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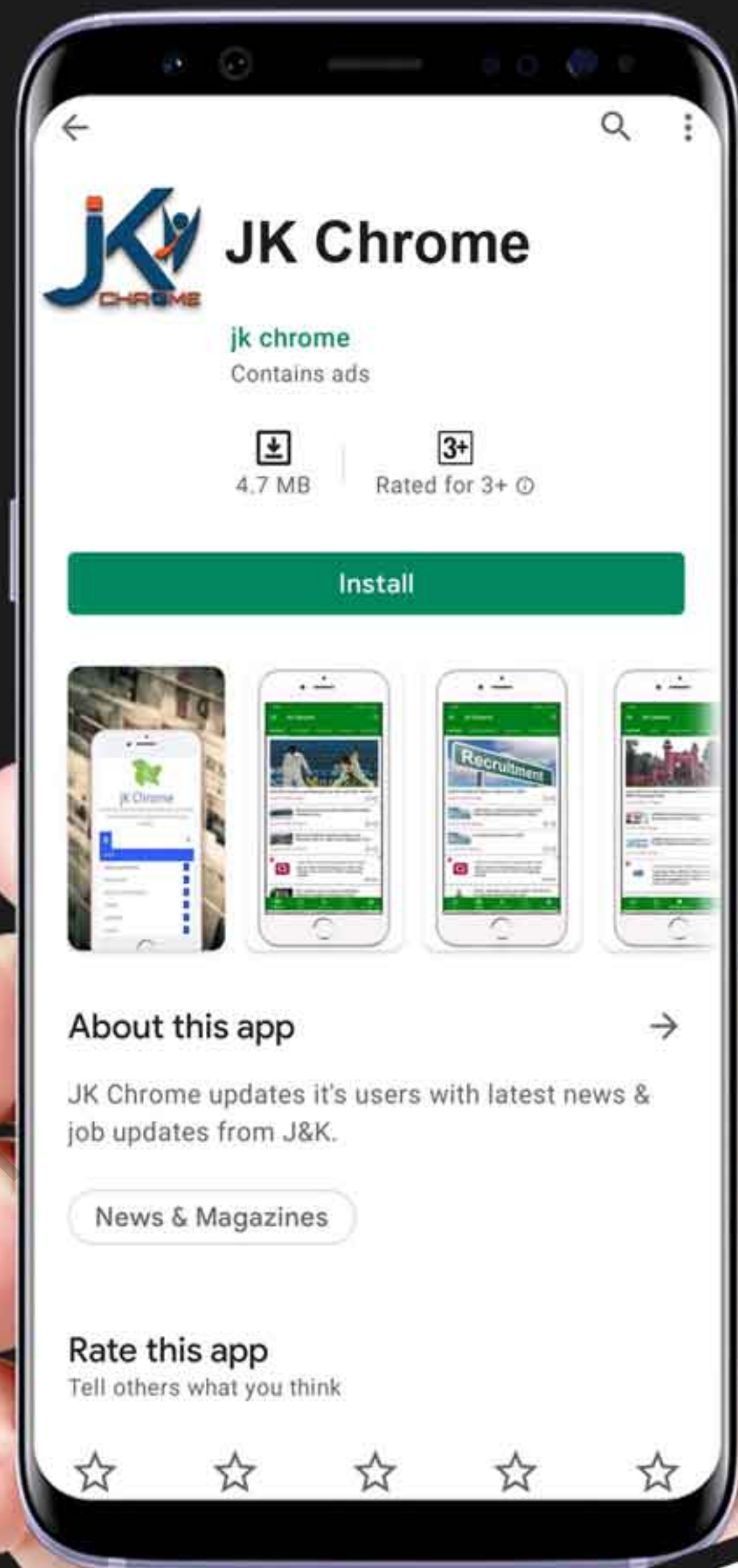
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# WORLD HISTORY NOTES





### Europe in 1520

**1. Spain-** In the 15 century the unification of Spain under the queen Isabella made Spain the greatest naval power of Europe.

- 1492 - Reconquista finished, ie expelling of all Muslim kingdoms from Spain.
- 1494- the colonization Americas begin by the conquistadors
- 1517- Spanish Crown passed to Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor of the Hapsburg dynasty.
- 1580- Iberian Union. Portugal comes under Spain.
- 1588- Defeat of Spain by England. The Atlantic Ocean opened for smaller powers like England and Netherland and this begin their share in the colonies of America, Africa and Asia
- 1600s- the influx of South American gold and silver resulted in the decline of Spanish power.
- 1618-48- Spain was one of the losing sides of the Thirty Years war. Its decline as a European power hastened. The union with Portugal dissolved.
- 1701- Wars of Spanish succession begin. Spain and its colonies went to the Bourbons. It's Italian and Netherlands possessions went to Austrian Hapsburgs.
- Spain took part in 7 years war and the wars of American Independence as a junior ally of France. Napoleon conquered Spain and as a weaker power, Spain began losing its South American and other Pacific colonies. It took no part in World War I and remain almost neutral in World War II despite taking huge resources from the axis powers.

**2. Austria-** the Holy Roman Empire. Ruled by the house of Hapsburg this dynasty ruled the Holy Roman Empire since 1440.

- 1477 - Maximilian include Burgundy (Netherlands) into Austria

- 1517- Charles V, grandson of Maximilian, takes the throne of Austria and becomes the ruler of Holy Roman Empire, Netherlands, Spain, southern Italy and all the colonies. The encirclement of France become chief aim of his foreign policy.
- 1517 - the protestant doctrine of Martin Luther King emerged. This resulted into the wave of Protestantism in Northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire.
- 1529 - the Ottoman attack on the capital city of Vienna. The first arrival of the Ottoman Peril.
- 1530s and 1540s - the rise of Lutheranism in the Northern Kingdoms of Empire perhaps to get rid of this 'holy empire'. Protestantism gave kingdoms chance to get rid of Papal patriarchy. Other kings of Europe to were attracted towards Protestantism.
- 1555- Peace of Augsburg between protestant north and Catholic South.
- 1618- After Bohemian revolt the Protestant North and Catholic South involved in the Thirty years war. All the major Central European powers involved in it.
- 1648- Treaty of Westphalia. Holy Roman Empire becomes a loose Federation. Kingdoms were given right to adopt a foreign and religious policy of its own. The concept of Sovereign States was given with hold on their own domestic policy. This Westphalian system became basis of today's world order of the nation States.
- 1683- Ottoman siege Vienna for the second time. The holy League defeated the Turks with main help from Poland. The retreat of ottomans gave chance to the Austrians to expand in Balkans. The loosening of the Holy Roman Empire was compensated by it.
- 1701- Austrian Hapsburgs lose Spain.
- 1740 - War of Austrian succession dented the position of Austria in the Empire. Prussia, an upstart kingdom of the Empire, came out in open hostility, along with France, the traditional enemy in west.
- 1756- In a diplomatic revolution, Austria allied itself with France against Prussian and British alliance. Russia vary of any eastward movement of Prussia sided with Austria and France. This marked the beginning of the Seven years' war.

**3. Russia-** founded by the Vikings at Kiev, it was the Rurik dynasty which made Muscovy (Moscow) the capital of Russia. After the 7 centuries of Rurik rule, a distant relative 'Ivan the terrible' was given the Crown of Czar in 1613.

- Till 17 century, Russia had no prominent place in the European affairs and was considered more of an Asiatic country than a European power.
- 1613- Coronation of Mikhail Romanov. Foundation of Romanov dynasty.
- 1600s- Zemsky Sobor (assembly of three estates) and Boyars lost their powers against the tool of states like Duma. Church became one of the fundamental pillars of the state.
- The greatest threat to Russia remained from powerful neighbouring Kingdoms of Sweden and Poland in west and Ottomans in South. This forced Russia to be a land Kingdom with no access to navigable sea. However in the east, boundaries reached the Pacific Ocean.
- 1696- Peter the Great became the absolute ruler of Russia.
- 1700s- He made Russia victor of the Northern wars and gained access to the Baltic Sea and made it a naval power. Rise of Russia as a European power.
- 1710- In order to westernize Russia, he forced nobility to adopt French style and language.
- 1725- Peter died. Russia continued its expansionary ambitions, especially in Black Sea. To gain access to Black Sea, Russia and Turkey entered into repetitive hostility, which continued and became a major reason of World War I.
- 1756 - Russia allied itself with Austria and France.

- 1761- Russia pulls out of the alliance by new Czar Peter III.
- 1762- Catherine the Great takes throne from his husband Peter III and makes Russia one of the most powerful European Nation with huge industrial output. Russia gains access to the Black Sea and peninsula of Crimea.
- 1795- Russia spreads itself west by partitioning the Poland.

**4. Sweden-** Sweden emerged as a great power in 17<sup>th</sup> century during the Thirty years war. However, by start of the 18 century it declined due to its smaller size, low population and less productive areas of Scandinavia. Unlike Prussia, it could neither create a militaristic state nor could mobilize its population. Even to this date, it remained a marginal power in Europe.

#### **5. Poland (Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth)**

A great power which dominated the Eastern Europe before the rise of Russia and Prussia. The 17th century Rival of Sweden, it lost its power to Russia, Prussia and Austria (partitioned in 1795 by all three). It was revived after the conquest of Napoleon, however, can never regain its lost Glory.

One of the most interesting aspect of Polish state was 'liberum veto', where single member of Assembly can stop the legislation.

#### **6. Prussia**

- 1618- The house of Brandenburg was given the duchy of Prussia. Prussia came under the control of Hohenzollern dynasty who were the electors of the Holy Roman Empire.
- Poor natural resources, no natural barriers and surrounded by powerful and potential conquerors, necessitated the build-up of a powerful military
- 1640 to 1688- The Great Elector, Frederick William reforms taxation, army and subordinates nobles to create a cohesive Kingdom inside the Holy Roman Empire. His most important Reform was a powerful military based on the efficient administration, sound revenue system and amalgamated with the Nobility.
- 1701- The Holy Roman Emperor allows Hohenzollerns to take title of 'king in Prussia' for their lands outside the Empire.
- 1713 to 1740- the grandson of the Great Elector, Frederick William I created a strong standing Army. He so obsessed with militarism that he was named 'Soldier King'. He laid the foundation of Prussian military aristocracy which became the basis of Prussia, the German Empire and later the Nazi third Reich.
- 1740 - Frederick the Great took throne, against the conservative foreign policy of his father, began his career by invading Silesia from the Empire, therefore involving Prussia in the war of Austrian succession.
- 1746- Prussia gained Silesia from Emperor. The beginning of 'Deutscher dalismus', the German dualism (Prussian-Austrian rivalry).
- 1756 to 1763- Prussia fought against three great Empires ie. Austria, France and Russia. This was the first taste of Prussian militarism for Europe.
- By the end of Seven years' war, Prussia had doubled its size in last 20 years and gained the rich soil of Silesia, which compensated for its own resource less lands.
- Prussia replaced France is the prime enemy of the Austrian Empire.

#### **7. Britain**

A nation of traders, believes in 'Splendid Isolation' and 'balance of power in Europe'.

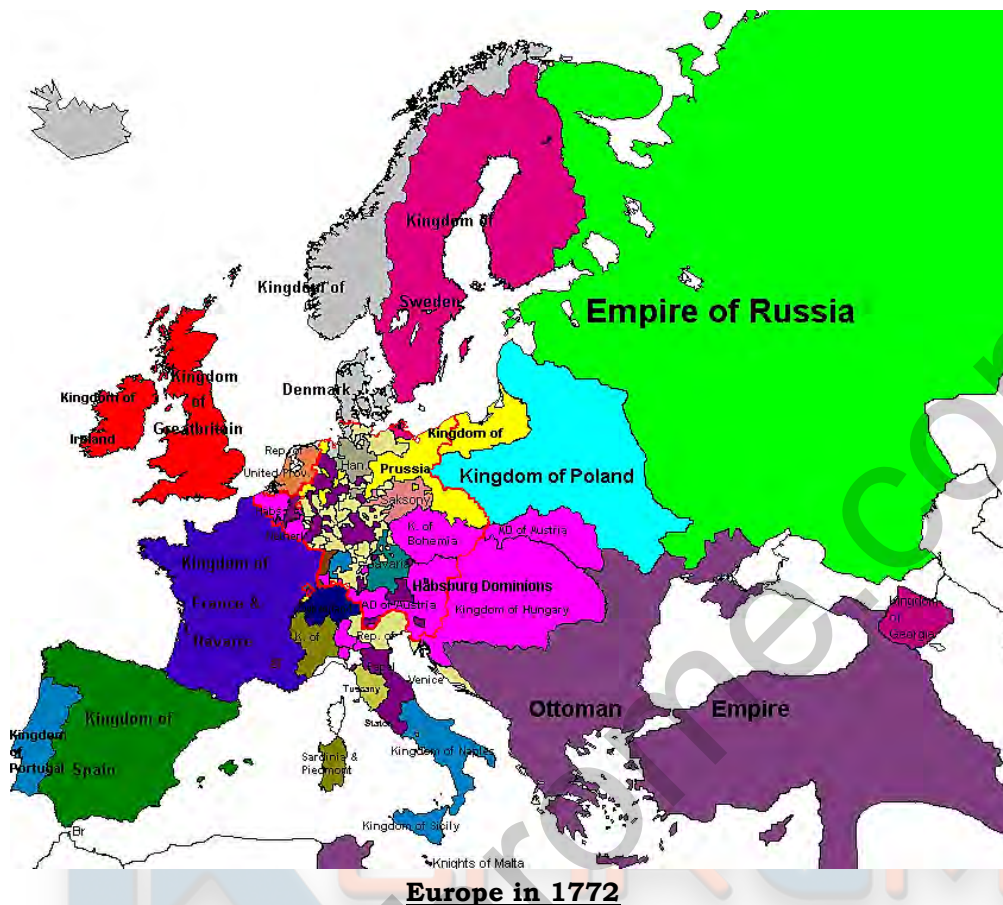
- 1533- Henry VIII become head of English Church by adopting Protestantism.
- 1588 - England defeated Spanish Armada and start its trade voyages in Atlantic.
- 1600- Foundation of English East India Company.
- 1605- End of Tudor dynasty with Elizabeth and beginning of the Stuart dynasty with King James.
- 1607- First English colony, ie Virginia was founded by English in North America.
- 1642 - English Civil war began.
- 1649 - Execution of Charles I and the interregnum.
- 1661- Restoration of the Stuart monarchy.
- 1688- Following the 'Exclusion crisis', 'the Glorious Revolution' occurs in England. Parliament becomes a permanent body.
- 1701- The 'Act of settlement', by which only a protestant can become the monarch of England.
- 1707- The Act of union. England and Scotland unify to become the Great Britain.
- In the 16th and 17th centuries, English foreign policy was to prevent a creation of a single universal monarchy in Europe, which many believed France, Spain or Austria might attempt to create. To maintain the balance of power, the English made alliances with other states including Portugal, the Ottoman Empire, and the Netherlands, to counter the perceived threat. These Grand Alliances reached their height in the wars against Louis XIV and Louis XV of France. They often involved the English and Dutch paying large subsidies to European allies to finance large armies.
- 1656-63. England defeats France in the Seven Years war and surpasses it as the strongest colonial power the globe.
- 1760s- Unrest in the thirteen colonies of North America begins on the issue of taxation and mercantilism.
- Following Britain's success in the Seven Years' War, many of the other powers began to see Great Britain as a greater threat than France. Several states entered the American War of Independence in the hope of overturning Britain's growing strength by securing the independence of the thirteen colonies of British America.

## 8. France

- 16th century- France was encircled by the Hapsburg Austria. This became the basis of French foreign policy till mid-18th century.
- 1589- Bourbon dynasty replaces Valois dynasty in France.
- 1620s and 1630s- Cardinal Richelieu gave France a potent foreign policy and initiates internal reforms which take France on course to become a strong European power.
- France enters Thirty years war.
- 1642 - Louis XIV takes Throne, France becomes the biggest gainer of the Thirty years war.
- 1650s to 1710s- Louis XIV crushes the powers of nobility and promotes the bourgeoisie. He makes France not only a European power but also a colonial power around the globe.
- 1756- France enters the Seven Years war as an ally of Austria and Russia against the alliance of Prussia and Great Britain. France had the responsibility to defeat Britain in global warfare, ie. At colonies, in which France gets the decisive defeat.
- France, an aggressive Nation in 17<sup>th</sup> century under Louis XIV, was a heavy State by mid-18<sup>th</sup> century with its colonial possessions. Britain, a colonial power itself, replaced Austria as the traditional rival of France. The traditional powers of Europe were eyeing the rise of an upstart Prussia under Fredrick the Great.

## 9. The Ottoman Empire

- 1402- The Battle of Ankara. Ottoman Sultan Bayezid was defeated by Timur Lane (Tamerlane).
- 1453- Ottomans captures Constantinople. Beginning of the modern World. The Ottoman navy controls the Mediterranean Sea, forcing European nations to find the way to India via South Atlantic Ocean.
- 1529- Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent besieges Vienna. For the next two centuries, Europe was haunted by the 'Ottoman Peril'.
- 1590- Treaty of İstanbul between Ottoman Empire and the Safavids. Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia as well as western Iran came under Ottoman rule. Reaching the widest border in the east of the Ottomans.
- Mid-16<sup>th</sup> Century- The Ottomans increased their efforts to reach the Central Europe against the Christian powers like Austria and Poland.
- 1664- Austro-Turkish War ended on temporary truce.
- 1676- Polish–Ottoman War. Ottoman conquers a part of Poland, Ottoman Empire reached its maximum size in Europe.
- 1683- Battle of Vienna. Resulted in Ottoman defeat against the Holy Alliance. The defeat resulted in the chain of events resulting in the Austrian gain of Ottoman territories, starting from Hungary.
- 18<sup>th</sup> century- Stagnation of the Ottoman Empire began with the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- The intensification of Russo-Ottoman rivalry over the control of Black Sea and Crimea. This resulted in multiple wars in next two centuries.
- 1729- After the centuries of opposition, first printing press in Turkey was set up.
- The possessions of Ottoman Empire, Austrian Empire and Russian Empire in Balkans gave rise to a new issue called 'The Eastern Question'. The days of 'Ottoman Peril' were over by now.
- 1850s- Czar Nicholas declared Ottoman Empire, 'the sick man of Europe'. A label, since then given to many nations for their widespread economic misery, socio-political turmoil, lower public morale and diminished status.



### **The Transatlantic Triangular Trade**

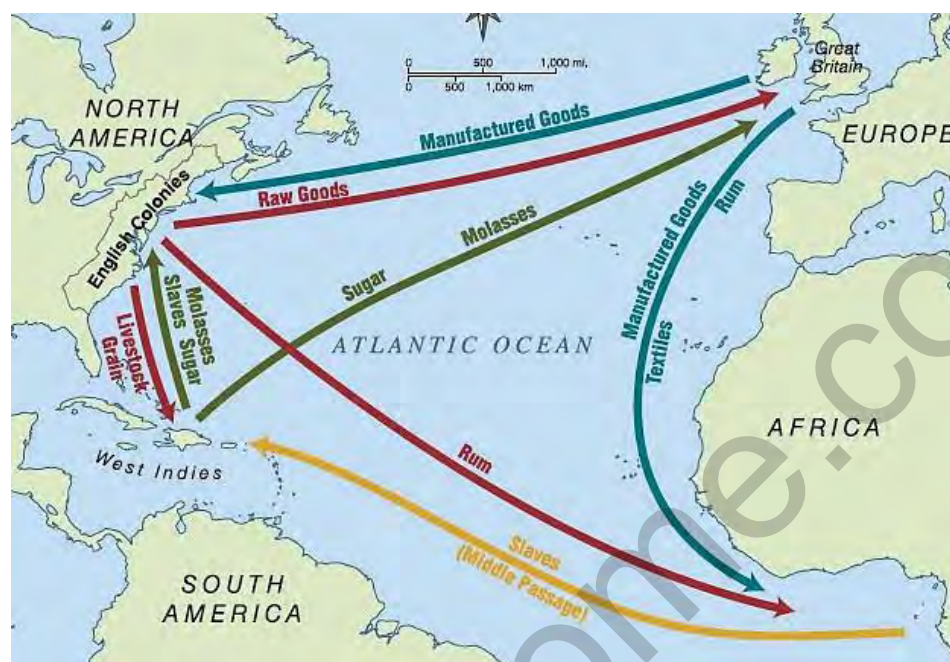
- It was this transatlantic triangular trade of the 16th century that was responsible for moving ideas, products, and people around the world.
- This triangular trade is how European empires filled their colonies with African slaves, starting a legacy of slavery that defined the Americas.

### The Trading objects

- Europe sends products like copper, clothes, guns, ammunition to Africa.
- In Africa, the European products are traded for slaves. Slaves generally came from inland Africa, where they were captured by rival African groups and sold into African slave networks before reaching the coast.
- The ships of slaves sailed from Africa to the Americas. This was called the middle passage, and was a harsh trip with high mortality ratio due to terrible living conditions, poor sanitation, starvation, and physical abuse.
- Once the ship arrived in the Americas, the slaves were unloaded, and sold to be used as labourers on large plantations. The money the ships got from slaves was used to purchase the agricultural products that the slaves were actually harvesting like tobacco, molasses, and sugar.



- Those raw products from the Americas were shipped to Europe, the third leg of the triangular trade, where Europeans processed the raw supplies and made finished products.



### The Atlantic Slave Trade

The Atlantic slave trade or transatlantic slave trade involved the transportation by slave traders of enslaved African people, mainly from Africa to the Americas, and then their sale in America. Historically, this system became very important on an international scale way back in the 16th century, when European empires created networks of international trade across the Atlantic Ocean between the Americas, Europe, and Africa.

- The slave trade used mainly the triangular trade route and its Middle Passage, and existed from the 16th to the 19th centuries.
- The vast majority of those who were enslaved and transported in the transatlantic slave trade were Africans from central and western Africa, who had been sold by other West Africans to Western European slave traders (with a small number being captured directly by the slave traders in coastal raids), who brought them to the Americas.
- The South Atlantic and Caribbean economies especially were dependent on the supply of secure labour for the production of commodity crops, making goods and clothing to sell in Europe. This was crucial to those western European countries which, in the late 17th and 18th centuries, were vying with each other to create overseas empires.
- The Portuguese were the first to engage in the Atlantic slave trade in the 16th century. In 1526, they completed the first transatlantic slave voyage to Brazil, and other European countries soon followed.
- The major Atlantic slave trading nations, ordered by trade volume, were, the Portuguese, the British, the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch Empires. Several had established outposts on the African coast where they purchased slaves from local African leaders.

- Current estimates are that about 12 million Africans were shipped across the Atlantic, although the number purchased by the traders was considerably higher, as the passage had a high death rate.
- Ship-owners regarded the slaves as cargo to be transported to the Americas as quickly and cheaply as possible, there to be sold to work on coffee, tobacco, cocoa, sugar and cotton plantations, gold and silver mines, rice fields, construction industry, cutting timber for ships, in skilled labour, and as domestic servants.
- By the middle of the 17th century, slavery had hardened as a racial caste, with the slaves and their offspring being legally the property of their owners, and children born to slave mothers were also slaves. As property, the people were considered merchandise or units of labour, and were sold at markets with other goods and services.
- Near the beginning of the 19th century, various governments acted to ban the trade, although illegal smuggling still occurred. In the early 21st century, several governments issued apologies for the transatlantic slave trade.



## 2. POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

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### Right wing

- Society is best served by the limited role of government and with the expanded rights of the individuals.
- Government should focus on helping the expansion of market and creation of new wealth which will take care of the vulnerable.
- Hierarchy is not advocated but abolition of hierarchies is not the goal. It accepts the hierarchy (far right wing even advocates the hierarchy)
- Market should be minimally controlled (or not at all controlled). Its the producer of new wealth (businessman and capitalists) whom government should help first, who in turn will create jobs and cheaper goods and services which will elevate the living standards of poor (ie. The trickle-down effect)
- Emphasizes on the past glory and aims to revive the golden past.

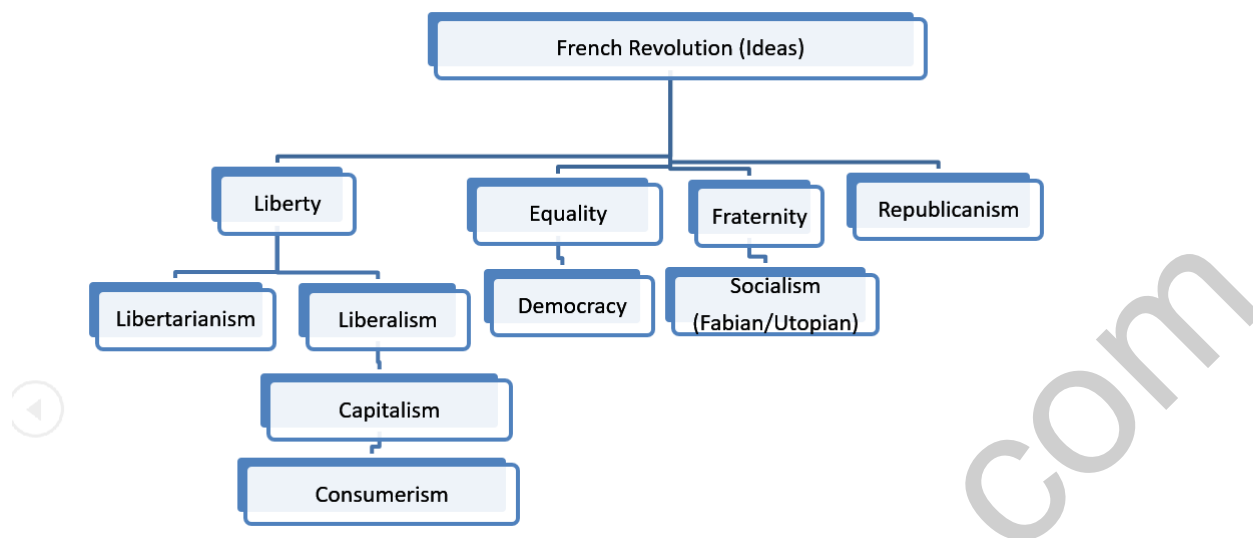
### Left wing

- Society is best served with the expanded role of government.
- Government should focus on the social security for the vulnerable.
- The absence of Hierarchy must be the goal of the government.
- The market should be controlled against the oppression of workers and should be directed to produce what is needed.
- Do not create any ideal perception of past and reject the theory of glorious past and emphasize on creating a new, just and equal society.
- The redistribution of existing wealth is more important than the creation of new wealth as the new wealth is created by those who are already wealthy.

### Mercantilism

Mercantilism was the primary economic system of trade used from the 16th to 18th century.

