. Preparedness became the order of the day instilling a permanent sense of not being prepared enough. The Boy Scouts with their motto "Be prepared!" (and its different translations) always placed preparedness high on the agenda. In the context of decolonization, where independence seemed an inevitable outcome – albeit one that still had to be fought for with determination -, preparing the youth now meant to prepare them for their role in the post-colonial nation-state to come. The problem of preparedness did not stop with independence, though: in Ethiopia after the Italian occupation or in India between the wars with China and Pakistan in the 1960s, governments and public discourse alike always stressed the need to be prepared for the next conflict. Activities such as Scouting were imagined to prepare for an uncertain future by promising the holistic development of the individual – morally, physically, and mentally – who would in this way be prepared for all eventualities.

Such a holistic education, which was supposed to form a moral character, physical fitness, and mental strength, required specific practices. The contributions of this special issue look into practices that we might broadly categorize under the following three labels: *body, space, symbols.*

Practices, explicitly targeting the *human body*,[27] comprised activities such as camping or hiking that, on the one hand, increased physical fitness and alertness and, on the other, related the (fit) human to a specific geography (*Heimat*, nation-state, etc.). Hiking, cultivated mostly, but not exclusively, in Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements, established a specific relation of the human to "(national) soil" through self-reliance, physical exposure to hardship, and forming bonds of brother- and sisterhood or solidarity. Baden-Powell's militarized ideas on hiking and camping in the Scout movement, which explicitly aimed at survival and character-cum-citizenship training, are often contrasted to Germany's *Wandervogel* movement, which saw hiking and contact with nature as a romanticized way of liberating the human being from social conventions. The examples in this special

27 We forego an explicit elaboration on the works of Michel Foucault or Norbert Elias on practices of subject formation. For a comparative perspective, see C. Dahlmanns, Die Geschichte des modernen Subjekts. Michel Foucault und Norbert Elias im Vergleich, Münster 2008.

issue offer a nuanced perspective on hiking as one practice of shaping the "New Man" in contexts that are not (exclusively) shaped by Western imports, but have their own history of moving and surviving.

A favorite practice in several youth movements was hiking.[28] But, as the example of Algeria shows, in the context of "modernization" and individual strengthening through educational reform hiking and camping were also seen as a preparation for the national struggle. Apart from that, in predominantly Muslim society Scouts' activities in the open could serve to instill a new sense for nature as God's creation. The religious dimension inherent in Baden-Powell's original concept of Scouting adapted itself rather well to Muslim contexts. Here, the Prophet Muhammad and early Islamic history with its military exploits actually often provided the models for physical fitness, strength, and bodily training. Prayers were as much part of a Boy Scout's camp routine as games or walks. At the same time, a "modern" body was a central characteristic of a "New Man," as can be seen from Krais's contribution on Algeria. The muscular version of the Prophet was specifically employed to counter Orientalist stereotypes that viewed Muslims as weak, passive, and effeminate. Algerian nationalists, in particular, adopted these stereotypes to distance themselves from the "old men" of traditional authority: it was, above all, fit and athletic bodies – wearing modern dress – that distinguished "new" Muslim men socialized in the Scout movement.[29] Bromber's contribution about post-liberation Scouting in Ethiopia shows that hiking and camping combined a number of bodily survival practices such as swimming and running. Furthermore, marching and singing, especially in front of the Emperor, were both bodily and highly symbolic. Going to the cinema (in Dirre Dawa in 1949) as part of the programme linked Scouting to an urban modernity, which was increasingly defined through modern leisure practices.

The bodily practices mentioned so far are at the same time *spatial practices*. Hiking, camping and, in Bromber's case, flying[30] are practices by which space is constructed through movement. Camp orders regulate in-and-outward movement mostly in combination with strict temporal regimes. The spatial practice of camping also includes the transformation of an urban site, a factory, a school, or a rural place along the way. Hiking required map reading and drawing, which, in turn, required the ability to abstract space into a two-dimensional miniature. Signalling, which became especially important in Scouts' exercises that directly prepared for hikes or para-military contexts, was at the same time bodily, spatial and symbolic, when used in official presentations of skills.