- The system depends on the assumption that the amount of wealth in the world was static.
- The goal was to increase a nation's wealth by imposing government regulation that oversaw all of the nation's commercial interests. It was believed national strength could be maximized by import substitution, limiting imports via tariffs and maximizing exports, thereby collecting precious metals, such as gold and silver.
- Mercantilism replaced the older, feudal economic system in Western Europe, leading to one of the first occurrences of political oversight and control over an economy.
- At the time, England, the centre of the British Empire, was small and contained relatively few natural resources. Thus, to grow England's wealth, England introduced fiscal policies, including the Sugar Act and Navigation Acts, to move colonists away from foreign products and create another incentive for buying British goods.
- The French, Spanish and Portuguese competed with the British for wealth and colonies. It was thought that no great nation could exist and be self-sufficient without colonial resources.
- Economic health of a nation could be assessed by the amount of precious metal, gold or silver it owned.
- Mercantilism led to the adoption of enormous trade restrictions, though, which stunted the growth and freedom of colonial business.



### Liberalism

- The philosophy emerged in the later 17<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of middle class against the privilege by birth ie. Nobility and Absolute monarchy.
- The ideology believes in the private property, individual rights, consent of the governed and social & political equality.
- This was one of the foundational principle of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the American Revolution of 1776 and the French revolution of 1789.
- By the 19 century this became the basis of Nation's wealth eg- Britain and France etc. Since the second half of 19th century it was the prime motivating factor behind the rise of small but ambitious Nations and their transformation into Empires. The new wave of colonialism by the end of 19th century was the result of this ideology which ultimately lead to the wars of 20th century.

### Libertarianism

- It is an extreme form of liberalism which gives individual Liberty far more Emphasis than liberalism. It seeks to maximize the political freedom, autonomy and individual freedom.
- It advocates minimum government or social security programs and according to it, the main driver of society is individual judgement rather than collective judgement.

### Capitalism

- Based on liberalism, ie private ownership of the means of production. The guiding force of capitalism is profit and reinvestment of profit.
- It came to the forefront of the World system in the Industrial Revolution and dominated the Nations politics in the 19th century.
- Karl Marx criticized Capitalism for being oppressive and against the labour theory of value and alienates the labour. He described capitalism as nothing but the dictatorship of Bourgeoisie.
- Vladimir Lenin describes Capitalism as the originator of Imperialism (ie. " Imperialism is the highest form of Capitalism"). In order to produce more that is in the search of raw material and markets, countries compared to acquire colonies and resort to imperialism.

- In 19th century, this Capitalist competition group fierce and led to the unification of Italy and Germany, which in turn grew into far more fiercer Imperialist competition and led to the World Wars.

### **Consumerism**

An economic order which grew out of capitalism where acquisition of goods and services that is consumption is promoted by producer via advertisement etc. The consumers rate their quality of life on the basis of their own consumption pattern (ie. " Consumption for the sake of it")

### **Democracy**

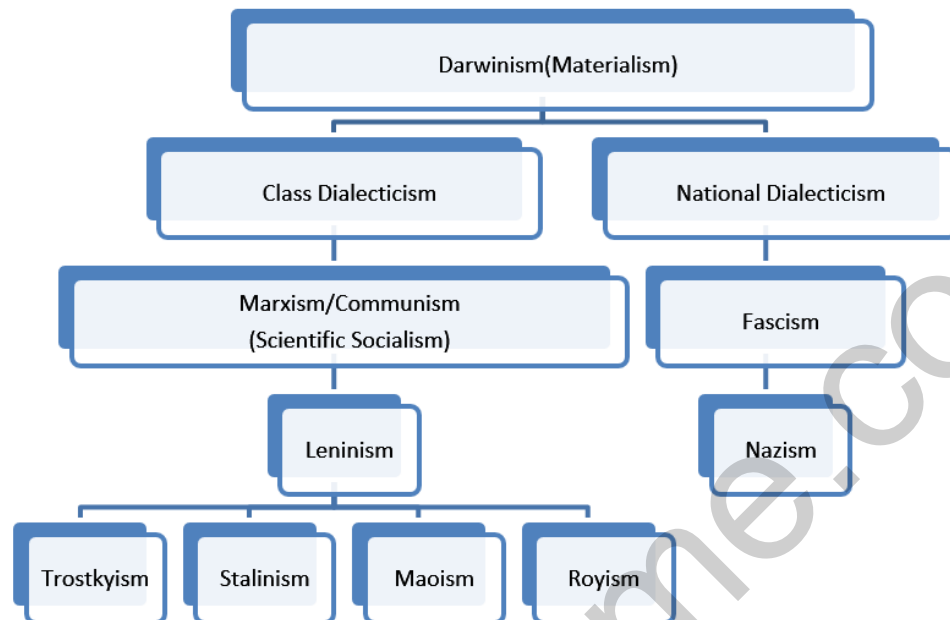
- System where citizens choose their own representatives to Govern, ie equal political rights.
- This ideology came from Humanism of the Enlightenment, ie from the rejection of the theory of divine rights.
- In 18th century it became a major force of change and manifested itself in the American and French Revolutions along with Republicanism.
- In 19th century it was considered as sister ideology of Socialism, however, by the end of 19th century this ideology was accepted by liberalism/ capitalism instead, to maintain order and a safety valve against the chaos of Socialism/Communism.
- Due to the extreme ideological basis of Socialism/ Communism, by the mid-20th century, Democracy was seen as an anti-thesis of these ideologies.

### **Socialism**

- System which advocates the Social ownership and the democratic control of the means of production. Ownership maybe public, cooperative or collective. Public ownership varies from State ownership to Citizen Ownership via equity.
- Socialism allows more and more control by labour or say of labour in the means of production (eg- trade union). However socialism do not prescribe any exact path to achieve it (unlike Communism). Fabian socialism hopes that it can be achieved by negotiation and collaboration, hence called by Marx as Utopian socialism.

### **Republicanism**

System of government where the Sovereign is elected by the citizen. The revolution of America was based on it, whereas the turn of events made French Revolution a Republican one. Till the end of 19th century, term Republicanism was equivalent to the modern day "terrorism", due to the fact that majority of states were monarchy.



### Hegelian dialectic

An idea called 'thesis' is contradicted by another conflicting Idea called 'anti thesis'. The 'syntheses' of both the ideas takes the society forward. Therefore it is the conflict of Ideas which is the main force behind social advancement.

### Darwinism

- In the context of this study, Darwinism means that society (or species) moves forward on the basis of the struggle between its components. Buy this struggle the changes occur.
- Karl Marx took forward this idea and contradicted Hegel's concept of the 'struggle of ideas' and suggested 'struggle for material', ie. Society transforms not on the basis of Ideas but on the basis of existing material condition.

### Class dialecticism

Marx suggested that in all Social systems, it is the different classes who struggle against each other eg- slaves versus slave-owners in the Slave mode of production, serfs versus feudal Lords in the Feudal mode of production. In Capitalism the two struggling classes are bourgeoisie (businessman, ie. Owners of the mode of production) and proletariat (workers or labour class)

### Marxism

- Emancipation of proletariat by a bloody Revolution to form a new classless society.
- 3 stages of revolution-
  - i. Dictatorship of bourgeoisie (capitalism)
  - ii. Bloody revolution (dictatorship of proletariat)
  - iii. The classless society

- Internationalism, ie workers of the world have common interests and nothing to lose, therefore, they must unite to have a World revolution, in process, abolishing the National boundaries.
- Control of the 'modes of production' by the workers (public) not by collaboration (utopian socialism) but by a Revolution (scientific socialism) ie. Class Struggle instead of Class Collaboration.

### **Leninism**

- The workers alone are not capable to overthrow the Capitalist class, therefore, the revolution would be guided by a party (Vanguard party)
- Conceptualized the revolution as 'dictatorship of proletariat' and the use of terror in social transformation.
- National/ cultural self-determination to the people.
- 'Imperialism is the highest form of Capitalism', therefore, any Imperial war should be boycotted.
- Leninism is also called Bolshevism.

### **Trotskyism**

- Leon trotsky was the proponent of the Permanent Revolution, ie. no need for mandatory industrialisation before Communism.
- World revolution, ie the revolution should not be confined into a single country.

### **Stalinism**

- Socialism in one country, ie a Country should first go through Revolution and should establish Communism inside its own territory. Only after strengthening of Communism in that country, the Revolution should be passed on to other countries.
- Two stage theory (against Permanent Revolution) ie. Country must pass through industrialisation before achieving Communism.
- Subordination of Communist of other countries to the Communist Party of Russia.
- To increase the agricultural surplus he introduced collectivization of agriculture.

### **Maoism**

- Peasants of Colonies (or otherwise) are the original proletariat and therefore they (not industrial workers) are most fit for the Revolution. Mao included peasants for the first time in the theory of Communism, whom Marx declared unfit for the revolution due to holding the property.
- Abolition of bourgeoisie ideology, ie Cultural Revolution.
- Permanent Revolution, ie no Two stage theory.

### **National dialecticism**

- In the 19th century, the concept emerges that there are two types of nation in Europe. The bourgeoisie Nations, who already had attained colonies, like Britain and France. The Proletariat Nations, who are left behind in this process, like Germany and Italy.
- The theory of national dialecticism was the basis of letter struggles between these Nations.

**Fascism**

- Fascism rejects socialism and democracy in favour of an authoritarian political and economic system, dominated by a single leader.
- Subordination of entire Nation, individuals and resources for the national cause.
- Path of the nation is to be identified by a National leader.
- Fascism is the struggle of a proletariat Nation, therefore emphasizes on acquiring colonies
- It advocates extreme/ultra-Nationalism and opposed to the doctrine of Internationalism, therefore, finds itself contradictory to the theory of Communism.
- It emphasises on extreme militaristic nationalism, contempt for electoral democracy and political and cultural liberalism, a belief in natural social hierarchy and the rule of elites.

**Nazism**

- The Nazis called their ideology National Socialism, revolved around an all-powerful leader, a strong state, intense nationalism, a focus on militarism and military strength, the subordination of the individual to national interests and purity of race.
- The Nation is identified with a race instead of territory.
- Nazism sought to repair German supremacy by restoring the economy, putting the unemployed to work, reviving industrial production, rearming the military and ignoring foreign treaties.
- It believes in traditional 19th century values of authoritarian government, social conservatism and Christian beliefs, reinforcing these in rhetoric and propaganda.
- The Nazis desired strong government and extensive state power. They believed that government could not function effectively if it lacked the means to impose itself on society and enforce its policies. State power should have few limits and could extend into all aspects of political, social and cultural life.
- Both Nazism and fascism considered themselves a 'third way', an alternative to both democracy and socialism and forever remained against both.
- The obsession with Eugenics and race separated Nazi ideology from fascism. Nazi belief of 'master race' made it far more evil.



### 3. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The American Enlightenment was a critical precursor of the American Revolution. Chief among the ideas of the American Enlightenment were the concepts of Natural Law, Natural Rights, Consent of the Governed, Individualism, Property Rights, Self-Ownership, Self-Determination, liberalism, Republicanism and fear of corruption. Collectively, the acceptance of these concepts by a growing number of American colonists began to foster an intellectual environment which would lead to a new sense of political and social identity.

During 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries England, France, Holland, and Spain all restricted their colonies' foreign trade. Subsidies and other assistance was employed to encourage the colonies to produce raw materials, while their right to produce manufactured goods that would compete with those produced by the mother country was restricted.

Navigation laws were common in mercantilist nations. These limited to native (citizens of mother country and its colonies) ships the right to bring goods into (imports) or take goods from (exports). This was expected to increase the size of the nation's merchant marine and earn additional specie (gold and silver) through the selling of shipping services.

#### **British Mercantilism- The Navigation Acts**

Mercantilist regulation in the thirteen English colonies of America began in the 1620s, when steps were taken to prevent the importation into Britain of tobacco from Spanish and Dutch colonies. In the 1650s and 1660s the British Parliament passes a set of Navigation Acts. Foreign built or owned ships were forbidden to trade with the colonies, and ships that did engage in this trade must have crews, 3/4<sup>th</sup> of whose members were British (from Great Britain or British North America).

Various colonial exports were enumerated, that is, these goods had to be shipped to Britain, from which, if they were destined for other nations, they would be re-exported. This profited shippers and merchants in Great Britain. Colonial imports had to ship through Great Britain. This made it easier for the British to collect import duties.

In addition to benefiting Great Britain, these Acts were designed to injure the Dutch. In 1651, Holland declared war on Great Britain in order to get a 1651 Navigation Act repealed. It failed. Nonetheless, the Dutch maintained their maritime and commercial supremacy until well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Although the Navigation Acts did lead to a larger British merchant marine and increased its maritime trade, as Adam Smith pointed out, they imposed a cost on British consumers.

These and other mercantilist policies provided some benefits to the colonies. Protection from foreign competition helped New England's ship building industry. South Carolina benefited from an indigo subsidy. North Carolina benefited from bounties on tar, pitch, turpentine, and lumber. Various colonial exporters benefited when they exported to Britain because competing goods from foreign nations were subject to tariffs theirs were not.

On the other hand, colonists paid more than they otherwise would have for imports from foreign countries because they had to be shipped through Great Britain. (Tariffs levied on foreign goods, but not colonial goods, meant that British citizens paid more for imports than they otherwise would.) They paid more, too, for imported manufactured goods because they had to come through Britain.

Southern planters, particularly rice and tobacco planters, bore much of the burden imposed by the requirement that the colonies' goods be exported to foreign nations via Great Britain, because most Southern exports went there, while smaller shares of the other two regions' exports went there. New Englanders often evaded this cost through trading with foreign countries illegally.

### **The Seven Years War**

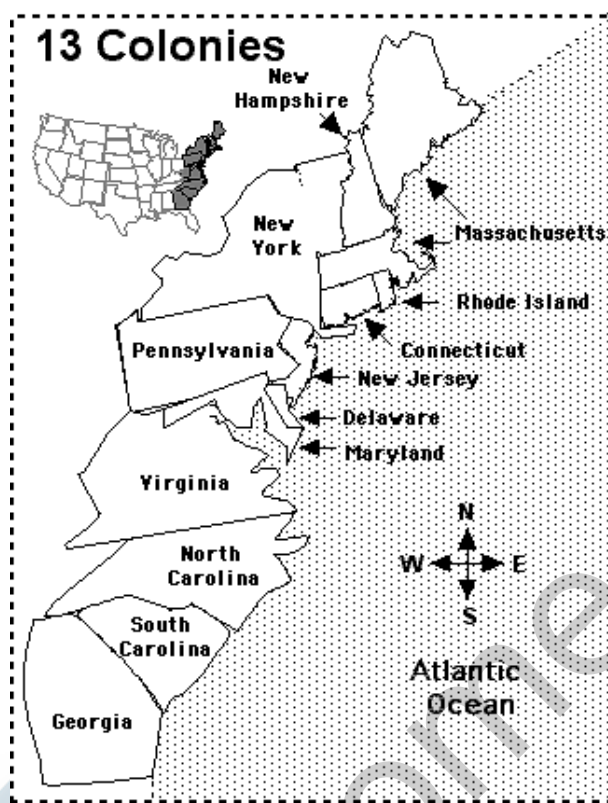
The War of the Austrian Succession was expensive for all sides. The combatants needed to recharge and reload. The European powers ambitiously spread across the globe, hungry for more land and resources.

Spain, Great Britain and France were competing for dominance in North America, South America, the Philippines and India. France had holdings in Canada and Louisiana. It aspired to connect them by taking control of the Ohio Valley. Spain held Florida and other parts of southern North America. Great Britain had its colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. It wished to expand into the west but needed to pass through the French territories to get there.

The North American conflict is remembered as 'the French and Indian War' (In America) by the colonists because it involved Britain facing down the French and their Native American allies. Because of France's large borders and relatively small navy, it preferred to keep most of its troops at home and utilize allies abroad. French trappers and explorers had assimilated with Native American society. They readily joined together against the threat of the British.

Great Britain, with its naval might, could bring greater manpower to the New World. France countered with tactics and local knowledge of geography, multiplying its force. The British relied on their colonists and promised them the right to expand westward when victory was achieved.

From 1756 to 1763, France and Great Britain battled over North America. All the European powers fought over trade, territory and treasure across the globe. At the conclusion, Prussia took control of neighbouring territory and eventually became modern Germany. England won most of North America and India. Spain controlled New Orleans and parts of North America to the west. France was left with some of its Caribbean and African colonies.



Enforcement of the Navigation Acts was not very effective until 1763, and it was after enforcement tightened that interest in gaining independence heightened. **1763 marked a turning point in the relationship between Britain and the colonies. Until then, the perceived benefits of Empire membership exceeded perceived costs.** After 1763, both the colonists and the English became increasingly dissatisfied with the relationship. England had just emerged victorious in a long war with France. However, the war left Britain with a huge public debt and a growing conviction that the colonies must bear a greater share of the cost of maintaining the Empire. Because effective rates of taxation in England were many times higher than tax rates in the colonies, the English believed it was appropriate to raise revenues via a series of new taxes on the colonies and reformed colonial administrative practices to better enforce new and existing taxes.

Prior to the war, Parliament barely acknowledged the American colonists, treating them with a policy of **Salutary Neglect**. As long as the colonies exported cheap raw materials to Britain and imported finished goods from Britain, Britain was quite happy to leave them alone. After the war, though, the situation was radically different. By the end of the Seven Years' War, the British national debt had climbed over 100 million pounds, hundreds of thousands of which had been used to protect the British colonies in America.

### 1760

- This ends most fighting in North America between France and Great Britain in the French and Indian War (Seven Years War).
- King George II of Great Britain dies (October 25) and is succeeded by his grandson George III.

## 1763

- The Treaty of Paris (February 10) formally ends the French and Indian War. France cedes most of its territories in North America to Great Britain, but Louisiana west of the Mississippi River is ceded to Spain.
- Previously allied with France, Native American tribes in the Great Lakes region resist the policies of the British under Amherst. **Pontiac's Rebellion** begins, lasting until 1766. The powerful Ottawa chief Pontiac, who had no intention of allowing land-hungry whites to steal more tribal lands, united many of the tribes in the volatile Ohio Valley and led a series of raids on British forts and American settlements. British forces eventually squashed Pontiac's Rebellion. As a conciliatory gesture toward the Native Americans, Parliament issued the **Proclamation of 1763**, forbidding American colonists to settle on Native American territory unless native rights to the land had first been obtained by purchase or treaty.
- **Proclamation of 1763**- With France defeated, the colonists were ready to expand towards the west. Yet King George did not think he could protect pioneers from the Native American population. He signed the Proclamation of 1763, prohibiting expansion west of the Appalachian Mountains. Westward expansion was firmly in the minds of every colonist fighting the French in the Ohio Valley. Keeping the colonists from that land was seen as betrayal. The British Crown spent vast amounts of money and resources to win the war. It had new territory to develop and defend for which it needed money. Also the home country (Britain) felt that it had saved American colonists from the French danger, therefore, the money to defend the colonies should come from colonies only.

## 1764

- The Sugar Act (April 5), intended to raise revenues, and the Currency Act (September 1), prohibiting the colonies from issuing paper money, are passed by Parliament. The French and Indian War also motivated Parliament to end the age of salutary neglect. Prime Minister George Grenville began enforcing the old Navigation Acts in 1764, passed the Sugar Act to tax sugar, and passed the Currency Act to remove paper currencies (many from the French and Indian War period) from circulation. The Sugar Act was the first fully enforced tax levied in America solely for the purpose of raising revenue. Americans throughout the thirteen colonies cried out **"no taxation without representation"** and made informal nonimportation agreements of certain British goods in protest.
- Parliament also passed the Stamp Act, which placed a tax on printed materials, and the Quartering Act, which required Americans to house and feed British troops. These Acts, coming during the economic slump that followed the French and Indian War, are resented by the colonists and lead to protests. The Stamp Act declared that those who failed to pay the tax would be punished by the vice-admiralty courts without a trial by jury. Colonists were particularly incensed because the Stamp Act was passed in order to pay for the increased British troop present in the colonies. Not only did the colonists feel that the troop presence was no longer necessary, they also feared that the troops were there to control them. This military presence, combined with the vice-admiralty courts and Quartering Act, made the Americans very suspicious of Grenville's intentions.

## 1765

- To help defray the cost of keeping troops in America, Parliament enacts (March 22) the Stamp Act, imposing a tax on many types of printed materials used in the colonies. Seen as a violation of rights, the Act sparks violent demonstrations in several Colonies. Virginia's House of Burgesses adopts (May 29) the **Virginia Resolves** claiming that, under British law, Virginians could be taxed only by an assembly to which they had elected representatives. Delegates from nine colonies attend the **Stamp Act Congress** which adopts (October 19) a Declaration of Rights and Grievances and petitions Parliament and the king to repeal the Act.
- Parliament enacts (March 24) the Quartering Act (passed a year earlier), requiring the Colonies to provide housing, food, and other provisions to British troops. The act is resisted or circumvented in most of the colonies. In 1767 and again in 1769, Parliament suspended the Governor and legislature of New York for failure to comply.
- Other colonists took their protests to the streets. In Boston, a patriot group called the **Sons of Liberty** erected "liberty poles" to hang images of tax collectors and even tarred and feathered one minor royal official. People throughout the colonies also refused to import British goods. Homespun clothing became popular.

## 1766

- The British Parliament repeals (March 18) the unpopular Stamp Act of the previous year, but, in the simultaneous Declaratory Act, asserts its "full power and authority to make laws and statutes ... to bind the colonies and people of America ... in all cases whatsoever". The Declaratory Act proved far more damaging than the Stamp Act had ever been, because it emboldened Britain to feel that it could pass strict legislation freely, with few repercussions. It was during the aftermath of the Declaratory Act, from 1766 to 1773, that colonial resistance to the Crown intensified and became quite violent.
- Liberty Pole erected in New York City commons in celebration of the Stamp Act repeal (May 21). An intermittent skirmish with the British garrison over the removal of this and other poles, and their replacement by the Sons of Liberty, rages until the Province of New York is under the control of the revolutionary New York Provincial Congress in 1775.

## 1767

- Parliament passes the Townshend Acts, which levied another series of taxes on lead, paints, and tea known as the Townshend Duties. Named after Parliamentarian Charles Townshend, these acts included small duties on all imported glass, paper, lead, paint, and, most significant, tea. Hundreds of thousands of colonists drank tea daily and were therefore outraged at Parliament's new tax. Fuelled by their success in protesting the Stamp Act, colonists took to the streets again. **Non-importation agreements** were strengthened, and many shippers, particularly in Boston, began to import smuggled tea. Although initial opposition to the Townshend Acts was less extreme than the initial reaction to the Stamp Act, it eventually became far greater. The nonimportation agreements, for example, proved to be far more effective this time at hurting British merchants. Within a few years' time, colonial resistance became more violent and destructive.
- In the same series of acts, Britain passed the Suspension Act, which suspended the New York assembly for not enforcing the Quartering Act. To prevent violent protests,

Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson requested assistance from the British army, and in 1768, four thousand redcoats (British soldiers) landed in the city to help maintain order.

- In a **Circular Letter**, Samuel Adams argued that the Townshend Acts were unconstitutional because the colony of Massachusetts was not represented in Parliament. Adams maintained that Parliament's status as the supreme legislative body of the British Empire did not permit it to violate the British Constitution and the natural rights of the colonists.

### 1768

- Britain's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Hillsborough, orders colonial governors to stop their own assemblies from endorsing Adams' circular letter. By month's end, the assemblies of New Hampshire, Connecticut and New Jersey have endorsed the letter.
- In May, a British warship armed with 50 cannons sails into Boston harbour after a call for help from custom commissioners who are constantly being harassed by Boston agitators. After threats of violence from Bostonians, the customs officials escape to an island off Boston, then request the intervention of British troops.
- The governor of Massachusetts dissolves the general court after the legislature defies his order to revoke Adams' circular letter (Very much like Indian states of modern times, the Assembly was elected by people of colony whereas Governor was sent by British Government). In August, in Boston and New York, merchants agree to boycott most British goods until the Townshend Acts are repealed.
- At a town meeting in Boston, residents are urged to arm themselves. Later in September, English warships sail into Boston Harbour, then two regiments of English infantry land in Boston and set up permanent residence to keep order.

### 1770

- Britain had already dispatched 4,000 troops to Boston in 1768, a rather extreme move (considering that Boston had only about 20,000 residents at the time). Indeed, the troop deployment quickly proved a mistake, as the soldiers' presence in the city only made the situation worse. Bostonians, required to house the soldiers in their own homes, resented their presence greatly.

Tensions mounted until March 5, 1770, when a protesting mob clashed violently with British regulars, resulting in the death of five Bostonians. Although most historians actually blame the rock-throwing mob for picking the fight, Americans throughout the colonies quickly dubbed the event **the Boston Massacre**. This incident, along with domestic pressures from British merchants suffering from colonial nonimportation agreements, convinced Parliament to repeal the Townshend Acts. The tax on tea, however, remained in place as a matter of principle. This decision led to more violent incidents.

### 1772

- Samuel Adams organizes the **Committees of Correspondence**. The committees of correspondence were shadow governments organized by the Patriot leaders of the Thirteen Colonies on the eve of the American Revolution. They coordinated responses to England and shared their plans. By 1773 they had emerged as shadow governments, superseding the colonial legislature and royal officials. The committees became the leaders of the American resistance to British actions, and largely determined the war effort at the state

and local level. When Congress decided to boycott British products, the colonial and local committees took charge, examining merchant records and publishing the names of merchants who attempted to defy the boycott by importing British goods. The Committees of Correspondence proved invaluable in uniting colonists, distributing information, and organizing colonial voices of opposition.

### 1773

- Parliament passes **the Tea Act**, granting the financially troubled British East India Company an exclusive monopoly on tea exported to the American colonies. This act agitated colonists even further, although the new monopoly meant cheaper tea, many Americans believed that Britain was trying to dupe them into accepting the hated tax.
- In response to the unpopular act, tea agents in many American cities resigned or cancelled orders, and merchants refused consignments. In Boston, however, Governor Thomas Hutchinson resolved to uphold the law and ordered that three ships arriving in Boston Harbour be allowed to deposit their cargoes and that appropriate payment be made for the goods. This policy prompted about sixty men, including some members of the Sons of Liberty, to board the ships on the night of December 16, 1773 (disguised as Native Americans) and dump the tea chests into the water. The event became known as **the Boston Tea Party**.

The dumping of the tea in the harbour was the most destructive act that the colonists had taken against Britain thus far. The previous rioting and looting of British officials' houses over the Stamp Act had been minor compared to the thousands of pounds in damages to the ships and tea. Governor Hutchinson, angered by the colonists' disregard for authority and disrespect for property, left for England. The "tea party" was a bold and daring step forward on the road to outright revolution.

The Tea Party had mixed results: some Americans hailed the Bostonians as heroes, while others condemned them as radicals.

### 1774

- Parliament, very displeased, passed the Coercive Acts in 1774 in a punitive effort to restore order. Colonists quickly renamed these acts the **Intolerable Acts**. Numbered among these Intolerable Acts was the Boston Port Bill, which closed Boston Harbour to all ships until Bostonians had repaid the British East India Company for damages. The acts also restricted public assemblies and suspended many civil liberties. Strict new provisions were also made for housing British troops in American homes, reviving the indignation created by the earlier Quartering Act, which had been allowed to expire in 1770. Public sympathy for Boston erupted throughout the colonies, and many neighbouring towns sent food and supplies to the blockaded city.
- At the same time the Coercive Acts were put into effect, Parliament also passed the Quebec Act. This act granted more freedoms to Canadian Catholics and extended Quebec's territorial claims to meet the western frontier of the American colonies. In Quebec, English-speaking immigrants from Britain and the southern colonies objected to a variety of its provisions, which they saw as a removal of certain political freedoms. In the Thirteen Colonies, this act was seen as punishment for the Boston Tea Party and other protests. The provisions of the Quebec Act were seen by the colonists as a new model for British colonial administration, which would strip the colonies of their elected assemblies and as an effort to establish the Catholicism in the colony.

- The **First Continental Congress** meets (twelve colonies send delegates)

In response to the Intolerable Acts, delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies (Georgia chose not to attend) met at the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1774 to discuss a course of action. The delegates were all fairly prominent men in colonial political life but held different philosophical beliefs. Samuel Adams, John Adams, Patrick Henry, and George Washington were among the more famous men who attended.

Although rebellion against the Crown was at this point still far from certain, leaders believed grievances had to be redressed to Parliament and King George III. The delegates met for nearly two months and concluded with a written Declaration of Rights and requests to Parliament, George III, and the British people to repeal the Coercive Acts so that harmony could be restored.

The First Continental Congress marked an important turning point in colonial relations with Britain. Although some delegates still hoped for reconciliation, the decisions they made laid the foundations for revolt.

- Even though American colonial leaders had petitioned Parliament and King George III to repeal taxes in the past, never had they boldly denounced them until this point, when they claimed that Britain's actions had violated their natural rights and the principles of the English constitution.
- This appeal to **Natural Rights** above the king or God was ground breaking because it justified and even legalized colonial opposition to the Crown. It converted the riotous street mobs into people justly defending their freedoms. In other words, the Americans were not in the wrong for resisting British policy. Rather, Britain was to blame because it had attempted to strip Americans of their natural rights as human beings. Thomas Jefferson later extrapolated these legal appeals in the Declaration of Independence.
- The Continental Congress delegates decided that until the Coercive Acts were repealed, a stronger system of nonimportation agreements, including a new boycott of all British goods, should be organized and administered throughout the colonies. Patriotic colonists argued that the purchase of any British-produced goods, especially those goods made from American raw materials, only continue the submissive relationship the colonies had with London under the system of mercantilism. The Congress therefore created the **Committees of Observation and Safety** and gave them the task of making sure no citizens purchased British merchandise under the authority of the Continental Association.
- The Committees of Observation and Safety had a profound effect on American colonial life. As British officials shut down or threatened to shut down town legislatures and councils throughout the colonies, the committees often became de facto governments. Many established their own court systems, raised militias, legislated against Loyalist demonstrations, and eventually coordinated efforts with other observation committees in nearby communities. Also, most of these committees were democratically elected by community members and were thus recognized by patriotic colonists as legitimate supervisory bodies. Their creation and coordination helped spread revolutionary ideas and fervour to the countryside and later smoothed the transition to democracy after independence.
- The Congress also attempted to define the exact relationship Britain had with America and the degree to which Parliament could legislate. Although the Congress did not request home rule, it did claim that colonial legislatures should be entrusted with more responsibilities.



## 1775

- Colonial resentment toward Britain had become a desire for rebellion. Many cities and towns organized volunteer militias of “minutemen”, named for their alleged ability to prepare for combat within a minute, who began to drill openly in public common areas. A British commander dispatched troops to seize an arsenal of colonial militia weapons stored in Concord, Massachusetts. Militiamen from nearby Lexington intercepted them and opened fire. The British retreated to Boston after more than 270 in their unit were killed, compared to fewer than 100 Americans. The conflict became known as the **Battle of Lexington and Concord**.

The minutemen’s victory encouraged patriots to redouble their efforts and at the same time convinced King George III to commit military forces to crushing the rebellion. Almost immediately, thousands of colonial militiamen set up camp around Boston, laying siege to the British position. The battle initiated a chain of events, starting with the militia siege of Boston and the Second Continental Congress, which kicked the Revolutionary War.

- **The Second Continental Congress** was convened to decide how to handle the situation. Delegates from all thirteen colonies gathered once again in Philadelphia and discussed options. The desire to avoid a war was still strong, and in July 1775, delegate John Dickinson from Pennsylvania penned the **Olive Branch Petition** to send to Britain. All the delegates signed the petition, which professed loyalty to King George III and beseeched him to call off the troops in Boston so that peace between the colonies and Britain could be restored. George III eventually rejected the petition.
- Despite their issuance of the Olive Branch Petition, the delegates nevertheless believed that the colonies should be put in a state of defence against any future possible British actions. Therefore, they set aside funds to organize an army and a small navy. After much debate, they also selected George Washington to command the militia surrounding Boston, renaming it the Continental Army. Washington was a highly respected Virginian plantation owner, and his leadership would further unite the northern and southern colonies in the Revolution.
- The delegates’ hopes for acknowledgment and reconciliation failed in June 1775, when the **Battle of Bunker Hill** was fought outside Boston. Although the British ultimately emerged victorious, they suffered over 1,000 casualties, prompting British officials to take the colonial unrest far more seriously than they had previously. The engagement led King George III to declare officially that the colonies were in a state of rebellion. Any hope of reconciliation and a return to the pre-1763 status quo had vanished.
- New militias were formed throughout America, primarily to defend local communities from British aggression. Under the command of George Washington, Nathanael Greene, and the German Baron von Steuben, the collection of militiamen eventually became the Continental Army. The British believed, incorrectly, that if they arrested these men, the revolt would collapse and the minutemen would return to their homes. They failed to understand that a significant majority of Americans disliked British rule and desired something better. Historians estimate that the majority of eligible American men served at some point in the Continental Army, the militias, or both.
- By this time Americans were divided into many groups-

**Loyalists**- Although most Americans supported the decision to break away from Britain and declare independence, about one-third of the colonists did not. These Loyalists were heavily concentrated in the lower southern colonies but could also be found in concentrated pockets

throughout other regions, including the North. The Loyalists had several reasons for choosing to support Britain.

- Some, including many wealthy merchants, Anglican clergymen, and officials, disagreed with Parliament's policies but felt that it was not right to challenge British rule.
- Others were political conservatives who preferred the status quo.
- Many ethnic minorities, including blacks and Native Americans, also backed Britain, fearful that victorious white Americans would crush their rights.
- One hundred thousand Loyalists fled to Canada, England, and the West Indies before and during the war. Those who stayed faced persecution, especially in the northern colonies.

**Native Americans** were fearful of future American expansion into their lands, and the majority of tribes chose to support Britain. Thousands of Iroquois, Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, and other warriors joined forces with the British and coordinated independent raids on American arsenals and settlements along the western frontier. Most believed that the British were a sure bet and that the rebellious colonies stood almost no chance of winning. The ultimate British surrender was a huge loss for Native Americans, white settlers were already pushing westward, and after the war, they felt justified in their taking of native lands.

**African Americans**- Blacks, too, generally supported the British because an American victory would only keep them in bondage. Although roughly 5,000 blacks did serve in militias for the United States, most who had the opportunity chose to flee to British and Loyalist areas that promised freedom from slavery. Consequently, colonies both in north and south lost tens of thousands of slaves. To some degree, blacks fared better after the war than before. Faced with the somewhat embarrassing predicament of supporting the premise that "all men are created equal," as stated in the Declaration of Independence, while at the same time practicing human bondage, many states, such as Vermont, eventually abolished slavery. Other states legislated more gradual forms of emancipation. As a result, the number of free blacks in the United States skyrocketed into the tens of thousands by the end of the century. However, this issue was solved only after a Civil War fought after eight decades.

- Most **women**, fought the war at home. As more and more husbands and fathers left home to fight, more and more wives and mothers took to managing the farms and businesses. A majority of women helped by making yarn and homespun necessities such as socks and underwear, both to send to militiamen and to support the boycott of British goods. This raised their status in the new Nation formed after the War.

## 1776

- The radical English author and philosopher Thomas Paine helped turn American public opinion against Britain and solidify the emerging colonial unity with his January 1776 pamphlet **Common Sense**. It denounced King George III as a tyrannical "brute." Paine, reasoning that it was unnatural for the smaller England to dominate the larger collection of American states, called on Americans to unite and overthrow British rule so that they could usher in an era of freedom for humanity. Inspiring and easy to read, Common Sense stirred the hearts of thousands of Americans and persuaded many would-be Loyalists and fence-sitters to fight for independence. The pamphlet caused a huge sensation throughout the colonies and sold over 100,000 copies within a few months of its first printing.
- At a meeting of the Second Continental Congress, it was proposed that the American colonies should declare their independence from Britain. By this point, after the Battle of

Lexington and Concord, the Battle of Bunker Hill, and George III's rejection of the Olive Branch Petition, the thought of independence appealed to a majority of colonists. By July 2, 1776, the Continental Congress, with the support of twelve states (New York did not vote), decided to declare independence.

- Congress selected a few of its most gifted delegates, including Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson to draft a written proclamation of independence. Jefferson was chosen to be the committee's scribe and principal author, so the resulting **Declaration of Independence** was a product primarily of his efforts.
  - In his first draft, Jefferson also wrote against slavery, signifying that people were fundamentally equal regardless of race as well, but this portion was stricken from the final document.
  - The basis of the document was Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.
  - Jefferson argued that governments derived their power from the people, a line of reasoning that sprang from the writings of contemporary philosophers including Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Thomas Paine. Both had argued that people enter into a **Social Contract** with the body that governs them and that when the government violates that contract, the people have the right to establish a new government.
  - The Declaration of Independence thus established a new precedent for holding monarchies accountable for their actions.
  - Jefferson claimed that George III had conspired with others (other nations and Native Americans) against the colonists, restricted trade, imposed unjust taxes, forced American sailors to work on British ships, and taken military actions against Americans.

Jefferson's document was presented to the Congress on July 4, 1776. The thirteen states unanimously approved of the Declaration of Independence, and **The United States of America** was born.

### **The Revolutionary War (1775-83)**

It seemed clear that Britain would win. It had a large, well-organized land army, and the Royal Navy was unmatched on the sea. Many of the British troops in the Revolutionary War were veterans who had fought in the French and Indian War. On the other hand, the Americans had only a collection of undisciplined militiamen who had never fought before.

Nonetheless, the Americans believed that they did have a strong chance of success.

- Unlike the British, they were fighting on their home turf to protect their own homes and families.
- They were also fighting a popular war, a majority of the colonists were patriots who strongly supported the fight for independence.
- Although most Americans had no previous military experience, their militia units were usually close-knit bands of men, often neighbours, who served together in defence of their own homes.
- Their officers, usually men who did have some military training, knew the territory well.
- Geography also gave the Americans an advantage that proved to be a major factor in the war's outcome. To the British forces, the North American terrain was unusually rugged. New England was rocky and cold in winter, the South was boggy and humid in the summer, and the western frontier was almost impenetrable because of muddy roads and thick forests.

- In addition, because American settlements were spread out across a vast range of territory, the British had difficulty mounting a concentrated fight and transporting men and supplies.
- American troops, were used to the terrain and had little trouble.
- The distance between England and the United States put a great strain on Britain, which spent a great deal of time, energy, and money ferrying soldiers and munitions back and forth across the Atlantic.
- In 1777 at the Battle of Saratoga, the victory of American forces encouraged France to pledge its support for the United States in the Franco-American Alliance of 1778. A year later, Spain followed suit and also entered the war against Britain. Spain, hoping to see Britain driven out of North America, had tacitly supported the Americans by providing them with munitions and supplies since the beginning of the war. Their entry as combatants took pressure off the Americans, as Britain was forced to divert troops to fight the Spanish elsewhere. Finally, the Netherlands entered the war against Britain in 1780. This sealed the fate of British in American colonies.
- American popular support for War, especially after France and Spain entered the fray, remained high. The motivation for rebellion remained strong at all levels of society, not merely among American military and political leaders.
- Although the United States did not really “win” the war, there were no clearly decisive battles either way, it was able to survive long enough against the British to come to an impasse.
- Support in England for the war was low. In Parliament, many Whigs denounced the war as unjust. Eight years of their lobbying, combined with the Royal Army’s inability to win a decisive victory, fatigued the British cause and helped bring the Revolutionary War to an end.
- The concentrated war ended by 1781, however, scattered battles persisted until 1783, but the British, weary of the stalemate, decided to negotiate peace.

### **The Peace of Paris**

The war came to an official close in September 1783, when Britain, the United States, France, and Spain negotiated the Peace of Paris. The treaty granted vast tracts of western lands to the Americans and recognized the United States as a new and independent country. The last British forces departed New York in November 1783, leaving the American government in full control of the new nation.

### **Shay’s Rebellion (1786-87)**

It was an uprising in western Massachusetts in opposition to high taxes and stringent economic conditions. Armed bands forced the closing of several courts to prevent execution of foreclosures and debt processes. In September 1786 Daniel Shays and other local leaders led several hundred men in forcing the Supreme Court in Springfield to adjourn. Shays led a force of about 1,200 men in an attack on the federal arsenal at Springfield, which was repulsed. Pursued by the militia, on February 4 he was decisively defeated at Petersham and fled to Vermont.

As a result of the rebellion, the Massachusetts legislature enacted laws easing the economic condition of debtors, thereby contributing to the movement for the Constitutional Convention. Although it never seriously threatened the stability of the United States, Shays’ Rebellion greatly alarmed politicians throughout the nation. Proponents of constitutional reform at the national level cited the rebellion as justification for revision or replacement of the Articles of Confederation

(which had an extremely limited central government making it ineffective) by a stronger and conservative national government.

### **Constitutional Convention**

The original governing document of the United States was the Articles of Confederation, adopted by the Continental Congress in 1777 during the Revolutionary War, before the United States was officially a country. This structure laid out a weak national government and strong state governments. The national government could not tax, could not enforce laws it passed, and could not regulate commerce. These and other weaknesses, along with an increase in national feeling, led to the Constitutional Convention, which met from May to September 1787.

Five key compromises that helped make the U.S. Constitution become a reality.

#### **1. Great Compromise**

The Articles of Confederation under which the United States operated from 1781 to 1787 provided that each state would be represented by one vote in Congress. When changes were being discussed for how states should be represented during the creation of a new Constitution, two plans were pushed forward. The Virginia Plan provided for representation to be based on the population of each state. On the other hand, the New Jersey Plan proposed equal representation for every state. The Great Compromise, also called the Connecticut Compromise, combined both plans. It was decided that there would be two chambers in Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate would be based on equal representation for each state and the House would be based on population. This is why each state has two senators and varying numbers of representatives.

#### **2. Three-Fifths Compromise**

Delegates from Northern and Southern states saw another issue arise, how slaves should be counted. Delegates from Northern states, where the economy did not rely heavily on slavery, felt that slaves should not be counted toward representation because counting them would provide the South with a greater number of representatives. Southern states fought for slaves to be counted in terms of representation. The compromise between the two became known as the three-fifths compromise because every five slaves would be counted as three individuals in terms of representation.

#### **3. Commerce Compromise**

At the time of the Constitutional Convention, the North was industrialized and produced many finished goods. The South still had an agricultural economy. Additionally, the South imported many finished goods from Britain. Northern states wanted the government to be able to impose import tariffs on finished products to protect against foreign competition and encourage the South to buy goods made in the North and also export tariffs on raw goods to increase revenue flowing into the United States. However, the Southern states feared that export tariffs on their raw goods would hurt the trade upon which they heavily relied. The compromise mandated that tariffs were only to be only allowed on imports from foreign countries and not exports from the U.S. This compromise also dictated that interstate commerce would be regulated by the federal government. It also required that all commerce legislation be passed by a two-thirds majority in the Senate, which was a win for the South since it countered the power of the more populous Northern states.

#### **4. Slave Trade Compromise**

The issue of slavery ultimately did tear the Union apart, but 74 years before the start of the Civil War this volatile issue threatened to do the same during the Constitutional Convention when Northern and Southern states took strong positions on the issue. Those who opposed slavery in the Northern states wanted to bring an end to the importation and sale of slaves. This was in direct opposition to Southern states, which felt that slavery was vital to their economy and did not want the government interfering in the slave trade. In this compromise, Northern states, in their desire to keep the Union intact, agreed to wait until 1808 before Congress would be able to ban the slave trade in the U.S. (In March 1807, President Thomas Jefferson signed a bill abolishing the slave trade, and it took effect on Jan. 1, 1808.) Also part of this compromise was the fugitive slave law, which required Northern states to deport any runaway slaves, another win for the South.

#### **5. The Electoral College (Election of the President)**

The Articles of Confederation did not provide for a chief executive of the United States. Therefore, when delegates decided that a president was necessary, there was a disagreement over how he should be elected to office. While some delegates felt that the president should be popularly elected, others feared that the electorate would not be informed enough to make that decision. The delegates came up with other alternatives, such as going through each state's Senate to elect the president. In the end, the two sides compromised with the creation of the Electoral College, which is made up of electors roughly proportional to population. Citizens actually vote for electors bound to a particular candidate who then vote for the president.

## 4. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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*A monarchy that was despotic and weak, a corrupt and worldly church, a nobility increasingly parasitical, a bankrupt exchequer, and irritated bourgeois, and oppressed peasantry, financial, administrative and economic anarchy, a nation strained and divided by misgovernment and mutual suspicion.*- Lord Chesterfield

During the ten years of the Revolution, France first transformed and then dismantled the Ancient Regime (Old Order), the political and social system that existed in France before 1789, and replaced it with a series of different governments. Although none of these governments lasted more than four years, the many initiatives they enacted permanently altered France's political system. These initiatives included

- the drafting of several bills of rights and constitutions
- the establishment of legal equality among all citizens
- experiments with representative democracy
- the incorporation of the church into the state
- the reconstruction of state administration
- the law code.

Many of these changes were adopted elsewhere in Europe by choice or were imposed by the French army during the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1797) and the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815).

The Revolution broke out not because France was backward but because the country's economic and intellectual development was not matched by social and political change that was taking place in France. In the fixed order of the ancient regime most bourgeoisie were unable to exercise political and social influence in the state. King Louis XIV, by consolidating absolute monarchy had destroyed the roots of feudalism, yet outward feudal forms persisted and became increasingly burdensome.

### **Ancient Regime (Old Order)**

Generally it means any regime which includes the defining features such as: a feudal system under the control of a powerful absolute monarchy supported by the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings and the explicit consent of the established Church. The concept of Ancient Regime was used as an expression of disapproval for the way things were done, and carried an implied approval of a 'New Order'. The term was created by Enlightenment era authors to promote a new cause and discredit the existing order. Europe's other Ancient Regimes had similar origins, but diverse ends. Some gradually became constitutional monarchies, others were torn down by wars and revolutions.

Power in the Ancient Regime relied on three pillars

- The Monarchy
- The Clergy
- The Aristocracy.

The Society was divided into three classes known as estates

- The Clergy
- The Nobility
- The Commoners (everyone else).

### **Intellectual Fervour**

Philosophes For last one century preceding the Revolution, the Ancient Regime was undermined intellectually by the apostles of the Enlightenment. The philosophers were extremely critical of the Ancient Regime. In their writings, the French philosophers discredited the old order and generated optimism about the future.

Voltaire attacked the church and absolutism, Montesquieu made English constitutionalism fashionable and advocated the Theory of Separation of Powers, Rousseau promoted the Social Contract Theory through which he highlighted his concept of popular sovereignty. His influence on the French Revolution was more direct than any other philosopher. Denis Diderot and the Encyclopedists, through articles on various subjects attacked tradition and the Ancient Regime. Physiocrats advocated economic reform.

However, The French philosophers were not conscious advocates of violent revolution. Reason prompted them to attack the forces of superstition, ignorance and folly that continued and incompetent administration, a crushing financial system, a barbarous judicial procedure, religious cruelty, economic waste and confusion. In several ways the philosophers demonstrated the rottenness of the French institutions through satire and wit, criticism and comparison, analogy, sociological theory and downright abuse.

### Royal Absolutism

The politico-social system which existed in France for past few centuries was half way between feudalism and modernity. France was ruled by a powerful absolute monarch who relied on the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. This period of Absolutism in France reached its peak under Louis XIV.

The system of Ancient Regime culminated in the monarch where the King claimed to rule by the will of God and not by the consent of the people (Theory of the Divine Right of Kings). He was the chief legislators, executive and dispensers of justice. Heavy censorship, denial of freedom of speech and press, arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, exile or even execution was the hallmarks of the royal absolutism in France.

### **Social Conditions**

The French society comprising of around 25 million people was divided into three classes also known as the estates. The clergy constituted the first estate, the nobility, the second estate and the commoners, the third estate.

### Privileges of the Clergy and the Nobility

The clergy and the nobility comprised one per cent of the total population of France on the eve of the French Revolution of 1789. These two estates being the privileged classes enjoy following privileges

- Owned most of the land in France
- Collected special feudal and church dues from the commoners
- Were exempted from most of the taxes
- Were the friends and ministers of the King
- Were granted special favours while administering the law.

**The clergy** of the Roman Catholic Church was rich and powerful. The higher clergy was comprised of the archbishops, bishops and the abbots. They lived luxuriously in their palaces



and monasteries. The Church owned nearly a fifth of the land in France. The Church land yielded a large amount of revenue. In addition, the clergy collected tithes (One-tenth of the total produce) on agricultural products. A large part of the Church income went to the higher clergy numbering around five to six thousand. On the other hand, the large number of the lower clergy, who did the real work were deprived of many of the privileges enjoyed by the higher clergy. While the higher clergy belonged to the nobility, the lower clergy usually came from the third estate.

**The nobility** of France occupied a peculiar position in the French society. It was no longer the landed nobility of the feudal days, neither were they nobility of office. They merely claimed their position by virtue of their birth and enjoyed certain privileges. About a thousand of them lived at Versailles as courtiers. The country nobles lived on their estates in the provinces. The new nobles were not nobles of birth but men from the middle class who had grown rich and purchased the privileges of the nobility of the birth. The nobles had lost all political power. They either entered the army or the church. Important public offices like ambassadors were reserved for them. A majority of the nobles had no lands and derived their income from their old feudal rights. They were exempted from the bulk of the taxes. The nobility as a whole enjoyed one special privilege which was a serious and unnecessary injury to the peasants.

#### Parelements

The French Parlements were high courts of great antiquity. They had the power to review the judgments given in the inferior courts. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, there were thirteen such parlements in France. Each parlement consisted of rich magistrates whose office had become hereditary in course of time. Parlements claimed and exercised certain political powers. They had the right of registering royal edicts and ordinances. They could defer the registration and thereby bring pressure on the King.

The legal system in France was full of confusion. There was no uniform law for the whole country. Different laws were in force in different part of the country. The laws were cruel and unjust. Severe punishments were prescribed for ordinary offences. There was no regular criminal procedure. Arbitrary arrest and imprisonment were common. Thus, the common people in France suffered due to lack of uniform laws and arbitrary administration of justice. There was no guarantee of personal liberty.

**Underprivileged Commoners** were below the two privileged classes (clergy and nobility), known as the third estate. The third estate was sub-divided into the bourgeoisie (middle class), the artisans and the peasants. The bourgeois comprised of lawyers, physicians, teachers, merchants, bankers, manufacturers and men of literature. Many of them were rich, intelligent, energetic, educated and well to do. This class especially resented the existing political and social conditions in France.

Belonging to the third estate, but beneath the bourgeois were the artisans living in towns and cities. They were comparatively a smaller class as the industrial life in France was not yet highly developed. These artisans were usually organized in guilds. The peasants formed the majority of the third estate. France was an agricultural country. Thus, more than ninety per cent of the population was peasants. About a million of the peasants were serfs. The rest were free men, but they were all discontented against the existing system of the government and social organization. The burden of the society was on their shoulder. Nearly the entire revenue of the government was raised from the third estate. The peasants paid nearly 55% in taxes of what they produced

or earned. The peasants paid taxes to the state, tithes to the Church, and feudal dues to the nobles. The peasants paid tolls to the nobles for the use of the roads and bridges in their estates. **The peasants** also paid indirect taxes like the gabelle (salt tax), excise duty, taille (property tax), customs duties, etc. The feudal dues include corvee (forced labour) of two or three days and contribution in kind. A large number of the peasants who knew nothing of the statecraft and who were ignorant of the destructive and subversive theories of Voltaire and Rousseau were quite aware of the necessity of reforms by the hard circumstances of their miserable lives. They felt that the feudal dues should be abolished, and that the excessive taxes of the state should be reduced. Thus, the third estate desired a change in the government, society and economic conditions. The large and growing middle class and some of the nobility and the working class had absorbed the ideology of equality and freedom of the individual.

### **Louis XIV (1643-1715)**

France attained the height of glory under Louis XIV. He was known as the Sun King. In order to manifest his power and glory, Louis XIV led the nation in dangerous and expensive wars against his neighbours and undertook construction of magnificent buildings to beautify the capital city of Paris. Thus, his expensive wars and lavish style of living weakened France financially as well as politically. Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch left a legacy of financial bankruptcy for his successors.

### **Louis XV (1715-1774)**

Louis XV displayed an apathy and indifference to the affairs of the state. He was concerned primarily with the pursuit of pleasure and all his life he sought to escape from boredom. Thus, he tried to seek happiness in mad and vicious rounds of pleasure, in hunting, in gambling, in lust, in moving his court from one Palace to another. He also followed a disastrous foreign policy that culminated in the humiliation of the Seven years' War (1756-63). His government became increasingly inefficient which was controlled by his mistresses. His enormous court incurred heavy expenditure on the state treasury.

To his successor he left a heritage of military defeat, financial bankruptcy, Parliamentary opposition and intellectual resistance to the existing political and social regime. The legacy of Louis XV to his countrymen was an ill-governed, discontented, frustrated France. Viewed from a distance, the Ancient Regime appeared as solid as the Bastille, but its walls were crumbling for lack of repairs and the foundations showed signs of giving way. The absolute monarchy, the privileged nobles, the intolerant church, the close corporation parlements, had all become unpopular, and the army once the glory of France, was tarnished in the Seven Years War. Though there was little thought of republicanism, the mystique of monarchy had almost evaporated.