Whereas Scout camps were temporary spaces to discipline youth, the model villages described in Jerónimo's contribution narrate a (global) history of disciplinary spatial practices that aimed at transforming larger parts of the rural population. He describes

28 See also Y. Kesler and Y. Goldstein, Hiking as an Educational Tool of Zionist Youth Movements in Mandate Palestine, in: Australian Journal of Jewish Studies 29 (2015-16), pp. 43-74.

29 See also K. D. Watenpaugh, Scouting in the Interwar Arab Middle East: Youth, Colonialism and the Problem of Middle-Class Modernity, in: N. R. Block and T. M. Proctor (eds.), Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century, Newcastle 2009, pp. 89-105.

30 Bromber's contribution also hints at constructions of the aviator as "New Man".

practices that were experimental by nature and primarily targeted people's efficiency in the production process. As Fisher-Tahir and Wagenhofer point out, and Jerónimo exemplifies, "disciplinary spaces" are not only "locally situated and territorially bounded [but also] structured by global-local dependencies"[31] and knowledge production. The nexus between knowledge production and transfer, discipline and space is also demonstrated in Botchway's contribution on Ghana, especially in the case of the *Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute* (KNII), which became a national and regional center for specific hominization practices.

The movement or placement of human bodies in space as well as the construction of model villages or institutes contain highly *symbolic* acts of power. Dressing in uniforms, singing songs about a "New Time" and "New People," rendering oaths, and especially acts of venerating leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah or Emperor Haile Selassie are cases in point. They draw on a repertoire of linguistic tropes and visual elements which link the "New Man" to an explicit expression of preparedness. "Be prepared!" or "Be ready!" – the slogan of the Scouts movement – is a telling example. Spoken, sung, shouted, written as part of the national emblems or as part of newspaper headlines and banners – the words became omnipresent at schools or during public festivals, when patrols were responsible for security issues. Uniforms and badges, which indicated ranks, as well as large sticks as weapons, belonged to this symbolic repertoire of preparedness. Contingents of Youth Brigadiers, dressed in khaki overalls and carrying spades and shovels over their shoulders became symbols of the power of the people (and their leaders) when they marched through settlements to their work places or paraded on the sports grounds on public holidays commemorating revolution or independence. The symbolic affinity to the military was often legitimized by referring to formal independence as the beginning of a struggle against internal and external enemies and, most importantly, individual shortcomings, reminiscent of Marxist-Leninists' theoretical claims about "permanent revolution" or "revolution and counter-revolution." In this context, Bajpai's contribution demonstrates how propaganda could tap into and re-shape an existing repertoire about "New Men" for total mobilization in times of conflict.

The focus of the individual contributions on concrete practices of shaping the "New Man" in very specific local and temporal contexts allows to ask (and partially answer) questions about continuities, changes and adaptations of transferred or local knowledge regarding preparedness, development and specific notions of "progress" that speak explicitly to the contingent nature of social transformation.

31 A. Fisher-Tahir and S. Wagenhofer, Spatial Control, Disciplinary Power and Assimilation. The Inevitable Side-Effects of "Progress" and Capitalist "Modernity", in: A. Fisher-Tahir and Sophie Wagenhofer (eds.), Disciplinary Spaces. Spatial Control, Forced Assimilation and the Narratives of Progress in the 19th Century, Bielefeld 2017, p. 15.

4. The Contributions in Context

The contributions to this special issue present case studies from Belgian Congo, Ghana, Ethiopia, Algeria, and India. They ask which specific practices, often based on globally produced and circulated knowledge, were adapted to local contexts as well as highly contingent political situations and how they became important in shaping "New Men" for "New Times." Looking into the specificities, they ask about the mechanisms and agents of these adaptions and transformations. What were the continuities from earlier practices of (self)optimizing and where can we see radical changes? Who was selected as suitable "human material," by whom, what for, and under which concrete historical circumstances?