### **Louis XVI (1774-93)**

He became the king of France at the age of twenty. The new king was an honest and energetic young man who tried to attend to the state affairs. But he tried to avoid difficulties and lacked the capacity to enforce his own judgment. His irresolution made him a blind follower of his advisors, particularly his Queen Marie Antoinette (daughter of Austrian Empress). She did not understand the temperament of the French people and the spirit of the times. She was extravagant, proud, impatient and fond of pleasure. She was the centre of a group of greedy persons, who were opposed to all reforms.

Under Louis XV and Louis XVI, the French administrative system became thoroughly inefficient and corrupt. Ministers were appointed on the basis of their noble birth or favouritism and not

because of ability or merit. This led inefficiency and corruption in the administration. Various departments of the administration had ill-defined and overlapping jurisdictions. There was neither a representative assembly nor a written constitution to limit the authority of the administrators. Conflict of jurisdiction and rivalries among the administrators, the absence of an executive head in their own midst to formulate long-term policies and projects, overlapping non-differentiated departments and tradition of graft and irresponsible, high-handed procedures taxed the patience of even the most conscious and determined servant of the state.

### **Economic problems and reforms**

Among the direct causes of the French Revolution was a massive financial crisis caused by the enormous debt, government's lavish spending and the antiquated system of taxation, which brought little money to the national treasury. The existing tax system had placed the greatest tax burden on the shoulders of the third estate and virtually ignored the first two estates of their responsibilities. Successive attempts at reforming the system proved fruitless in the face of opposition from the clergy and the nobility.

- a. Bankruptcy of the French Government The French government faced bankruptcy of the worst type. The successive Kings used to manage their fiscal affairs by increasing the burden of the ancient and unequal system of taxes, by borrowing money, and sometimes by selling noble titles and other privileges. However, noble titleholders were exempted from further taxes. On the eve of the Revolution, France was deeply in debt and was on the brink of bankruptcy. These were compounded by heavy expenditure on the Seven Years War (1756-63) and the American War of Independence (1776-83). The empty national treasury was the spark that set the French Revolution of 1789 in motion.
- b. Heavy Taxes Unlike the trading nations, France could not rely solely on tariffs to generate income. While average tax rates were higher in Britain, the burden on the common people was greater in France. Taxation in France relied on a system of internal tariffs separating the regions in France, which prevented a unified market from developing in the country.
- c. Failure of Economic Reforms During the regimes of Louis XV (1715-74) and Louis XVI (1774-93) different finance ministers were appointed to improve the financial condition of France.

Meanwhile, the government expenditure began to increase whereas its income from taxation lagged behind. The economic boom was like a bubble which burst very soon. France had reached a state of virtual bankruptcy. No one was ready to lend funds to the King which would be sufficient to meet the expenses of the government and the court. Calonne presented a secret memorandum to Louis XVI in which he laid down a comprehensive plan of reform. Louis XVI reluctantly gave Calonne his support to summon an Assembly of Notables in February 1787 to address the financial situation as he was certain that the Parlement of Paris would never approve his reform proposals.

Calonne appeared before the Assembly of Notables, read an indictment of the Ancient Regime and then presented his reform proposals.

- i. the abolition of corvee (forced labour)
- ii. abolition of internal customs
- iii. permission for free grain trade within France
- iv. extension of the system of provincial assemblies throughout France
- v. decreasing the burden of taille (property tax) and gabelle (salt tax)
- vi. transformation of the Bank of Discount into a State Bank

- vii. Proposal to impose land tax payable by all propertied persons whether the clergy, nobility or the commoners.

### **Economic Policies**

The American Revolution added another 1.5 billion to 2.0 billion livres to the exploding national debt. By 1789 the government was spending half its budget on debt servicing. Louis's finance ministers sought to stop the coming tide of bankruptcy, while other ministers sought reforms in the administration.

- From 1774 to 1776, Finance Minister **Jacques Turgot** tried to increase revenues by expanding the economy.
  - On the subject of finances his mind was made up. In the first place he intended to follow a policy of strict economy, i.e. No bankruptcy, no new taxes and no loans.
  - By rigid economy, Turgot effected satisfactory savings for the treasury.
  - In 1774 he abolished all government regulations related to the purchase and sale of grain and allowed full freedom in inter-provincial grain trade and encouraged new manufacturing by suppressing the guilds. However, shortage of grains added to the failure of this experiment. Fear of famine brought disorder and there was an increase in grain prices. This resulted in widespread disturbances which came to be known as the '**Grain War**', which had to be severely put down.
  - He also proposed to introduce the **principle of tax equality**. Through this proposal he suggested that the privileged classes also should be taxed in order to raise additional revenue for the state. The reform proposal concerning the guilds intended to destroy their monopolies and restore the natural law of free competition. By doing away with the guilds, Turgot wanted to liberate the industry, advance commercial development, lower prices and allow the artisans the enjoyment of their natural right to labour.

The proposed Reform Edicts of Turgot met with severe opposition from the Parlement of Paris. Turgot and the King had to face opposition and hostility from most powerful groups and privileged classes such as guilds, parlements and Court favourites.

- King soon dismissed Turgot and appointed **Jacques Necker** (1776-81), as the Director General of Finance to streamline the tax-collection system and reorganize the treasury. The administrative reforms of Necker were sound, though hardly sufficient as a remedy.
  - However like Turgot, Necker was **forced to borrow additional money** at increasingly ruinous interest rates.
  - In 1781 Necker published the *Compte rendu*, a doctored account of state finances, to reassure the state's creditors about the regime's financial health.
  - He suggested the reduction of many of the unnecessary offices, simplified the accounting system and began to limit the functions of the revenue farmers by taking over the collection of several of the taxes.
  - France under him took loans of several million livres without increasing taxes during the years of the war. However, later he was forced to raise loans to pay the interest charges on the earlier loans. This led to the financial crisis.

As the financial situation went out of control, Necker had no other option but to suggest that the privileged classes must be taxed. Soon Necker was also dismissed.

- **Charles Calonne**, succeeded him in 1783. Calonne sought to expand tax revenues by **stimulating the economy through additional state expenditures**.
  - Calonne believed that the best remedy for financial ailments of France was the restoration of the confidence of the people in the government and emphasized that the best way to restore the public confidence was to **give the appearance of prosperity**.
  - Thus, Calonne expanded the credit of the government by borrowing heavily from the capitalists. During his tenure of three years he borrowed a huge amount of money.
  - The greater part of the funds went to meet the outstanding indebtedness and to promote public works. Thus, an artificial prosperity set in a boom period in France.
  - Whatever its economic effects, Calonne's spending spree worsened the debt crisis, and he had to consider additional taxes, among other measures.
  - By this time, however, the French public viewed such initiatives as signs of impending despotism.
  - To overcome resistance in the Paris parlement, Calonne sought to win prior approval of his plans by an Assembly of Notables, composed of nobles and high church officials hand-picked for the occasion. Meeting in early 1787, the notables approved parts of his general plan, but not the tax increases.
- Calonne left office and was replaced by **Lomenie de Brienne**, whose own reform plan did no better with the notables.
  - The notables were dismissed in May 1787, and Brienne tried to deal directly with the Paris parlement. But negotiations eventually broke down.
  - To resolve the impasse, the monarchy stripped the parlements of their political powers in May 1788.
  - The only result was an outpouring of support for the parlements and rising demand for a meeting of the Estates-General to consider the disintegrating condition of the state.
- In August, Brienne was fired, Necker recalled, and the Estates-General summoned to meet in Versailles.

### **Assembly of Notables**

The members of the Assembly of Notables felt that by approving Calonne's reform proposals they themselves would put an end to their social supremacy, destroy their fiscal privileges and agree to a sweeping reform of the entire political, social and economic structure of France. The resistance to Calonne's proposed reforms was so much that Louis XVI was forced to dismiss him. The economic and financial problems of France were compounded by a great scarcity of food in the 1780s. Crop failure in the 1780s caused these shortages, which led to a steep increase in the price of the bread. The bread crisis was one of the chief causes that led to the mob of Paris to initiate the Revolution of 1789.

As the bankruptcy of the state was beyond anybody's control, the King was advised to summon the defunct Estates General in order to bring about a solution to the economic crisis of the country. Louis XVI, hoping to get support for his tax proposals, agreed to summon the estates General. The meeting of the Estates general on 5th May 1789, and subsequent events brought about the Revolution of 1789 in France.

### **Estates-General**

The Estates-General was a consultative assembly composed of representatives from the three French estates, or legally defined social classes i.e. clergy, nobility, and commoners. It had last been convened in 1614. The king hoped that the Estates General might pull the state out of the deplorable situation and that it might help in replenishing the empty treasury.

Cahiers- During the early months of 1789, the three estates prepared for the coming meeting by selecting deputies and drawing up cahiers des doléances (lists of grievances). These lists reflected overwhelming agreement in favor of limiting the power of the king and his administrators through a constitution and establishing a permanent legislative assembly.

The Estates General met at Versailles on 5th May 1789. It constituted of 285 nobles, 308 clergy and 621 representatives of the third estate elected by all men of 25 years and above whose names appeared in the tax registry. Previously, each of the three estates had an equal number of delegates and each estate used to meet separately. Each estate had one vote for deciding any issue. In this way the privileged classes used to combine to outvote the third estate, which constituted more than 90 percent of the population.

### **National Assembly**

Being aware of its strength, the third Estate demanded that each deputy should cast one vote in a single chamber composed of all three estates. This method would give each estate a number of votes that more accurately represented its population and would make it more difficult for the first two estates to routinely outvote the third estate. However, the clergy and nobility were opposed to this demand of the third Estate. Five weeks later, the third estate finally took the initiative by inviting the clergy and nobility to join them in a single-chambered legislature where the voting would be by head. Some individual members of the other estates joined the third Estate and on 17th June 1789, they together proclaimed themselves to be the National Assembly (which was later called Constituent Assembly).

The Tennis Court Oath When the members of the newly formed National Assembly went to their usual meeting place on 20th June 1789, they found the entrance of the hall was blocked by soldiers. They regrouped at a nearby indoor tennis court on 20th June 1789 and took oath not to disband until France had a constitution.

Faced with strong resistance by the third Estate and increasing willingness of deputies from the clergy and nobility to join the third estate in the National Assembly, the king had no other option but to agree to a vote by head on 27th June 1789.

A second attempt was made by the king to suppress the National Assembly when additional troops were brought into Paris and Versailles. On 11<sup>th</sup> July 1789, Necker, who had been brought back as the finance minister and who was in favour of reforms was not only dismissed but also was ordered to leave the country.

### **Storming of the Bastille**

Dismissal of Necker, the most popular minister roused the people of Paris. The people in general feared that the king was determined to use force to suppress the National Assembly. Under these circumstances crowds began to roam Paris looking for arms to fight off a royal attack. On 14th July 1789 these crowds attacked a large fortress named Bastille. They believed that it contained munitions and many prisoners of despotism. Faced with this insurrection, the monarchy backed down. The troops were withdrawn, and Necker was recalled.

Following the fall of Bastille, the people of Paris spontaneously formed a Municipal Government and organized a new military force called the National Guard. In the country side the peasants revolted, plundered the castles of the nobles and destroyed the documents of the titles of the nobles. A large number of nobles were killed by the rebellious peasants.

In the Constituent Assembly, the members who sat to the left of the centre were led by Mirabeau and advocated a constitutional monarchy. The members who sat to the extreme left were those who wanted to carry out a programme of complete political, economic and social revolution in France along the lines visualized by Rousseau. They were in favour of democracy in a republican set up.

Between 1789 and 1791, the chief reforms of the National (Constituent) Assembly were

1. **Abolition of Feudalism** Assembly abolished feudalism, serfdom and class privileges. On 4th August 1789, Assembly introduced equality of taxes. The nobles and the clergymen agreed to give up their privileges. Serfs were liberated and manorial courts were abolished. The clergymen gave tithes and other privileges. Sale of offices was discontinued. These measures were signed by the King.
2. **Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen** Adopted on 26th August 1789. The Declaration incorporated some of the principles of England's Bill of Rights and the American Declaration of Independence. It also reflected Rousseau's philosophy. According to the Declaration, men are born and remain free and equal in rights. The rights of man are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression. The Declaration of the Rights of Man further laid down that law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally or through his representative in its formation. The law must be same for all. No person shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned except according to the terms prescribed by law. The Declaration closed with the assertion that since private property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived of it except when public necessity, legally determined, clearly demanded and properly compensated. The Declaration is often called, 'the death certificate of the Ancient Regime'.
3. **Constitution of 1791** The National Assembly framed a new constitution for France. The constitution was completed in 1791 and was accepted by King Louis XVI. It was the first written constitution of France. It was based on the principle of separation of powers which was advocated by Montesquieu and was included in the Constitution of the USA. According to the Constitution of 1791, the form of government in France was to be monarchical. However, the king was to be a constitutional monarch. He was to be the head of the executive. He had the power to appoint the chief officers of the army and ministers of the government. The Constitution of 1791 did not adopt the British Parliamentary system. The ministers did not have a seat in the legislative assembly and were not dependant on its support. The Constitution of 1791 assigned the legislative power to a single assembly comprising of 745 members elected for a period of two years, not by universal suffrage but by a tax paying electorate of little over four million. The judicial power was completely revolutionized. The judges were to be elected. Their term of office was to range from two to four years. The jury system was introduced for criminal cases and torture was abolished.
4. **Division of France into Departments** For purpose of administration, France was divided into 83 provinces or Departments of nearly uniform size. Each Department was divided into districts and each of these districts were further divided into cantons. The smallest unit of the

administration was the rural municipality or commune. In addition to participating in the elections, each active citizen was a member of the National Guard, which provided France with a system of local defence. Thus, France, from being a highly centralized state became one highly decentralized.

5. **Assignats** To meet the financial problems, the National Assembly confiscated the church property which was valued at many hundred million dollars. With the church property as security, the National Assembly issued paper currency known as Assignats. However, the natural temptation of printing more paper currency could not be checked by the National Assembly. This led to inflation and increase in prices of various commodities.
6. **The Civil Constitution of the Clergy** In November 1789, the church property was confiscated. In July 1790, the National Assembly enacted the civil constitution of the clergy. By this act the episcopal structure and the status of the clergy was overhauled. They were to be elected by the electors of the Department. The clergy were to receive salaries from the state. In this way the clergy effectively became the officials of the state. Further, the clergy was required to take an oath of loyalty to the revolutionary government and they were not to take the oath of loyalty to the Pope.

### **Constitution of 1791**

Humiliated by his loss of power, Louis XVI planned to escape from Paris. In the night of 20th June 1791, the King, Queen and other members of the royal family escaped from Tuileries in disguise. However, they were recognized and captured at the little village of Varennes not far from the frontier. They were brought back to Paris under humiliating circumstances. By September 1791, the National Assembly completed the Constitution. Louis XVI had no other option but to accept the Constitution of 1791. The National Assembly, which also doubled as the Constituent Assembly got itself dissolved on 30th September 1791, after passing a decree that none of its members was to be elected to the new proposed Legislative Assembly.

### **Legislative Assembly (1791-92)**

Elections were held under the Constitution of 1791 and the new Legislative Assembly met on 1st October 1791. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 745 members. However, all of them were inexperienced young and new to the job.

The Constitutionals were the supporters of the Constitution of 1791 and were in favour of a Constitutional Monarchy for France. They were prepared to accept the King with limited powers. The second political group was comprised of the Republicans who were further divided into two main groups- the Girondins and the Jacobins. The Girondins were moderates and stood for establishing a republican form of government. The Jacobins were republicans of extreme type. Initially, the Girondins had a majority in the Legislative Assembly, but the influence of the Jacobins gradually began to increase.

The Legislative Assembly passed two laws, which had far reaching consequences.

1. All priests were required to act according to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.
2. The second law dealt with those French nobles who had fled from France (émigrés) and were persuading the foreign governments to intervene on their behalf to crush the revolution in France. The law required them to return to France by a fixed date. If they failed to return their properties were to be confiscated.

Louis XVI did not approve both these laws and eventually vetoed both of them. By his refusal to sign these laws the King came to be looked upon as the enemy of the Revolution.



### **The Foreign Intervention**

The revolutionaries of France were determined to spread their ideas outside France as well. Thus, the rulers of other European states were compelled wage a war against revolutionary France in order to crush the revolution. The émigré nobles were carrying on a propaganda war in other countries of Europe against Revolution in France.

Declaration of Pillnitz- Earlier on 27th August 1791, the Austrian Emperor, Leopold II (brother of French queen Marie Antoinette, he died later in March 1792, replaced by his son Francis II) and the Prussian King, Frederick William had issued the Declaration of Pillnitz. In this declaration both the rulers had stressed that the cause of the French King was the cause of the kings of Europe and both Austria and Prussia were prepared to intervene in France if rulers of other countries joined hands with them. This this strengthened the resolve of the Girondins who were in favour of a war and thereby getting an opportunity to end the monarchy in France. Only the extreme Jacobins, who broke away from the Girondins, opposed a war. They were apprehensive that out of the war there would emerge either a regenerated monarchy or a dictatorship.

### **The Revolutionary War**

As the standoff between Austria and Revolutionary France continued, war was declared on 20th April 1792. The revolutionary war that began in April 1792 lasted almost without a break until 1815. In France the war provided a new intensity to the revolutionary movement. The Girondins could not prosecute the war and the war progressed disastrously for France. It was a five months story of defeat, humiliation and invasion. The French army was disorganized due to lack of proper leadership and discipline. There was no unity in the command and confidence between the officers and men. A number of officers and soldiers deserted which further weakened the morale of the French army.

As the French armies were being driven back from the frontiers, civil war growing out of religious dissensions was threatening France with internal disorder. The Legislative Assembly facing these twin problems passed reforming decrees for priests and setting an army unit around Paris. Louis XVI vetoed both these measures. In order to pressurize the King to sign these decrees, the Jacobins organized a huge popular demonstration against the King.

Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick The revolutionary movement in France began to gather momentum. Under these circumstances, the Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, against France, published in August 1792, added fuel to the passions of the French revolutionaries. By this manifesto the Allies disclaimed intervention in the internal affairs of France but they ordered the French people to restore Louis XVI to his full powers and National Guardsmen in arms would be treated as rebels, that the administrative officials and private citizens opposing the invading armies would be punished in accordance with the rules of war.

### **The end of Bourbonn Reign**

Louis XVI was suspected more than ever of being secretly supporting the invaders. The Municipal government of the Girondins in Paris was overthrown by the Jacobins who organized a new Municipal government. The Jacobins provoked the revolt of 10th August 1792 with an aim of overthrowing Louis XVI. The Legislative Assembly suspended the King and provisionally dethroned him. This made it necessary to draft a **new Republican Constitution** as the Constitution of 1791 was monarchical.

### **September Massacre**

The King and the Queen were imprisoned in the Temple, an old fortress in Paris. The Paris Commune also arrested a large number of suspected persons. This critical situation was exploited by the violent elements of the Commune. From 2nd to 6th September 1792, the radical revolutionaries carried on a massacre of the political prisoners in Paris, who were suspected to be sympathetic to the royalist cause. Nearly 1,200 people were savagely put to death.

Meanwhile, on 20th September 1792, the Allied forces were checked at Valmy. The French victory was a turning point in the wars of the French Revolution, which had begun five months earlier. The Battle of Valmy marked the first of many victories for the troops of revolutionary France. The French victory in the Battle of Valmy restored self-confidence to the French forces.

### **The National Convention**

On 21st September 1792, the newly elected members of the National Convention held their first meeting. The Convention had to decide the future of the deposed King. The country had to be saved from the foreign invasion, internal insurrection had to be brought under control, a government had to be established, social reforms were to be completed and consolidated, and a new constitution had to be framed for the country.

### **Jacobins rise to power**

Foreign war and internal disturbances were the major challenges that the National Convention had to face. However, the National Convention was torn into deep factionalism. The chief contenders for power in the National Convention were the **Girondins** and the **Jacobins**. Their differences were sharp on the issue of what part the city of Paris should play in the government. The Girondins represented the Departments (Provinces) and insisted that Paris, which constituted only one of the 83 Departments into which France was divided, should have only 1/83 of the influence. On the other hand, the Jacobins drew their strength from the capital, Paris. They considered Paris as the brain and heart of the country. They were rude, active and indifferent to law. They believed in the application of force wherever and whenever necessary. The Jacobins were modern urban idealists: they wanted change and independence from any semblance of the Ancien Régime. Deemed radicals, they were students of the enlightened, progressive thought of the time. Meanwhile, in cities throughout France, a group called the **Sans-Culottes** began to wield significant and unpredictable influence. The group's name—literally, “without culottes,” the knee breeches that the privileged wore—indicated their disdain for the upper classes. The sans-culottes consisted mainly of urban labourers, peasants, and other French poor who disdained the nobility and wanted to see an end to privilege. When the king was put on trial for treason the Girondins fought for the king to be exempted from execution while the Jacobins argued that the king should be executed in order to assure the revolution's success. The Jacobins were successful and their views got the support of the sans-culottes. As a result, they were a monopolizing power and in the National Convention the Jacobins arrested and killed 22 Girondins.

### **Execution of Louis XVI**

Louis XVI who was deposed earlier was put on trial. He was charged with plotting against the nation and attempting to overthrow the constitution. Following the trial, the King was unanimously found guilty of treason and was sentenced to immediate execution. While the Girondins pleaded for clemency, the Jacobins demanded his immediate death. Finally, Louis XVI was guillotined on Sunday, 21st January 1793.

### **The Executive Committees**

The National Convention decided to meet the challenge from both within and outside. It voted to raise 300,000 troops to meet the challenge of the coalition of powers against France. It created a **Committee of Public Safety**, to provide executive oversight, a **Committee of General Security**, to oversee the police and a **Revolutionary Tribunal**, to try political cases. These committees were intended to concentrate the full force of the nation on the problem of national defence and to eliminate the enemies of the Republic, whether foreign or domestic.

### **The First Coalition against France**

The immediate consequence of the execution of Louis XVI was an increase in the number of enemies of France. France was already at war with Austria and Prussia. Following the execution of the French King other countries such as England, Spain, Russia, Holland and some states of Germany and Italy also joined the coalition against France. Civil war also added to the problems of the National Convention as the peasants of Vendee rose against the republic in support of the nonjuring priests

Meanwhile, efforts were made to meet the danger of invasion. To meet the needs of the war, a general call for troops was given and 750,000 men were enlisted in the army. Carnot, one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety rendered great service in organizing the armed forces by training and equipping the new recruits. These newly organized armies were sent in different direction against the foreign enemies of France. The French armies made great efforts and were successful in many of the battles against the coalition forces.

### **The Reign of Terror**

While this great effort to resist the foreign invaders was going on, the Committee of Public Safety was engaged in a fierce campaign within France against all domestic enemies. By the **Law of Suspects**, any person of noble birth or who had held office before the Revolution or had any relation with an émigré or who could not produce a certificate of citizenship was liable to be executed.

The Reign of Terror was let loose by the Committee of Public Safety, the first real executive to govern France since the overthrow of the monarchy. The Reign of Terror officially began with the institution of the Revolutionary Tribunal in March 1793. Although, initially the Reign of Terror was started in Paris soon it spread to the countryside. Local tribunals were set up to arrest and condemn suspected anti-revolutionaries. The deposed Queen Marie Antoinette also became a victim of the Reign of Terror and was executed through guillotine.

The Reign of Terror was the most radical phase of the Revolution, and it remains the most controversial. Some have seen the Reign of Terror as a major advance toward modern democracy, while others call it a step toward modern dictatorship. Certain defenders of the Revolution have argued that the Reign of Terror was, under the circumstances, a reasonable response to the military crisis of 1793.

### **Thermidorean Reaction**

The Reign of Terror came to an end when Danton and later Robespierre were sent to guillotine. As it happened, the coup against Robespierre and his associates was led by a group of dissident Jacobins, including members of the Committee of Public Safety. On 27th July 1794 Robespierre and his close followers were arrested on the convention floor (in the month of thermidor according to the new republican calendar). During the next two days, Robespierre and 82 of his associates were guillotined.

### **The Constitution of 1795**

To prevent the re-establishment of the monarchy, the National Convention drew up a new Constitution for France. According to the new republican constitution the legislative power was to be vested in a bi-cameral National Legislature. One of the chambers was to be called the Council of Elders comprising of 250 members, who must be at least 40 years of age and be either married or widowers. The other chamber was to be known as the Council of Five Hundred. It was to be comprised of members of at least 30 years of age. The members were to be elected by property-holding electorate. The Council of Five Hundred alone had the right to propose laws. However, these laws could not be put in effect unless accepted by the Council of Elders. The executive power of the state was to be exercised by a Directory consisting of five Directors. They were to be of at least 40 years of age and elected by both the chambers of the National Legislature. In rotation, each of the directors held the presidency for a 3-month interval, and one director was replaced each year.

The new Constitution was accepted by the people of France by a referendum. The Parisian mob launched an attack upon the National Convention at Tuileries on 20th April 1795. The National Convention was saved by one military officer, named Napoleon Bonaparte, who dispersed the crowd.

The important achievements of the National Convention were

- Drafting the Constitution of 1795
- Introduction of a new system of weights and measures known as the Metric system.
- It also laid the foundation and did preliminary work on the codification of the laws.
- It also took up the problem of national education, which was to be compulsory, free and completely secular.

### **The Directory (1795-1799)**

The Constitution of 1795 framed by the National Convention vested the executive authority of France in a Committee of Directors known as the Directory. The Directory, consisting of five members elected by both houses of the legislature, was in power for four years from October 1795 to November 1799. In rotation, each of the directors held the presidency for a 3-month interval, and one director was replaced each year.

The Directors were men of moderate talents and they did not hesitate to indulge in corruption. They were incapable of solving the problems facing France at that time. The period of four years that the Directory was in power was plagued by plots and intrigues. The royalists and the reactionaries found their way into the legislature through elections. They did not hesitate to use fair or foul means to sabotage the government. They were kept in check only by the use of force by the government.

### **Babeuf Plot**

A political club known as the Society of the Pantheon was started in October 1795. It had a large number of former Jacobins as members. The society published a newspaper known as the Tribune, edited by a young agitator, Babeuf. The members of the Society set up a secret group of six members and began preparation for an uprising against the government. They aimed at restoring the revolutionary movement. The programme of the members of the Society was to infiltrate the units of army, police and administration through revolutionary agents. Thorough preparations were made for the proposed uprising. Arms and ammunitions were collected for this purpose. However, the proposed insurrection ended in a failure. Right from the beginning the police had their agents in the movement. As a result on the eve of the insurrection Babeuf

and his associates numbering around forty were arrested and their supporters were dispersed by force. The conspirators along with Babeuf were brought to trial and were executed.

### **The reign of Directory**

Financial Crisis The financial condition of France during the period of the Directory deteriorated. Wasteful public expenditure and corruption added to the financial crisis. Huge amount of money had to be spent to maintain an army of a million men. **Assignats**, which were issued by the National Assembly, could not solve the financial problem. As the inflation was mounting and the Assignat was losing its value. Under these circumstances, in 1797, the government was forced to declare partial bankruptcy. Payment of interest on the national debt was suspended. Finally, the Assignats had to be altogether withdrawn. The failure to solve the financial crisis brought discredit to the Directory. The Directory and the two legislative chambers lacked harmony. In spite of the firm measures taken during the revolution, the Roman Catholic Church was still strong and popular with the people of France.

Foreign Policy When the Directory assumed office, France was still at war with Austria, Sardinia, England and smaller German states. Prussia, Spain and Holland had already withdrawn from the coalition and had made peace with France. Thus, the first task of the Directory was to continue the war against Austria, Sardinia and England. Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed as the commander-in-chief of the French army for the Italian campaign, which proved to be quite successful. He defeated four Austrian generals in succession, each with superior numbers, and forced Austria and its allies to make peace. The Treaty of Campo Formio provided that France keep most of its conquests.

### **Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte**

One of the immediate effects of the victory of Napoleon in Italy was the dissolution of the first coalition against France and territorial gains from Sardinia and Austria. Following their defeat, both Sardinia and Austria left the coalition and England was the only power that was left in the field against France. Another important effect of the military victory of France was the sudden rise of Napoleon's popularity and fame among the French people.

In 1797 Napoleon was appointed as the commander of the army that was intended to invade England. However, Napoleon was convinced that without a powerful navy it would not be possible to cross the English Channel. Under these circumstances, in 1798, to strike at British trade with the East, Napoleon led an expedition to Ottoman-ruled Egypt, which he conquered. His fleet, however, was destroyed by the British admiral Horatio Nelson, leaving him stranded. Undaunted, he reformed the Egyptian government and law, abolishing serfdom and feudalism and guaranteeing basic rights.

In 1799 he failed to capture Syria, but he won a smashing victory over the Ottomans at France, meanwhile, faced a new coalition of Austria, Russia, and lesser powers had allied with Britain (**The Second Coalition**).

### **The Coup of 18 Brumaire**

With the rising unpopularity of the Directory its days seemed to be numbered. Leaving his army behind Napoleon returned to France and entered into a conspiracy to overthrow the Directory. In the Coup d'état of November 9-10(18 Brumaire according to the Republican calendar), 1799 Napoleon and his colleagues overthrew the Directory, seized power and established a new regime, **The Consulate**. The Consulate comprised of three members, Napoleon, Abbe Sieyes and Ducos. The Constitution which was framed a month later placed the supreme executive power in the

hands of Napoleon as the first Consul and paved the way for him to become The Emperor of France few years later.

### **What were the causes of French Revolution?**

Or

### **Describe the Revolutionary situation of France in 1780s.**

The causes of the French revolution can be listed below-

- Social- The emergence of an influential bourgeoisie which was formally part of the Third Estate (commoners) but had evolved into a caste with its own agenda and aspired to political equality with the clergy (First Estate) and the aristocracy (Second Estate).
- Financial- France's debt, aggravated by French involvement in the American Revolution, led Louis XVI to implement new taxations and to reduce privileges. Conflict between the Monarchy and the nobility over the "reform" of the tax system led to paralysis and bankruptcy.
- Political- Louis XVI faced virulent opposition from provincial parlements which were the spearheads of the privileged classes' resistance to royal reforms.
- Economic- The deregulation of the grain market, advocated by liberal economists, resulted in an increase in bread prices. In periods of bad harvests, it would lead to food scarcity which would prompt the masses to revolt, especially the agrarian crisis of 1788-89 generates popular discontent and disorders caused by food shortages.
- The Enlightenment philosophy desacralized the authority of the monarchy and the Catholic Church, and promoted a new society based on reason instead of traditions. Impulse for reform intensifies political conflicts and reinforces traditional aristocratic constitutionalism, one variant of which was laid out in Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws. It introduces new notions of good government, the most radical being popular sovereignty, as in Rousseau's Social Contract. The attack on the regime and privileged class by the Literary Underground of "Grub Street". All this ultimately led to the broadening influence of public opinion.
- International: struggle for hegemony and Empire outstrips the fiscal resources of the state
- Social antagonisms between two rising groups, i.e. the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie
- The indecisive nature of Louis XVI and his middling personality which was neither liberal or enlightened enough nor totalitarian enough.

## 5. THE AGE OF NAPOLEON

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### INTRODUCTION

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on August 15, 1769, in the Mediterranean island of Corsica. Although his parents were members of the minor Corsican nobility, the family was not wealthy. The year before Napoleon's birth, France acquired Corsica from the city-state of Genoa, Italy. Napoleon later adopted a French spelling of his last name.

As a boy, Napoleon attended school in mainland France, where he learned the French language, and went on to graduate from a French military academy in 1785. He then became a second lieutenant in an artillery regiment of the French army. The French Revolution began in 1789, and within three years revolutionaries had overthrown the monarchy and proclaimed a French republic. During the early years of the revolution, Napoleon was largely on leave from the military and home in Corsica, where he became affiliated with the Jacobins, a pro-democracy political group. In 1793, however, he returned to military duty, where due to his talent and Jacobin leanings he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in the army.

In 1795, Napoleon helped suppress a royalist insurrection against the revolutionary government in Paris and was promoted to major general. In 1796, Napoleon commanded a French army that defeated the larger armies of Austria, one of his country's primary rivals, in a series of battles in Italy. In 1798, the Directory offered to let Napoleon lead an invasion of England. Napoleon determined that France's naval forces were not yet ready to go up against the superior British Royal Navy. Instead, he proposed an invasion of Egypt in an effort to wipe out British trade routes with India. Napoleon's troops scored a victory against Egypt's military rulers, the Mamluks, at the Battle of the Pyramids in July 1798. However, his forces were stranded after his naval fleet was nearly decimated by the British at the Battle of the Nile in August 1798. In early 1799, Napoleon's army launched an invasion of Ottoman-ruled Syria, which ended with the failed siege of Acre, located in modern-day Israel. That summer, with the political situation in France marked by uncertainty, Napoleon opted to abandon his army in Egypt and return to France.

### Rise to Power

In November 1799, in an event known as the coup of 18 Brumaire, Napoleon was part of a group that successfully overthrew the French Directory. The Directory was replaced with a three-member Consulate, and Napoleon became first consul, making him France's leading political figure. In June 1800, at the Battle of Marengo, Napoleon's forces defeated one of France's perennial enemies, the Austrians, and drove them out of Italy. The victory helped cement Napoleon's power as first consul. Additionally, with the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, the war-weary British agreed to peace with the French.

In 1802, a constitutional amendment made Napoleon first consul for life. Two years later, in 1804, he crowned himself emperor of France in a lavish ceremony at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. During his reign, Napoleon re-established a French aristocracy (eliminated in the French Revolution) and began handing out titles of nobility to his loyal friends and family as his empire continued to expand across much of western and central continental Europe. He believed an empire was necessary for France to maintain and expand its influence throughout Europe.

## The Grand Empire

Napoleon viewed himself as a liberator who freed foreign peoples from the absolute rulers who oppressed them. He abolished feudalism and reformed the social, political, and economic structures in the Western Europe and a part of Central Europe. All countries of the Grand Empire saw the introduction of some of the main principles of the French Revolution.

However, his domination over other nations unleashed the forces of nationalism in those countries which ultimately resulted in his downfall. Eventually, Napoleon achieved the largest empire since Roman times. France was extended to the Rhine, including Belgium and Holland, the German coast to the western Baltic, and the Italian coast extending down to Rome. There were numerous dependent satellite kingdoms where Napoleon put his appointees on the throne

- Confederation of the Rhine
- Duchy of Warsaw
- Brother, Joseph Bonaparte, became king of Spain in 1808.
- Youngest brother, Jerome, became king of Westphalia.
- Brother, Louis, was king of Holland for 6 years before Napoleon had him removed and incorporated Holland into France.
- Several Italian States (He decided against creating a unified Italy since it might one day threaten his influence.

Independent but allied states included Austria, Prussia and Russia.

## Reforms of Napoleon

Napoleon worked to restore stability to post-revolutionary France. He centralized the government; instituted reforms in such areas as banking and education; supported science and the arts; and sought to improve relations between his regime and the pope (who represented France's main religion, Catholicism), which had suffered during the revolution. One of his most significant accomplishments was the Napoleonic Code, which streamlined the French legal system and continues to form the foundation of French civil law to this day.

- **The Code Napoleon**- Today, the Code Napoléon is the basis of law in France and a number of other countries and still is the part of basic core in the Constitutions of the various countries for over two centuries.
- **Economic and Financial reforms**- The terrible French economy was one of the key factors leading to the French Revolution. When Napoleon came to power, he turned it around in only a year. Fair taxes, increased trade, the development of French luxury industries, a new commercial code, an improved infrastructure, and a central bank to control monetary policy were keys to his success.
  - Creation of The Bank of France (1800) to serve interests of the State and financial oligarchy.
  - Balanced the national budget
  - Established sound currency (Franc) and public credit. This ended the chaos surrounding the assignats during the Revolution.
  - Provided food at low prices.
  - Lowered taxes on farmers
  - Guaranteed that church lands redistributed during the Revolution remained in hands of the new owners, mostly peasants.
  - Created an independent peasantry that would be the backbone of French democracy.
  - Tax collections became more efficient and systematic.



- Workers not allowed to form guilds or trade unions
- Retained the Le Chapelier Law of 1791 (ban on unions and strikes continued)
- **Religious freedom**- The Catholic Church had dominated French society, but the French Revolution annihilated it. Napoleon reached an agreement (Concordat) with the Pope allowing the Church a major role in French society while providing religious freedom for all others. He also abolished slavery and freed the serfs.
  - Making peace with the Church would help weaken its link to monarchists who sought a restoration of the Bourbons.
  - Religion would help people accept economic inequalities in French society
  - Papacy renounced claims to Church property that had been seized during the Revolution
  - The pope gave up claim to Church lands, confiscated during the revolution
  - Catholic worship in public allowed.
  - Extended legal toleration to Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and atheists, i.e. all received same civil rights.
  - Replaced the Revolutionary Calendar with the Christian calendar.
- **Freedom for the Jews**- In various parts of Europe, Jews had been forced to wear arm bands, kept from certain professions, made to live in ghettos, and prevented from attending their synagogues. Napoleon put an end to all of those restrictions, made Jews full citizens of France, and even wrote a proclamation that established the idea of a Jewish homeland in Israel.
- **Education reforms**- To create a middle-class cadre of leaders, Napoleon reorganized France's education system. He restarted the primary schools, created a new elite secondary system of schools (called lycees), and established many other schools for the general populace. He promoted education for girls and greatly improved teacher training. Literacy levels in France soared under Napoleon's reforms.
  - Creation of system of public education under state control
  - Rigorous standards in education which was made available to the masses
  - Secondary and higher education reorganized to prepare young men for government service and professional occupations.
  - Education became important in determining social standing.
  - One system for those who could spend 12 or more years at school. The other for boys who entered work force at age of 12 or 14.
- **Creation of New French Society**- Citizens theoretically were able to rise in government service purely according on their abilities.
  - He worked for the creation of new imperial nobility to reward most talented generals & officials.
  - Under his rule, Wealth determined status, which is followed since then by majority of societies.
  - The middle class benefited significantly
  - The government rewarded wealthy people who effectively served the state with pensions, property or titles.
  - Neither military commissions nor civil offices could be bought and sold.
  - Granted amnesty to 100K emigres in return for a loyalty oath.
  - Some notables from foreign countries served the empire with distinction

- Workers were denied the right to form trade unions
- **Modernization of Europe**- Napoleon's empire, accompanied by his legal and other reforms, helped provide the basis for what is today the European Union. He was also responsible for sweeping away many of the old regimes and promoting the ideals of equality. Sure, the old regimes still had some life in them when Napoleon left the scene, but things were never really the same. For that reason, Napoleon is often considered the father of modern Europe.

### Napoleonic Code

In 1804, Napoleon took on the legal system of France. The system of laws was in a state of chaos. Laws were not codified and were based on Roman law, ancient custom or monarchical paternalism. During the revolution, many laws were changed. It was difficult to determine what law applied in any given situation, and laws were not equally applied to everyone.

The bits and pieces of laws were codified and written clearly so that the people could determine what law applied. It came to be known as the Code Napoleon. It was supposed to be written fresh, and based on the idea that a law based on common sense and equality should replace one based on custom, societal division and the rule of kings. The moral justification for its existence was not that it came from God or a monarch (or in this case an emperor), but because it was rational and just. To this end, all male citizens were supposed to be equal, with nobility, class, position of birth all wiped away, but in practical terms much of the revolution's liberalism was lost and France turned back to Roman law. The code did not extend to emancipating women, who were subjugated to fathers and husbands. Freedom and the right of private property were key, but branding, easy imprisonment and limitless hard labour returned. Non-whites suffered, and slavery was allowed in French colonies. In many ways, the Code was a compromise of the old and new, favouring conservatism and traditional morality. More codes followed for other aspects of the legal system, i.e. Code of Civil Procedure of 1806, Commercial Code of 1807, Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure of 1808 and Penal Code of 1810.

The Civil Code of the French People was enacted in 1804 across all the regions France then controlled, i.e. France, Belgium, Luxembourg, chunks of Germany and Italy, and was later spread further across Europe.

- Emphasized the protection of private property
- It resulted in strong central government and administrative unity.
- Many achievements of revolution were made permanent.
- Equality before the law, i.e. no more estates, legal classes, privileges, local liberties, hereditary offices, guilds, or manors.
- State was made truly secular in character
- Property rights were given to citizen
- Gave women inheritance rights
- Denied women equal status with men (except inheritance rights)
- Women and children were legally dependent on their husband or father.
- Divorce was made more difficult to obtain than during the Revolution
- Women could not buy or sell property or begin a business without the consent of their husbands.
- Income earned by wives went to their husbands
- Penalties for adultery were far more severe for women than men

## **Napoleonic Wars**

From 1803 to 1815, France was engaged in the Napoleonic Wars, a series of major conflicts with various coalitions of European nations. In 1803, partly as a means to raise funds for future wars, Napoleon sold France's Louisiana Territory in North America to the newly independent United States for \$15 million, a transaction that later became known as the Louisiana Purchase. In 1806 he dissolved The Holy Roman Empire and the creation of the Confederation of the Rhine. Beginning in 1806, Napoleon sought to wage large-scale economic warfare against Britain with the establishment of the so-called Continental System of European port blockades against British trade. Only Britain was at war continually with France at this time. The four Great Powers (Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia) did not fight France simultaneously until 1813. Only gradually, after Napoleon had conquered Italy, did they decide Napoleon had to be defeated for a peaceful Europe. Till then the Nations were willing to ally with Napoleon for their own foreign policy benefit.

### Reorganization of German States

After soundly defeating the two most powerful and influential German states—Austria and Prussia— Napoleon reorganized Germany. He consolidated many of the nearly 300 independent political entities. He created Confederation of the Rhine (15 German states, not including Austria, Prussia, and Saxony) and named himself “Protector” of the Confederation. He also abolished many tiny German states. Holy Roman Empire was abolished in 1806, whose emperor had traditionally been ruler of Austria. A new kingdom of Westphalia was created out of all Prussian territories west of the Elbe and territories taken from Hanover. However, he unwittingly awakened German nationalism due to France's domination and repression of the German states.

### The Continental System

Napoleon decided to wage economic warfare against Britain after his loss at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. By Berlin Decree of 1806, he sought to starve Britain out by closing ports on the continent to British commerce. Napoleon coerced Russia, Prussia, neutral Denmark and Portugal, and Spain all to adhere to the economic boycott of Britain in 1807. England, in response, issued the “order in council”, i.e. neutrals might enter continental ports only if they first stopped in Great Britain. British regulations encouraged these ships to be loaded with British goods before continuing on to the Continent. In response, Napoleon issued Milan Decree in 1807, i.e. any neutral ship entering a British port, or submitting to a British warship at sea, would be confiscated by if it attempted to enter a Continental port. Continental System ultimately was a major failure because

- It caused widespread antagonism to Napoleon's rule in Europe.
- Imports from America were too much in demand in Europe.
- European industries could not equal Britain's industrial output.
- Without railroads, the Continental system was impossible to maintain.
- Shippers, shipbuilders, and dealers in overseas goods, a powerful element of the older bourgeoisie, were ruined.
- Eastern Europeans especially were hard hit as they had no industry and were dependent on imports.
- British made up lost trade with Europe by expanding exports to its Colonies and Latin America.

### **Reasons behind Napoleon's Success**

- The majority of the eighteenth-century wars were fought with more or less evenly matched, mainly mercenary armies, very similar to each other in training, equipment, composition and strength. The men fighting since Revolution, in the new French armies, were not their as mercenaries, nor as men impressed against their will, but as citizens honourably defending their Revolution against its threatened destruction by outside forces. Instead of avoiding battle they actively sought it.
- The Carnot's reforms made French forces far more advanced than their rivals.
- In the period of comparative peace between 1800 and 1804, Napoleon reorganised the French army which under the Directory had been split into a number of separate armies.
- His restructuring of Army allowed for mutual support and reinforcement in case of attack and at the same time simplified the requisitioning of supplies from the countryside through which the army was passing.
- When Napoleon became First Consul, he took over the existing ministry of war, expanded it and made it more efficient. It was reorganised into two separate ministries, one dealing with the army itself and one concerned with administration and supplies and military.
- By breaking with Revolutionary principles and uniting in himself the offices of head of state and active commander-in-chief of the army, there was no conflict of civil and military interest, for he alone made the decisions.
- One of Napoleon's great strengths as leader was the devotion of his men. His soldiers adored him. This started because he proved to his troops that he was willing to put himself in the line of danger along with them. In one of his earlier campaigns, as a general in Italy, he took over the duty of sighting a cannon (a corporal's job) after the corporal was killed.
- Under him France was administered as a Nation and the society of France too started graduating to be a Nation whereas other States were largely Dynastic Empires with lot less cohesive force.
- Britain, Russia, Austria and later Prussia formed a series of anti-French alliances with each other, but these were continually undermined by their mutual suspicions and jealousy. Only Britain remained opposed to France for the whole period. The other powers were tempted away from time to time by Napoleon's offers of territory, for as well as making use of the opportunity to profit from quarrels among the allies.

### **Downfall and the first Abdication**

In 1810, Russia withdrew from the Continental System. In retaliation, Napoleon led a massive army into Russia in the summer of 1812. Rather than engaging the French in a full-scale battle, the Russians adopted a strategy of retreating whenever Napoleon's forces attempted to attack. As a result, Napoleon's troops trekked deeper into Russia despite being ill-prepared for an extended campaign. In September, both sides suffered heavy casualties in the indecisive Battle of Borodino. Napoleon's forces marched on to Moscow, only to discover almost the entire population evacuated. Retreating Russians set fires across the city in an effort to deprive enemy troops of supplies. After waiting a month for a surrender that never came, Napoleon, faced with the onset of the Russian winter, was forced to order his starving, exhausted army out of Moscow. During the disastrous retreat, his army suffered continual harassment from a suddenly aggressive and merciless Russian army. Of Napoleon's 600,000 troops who began the campaign, only an estimated 100,000 made it out of Russia. At the same time as the catastrophic Russian invasion, French forces were engaged in the Peninsular War (1808-1814), which resulted in the Spanish and Portuguese, with assistance from the British, driving the French from the Iberian

Peninsula. This loss was followed in 1813 by the Battle of Leipzig, also known as the Battle of Nations, in which Napoleon's forces were defeated by a coalition that included Austrian, Prussian, Russian and Swedish troops. Napoleon then retreated to France, and in March 1814 coalition forces captured Paris.

Napoleon refused to accept terms of Austrian foreign minister Metternich's "Frankfurt Proposals" to reduce France to its historical size in return for his remaining on the throne. On April 6, 1814, Napoleon, then in his mid-40s, was forced to abdicate the throne. With the Treaty of Fontainebleau, he was exiled to Elba, a Mediterranean island off the coast of Italy. He was given sovereignty over the small island, while his wife and son went to Austria.

A Quadruple Alliance created (March 1814) where each power agreed to provide 150,000 soldiers to enforce peace terms. Bourbon King Louis XVIII was restored to the throne. However, he maintained most of Napoleon's reforms such as the Code Napoleon, the Concordat with the pope, and the abolition of feudalism. In the "first" Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, France surrendered all territory gained since the Wars of the Revolution had begun in 1792. The Quadruple Alliance agreed to meet in Vienna to work out a general peace settlement.

### **Hundred Days Campaign**

On February 26, 1815, after less than a year in exile, Napoleon escaped Elba and sailed to the French mainland with a group of more than 1,000 supporters. On March 20, he returned to Paris, where he was welcomed by cheering crowds. The new king, Louis XVIII fled, and Napoleon began what came to be known as his Hundred Days campaign.

Upon Napoleon's return to France, a coalition of allies—the Austrians, British, Prussians and Russians—who considered the French emperor an enemy began to prepare for war. Napoleon raised a new army and planned to strike pre-emptively, defeating the allied forces one by one before they could launch a united attack against him. In June 1815, his forces invaded Belgium, where British and Prussian troops were stationed. On June 16, Napoleon's troops defeated the Prussians. However, two days later, on June 18, at the Battle of Waterloo near Brussels, the French were crushed by the British, with assistance from the Prussians. On June 22, 1815, Napoleon was once again forced to abdicate. In October 1815, Napoleon was exiled to the remote, British-held island of Saint Helena, in the South Atlantic Ocean. He died there on May 5, 1821, at age 51, most likely from stomach cancer.

### **Reasons behind Napoleon's failures**

- Armies had become too large for Napoleon either to control effectively or to ensure that they were properly supplied and fully trained.
- Opponents had copied Napoleon's tactics. They used artillery and speed, and were careful not to be lured into open battle.
- Napoleon's generals lacked experience of taking the initiative. There was no army staff to assist Napoleon, who often refused to share tactics, ideals or details of the battle.
- Napoleon's arrogance meant that he had failed to grasp how dangerously opponents were becoming. This was particularly true of the Fourth Coalition.
- Continental System- the Continental System caused economic disruption, not only to its intended victim but also to France. It proved impossible to enforce and smuggling was commonplace. In France, the Atlantic trading areas, as well as the shipbuilding industries, were badly hit. The linen industry of the north and west was ruined. Napoleon's attempts to extend the Continental System proved catastrophic. This was partly the motive behind the invasions of Spain and Russia - two campaigns which cost France dear.

- The risings in Germany and the Alps also diverted French troops from their main objectives. The Spanish and Russian 'disasters' had also sapped morale.
- The Spanish Ulcer- Napoleon saw Spain as another country he could add to his Empire. Spain became, to the French, an 'ulcer' right up to 1814. Napoleon never understood how to counter guerrilla warfare, how to keep his men and supplied or how to give the war some realistic, unified direction. It sucked a quarter of a million French troops of enormous amounts of gold. French invincibility and pride were dented, and the Peninsular War became more and more unpopular in France.
- The Russian debacle encouraged a general diplomatic reshuffle, which began in February 1813 with the signing of an anti-French alliance by Russia and Prussia.
- Napoleon's troops were poorer quality - he had fewer veterans and more raw recruits and foreigners (from satellite states) in the army, especially after his Russian Campaign in 1812.
- Over the years, Napoleon had lost many of his experienced and disciplined troops and, although new recruits were available to fill the gaps, they went into battle untrained, often unreliable. As a result, Napoleon's earlier tactics were no longer successful and he began to rely much more on secondary tactics.
- Napoleon's enemies stopped employing old-fashioned methods with their armies. They copied his tactics, became more flexible, and developed their artillery to match his. They increased the size of their armies to equal or exceed the French.
- The Grand Empire collapsed very quickly after the Battle of the Nations in 1813. It had always depended on military supremacy. After the loss, the satellite states began to desert Napoleon. Several minor states actually went over to the allies in return for promises to respect the sovereignty.

### **“Napoleon conquered the Europe and changed it forever”. Explain**

He did not necessarily intend to have the impacts that he did. Instead, much of his impact came about inadvertently or even in response to his actions.

- One of his major impact was the backlash against his ideas and against the prospect that a single country could dominate Europe.
- The Congress system of International relations was his legacy. After Napoleon's fall, the leaders of the countries of Europe got together at the Congress of Vienna to make sure such situation should not arise. This system dominates the World politics to this day.
- The borders of the various countries of Europe were changed in hopes of creating a large number of countries with relatively similar levels of power.
- Another reaction to Napoleon was the move towards more conservative governments in most of Europe. This led to the further Revolutions of 1830 and 1848
- Nationalism was his greatest legacy. French nationalism was due to his policies and victories. German and Italian nationalism on the contrary were due to the reaction of his policy of 'France first'. This culminated into the great unifications of Italy and Germany.
- He used Nationalism to achieve the imperial goals, which was precursor of the German War fiscalism and later Socialist efforts.
- Napoleon also introduced the idea of liberalism which dominated the World for next few centuries.

- He was first to found a society where hierarchies were based strictly on Money and offices one hold instead of Birth.
- Napoleonic code- A uniform set of principles for the holding and transfer of Property. It remained basis of civil law in Germany throughout 19<sup>th</sup> century, in Poland till WW II and in many west European countries like Belgium till today. He considered his Code to be his greatest achievement. Nearly all the world today in one form or other take the inspiration from it.
- He helped decolonisation of Latin America. When his armies conquered Spain and Portugal, they disrupted those countries' ability to rule their colonies in Central and South America.



## 6. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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The Industrial Revolution was the transition to new manufacturing processes in the period from about 1760 to sometime between 1820 and 1840. This transition included going from hand production methods to machines, new chemical manufacturing and iron production processes, improved efficiency of water power, the increasing use of steam power, the development of machine tools and the rise of the factory system. Textiles were the dominant industry of the Industrial Revolution in terms of employment, value of output and capital invested, the textile industry was also the first to use modern production methods.

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain and most of the important technological innovations were British. Laws also shaped the revolution, such as Courts ruling in favour of property rights. An entrepreneurial spirit and consumer revolution helped drive industrialisation in Britain which after 1800 was emulated in Belgium, the United States, and France.

The Industrial Revolution marks a major turning point in history, almost every aspect of daily life was influenced in some way. In particular, average income and population began to exhibit unprecedented sustained growth. Some economists say that the major impact of the Industrial Revolution was that the standard of living for the general population began to increase consistently for the first time in history, although others have said that it did not begin to meaningfully improve until the late 19th and 20th centuries. About the same time the Industrial Revolution was occurring, Britain was undergoing an agricultural revolution, which also helped to improve living standards and provided surplus labour available for industry.