Katrin Bromber's contribution on Ethiopia looks at the years following the liberation from the Italian Fascist occupation during World War II (1935–1941). The Italian aggressors killed most of the modern intelligentsia that had loyally supported Emperor Haile Selassie's projects of social and economic change. Upon his returne from British exile in 1941 with the help of British Empire Forces, the Emperor was severely threatened by internal enemies who questioned the legitimacy of his rule. Thus, he needed a new generation, well-educated and trained, centrally organized and, above all, loyal. Scouting with its emphasis on God, Emperor, and nation seemed to be an ideal locus of "New Man" formation. Haile Selassie explicitly framed the movement as a pre-military school during this uncertain moment and pushed for the establishment of Scouting as one important element in the formation of an avant-garde – the joints and motors of "Progress".

A similar preoccupation with the formation of future leaders through Scouting can be found in the case study from the Arab world. In late colonial Algeria, as Jakob Krais demonstrates, we encounter the Boy Scouts once again as a central feature of indigenous civil society. Whereas Ethiopia had an official youth movement, in Algeria the Scouts acted in opposition to both the colonial authorities and equivalent associations of the European population. This country, in particular, witnessed a strong feeling of uncertainty during the period of decolonization, where the process of nation-building remained tenuous and multiple trajectories towards the future seemed possible.

In contrast to Algeria's undecided future, Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party conceived and enacted a very clear trajectory for Ghana's post-independence future of the late 1950s and early 1960s; the party envisaged the complete liberation of Africa within a socialist bracket, as De-Valera Botchway's contribution shows. Similar to other (colonial) states on the continent, people in Gold Coast / Ghana also conceived independence and modernization in an instrumentalist way, i.e. that it would translate directly into the reduction and erasure of poverty, the creation of economic possibilities and evenly distributed access to the benefits of the welfare state. The threat of political instability potentially brought about by disappointed youth made a clear cut youth policy and institutions to implement them such as the Worker's Brigade or the Ghana Young Pioneers movement an urgent matter.

At a time, when the call for independence was gainng more and more ground on the African continent during the post-World War II decade, colonial powers re-configured themselves within developmentalist and welfare agendas. Miguel Jerónimo's example of the late colonial period in Belgian territory highlights the emerging global developmentalist knowledge "market." This market offered various recipes of and trained experts in transforming the colonial subject into an effective and controllable "human resource" through welfare measures linked to spatial control in rural areas.

In India – Anandita Bajpai's case study – decolonization resulted from a long nationalist struggle for independence in 1947. In the initial post-independence years, the new postcolonial nation-state attempted to streamline the diverse sub-national identities through a nationalized vocabulary of nation-building. The slogan "Unity in Diversity" thus became one of the unifying means to craft a sense of nation-ness beyond regional and linguistic realms whereas the "Temples of Modern India," as Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru announced them (dams, industrial plants, universities), were seen as the motor of establishing self-sufficiency. By the 1960s and over a decade of independence, the state had already established an altered register for citizens to become the ideal "New Men." However, crises such as food grain shortages and wars (with China and Pakistan) inserted a new terminology in the pre-existing catalogue of industrialization, scientific temper, and economic self-reliance. This is a period when a war had just ended (1962), the first and only Prime Minister so far, Nehru, had died while in office (1964), food grain scarcity was looming large, and another conflict was brewing up (1965). The category of the "New Man," an ideal citizen, was now re-loaded with the established repertoire of security, vigilance, working, protecting and fighting for the motherland. This state-directed vision was not only directed at the farmers who filled the granaries to feed the nation or the soldiers who would defend the nation, but incorporated one and all. Discipline, producing for the nation, acting in unity and consuming frugally thus came to define the "New Man" of a nation under threat.