During the Industrial Revolution, Europe experienced a shift from a traditional, labor intensive economy based on farming and handicrafts to a more capital-intensive economy based on manufacturing by machines, specialized labor, and industrial factories.

Although the Industrial Revolution took decades to spread, it was truly revolutionary in the way it fundamentally changed Europeans, their society, and their relationship to other peoples. The development of large factories encouraged mass movements of people from the countryside to urban areas where impersonal coexistence replaced the traditional intimacy of rural life.

Higher levels of productivity led to a search for new sources of raw materials, new consumption patterns, and a revolution in transportation that allowed raw materials and finished products to be moved quickly around the world. The creation of a wealthy industrial middle class and a huge industrial working class (or proletariat) substantially transformed traditional social relationships.

### **Background**

Although the Industrial Revolution evolved out of antecedents that occurred over a long period of time, historians generally agree that it had its beginnings in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century. By 1850, the Industrial Revolution had made Great Britain the wealthiest country in the world, by that time it had also spread to the European continent and the New World. By the end of the nineteenth century, both Germany and the United States would surpass Britain in industrial production.

A number of factors or conditions coalesced in Britain to produce the first Industrial Revolution. One of these was the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century. The changes in the



methods of farming and stock breeding that characterized this agricultural transformation led to a significant increase in food production. British agriculture could now feed more people at lower prices with less labour. Unlike the rest of Europe, even ordinary British families did not have to use most of their income to buy food, giving them the potential to purchase manufactured goods. At the same time, a rapid growth of population in the second half of the eighteenth century provided a pool of surplus labour for the new factories of the emerging British industry. Rural workers in cottage industries also provided a potential labour force for industrial enterprises. Britain had a ready supply of capital for investment in the new industrial machines and the factories that were needed to house them. In addition to profits from trade and cottage industry, Britain possessed an effective central bank and well-developed, flexible credit facilities.

Nowhere in Europe were people so accustomed to using paper instruments to facilitate capital transactions. Many early factory owners were merchants and entrepreneurs who had profited from eighteenth-century cottage industry.

Of 110 cotton spinning mills in operation in the area known as the Midlands between 1769 and 1800, 62 were established by hosiers, drapers, mercers, and others involved in some fashion in the cottage textile industry.

But capital alone is only part of the story. Britain had a fair number of individuals who were interested in making profits if the opportunity presented itself. The British were a people, as one historian has said, "fascinated by wealth and commerce, collectively and individually."

These early industrial entrepreneurs faced considerable financial hazards, however. Fortunes were made quickly and lost just as quickly. The structure of early firms was open and fluid. An individual or family proprietorship was the usual mode of operation, but entrepreneurs also brought in friends to help them.

Britain was richly supplied with important mineral resources, such as coal and iron ore, needed in the manufacturing process. Britain was also a small country, and the relatively short distances made transportation readily accessible. In addition to nature's provision of abundant rivers, from the mid-seventeenth century onward, both private and public investment poured into the construction of new roads, bridges, and, beginning in the 1750s and 1760s, canals. By 1780, roads, rivers, and canals linked the major industrial centers of the North, the Midlands, London, and the Atlantic. Unlike the continental countries, Britain had no internal customs barriers to hinder domestic trade.

Britain's government also played a significant role in the process of industrialization. Parliament contributed to the favourable business climate by providing a stable government and passing laws that protected private property.

Moreover, Britain was remarkable for the freedom it provided for private enterprise. It placed fewer restrictions on private entrepreneurs than any other European state. Finally, a supply of markets gave British industrialists a ready outlet for their manufactured goods. British exports quadrupled from 1660 to 1760. In the course of its eighteenth-century wars and conquests, Great Britain had developed a vast colonial empire at the expense of its leading continental rivals, the Dutch Republic and France.

Britain also possessed a well-developed merchant marine that was able to transport goods to any place in the world.

A crucial factor in Britain's successful industrialization was the ability to produce cheaply those articles most in demand abroad. And the best markets abroad were not in Europe, where countries protected their own incipient industries, but in the Americas, Africa, and the East,

where people wanted sturdy, inexpensive clothes rather than costly, highly finished, luxury items. Britain's machine produced textiles fulfilled that demand. Nor should we overlook the British domestic market. Britain had the highest standard of living in Europe and a rapidly growing population. This demand from both domestic and foreign markets and the inability of the old system to fulfil it led entrepreneurs to seek and adopt the new methods of manufacturing that a series of inventions provided. In so doing, these individuals produced the Industrial Revolution.

### **Spread of Industrial Revolution**

By the end of the 18th century, Britain was the most advanced country in Europe. The 19th century saw the spread of the Industrial Revolution. Other European countries acquired the tools and skills needed to revolutionise their economies. The United States also underwent an industrial revolution in the 19th century.

There were a number of ways that industrialism spread. Transmission could occur on a one-to-one basis, one worker training another. Often, governments organised study tours for engineers and scientists. A study tour would travel to another country to learn about industry and technology. When the study tour returned to the home country, new techniques were implemented. Information about new technologies and techniques were often published in journals. Engineers and scientists could study these publications and implement new ideas.

The Industrial Revolution experience was different for each country around the world, depending upon the political and social situation, natural resources and enthusiasm of the people.

### **The Industrial Revolution in Europe**

The Industrial Revolution on Continental Europe came a little later than in Great Britain. In many industries, this involved the application of technology developed in Britain in new places. Often the technology was purchased from Britain or British engineers and entrepreneurs moved abroad in search of new opportunities. The German, Russian and Belgian governments all provided state funding to the new industries. In some cases (such as iron), the different availability of resources locally meant that only some aspects of the British technology were adopted.

The Industrial Revolution took a different course in each European country, depending upon the political and social situation and access to natural resources.

Industrialism in **France** was delayed by the political upheaval of the French Revolution and the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte in the late 18th century. France did not have a good source of coal, which also hindered industrial development. The British Industrial Revolution had seen the mechanisation of almost all industries and trades. In France, the economy relied on handmade items. The government protected these industries.

The French government played a major role in the French industrial revolution. In the 19th century, French roads and railway systems were greatly improved. Although France never rivalled Britain as an industrial centre, the Industrial Revolution improved the French economy.

The Industrial Revolution in **Prussia** took place long after Britain, in the mid-19th century. The Prussian government, like the French government, played an important role in protecting local industries, while encouraging large-scale development.

The region of Prussia and the surrounding German states were rich in iron and coal resources. The German government developed iron and steel manufacturing companies. Effective

transportation and communication allowed German companies to grow powerful and prosperous. By the late 19th century, Germany was a great industrial power.

In **Russia**, the Industrial Revolution took place at the end of the 19th century. There were a number of obstacles facing Russia's industrial development. The Tsar (king) of Russia decided the future of Russia. Some Tsars were interested in improving Russia's economy, others were not. Russia was a large country dependent upon agriculture. Russia's agricultural sector, however, was poorly managed.

In the late 19th century, European engineers, scientists and experts were invited to Russia to oversee industrial development. An increase in the production of coal in the Ukraine and oil in the Caucasus promoted massive economic growth. Iron, chemical, engineering, petroleum and steel industries were established within ten years.

Industrialisation in each country had different social results. For Germany, economic power encouraged imperialist ambitions in the government, eventually leading to war. For Russia, social and economic inequalities led to social revolution.

At the time of the British Industrial Revolution, America was a colony of Britain. The American government wanted independence from Britain. The American people believed that independence could only be achieved if America was economically strong.

Encouraged by the prospect of political independence, the Americans enthusiastically pursued industrialisation. A number of associations and groups were created to encourage manufacturing and industry. America was a large country, rich in natural resources and there was a large internal market for products. Transportation and communication were two major obstacles for America. Railways and the invention of Morse code eventually overcame problems in transportation and communication.

The Industrial Revolution in the United States was encouraged by a large number of European specialists. The United States was seen as a 'land of opportunity'. Like Britain, it was possible to rise from poverty to riches through industrial business. For businessmen, social mobility was easy. European specialists were attracted to the United States by the idea of great profit.

Mechanisation was very fast. By the end of the 19th century, the United States led the world in manufacturing and industry. The United States had the largest and most productive economy in the world.

### **Social, Economic and Cultural effects of the Industrial Revolution**

Since the Industrial Revolution was so new at the end of the 18th century, there were initially no laws to regulate new industries. For example, no laws prevented businesses from hiring seven-year-old children to work full time in coal mines or factories. No laws regulated what factories could do with their biohazard waste. Free-market capitalism meant that the government had no role in regulating the new industries or planning services for new towns.

So during the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, between 1790 and 1850, British society became the first example of what happens in a country when free-market capitalism has no constraints.

- **No bargaining power to the workers-** The working class, who made up 80% of society, had little or no bargaining power with their new employers. Since population was increasing in Great Britain at the same time that landowners were enclosing common village lands, people from the countryside flocked to the towns and the new factories to get work. This resulted in a very high unemployment rate for workers in the first phases of the Industrial Revolution. As a result, the new factory owners could set the terms of

work because there were far more unskilled labourers, who had few skills and would take any job, than there were jobs for them. And since the textile industries were so new at the end of the 18th century, there were initially no laws to regulate them.

Since only wealthy people in Great Britain were eligible to vote, workers could not use the democratic political system to fight for rights and reforms. In 1799 and 1800, the British Parliament passed the Combination Acts, which made it illegal for workers to unionize, or combine, as a group to ask for better working conditions.

- **Tough working conditions-** For the first generation of workers, from the 1790s to the 1840s, working conditions were very tough, and sometimes tragic. Most labourers worked 10 to 14 hours a day, six days a week, with no paid vacation or holidays. Each industry had safety hazards too; the process of purifying iron, for example, demanded that workers toiled amidst temperatures as high as 130 degrees in the coolest part of the ironworks. Under such dangerous conditions, accidents on the job occurred regularly. Factory employers demanded a complete change of pace and discipline from the village life. Workers could not wander over to chat with their neighbours or family as they would have done while working in the country. They could not return to the village during harvest time to help their families, unless they wanted to lose their jobs.
- **Changed social conditions-** Working in new industrial cities had an effect on people's lives outside of the factories as well. As workers migrated from the country to the city, their lives and the lives of their families were utterly and permanently transformed. For many skilled workers, the quality of life decreased a great deal in the first 60 years of the Industrial Revolution. Skilled weavers, for example, lived well in pre-industrial society as a kind of middle class. They tended their own gardens, worked on textiles in their homes or small shops, and raised farm animals. They were their own bosses. But, after the Industrial Revolution, the living conditions for skilled weavers significantly deteriorated. They could no longer live at their own pace or supplement their income with gardening, spinning, or communal harvesting. For skilled workers, quality of life took a sharp downturn.
- **Restlessness of poor neighbourhood-** In the first sixty years or so of the Industrial Revolution, working-class people had little time or opportunity for recreation. Workers spent all the light of day at work and came home with little energy, space, or light to play sports or games. The new industrial pace and factory system were at odds with the old traditional festivals which dotted the village holiday calendar. In the new working-class neighbourhoods, people did not share the same traditional sense of a village community. Owners fined workers who left their jobs to return to their villages for festivals because they interrupted the efficient flow of work at the factories. After the 1850s, however, recreation improved along with the rise of an emerging the middle class. Music halls sprouted up in big cities. Sports such as rugby and cricket became popular. Football became a professional sport in 1885. By the end of the 19th century, cities had become the places with opportunities for sport and entertainment that they are today.
- **Poverty-** During the first 60 years of the Industrial Revolution, living conditions were, by far, worst for the poorest of the poor. In desperation, many turned to the "poorhouses" set up by the government. The Poor Law of 1834 created workhouses for the destitute.

Poorhouses were designed to be deliberately harsh places to discourage people from staying on “relief” (government food aid). Families, including husbands and wives, were separated upon entering the grounds. They were confined each day as inmates in a prison and worked every day.

- **Urbanization**- One of the defining and most lasting features of the Industrial Revolution was the rise of cities. In pre-industrial society, over 80% of people lived in rural areas. As migrants moved from the countryside, small towns became large cities. By 1850, for the first time in world history, more people in a country, Great Britain, lived in cities than in rural areas. As other countries in Europe and North America industrialized, they too continued along this path of urbanization. By 1920, a majority of Americans lived in cities. In England, this process of urbanization continued unabated throughout the 19th century. This process of urbanization stimulated the booming new industries by concentrating workers and factories together. And the new industrial cities became, as we read earlier, sources of wealth for the nation.
- **Urban Slums**- Despite the growth in wealth and industry urbanization also had some negative effects. On the whole, working-class neighbourhoods were bleak, crowded, dirty, and polluted. Alexis de Tocqueville, a French traveller and writer, visited Manchester in 1835 and commented on the environmental hazards. “From this foul Drain the greatest stream of human industry flows out to fertilize the whole world. From this filthy sewer pure gold flows. Here humanity attains its most complete development and its most brutish, here civilization works its miracles and civilized man is turned almost into a savage.”
- **Health**- In the first half of the 19th century, urban overcrowding, poor diets, poor sanitation, and essentially medieval medical remedies all contributed to very poor public health for the majority of English people. The densely packed and poorly constructed working-class neighbourhoods contributed to the fast spread of disease. These neighbourhoods were filthy, unplanned, and slipshod. Roads were muddy and lacked sidewalks. Houses were built touching each other, leaving no room for ventilation. Perhaps most importantly, homes lacked toilets and sewage systems, and as a result, drinking water sources, such as wells, were frequently contaminated with disease. Cholera, tuberculosis, typhus, typhoid, and influenza ravaged through new industrial towns, especially in poor working-class neighbourhoods. In 1849, 10,000 people died of cholera in three months in London. Tuberculosis claimed 60,000 to 70,000 lives in each decade of the 19th century. Even though there were more doctors in the cities, life expectancy was much lower there than in the country. In 1841 that the average life expectancy in rural areas of England was 45 years of age but was only 37 in London and an alarming 26 in Liverpool. These are life-long averages that highlight a very high infant mortality rate, in the first half of the 19th century, 25% to 33% of children in England died before their 5th birthday.
- **Child Labour**- Child labour was, unfortunately, integral to the first factories, mines, and mills in England. In textile mills, as new power looms and spinning mules took the place of skilled workers, factory owners used cheap, unskilled labour to decrease the cost of production. And, child labour was the cheapest labour of all. Some of these machines were

so easy to operate that a small child could perform the simple, repetitive tasks. Some maintenance tasks, such as squeezing into tight spaces, could be performed more easily by children than adults. And, children did not try to join workers unions or go on strike. Best of all, they were paid 1/10 of what men were paid. It's not surprising, then, that children were heavily employed in the first factories in history. The tedious and dangerous factory work had negative effects on the health of children

- **Working Class Families and The Role of Women-** In traditional, agricultural society, families worked together as a unit of production, tending to fields, knitting sweaters, or tending to the fire. Women could parent and also play a role in producing food or goods needed for the household. Work and play time were flexible and interwoven. Industrialization changed all that. The same specialization of labour that occurred in factories occurred in the lives of working-class families, and this broke up the family economy. Work and home life became sharply separated. Men earned money for their families. Women took care of the home and saw their economic role decline.
- **The Emerging Middle Class-** Gradually, a middle class, or “middling sort”, did emerge in industrial cities, mostly toward the end of the 19th century. Until then, there had been only two major classes in society: aristocrats born into their lives of wealth and privilege, and low-income commoners born in the working classes. However new urban industries gradually required more of what we call today “white collar” jobs, such as business people, shopkeepers, bank clerks, insurance agents, merchants, accountants, managers, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. In this new middle class, families became a sanctuary from stressful industrial life. Home remained separate from work and took on the role of emotional support. Most middle-class adult women were discouraged from working outside the home. They could afford to send their children to school. As children became more of an economic burden, and better health care decreased infant mortality, middle-class women gave birth to fewer children.
- **Wealth and Income-** Historians disagree about whether life improved for the working class in the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, from 1790 to 1850. Historians do not even agree if real wages increased for workers during this time period. E.P. Thompson argues that they did not. However, most agree that real wages adjusted for inflation stayed basically steady from 1790 to 1840. But, after 1840 or 1850, as England entered the second phase of the Industrial Revolution, it appears that real wages began to increase.

### **Political effects of Industrial Revolution**

- **National competition-** Industrial revolution sharply divided the countries. The industrially advanced countries which possessed necessary finances and technical know-how, invested their surplus capital in the backward countries and fully exploited their resources and crippled their industries. Thus the world came to be divided into two groups-the developed and the underdeveloped world, which is a cause of great tension even at present.
- **Emigration-** as a result of the Industrial Revolution a large number of Europeans went across the oceans and settled down in America and Australia and contributed to the

Europeanization of these countries. It has been estimated that as against 145,000 people which left Europe in 1820's, over 9 million people left Europe between 1900 and 1910.

- **Reform movements-** the Industrial Revolution provided a fillip to the reform movement in England. A number of Factory Laws were enacted to improve the lot of the workers between 1833-45 which tried to limit the working hours for children under eleven-years of age to 9 hours a day and that of women to 12 hours a day. These Acts also prohibited employment of children in mines and laid down general rules for the health and safety of workers. A movement known as **Chartist Movement** was launched to demand reforms for improving the lot of workers and for introduction of universal suffrage, secret voting, equal electoral districts, no property qualifications for membership, payment of members, and annual elections. In this way we can say that the Industrial Revolution strengthened forces of democracy.
- **Trade Union movements-** The working men in various trades and industries formed trade union to protect themselves against their employers. Though initially the English law forbade these unions but ultimately they were accorded recognition by law in 1824. Thus by the close of the nineteenth century the trade unions came to occupy important position in the political and economic structure of the society.
- **Development of new social and economic doctrines.** While philosophers like Malthus, Ricardo and James Mill defended capitalist system and wanted the state to abstain from interfering in the economic and social sphere, on the other hand philosophers like Robert Owen, Karl Marx, William Godwin, Proudhon etc. advocated creed of socialism and insisted that the whole society ought to strive for the improvement of the moral and physical standards of the people. Robert Owen, a mill-owner, set up in his industries cooperative communities in which families could share in work and enjoyment of its products. But more concrete contributions towards the development of socialism were made by Karl Marx who examined the reports of the Parliamentary Commissions on effects of industrial revolution and came to the conclusion that the only solution lay in socialization of means of production, the abolition of the rule of capitalists and transfer of power to hitherto powerless proletariat.

### **Industrial Revolution and Colonialism**

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain in the early 18th century, a time when European imperialism in the New World and around the coasts of Africa and Asia was already well underway. However, the Industrial Revolution fundamentally changed the nature of colonialism. It had previously focused primarily on trade in Africa and Asia and gold and agriculture in the New World. The Industrial Revolution vastly increased productivity in industrialized areas, leading to a need for more raw materials to keep up with technological capacity. Also, the search of markets led to colonise the distant lands and this resulted in Imperial competition among the European nations.

In fact these countries added so much territory to their empire that one historian has described it as "the greatest land grab movement in the history of the world." It is well known that colonialism produced adverse effects on the local people and resulted in their ruthless exploitation. However, it cannot be denied that it also paved the way for the industrialization of these territories because the European colonizers set up certain industries in these areas.

The Industrial Revolution also made Europeans more capable of conquering large parts of the world. European improvements in weapons made unindustrialized nations easier to defeat in

battle. Steamboats and railroads made Europeans more capable of projecting power to far-flung colonies, which permitted the European powers to control larger areas. Improvements in transportation also gave Europeans better access to distant markets, giving them a place to sell the manufactured goods that they made with their new technology.

**France was politically most powerful nation, whereas Russia was geographically most powerful one, however Industrial revolution came in England before any other European Nation. Why?**

Following are the reasons of revolution in England before any other European nation

- Enormous expansion in Britain's trade in overseas markets was one of the major causes of Technological Revolution. In reality, it was the primary cause.
- The growing demand for the British goods in these markets gave a stimulus to the British manufacturers to take to machine methods. It is well known that the mechanical inventions of the eighteenth century such as spinning, jenny of Hargreaves, the water-frame of Arkwright, the mule of Crompton and the power-loom of Cartwright etc. were invented to increase the production of cotton cloth which was in great demand in India.
- In addition England also possessed a large amount of loanable capital obtained by the Bank of England from the rich trade of other countries.
- The vast amount of capital which England had accumulated out of profits of her growing trade enabled her to make large outlays on machinery and buildings, which in turn contributed to new technological developments.
- English scientists and engineers had a very practical bent of mind. They made inventions, keeping in view the needs of the time. This was in complete contrast to the continental scientists who concentrated on research in electricity; chemicals etc. which were not of immediate applied relevance.
- The small size of England's population, which could not cope with England's growing trade, also necessitated that new devices should be found out to keep production in line with the growing demand. The shortage of the labour force compelled the owners to encourage and apply new mechanical devices.
- Insular position of Britain which saved her from the disastrous consequences of war, which ravaged the countries of Europe.
- The location of the coal and iron mines close to each other encouraged the English to evolve new techniques for the manufacture of iron and utilization of the coals
- In Britain the agricultural revolution had already taken place which greatly transformed the English society. It not only made available necessary raw materials to run the new industries but also provided a large number of agricultural labourers for employment in the new factories.
- **Presence of Bourgeoisie**, the technological changes in England were made possible because of the presence of a sizable section of people who possessed enterprising spirit and requisite technical qualities.
- England possessed a far better network of means of transportation than any other country of Europe and had most dense network of roads and canals.
- Being cut-off from the mainland of Europe, England remained immune from wars and upheavals of Napoleonic conflicts and the chaotic revolutions spilling over to it.
- The flexibility of the English social and political system also greatly contributed to industrial revolution in England. The members of the upper classes in Britain, unlike their counterparts in the continent, pursued their wealth in the new industrial framework with



great enthusiasm. They worked in close co-operation with the middle classes and artisans which greatly facilitated the industrial revolution.

### **The Second Industrial Revolution**

The Second Industrial Revolution, also known as the "Technological Revolution," was a phase of rapid industrialization in the final third of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The First Industrial Revolution, which ended in the early-mid 1800s, was punctuated by a slowdown in macro inventions before the Second Industrial Revolution in 1870. Though a number of its characteristic events can be traced to earlier innovations in manufacturing, such as the invention of the Bessemer process in 1856, the Second Industrial Revolution is generally dated between 1870 and 1914 up to the start of World War I.

Advancements in manufacturing and production technology enabled the widespread adoption of pre-existing technological systems such as telegraph and railroad networks, gas and water supply, and sewage systems, which had earlier been concentrated to a few select cities. The enormous expansion of rail and telegraph lines after 1870 allowed unprecedented movement of people and ideas, which culminated in a new wave of globalization. In the same period, new systems were introduced, most significantly electrical power and telephones.

### **Growth and Change in Industry**

A synergy between iron and steel, and railroads and coal developed at the beginning of the Second Industrial Revolution. Railroads allowed cheap transportation of materials and products, which in turn led to cheap rails to build more roads. Railroads also benefited from cheap coal for their steam locomotives. This synergy led to the laying of 75,000 miles of track in the United States in the 1880s, the largest amount anywhere in world history.

By 1900, the process of economic concentration had extended into most branches of industry—a few large corporations, some organized as "trusts" (e.g., Standard Oil), dominated in steel, oil, sugar, meatpacking, and the manufacturing of agriculture machinery. Other major components of this infrastructure were the new methods for manufacturing steel, especially the Bessemer process. The first billion-dollar corporation was United States Steel, formed by financier J. P. Morgan in 1901, who purchased and consolidated steel firms built by Andrew Carnegie and others.

Increased mechanization of industry and improvements to worker efficiency increased the productivity of factories while undercutting the need for skilled labour. Mechanical innovations such as batch and continuous processing began to become much more prominent in factories. This mechanization made some factories an assemblage of unskilled labourers performing simple and repetitive tasks under the direction of skilled foremen and engineers. In some cases, the advancement of such mechanization substituted for low-skilled workers altogether. Both the number of unskilled and skilled workers increased, as their wage rates grew. Engineering colleges were established to feed the enormous demand for expertise. Together with rapid growth of small business, a new middle class was quickly growing, especially in northern cities.

The period from 1870 to 1890 saw the greatest increase in economic growth in such a short period as ever in previous history. Living standards improved significantly as the prices of goods fell dramatically due to the increases in productivity. This caused unemployment and great upheavals in commerce and industry, with many labourers being displaced by machines and

many factories, ships, and other forms of fixed capital becoming obsolete in a very short time span. Crop failures no longer resulted in starvation in areas connected to large markets through transport infrastructure. By 1870, the work done by steam engines exceeded that done by animal and human power. Horses and mules remained important in agriculture until the development of the internal combustion tractor near the end of the Second Industrial Revolution. Improvements in steam efficiency, such as triple-expansion steam engines, allowed ships to carry much more freight than coal, resulting in greatly increased volumes of international trade.

The Second Industrial Revolution continued into the twentieth century with early factory electrification and the production line, and ended at the start of the World War I.

### **Difference between first and second Industrial revolution**

First industrial revolution was the change to new and exceptional manufacturing processes and took place between 1760 and 1870 while the second industrial revolution or technological revolution that corresponded to the latter half of the 19th century until the World War I that is between 1870 and 1960.

- The transition experienced during the first industrial revolution included going from hand production methods to machines, iron production processes, use of steam power and new chemical manufacturing. It also entailed change from use of wood and bio-fuels to coal. In the second industrial revolution, it was characterized by the extensive building out of railroads, far-fetching use of machinery in manufacturing, immense use of steam power, large scale production of steel and iron and electrical communications.
- The first industrial revolution started in United Kingdom and spread to Western Europe and North America while second industrial revolution spread to other areas like Russia, Japan and Germany and all developed in respective areas of interest.
- During the first industrial revolution developments were made in textile industry where mechanized cotton spinning powered by steam or water took place. Steam power became the main source of power industries as they were more efficient. The use of coke for charcoal during this era lowered the cost of iron making and even allowed vast blast furnaces to be used. On the other hand, during the second industrial revolution iron making was improved by the use of Hot Blast technique as it reduced fuel use. Mass production of steel also took place and better techniques were used.
- At the beginning of the first industrial revolution, inland transport was effective by navigable rivers and roads. Railways and wagon were used for conveying coal to rivers for shipment. Animals were used to motive power to land and sails aided on the sea. Britain transport infrastructure with canal and waterway network, railway network and turnpike road network. When it comes to the second industrial revolution, great changes were made on the existing means of transport due to the advent of electricity. Road transport was also improved through the advent of automobiles making it faster to move from one place to another.
- Lastly, communication became easy during the second industrial revolution due to the invention of telegraph system that was improved to other means of communication like telephone and radio. During the industrial revolution era, many people relied on messengers or other application means.

A lot of economic changes were experienced during these two distinctive eras. There was expansion of factor system, increased unemployment due to eradication of man power, industrial capitalism and led to mass production of goods. Social, industrial revolution increased leisure

time, led to development of more cities and increased population. Above all, these eras led to increased power of the industrialized countries.

### **Third Industrial Revolution**

The Industrial developments in post-World War II are now identified as Third Industrial Revolution, dominating the second half of the 20th century. The first industrial revolution used water and steam to mechanize production, the second used electric energy to create mass production and the third used electronics and information technology to automate production.

- The signature feature of this revolution is the emergence of a new type of energy, ie. Nuclear energy.
- This revolution witnessed the rise of electronics based on transistors and microprocessors, telecommunications and computers. This led to the production of miniaturized material
- It has brought high automation level in production, mainly by PLCs (programmable logic controllers or automatons) and ultimately by robots.
- It opens entirely new streams of knowledge for humans to research upon, most notable being space research and biotechnology.



## 7. THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN

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The electoral system in the early nineteenth century was radically different from the parliamentary democracy of today. The system was not representative of the population in terms of wealth or region, and elections were open to corruption. Before 1832, just ten per cent of British adult males were eligible to vote, and this portion of the population was the richest.

There were many efforts to reform this outdated system by people who used methods such as corresponding societies, pamphlets and mass meetings to spread their messages. The most notorious of the mass meetings occurred at St. Peter's Fields in August 1819. Eleven people were killed and 400 wounded when a group of soldiers on horseback charged on the crowd. This event soon became known as the Peterloo Massacre and remained in people's memories for many years to come, intensifying support for reform.

Reform of the electoral system finally arrived with the 1832 Reform Act, which increased the proportion of eligible voters in England and Wales to 18 per cent of the adult-male population and 12 per cent in Scotland. Although the working classes had high hopes for the Reform Act, they eventually felt betrayed as despite the new legislation, the poor ultimately remained voiceless in the way their country was run. In the years following the Reform Act, the Chartists would begin to plan their campaign to try to effect real electoral change in Britain.

### Origins of the movement

After the passing of the Reform Act 1832, which failed to extend the vote beyond those owning property, the political leaders of the working class made speeches claiming that there had been a great act of betrayal. This sense that the working class had been betrayed by the middle class was strengthened by the actions of the Whig governments of the 1830s.

The Reform Act 1832, reapportioned representation in Parliament in a way fairer to the cities of the industrial north, which had experienced tremendous growth, and did away with "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs like Old Sarum, which with only seven voters (all controlled by the local squire) was still sending two members to Parliament. This act not only re-apportioned representation in Parliament, thus making that body more accurately represent the citizens of the country, but also gave the power of voting to those lower in the social and economic scale, for the act extended the right to vote to any man owning a household worth £10, adding 217,000 voters to an electorate of 435,000. Approximately one man in five now had the right to vote.

For many conservatives, this effect of the bill, which allowed the middle classes to share power with the upper classes, was revolutionary in its import. Some historians argue that this transference of power achieved in England what the French Revolution achieved eventually in France. Therefore, the agitation preceding (and following) the first Reform Act, which Dickens observed at first hand as a shorthand Parliamentary reporter, made many people consider fundamental issues of society and politics.

Notably, the hated new Poor Law Amendment was passed in 1834, depriving working people of outdoor relief and driving the poor into workhouses, where families were separated. It was the massive wave of opposition to this measure in the north of England in the late 1830s that gave Chartism the numbers that made it a mass movement. It seemed that only securing the vote for working men would change things, and indeed Dorothy Thompson, the pre-eminent historian of

Chartism, defined the movement as the time when "thousands of working people considered that their problems could be solved by the political organization of the country."

Both nationally and locally a Chartist press thrived in the form of periodicals, which were important to the movement for their news, editorials, poetry and (especially in 1848) reports on international developments. They reached a huge audience. The Poor Man's Guardian in the 1830s, edited by Henry Hetherington, dealt with questions of class solidarity, manhood suffrage, property, and temperance while condemning the Reform Act of 1832. The paper explored the rhetoric of violence versus non-violence, or what its writers referred to as moral versus physical force. It was succeeded as the voice of radicalism by an even more famous papers. These papers gave justifications for the demands of the People's Charter, accounts of local meetings, commentaries on education and temperance and a great deal of poetry. The papers also advertised upcoming meetings, typically organised by local grass roots branches, held either in public houses, or in their own halls. Readers also found denunciations of imperialism, the First Opium War (1839–42) was condemned, and of the arguments of free traders about the civilizing and pacifying influences of free trade.

### **Aims of the movement**

In 1836 Cornish cabinet-maker William Lovett formed the London Working Men's Association. Besides disseminating information for the good of the working classes, the association wanted 'To seek by every legal means to place all classes of society in possession of their equal, political, and social rights.' With the help of Francis Place, Lovett composed The People's Charter, which demanded the following changes to the British electoral system-

1. Universal suffrage (the right to vote)
2. Abolition of property qualifications for members of parliament
3. Annual parliamentary elections
4. Equal representation
5. Payment of members of parliament
6. Vote by secret ballot

Although The People's Charter did not advocate any new ideas, it created a central doctrine for radicals wishing to reform the political system. Support for the Charter spread rapidly and its advocates became known as the Chartists.

### **Movement**

Chartism was a mass movement that attracted a following of millions. Hundreds of thousands of people were sometimes reported to have attended their meetings and their three petitions amassed millions of signatures, although some were proved to be fake. Friedrich Engels wrote that '...in Chartism it is the whole working class which rises against the bourgeois', but it was more than simply a working-class movement, it attracted some rural support as well as more radical elements of the middle classes. Chartists saw themselves fighting against political corruption and for democracy in an industrial society, but attracted support beyond the radical political groups for economic reasons, such as opposing wage cuts and unemployment.

Although the People's Charter did not advocate votes for women, Chartism was far from a male-only movement. William Lovett, the author of the People's Charter, wrote in his autobiography that he was in favour of female suffrage. However, it was decided that calls for female suffrage would damage the prospects for the Charter's success. Women may not have spoken publicly like the male Chartist orators, but many did attend meetings and mass demonstrations, and

formed Female Charter Associations. Others actively challenged the Chartists to campaign for female suffrage.

### **Method**

The Chartist movement was not a completely unified organisation and its leadership was often fragmented. All members were decided on the end purpose of Chartism, but there were radical differences in opinion over the means to achieve it.

'Moral force' Chartists such as William Lovett believed that tactics such as holding public meetings, publishing pamphlets and newspapers, and taking petitions to government would succeed in convincing those in power of the moral right of electoral reform. However, many people believed that electoral reform would not be achieved through the use of 'moral force' alone. 'Physical force' Chartists, such as Feargus O'Connor, advocated the use of violence to demand the six points of the Charter be granted, should that not be achieved by peaceful means.

The more radical Chartists took part in riots in Newcastle, Birmingham and elsewhere round the country, at which leading members of the movement were arrested. The most infamous episode in the history of Chartism was the disastrous Newport Rising, which took place on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1839. A group of Chartists stormed a hotel and 22 of the protestors were killed by waiting troops. For a while the energy went out of the movement, though the National Charter Association was established in 1840 to co-ordinate its work across the country.

Eventually, the Chartists split into several factions and the movement's influence declined. The last big protest was at Kennington Common in April 1848, which was followed by a procession to Westminster to present another petition. The Chartist leaders claimed this petition had over 5 million signatures, but many were proved to be fake. There was a massive police and military presence, but the meeting was peaceful, with a crowd estimated by some at 150,000. The petition was defeated heavily.

After 1848, as the movement faded, its demands appeared less threatening and were gradually enacted by other reformers. After 1848, middle class parliamentary Radicals continued to press for an extension of the franchise in such organisations as the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association and the Reform Union. By the late 1850s, the celebrated John Bright was agitating in the country for franchise reform. However, working class radicals had not gone away. The Reform League campaigned for manhood suffrage in the 1860s, and included former Chartists amongst its ranks. Chartism has also been regarded by historians as a forerunner to the UK Labour Party.

### **Evaluation**

Although the Chartists gathered enormous support in the form of signatures for their petitions, their demands were rejected by Parliament every time they were presented. By the time Chartism ended in 1858, not a single demand from the People's Charter had become law. Although the Chartists failed to achieve their aims directly, their influence persisted and reformers continued to campaign for the electoral reforms advocated by the People's Charter.

### **Legacy**

At the time, Chartism may have been judged unsuccessful, but there is no doubt that the movement's campaign for electoral reform played an important role in the development of democracy in the UK and its colonies.

- Chartism did not directly generate any reforms. It was not until 1867 that urban working men were admitted to the franchise under the Reform Act 1867 (which gave the vote to all male heads of households over 21, and all male lodgers paying £10 a year in rent). Further reform arrived with the Ballot Act in 1872, which ensured that votes could be cast in secret – a key demand of the People's Charter. In 1884 the Third Reform Act extended the qualification of the 1867 Act to the countryside so that almost two thirds of men had the vote. Eventually, only one of the Chartists' demands, for annual parliamentary elections, failed to become part of British law. Slowly the other points of the People's Charter were granted. The payment of MPs was granted under the Parliament Act of 1911. It was not until 1918 that full manhood suffrage was achieved. Annual elections remain the only Chartist demand not to be implemented so far.
- Participation in the Chartist Movement filled some working men with self-confidence: they learned to speak publicly, to send their poems and other writings off for publication, to be able, in short, to confidently articulate the feelings of working people. Many former Chartists went on to become journalists, poets, ministers, and councillors.
- Political elites feared the Chartists in the 1830s and 1840s as a dangerous threat to national stability. In the Chartist stronghold of Manchester, the reform movement undermined the political power of the old Tory-Anglican elite that had controlled civic affairs. However, the reformers of Manchester were themselves factionalized.
- **Colonies-** Chartism was also an important influence in some British colonies. Some leaders had been transported to Australia, where they spread their beliefs. In 1854, Chartist demands were put forward by the miners at the Eureka Stockade on the gold fields at Ballarat, Victoria, Australia. Within two years of the military suppression of the Eureka revolt, the first elections of the Victorian parliament were held, with near-universal male suffrage and by secret ballot. In the African colonies after 1920, there were occasional appearances of a "colonial chartism" which called for improved welfare, upgraded education, freedom of speech, and greater political representation for natives.
- The demands and methodologies of early Nationalists (moderates) of Indian National movement were modelled and derived from the Chartist movement of Britain. The Nationalists withered but their demands remained the basis of the National movement of India.

**During the decades of 1830s and 40s, the Nation and State had found one another and British life was enriched by their meeting. Elaborate**

The statement is about Chartist movement and its aftermath in Britain

- Although radicalism in general remained frustrated and dissatisfied with the extent of parliamentary and electoral reform accomplished in 1832, it began to exert a strong influence on administrative reform.
- The practice of giving outdoor relief to supplement wages and in proportion to the number of dependents had done something to save the poor from destitution during years of economic depression, and had gone far to mitigate the rigours of the early industrial revolution
- The radical reformers succeeded in getting through Parliament, in 1834, an Act to reform the whole system. It checked payments to supplement wages, reorganized the running of the workhouses, and set up a central Poor Law Commission to supervise the system. The

effect in the end was to yield a system of poor relief more efficient in its working and more subject to democratic control than the old.

- The many problems of street paving and lighting, drainage and sanitation, water supply and fire precautions, the prevention of epidemics and an adequate medical service, had hitherto been left to be tackled by local authorities. In 1846 Parliament set up a commission of inquiry into the health of towns. An Act of 1848 set up a central board of health on the lines of the Poor Law Commissioners, with power to create local boards
- Social and administrative reforms of this kind in the first half of the century came slowly, belatedly, and only after their complete necessity had been abundantly proved. But their accomplishment, despite these obstacles, revealed also the great qualities of British life at that time. They reflected a growing conscience about social ills, a readiness to treat poverty, disease, squalor, and human suffering as remediable; and a willingness to try new ideas and embark on novel experiments in public administration

Politics came to be concerned more urgently and more continuously with the welfare of the community as a whole, and with the organized provision, through state legislation and state action, of the minimum conditions of a civilized life. The nation and the state had found one another, and British life was enriched by their meeting.





## 8. EUROPE (1815-1856)

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### Vienna Congress (1815)

The Congress of Vienna was held from September of 1814 to June of 1815. After the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte, this international conference was called to create a balance among the European powers in such a way so as to prevent future wars and maintain peace and stability on the European continent. The means of achieving this goal would be through a major reshaping of European interior borders.

Conservatism and balance of power were the guiding principles of the Vienna Congress. Mainly, the four major powers of Europe (Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain) were left to make most of the big decisions. Austria sent Prince Klemens von Metternich, the Austrian minister of State who was also acting as a president of the Congress. The Russian Empire was represented by Alexander I, the emperor of Russia. **This group of major powers decided that France, Spain, and the smaller powers would have no voice in important decisions.** However, the French diplomat, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, was successful in allowing France to have an equal voice in the negotiations. Talleyrand became the deciding vote in many of the decisions.

### Decisions

France was deprived of all territory conquered by Napoleon. The French monarchy was restored under the rule of Louis XVIII. Austria was given back most of the territory it had lost and was also given land in Germany and Italy (Lombardy and Venice). Russia got Finland and control over the new kingdom of Poland. Prussia was given much of Saxony and important parts of Westphalia and the Rhine Province. Britain got several strategic colonial territories, and they also gained control of the seas. The Dutch Republic was united with the Austrian Netherlands to form a single kingdom of the Netherlands under the House of Orange. Norway and Sweden were joined under a single ruler. Switzerland was declared neutral and Spain was restored under Ferdinand VII.

The goal of the congress was to re-establish a balance of power among the countries of Europe and have peace between the nations. The Congress proved to be highly successful in achieving its goal, for the peace in Europe was left almost undisturbed for nearly 40 years.

### **Rise of Ideologies**

The years of 1815-1848 saw the rise of a number of related and competing ideologies, each holding a powerful influence in their own time. That influence often extended well into the future, continuing to the present day.

### Conservatism

The most important "ism" of the period was Conservatism, a philosophy supporting monarchy and the old ways. Championed by Edmund Burke, who had been horrified by the French Revolution, Conservatism argued for prudent and gradual change to be made as slowly as possible.

### Liberalism

Beginning in Spain and France during the 1820s, liberalism soon spread to England. Consisting of businessmen and professionals, the liberals wanted modern, efficient self-government, although they were not always for universal male suffrage. They wanted freedom of the press and

freedom of the assembly. They wanted constitutions, and Laissez Faire economic policies, such as free trade and low tariffs. They were generally against unions.

### Radicalism and Republicanism

Radicalism appeared in the 1820s in England as the "Philosophical Radicals". This principled and unconventional group, consisting partially of workers and partially of industrialists. The Radicals were anti-church and anti-monarchy, and generally opposed the old ways. They were a force unto themselves until 1832, after which they merged with the British Liberals. The European counterpart to Radicalism was usually referred to as Republicanism, which grew out of the French Revolutionary tradition. Republicanism sought complete political equality in the form of universal suffrage. Republicanism opposed monarchy and the Catholic Church.

### Socialism

Counter to liberalism was Socialism, which sought economic equality for all, and was very much against the Laissez Faire ideal of liberalism. Socialism looked at the free-market economies of Western Europe in the midst of the Industrial Revolution and saw exploited workers leading miserable existences while manufacturers profited enormously. Socialists felt that with the rich profiting so much, the poor should get some of the benefits, since worker's labor supported the entire system. Socialists, therefore, wanted to nationalize parts of the economy, such as industrial and financial sectors, giving these areas of the economy over to government control. Thus, the benefits could be distributed more equally to the various members of society.

### Nationalism

Nationalism was the most powerful of all the "isms" in this period. France and Great Britain's strong nation-states had inspired jealousy throughout the rest of Europe; other nations, disorganized as they were, wanted to unify. German intellectuals living in (and hating) the loosely organized Bund provided much of the vocabulary for nationalism, stating that each nation had a particular Volksgeist, or national spirit. Soon, just about every European language group wanted to have their own nation. Quickly outlawed by reactionary forces, nationalist groups formed secret societies such as the Italian Carbonari and German Buschenschaft. These societies distributed propaganda leaflets and plotted rebellions. Often, nationalism combined with other ideological issues, from liberalism to socialism.

In Eastern Europe, the Poles wanted their own state, and in Austria, the Magyars wanted their own kingdom of Hungary. Throughout the Austrian Empire, the various language groups revived the study of their languages and hoped to carve their own nations out of the empire. A particularly potent nationalist force known as Pan-Slavism began to circulate among various Slavs in Russia, Poland, and Austria. All of these Eastern European groups began a renewed interest in their own cultures.

### **Revolutions of 1830**

Revolutions of 1830, rebellions against conservative kings and governments by liberals and revolutionaries in different parts of Europe in 1830–32.

The movement started in France, prompted by Charles X's publication on July 26 of four ordinances dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, suspending freedom of the press, modifying the electoral laws so that three-fourths of the electorate lost their votes, and calling for new elections to the Chamber in September. Strikes and protests were followed by armed confrontations. The royal forces were unable to contain the insurrection and, after three days of fighting (July 27–29), Charles abdicated the throne and soon afterward fled to England. The radicals wanted to

establish a republic, and the aristocracy were loyal to Charles, but the upper-middle class were victorious in their decision to offer the crown to the Duke of Orléans, Louis-Philippe, who had fought for the French Republic in 1792. The forces of liberalism and radicalism made a pact with conservatism.

Louis-Philippe agreed to be “King of the French.” When the “July Revolution” was over, the Chamber of Peers had been transformed from a hereditary body into a nominated house, special tribunals were abolished, the alliance of the monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church was ended, and the white flag of the Bourbons was replaced by the tricolour.

Liberals throughout Europe were encouraged to hope for a general social revolution, but most were disappointed. Louis-Philippe did not want a war and, contrary to expectations, did not support the Poles, who had revolted against the Russian tsar. Their revolt was ruthlessly suppressed, and Poland was incorporated into the Russian Empire. Revolts in Italy and the German kingdoms were equally unsuccessful. Belgium declared its independence from the Netherlands, and it was recognized in 1831 as a separate nation. For several years the Greeks had been fighting for their independence from the Ottoman Empire, and in 1832 the European powers recognized Greece as an independent sovereign state.

Rampant poverty, political flouting of smaller states, enlightened thinking, industrialisation and pan-European contempt for elitism were the five major influences of rapidly expanding nationalistic movements craving a fairer deal for the grassroots of their nations, which dominated the Europe from 1830 to 1848.

### **Revolutions of 1848**

Revolutions of 1848, series of republican revolts against European monarchies, beginning in Sicily, and spreading to France, Germany, Italy, and the Austrian Empire. They all ended in failure and repression, and were followed by widespread disillusionment among liberals.

The revolutionary movement began in Italy with a local revolution in Sicily in January 1848 and, after the revolution of February 24 in France, the movement extended throughout the whole of Europe with the exception of Russia, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries. In Great Britain it amounted to little more than a Chartist demonstration and a republican agitation in Ireland. In Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark it manifested itself in peaceful reforms of existing institutions but democratic insurrections broke out in the capitals of the three great monarchies, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, where the governments, rendered powerless by their fear of “the revolution,” did little to defend themselves. The revolution was successful in France alone and the Second Republic and universal manhood suffrage were established but radical forces joined themselves into a working class insurrection.

In Austria, where the new ministers promised to grant constitutions, the monarchy withstood the storm and in Prussia King Frederick William IV, who led the movement for the unification of Germany, hoisted the black, red, and gold flag that had become the symbol of German unity. The German governments agreed to the convocation of three constituent assemblies at Berlin, Vienna, and Frankfurt by which democratic constitutions were to be drafted for Prussia, Austria, and Germany.

In Italy, at first, the revolution only took the form of a nationalist rising against Austria led by the king of Sardinia under the Italian tricolour, the “white, red and green.” Within the Austrian empire the nationalities subjected to the German Government of Vienna agitated for a national government, and Hungary succeeded in organizing itself on an autonomous basis.

This upheaval seemed to indicate a redistribution of the territories of Europe. In the name of the Provisional Government in France, Alphonse de Lamartine declared that the treaties of 1815 were no longer valid in the eyes of the French Republic, but he added that he accepted the territorial delimitations effected by those treaties. France did not lend its support to the revolutionaries in Europe.

The restoration had commenced even before the revolution was over, and it was accomplished by the armies that had remained faithful to their respective governments. Military repression was first employed in Paris by Louis-Eugène Cavaignac against the insurgents in June, and by Alfred, prince von Windischgrätz, on June 17 against the Czechs in Prague, and later by the Austrian Army in Lombardy and in Vienna; then in Berlin in December, and in 1849 by the Prussian Army in Saxony and Baden. Order was restored in Rome only by French intervention, and in Hungary with the help of the Russian Army. The King of Prussia, having refused the title of emperor offered to him by the Frankfurt Assembly, sought to achieve the unity of Germany by a union between the German princes. Austria and Russia, however, compelled him to abandon his design by the Convention of Olmütz in 1850. The immediate result of the reaction became manifest in the withdrawal of liberal democratic or nationalist concessions which had been made during the revolution: universal manhood suffrage, liberty of the press and of assembly. Absolute monarchy was reestablished in Germany, Austria, and Italy and the governments, in alliance with the middle classes and the clergy, who were terrified by the Socialist proposals, strengthened the police forces and organized a persecution of the popular press and associations that paralyzed political life. In France the reaction led to the coup d'état against the assembly on the part of Prince Louis-Napoléon on Dec. 2, 1851, and the reestablishment of the hereditary empire under Napoleon III in 1852.

The restoration, however, was not complete, for universal manhood suffrage was not abolished in France; in Prussia, the Constitution of January 1850, which established an elective assembly, and, in Sardinia, the Constitution of March 1848 were retained; the signorial rights were not restored in Austria.

### **Crimean War**

Russo-Turkish rivalry contains series of wars between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in the 17th–19th century. The wars reflected the decline of the Ottoman Empire and resulted in the gradual southward extension of Russia's frontier and influence into Ottoman territory. The wars took place at a regular interval (1676–81, 1687, 1689, 1695–96, 1710–12 (part of the Great Northern War), 1735–39, 1768–74, 1787–91, 1806–12, 1828–29, 1853–56 (the Crimean War), and 1877–78). As a result of these wars, Russia was able to extend its European frontiers southward to the Black Sea, south-westward to the Prut River, and south of the Caucasus Mountains in Asia.

The Crimean War was a military conflict fought from October 1853 to February 1856 in which the Russian Empire lost to an alliance of the Ottoman Empire, France, Britain and Sardinia.

## 9. THE DECOLONISATION OF LATIN AMERICA

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In 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Aztecs form a military Empire in Mexico, expanding it in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. During same time period, the Inkas form their own Empire in the Andes (Peru) with sophisticated and very efficient organizational and administrative structures.

Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal opens the 'Age of Exploration', which intensified after the Ottoman Empire blocked the traditional path to India in mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. Spain and Portugal enters into the race of finding India, via southern Atlantic Ocean or via around the globe.

### **The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494)**

After Columbus' return from the New World in 1492, both Spain and Portugal laid claims to the new lands, forcing the Pope to intervene. Pope Alexander VI, declaring that Spain owned all new lands west of a line 370 leagues (approx. 1300 miles) from the Cape Verde Islands, whereas Portugal owning all in the east. The Two nations ratified the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, which established the line at 370 leagues from the islands. This treaty essentially ceded Brazil to the Portuguese while keeping the rest of the New World for Spain, therefore laying the framework for the modern demographics of Latin America.

The confusion (or lie) of Columbus resulted in naming the Americans as 'Indians' (or Red Indians)

### **The Conquest over the Aztec and Inca Empires (1519-1533)**

After the Americas were discovered, Spain soon realized that it was an incredibly valuable resource that should be pacified and colonized. Only two things stood in their way, the mighty Empires of the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru, who would have to be defeated in order to establish rule over the newly-discovered lands.

The ruthless Conquistadores under the command of Hernan Cortes in Mexico and Francisco Pizarro in Peru accomplished just that, paving the way for centuries of Spanish rule and enslavement and marginalization of New World natives.

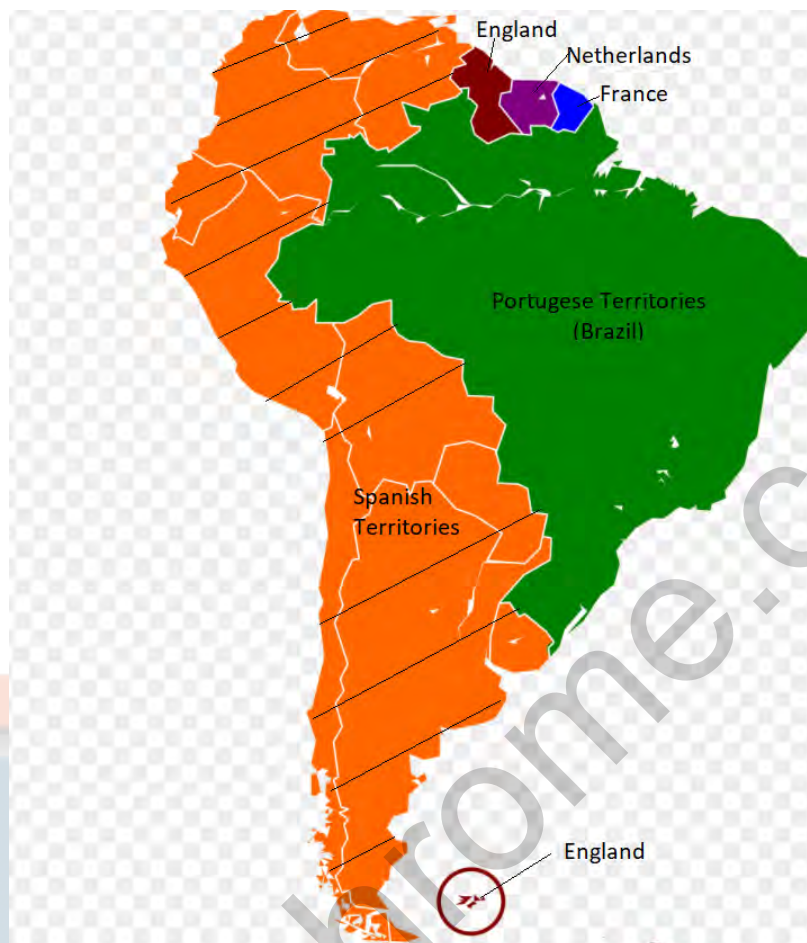
### **The Colonisation of Latin America**

- 1496- The Spanish found Santo Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, the first Spanish town in the Americas. About 65 million Native Americans live in Central and Latin America, of which 25 million in Mexico.
- 1501- The Spanish colonists began importing African slaves to Americas.
- 1503- Jews escape the Portuguese Inquisition by emigrating to Brazil. This Jewish emigration to Americas reached its peak in 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- 1507- Smallpox outbreak in the Caribbean, resulting in the death of majority of its native population.
- 1512- Gold rush in Cuba began. The gold (and later silver) was used to fund the European trade in Indian Ocean till 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- 1521- A colonist plants sugar in Brazil, which later became basis of its economy.
- 1524- Smallpox outbreak in Peru
- 1535- Antonio de Mendoza is named the first viceroy of New Spain. The formal colonisation of Latin America began.
- 1537- Pope Paul III decides that the Indians have souls, therefore entitled to receive Christianity
- 1545- Silver discovered in Bolivia

- 1549- Portugal appoints the first governor of Brazil, Thome de Sousa. Brazil becomes Portuguese colony
- 1576- A smallpox epidemics in Mexico kills more than a million people
- 1581- Brazil has a population of 57,000, of which 20,000 Portuguese, 18,000 Indios, 14,000 African slaves, ie black slaves constitute about 25% of Brazil's population
- 1600- The population of Mexico has declined from 25 million (1490) to 1 million (1600), mostly due to diseases. Peru's population has declined to one million from the five million during Inca period.
- 1651- English colonists from Barbados found a colony along the Suriname River
- 1665- France turns the pirate island of Tortuga into its colony of St Dominique
- 1697- Spain cedes the western part of Hispaniola to France, renamed Saint-Dominique (Haiti)
- 1702- Due to the blockade of Spain by England and Holland during the "War of Succession", Spain authorizes French ships to trade with its American colonies and therefore removes the ban on all non-Spanish trade with the American colonies
- 1791- African slaves led by Toussaint L'Ouverture rebel in the French colony of Saint-Domingue (Haiti), causing the collapse of the coffee economy
- 1796- Gold, by now only accounts for 17% of Brazil's exports to Portugal compared with 51% of agricultural exports. Brazil has produced about 80% of the world's gold during the 18th century (about 1,000 tons)
- 1798- The population of Brazil is three million, of which 50% are black slaves
- 1800- The population of Chile is mostly made of mestizos (300,000 out of 500,000 people)
- 1800- There are 550,000 black slaves in Spanish America, notably 212,000 in Cuba, 88,000 each in Peru and Venezuela, and 70,000 in Colombia
- By the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, the ideas of Enlightenment and revolutions like American and French spurred the desire for social and economic reform to spread throughout Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula. Ideas about free trade and physiocratic economics were raised by the Enlightenment.



**Central America in 1800**



**South America in 1800**

### **The Social System of Latin America**

The social hierarchy was based on stratification which was used for social control. This classification determined a person's influence, control, supremacy and individual rights in the Latin American society and these factors were determined on the basis of segregation of people. The hierarchy was structured on the place one was born in, the highest rank group having utmost power and influence in Latin America and finishing with the social group having lowest rights, control and power.

1. **Peninsulares**- The highest social group in the Latin America social hierarchy. These were people who were born in Spain (or Portugal) and were considered of true blood. This social class was also termed as Spaniards. These people enjoyed top most power, rights, authority and economic favours in the society. Entire political powers were also under their administration. They controlled the entire government along with economic affairs of the society.
2. **Creoles**- The people who were born in Latin America but their parents were Peninsulares formulated the next social class, i.e. though they were not born in Spain but they belonged to Spanish ancestry. The Creoles people were provided with the majority of the local land ownership. They also enjoyed nobility over other social classes of the Latin America.

3. **Mestizos or Mulattoes**- This social class incorporated people who were of mixed ancestry, ie. Whenever a Creole married a lower class person the offspring falls in the category of Mestizos (Creole and South American) or Mulattoes (Creole and African).
4. **Indio**- This expression was also termed as the Indigenous class. This social class was subordinate to Mestizos class. These people were provided few rights along with some authorities in the society.
5. **Negro**- The second lowest social class in the Latin America social hierarchy. These were the people from black ancestry or having black skin appearance. They were basically African slave descendent.
6. **Slaves**- These people were not free people. They were slaved labours for the higher social classes. These poor people were provided with no rights at all, leading to a miserable life.

### **The Americas on the eve of Revolutions**

1. The reforms imposed by the Spanish Bourbons in the 18th century provoked great instability in the relations between the rulers and their colonial subjects in the Americas. Many Creoles felt Bourbon policy to be an unfair attack on their wealth, political power, and social status. For last one century, loosening of trade restrictions actually benefited the Creoles who now called for greater free trade than the Bourbons were willing to grant. More generally, Creoles reacted angrily against the crown's preference for Peninsulares in administrative positions and Creoles felt that the Bourbons were now treating them like a recently conquered nation.
2. Creole frustrations increasingly found expression in ideas derived from the Enlightenment. Imperial prohibitions proved unable to stop the flow of potentially subversive English, French, and North American works into the colonies of Latin America. However, Leaders in Latin America tended to shy away from the more socially radical European doctrine and the influence of those ideologies was sharply restricted, with few exceptions only small circles of educated, urban elites had access to Enlightenment thought.
3. European diplomatic and military events provided the final catalyst that turned Creole discontent into full-fledged movements for Latin American independence. When the Spanish crown entered into an alliance with France in 1795, it set off a series of developments that opened up economic and political distance between the Iberian countries and their American colonies. By siding with France, Spain pitted itself against England, the dominant sea power of the period, which used its naval forces to reduce and eventually cut communications between Spain and the Americas. Unable to preserve any sort of monopoly on trade, the Spanish crown was forced to loosen the restrictions on its colonies' commerce. Spanish Americans now found themselves able to trade legally with other colonies, as well as with any neutral countries such as the United States.
4. Spain's wartime liberalization of colonial trade sharpened Creoles' desires for greater economic self-determination.
5. In South American Colonies, by 18<sup>th</sup> century, Spain reintroduced the practice of appointing outsiders, almost all Peninsulares, to the royal offices throughout the empire, thwarting the Creole expectations.

### **The rise of Napoleon Bonaparte**

The rise of Napoleon brought great upheavals in Europe and the Colonial Powers were under attack themselves, as during the onslaught of Adolf Hitler in 1940s. In the case of Spain and its colonies, in 1808, Napoleon installed his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish Throne, disrupting the political stability of both Spain and its colonies. Cities throughout Spain and its



colonies in America each formed governing bodies called juntas, primarily consisting of local elites under the principle that "in absence of the king, Fernando VII, their sovereignty devolved temporarily back to the community." The juntas swore loyalty to the captive Fernando VII and each ruled different and diverse parts of the colony.

Most of Fernando's subjects were loyal to him in 1808, but after he was restored to the Spanish crown in 1814, his policy of restoring absolute power alienated both the juntas and his subjects. The violence used by royalist forces and the prospect of being ruled by Fernando shifted the majority of the colonist population in favour of separation from Spain.

### Reduced European troops in Spanish colonies

The royalists were the American and European supporters of King Ferdinand. Due to fear of defection towards the junta, no more Spanish soldiers were sent to the wars in the Americas. In 1820, Spaniards formed only 10% of all the royalist armies, and only half of the soldiers of the expeditionary units were European. By 1824, less than 1% of the soldiers were European.

## **The Revolutions**

### **1. Haitian Revolution** (against France)

In the 18th century, Saint Dominigue, as Haiti was then known, became France's wealthiest overseas colony, largely because of its production of sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton generated by an enslaved labour force.

- In 1791, a massive slave revolt sparked a general insurrection against the plantation system and French colonial power. This uprising spilled over to Venezuela in 1795, allegedly inspired by the revolution in Haiti.
- These revolutions were influenced by the French Revolution of 1789, which would come to represent a new concept of human rights, universal citizenship, and participation in government.
- Many of the whites on Saint Dominigue began to support an independence movement that began when France imposed steep tariffs on the items imported into the colony. The planters were extremely disenchanted with France because they were forbidden to trade with any other nation.
- Inspired by events in France, a number of Haitian-born revolutionary movements emerged simultaneously. They used as their inspiration the French Revolution's "Declaration of the Rights of Man." The General Assembly in Paris responded by enacting legislation which gave the various colonies some autonomy at the local level. The legislation, which called for "all local proprietors...to be active citizens," was both ambiguous and radical as it included everyone except Slaves.
- Slaves rebelled against the planters in 1791 and by 1792, controlled a third of the island. Reinforcements arrived from France and a bloody battle ensued, however, the former slaves managed to stave off both the French forces.
- By 1801 the revolution reached beyond Haiti, conquering the neighbouring Spanish colony of Santo Domingo (present-day Dominican Republic) and outlasting the French Revolution which had been its inspiration.
- Napoleon Bonaparte, dispatched forces to restore both French rule and slavery. After initial successes, French forces were defeated. On January 1, 1804, the nation was declared independent and renamed it Haiti.

- Haiti thus emerged as the first black republic in the world, and the second nation in the western hemisphere, after the United States, to win its independence from a European power.

## **2. Brazilian Independence** (against Portugal)

In 1807 French troops of Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Portugal. Prince Regent Joao (later Joao VI) transferred the Portuguese royal court to Brazil to save himself from French army. In 1808, against the old colonial policy, which allowed Brazil to maintain direct commercial relations with only Portugal. Prince Joao opened commerce between Brazil and friendly nations like Britain.

- In 1815, during the Congress of Vienna, Joao elevated the rank and administrative independence of Brazil to that of Portugal by creating the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves.
- Since 1808, Joao introduced several reforms in Brazil, like incentives to commerce and industry, the permission to print newspapers and books, the creation of medicine schools, military academies, and the first Bank of Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro, created a powder factory, a Botanical Garden, an art academy and an opera house etc shunning the style of old Colonial rule, advancing the independence of Brazil.
- A Liberal Revolution had broken out in Portugal in 1820, and the royal governors had been replaced by a revolutionary Council of Regency formed to govern the European portion of the kingdom until the King's return. The main demand of Revolution was the King's immediate return to Lisbon (Portugal).
- Under the revolutionary Council of Regency, a Constituent Assembly, was elected to abolish the absolute monarchy and replace it with a constitutional one.
- Joao VI and his court returned to Portugal in 1821, whereas, the heir Prince Pedro, remained in Brazil.
- The Portuguese Constituent Assembly demanded that Brazil return to its former condition of colony and that the heir return to Portugal, which Pedro refused.
- In November 1823, Brazil declared independence, forming a separate, local Empire founded by Dom Pedro I. According to a version his father John VI asked him to breakaway from Portugal and be Emperor of Brazil before any revolutionary do so.
- The war between the Brazilians and Portuguese lasted from February 1822, with the burst of first skirmishes between militias, to November 1823, when the last Portuguese garrisons surrendered.
- The Brazilian Empire lasted until a coup in 1889 overthrew the monarchy leading to its current status as a republic.

## **The Spanish Colonies**

After the Napoleonic conquest over Spain, although all the Spanish world almost uniformly rejected Napoleon's plan to place his brother, Joseph, on the throne, there was no clear solution to the lack of a king. Spanish loyalists created their own Central Junta in Spain to resist Napoleon.

- Most Spanish Americans saw no reason to recognize such weak Junta government that was under the threat of being captured by the French. They began to work for the creation of local juntas to preserve the region's independence from the French.
- Junta movements were successful in New Granada (Colombia), Venezuela, Chile and Rio de la Plata (Argentina). Less successful, though serious movements, also occurred in Central America.

- Ultimately, Central America, along with most of New Spain, Quito (Ecuador), Peru, Upper Peru (Bolivia), the Caribbean and the Philippine Islands remained in control of royalists for the next decade and participated in the Spanish Cortes effort to establish a liberal government for the Spanish Monarchy.
- Although the juntas claimed to carry out their actions in the name of the deposed king, Ferdinand VII, their creation provided an opportunity for people who favoured outright independence to publicly and safely promote their agenda.
- The idea that independence was not the initial concern is evidenced by the fact that few areas declared independence in the years after 1810. The congresses of Venezuela and New Granada did so in 1811 and also Paraguay in same year. Some historians explain the reluctance to declare independence as a "mask of Ferdinand VII": that is, that patriot leaders felt that they needed to claim loyalty to the deposed monarch in order to prepare the masses for the radical change that full independence eventually would entail.
- Overall, despite achieving formal or de facto independence, many regions of Spanish America were marked by nearly continuous civil wars, which lasted well into the 1820s.
- By 1815 the general outlines of which areas were controlled by royalists and pro-independence forces were established and a general stalemate set in the war.
- In areas where royalists controlled the main population centres, most of the fighting by those seeking independence was done by isolated guerrilla bands.
- The Timeline
  - 1793-1815: French revolutionary wars and Napoleonic wars disrupt political rule in Europe.
  - 1810- Creoles establish ruling Juntas in Caracas, Venezuela, Santiago, Chile, Buenos Aires, Argentina
  - 1810- The priest Miguel Hidalgo Costilla issues the "Grito de Dolores" in Mexico which begins the War of Independence against Spain.
  - 1811- Venezuela and Paraguay declare independence from Spain.
  - 1813- The first Mexican Congress formally declares Mexican Independence.

### **Fall of Napoleon and Restoration of Ferdinand VII**

Upon his restoration Ferdinand VII made liberal promises, however once at throne, he realized that he had significant support from conservatives in the general population, he ordered the arrest of liberal leaders.

- He restored the former legal codes and political institutions. The news of the events soon arrived in Spanish America
- Ferdinand's actions constituted a break both with 'the autonomous governments', which had not yet declared formal independence, and with the efforts of 'Spanish liberals' to create a representative government that would fully include the overseas possessions. Such a government was seen as an alternative to independence by many in New Spain, Central America, the Caribbean, Quito, Peru, Upper Peru and Chile.
- Liberals on both sides of the Atlantic, nevertheless, continued to conspire to bring back a constitutional monarchy, ultimately succeeding in 1820.
- The third party, ie. the Spanish Americans in royalist areas who were committed to independence had already joined the guerrilla movements. However, Ferdinand's actions did set areas outside of the control of the crown on the path to full independence.

- The governments of these regions, which had their origins in the juntas of 1810, and even moderates there, who had entertained a reconciliation with the crown, now saw the need to separate from Spain if they were to protect the reforms they had enacted.

### The Libertadores

- The movements that liberated Spanish South America arose from opposite ends of the continent. From the North came the movement led most famously by Simon Bolivar. From the South came another force, led by Jose de San Martin. After difficult conquests of their home regions, the two movements spread the cause of independence through other territories, finally meeting on the central Pacific coast. From there, troops under Northern Generals finally defeated the loyalist resistance in Peru and Bolivia by 1826.



### The Southern Conquests

- In May 1810 prominent Creoles in Buenos Aires, having vied with Peninsulares for power in the intervening years, forced the last Spanish viceroy there to consent to the creation of Junta. Although with pretence of loyalty to Ferdinand, the Junta marked the end of Spanish rule in Buenos Aires and its hinterland.
- After its revolution of May 1810, the region was the only one to resist reconquest by loyalist troops throughout the period of the independence wars.
- From the start **Buenos Aires'** (Argentina) intention of bringing all the former Viceregal territories under its control set off waves of discord in the outlying provinces.
- Distinct interests and long-standing resentment of the viceregal capital led different regions in the south to pursue separate destinies. Across the Río de la Plata from Buenos Aires, Montevideo and its surroundings became the separate **Estado Oriental** ("Eastern State," later Uruguay).
- Caught between the loyalism of Spanish officers and the imperialist intentions of Buenos Aires and Portuguese Brazil, the regional leader Jose Gervasio Artigas formed an army of thousands of gauchos. By 1815 Artigas and this force dominated Uruguay and had allied with other provinces to oppose Buenos Aires.
- Buenos Aires achieved similarly mixed results in other neighbouring regions, losing control of many while spreading independence from Spain.
- **Paraguay** resisted Buenos Aires' military and set out on a path of relative isolation from the outside world.
- Other expeditions took the cause to Upper Peru, the region that would become **Bolivia**.
- After initial victories there, the forces from Buenos Aires retreated, leaving the battle in the hands of local Creole, mestizo, and Indian guerrillas.
- By the time Bolivar's armies finally completed the liberation of Upper Peru (then renamed in the Liberator's honour), the region had long since separated itself from Buenos Aires.
- The main thrust of the southern independence forces met much greater success on the Pacific coast. In 1817 San Martin, a Latin American-born former officer in the Spanish military, directed 5,000 men in a dramatic crossing of the Andes and attacked the loyalist forces in Chile.
- In alliance with Chilean patriots, San Martin's army restored independence to Chile.
- With Chile as his base, San Martin then faced the task of freeing the Spanish stronghold of Peru.
- After establishing naval dominance in the region, the southern movement made its way northward. However, benefited from colonial monopolies and fearful of the kind of social violence that the late 18th-century revolt had threatened, many Peruvian Creoles were not anxious to break with Spain, making the task of Southern army difficult.
- San Martin managed only a shaky hold on Lima and the coast. Final destruction of loyalist resistance in the highlands required the entrance of northern armies.

### The Northern Conquests

- A small group of foreign volunteers of Venezuelan revolutionary Francisco de Miranda had failed to incite the population against Spanish rule in 1806.
- Creoles in the region wanted an expansion of the free trade that was benefiting their plantation economy. However, they also feared that the removal of Spanish control might bring about a revolution that would destroy their own power. Creole elites in Venezuela

feared the possibility of Haiti like revolution. Partly inspired by Haiti, slaves in Venezuela had already carried out their own uprisings in the 1790s.

- Creoles organized revolutionary governments that proclaimed some social and economic reforms in 1810, and in **Venezuela** they openly declared a break with Spain the following year.
- Forces loyal to Spain fought the Venezuelan patriots from the start, leading to a pattern in which patriot rebels held the capital city and its surroundings but could not dominate large areas of the countryside.
- Soon the Loyalist forces crushed the rebels' military, driving the revolutionary Simon Bolivar and others to seek refuge in New Granada (Venezuela-Colombia).
- Bolivar soon returned to Venezuela with a new army in 1813 and waged a campaign with a ferocity that is captured perfectly by the army's motto, "Guerra a muerte" ("War to the death"), however achieving only short-lived victories. Loyalists pushed Bolívar out of his home country once more.
- By 1815 the independence movements in Venezuela and almost all across Spanish South America seemed to come to an end. A large military expedition sent by Ferdinand VII reconquered Venezuela and most of New Granada.
- In 1816, a larger and revitalized independence movement emerged, winning the struggle in the north and taking it into the Andean highlands. Bolivar galvanized this initiative. He emerged as a strong military and political leader.
- At this point he expanded the focus of the movement, shifting his attention to New Granada and courting supporters among the majority. A group of llaneros (herdsmen of Venezuela-Colombia) of mixed ethnicity led by Antonio Paez helped patriots to gain victories in 1818–19.
- After leading his army up the eastern Andes, Bolivar decisively defeated his enemies in the Battle of Boyaca.
- A congress that Bolivar had convened in Angostura in 1819 named the Liberator president of **Gran Colombia** (a union of modern Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador).
- The loyalist supporters still held much of Venezuela, parts of the Colombian Andes, and all of Ecuador but lost Venezuela in 1821.
- A constituent congress held later in 1821 at Cucuta chose Bolivar president of a now much more centralized Gran Colombia.

### **Liberation under United forces**

- Leaving his trusted right-hand man, Francisco Santander, in Bogota to rule the new government, Bolivar then pushed on into Ecuador and the central Andes.
- There the southern and northern armies came together in a pincer movement to quash the remaining loyalist strength.
- In 1822 San Martin's and Bolivar's armies met in Ecuador. San Martin made the realistic evaluation that only Bolivar and his supporters could complete the liberation of the Andes and gives Northerners the charge of the struggle in Peru and Bolivia.
- After standing by while Spanish forces threatened to recapture the lands that San Martin's armies had emancipated, Bolivar responded to the calls of Peruvian Creoles and guided his soldiers to victory in Lima.
- While he organized the government at Lima, his lieutenants set out to win the highlands of Peru and Upper Peru.

- His Venezuelan commander, Antonio Sucre made patriots victorious at Ayacucho in 1824, which turned out to be the last major battle of the war. Within two years independence fighters mopped up the last of loyalist resistance, and South America was free of Spanish control.

### **Central and Northern America**

The Mexican cities had a powerful segment of Creoles and peninsular Spaniards whom the old imperial system had served well. Mexican Creoles, like those in Peru, had the spectre of a major social uprising to persuade them to cling to Spain and stability for a while longer. For many of the powerful in Mexican society, a break with Spain promised mainly a loss of traditional status and power and possibly social revolution.

- What was unique to the Mexican case was that the popular rebellion that exploded in 1810 was actually the first major call for independence in the region. Between 1808 and 1810, peninsulars had acted aggressively to preserve Spain's power in the region.
- Rejecting the notion of a congress that would address the question of governance in the absence of the Spanish king, leading peninsulars in Mexico City deposed the viceroy and persecuted Creoles. They then welcomed weaker viceroys whom they knew they could dominate.
- Peninsulars' efforts could not, however, prevent the emergence of an independence struggle. In 1810 the Bajío region produced a unique movement led by a radical priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. When officials discovered the conspiracy that Hidalgo and other Creoles had been planning in Querétaro, the priest appealed directly to the indigenous and mestizo populace.
- A rich agricultural and mining zone, the Bajío had recently undergone difficult economic times that hit those rural and urban workers particularly hard. Thus many of them responded eagerly to Hidalgo's famous Grito de Dolores ("Cry of Dolores"). Although framed as an appeal for resistance to the peninsulars, the Grito was in effect a call for independence.
- The enthusiasm that Hidalgo stirred among Indians and mestizos shocked and frightened both Creole and peninsular elites. Under the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the movement's ranks swelled rapidly.
- Hidalgo's untrained army grew to have some 80,000 members as it conquered towns and larger cities and ultimately threatened Mexico City itself. During their campaign the members of this force attacked the persons and property of peninsular and Creole elites. The movement for independence was becoming a race and class war.
- Perhaps fearing the atrocities his troops might commit there, Hidalgo prevented the movement from entering Mexico City. Shortly afterward troops of the viceregal government caught up with the rebels. After a dramatic military defeat, Hidalgo was captured in early 1811 and executed.
- Soon another priest, the mestizo José María Morelos y Pavón, took over the reins of the movement. Under Morelos the rebellion gained clearer objectives of independence and social and economic reform as well as greater organization and a wider social base.
- With the defeat and death of Morelos in 1815, the potential national scope of the movement came to an effective end.
- Although smaller forces under leaders like Vicente Guerrero and Guadalupe Victoria (Manuel Félix Fernández) continued to harass the powerful through guerrilla warfare in

several regions, the popular movement for independence in Mexico was no longer a grave threat to elite power.

- Final independence came as a conservative initiative led by military officers, merchants, and the Roman Catholic Church. The liberals who carried out the 1820 revolt in Spain intended to eliminate the special privileges of the church and the military.
- Anxious over that threat to the strength of two of the pillars of the Mexican government and newly confident in their ability to keep popular forces in check, Creoles turned against Spanish rule in 1820–21.
- Two figures from the early rebellion played central roles in liberating Mexico. One, Guerrero, had been an insurgent chief; the other, Agustín de Iturbide, had been an officer in the campaign against the popular independence movement. The two came together behind an agreement known as the Iguala Plan. Centred on provisions of independence, respect for the church, and equality between Mexicans and peninsulars, the plan gained the support of many Creoles, Spaniards, and former rebels.
- As royal troops defected to Iturbide's cause, the new Spanish administrator was soon forced to accept the inevitability of Mexican independence.
- A year later, in 1822, Iturbide engineered his own coronation as Agustín I, Emperor of Mexico.
- The following year, a revolt that included the former insurgent Guadalupe Victoria (who, like Guerrero, had abandoned the cause of a popular independence) cut short Iturbide's tenure as monarch and made Mexico a republic.



1826



## **The emergence of new Nations**

### South America

- Although Bolivar called for the establishment of autonomous, centralized republican government and was indeed a liberal, however, he expressed strong doubts about the capacity of his fellow Latin Americans for self-government, revealing his socially conservative and politically authoritarian side.
- The type of republic that he eventually espoused was very much an oligarchic one, with socioeconomic and literacy qualifications for suffrage and with power centred in the hands of a strong executive. And though he favoured the granting of civil liberties to all male citizens and the abolition of slavery, Bolivar also worried that the death of so many peninsular soldiers during the wars would condemn Latin America to a system of “pardocracy,” or rule by pardos (people of mixed ethnicity), an outcome he deemed threatening. He believed that a virtuous governing system would not be possible if the nation was divided by ethnicity.
- While Brazil maintained its territorial integrity after independence, the former Spanish America split into more than a dozen separate countries, following the administrative divisions of the colonial system.
- The difficulty for the inhabitants of these units was not, however, as simple as the demarcation of geographic boundaries. Rather, the recently emancipated countries of Latin America faced the much more daunting challenge of defining and consolidating new nations.
- With the structures of the old system removed, the inhabitants of each country set out on programs to create a postcolonial political, economic, and social order. The obstacles confronting them were myriad and imposing.
- As Bolivar himself exclaimed “America is ungovernable for us, he who serves a revolution ploughs the sea.”
- Indeed, it was only toward 1850, at the end of a 25-year period sometimes known as “the long wait,” that the outlines of that new order began to take their definitive form across the region.

### Central America

- The provinces of the Kingdom of Guatemala—which included what are today the Mexican state of Chiapas and the nations of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica had split off from Mexico in the wake of Iturbide’s fall.
- They formed a federation, the United Provinces of Central America, which held together only until 1838, when regionalism led to the creation of separate countries in the region.

### The Timeline

- 1830- Gran Colombia splits into the separate countries of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador.
- 1838- United Provinces of Central America breaks into five republics (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica).
- 1836- The State of Texas declares its independence from Mexico and begins a war against the central government. Santa Anna is defeated by the Texans.
- 1845- Texas becomes part of the United States of America.
- 1846 to 1848- Mexican-American War, ending with the defeat of Mexico.
- 1895- Jose Marti launches war for Cuban Independence and is killed.
- 1898- Spanish-Cuban-American War. Cuban gains independence from Spain. United States takes control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

## 10. THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

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The Civil War is the central event in America's historical consciousness. While the Revolution created the United States, the Civil War determined what kind of nation it would be. *The war resolved two fundamental questions left unresolved by the revolution- 'whether the United States was to be a dissolvable confederation of sovereign states or an indivisible nation with a sovereign national government' and 'whether the nation, born of a declaration that all men were created with an equal right to liberty, would continue to exist as the largest slaveholding country in the world'.*

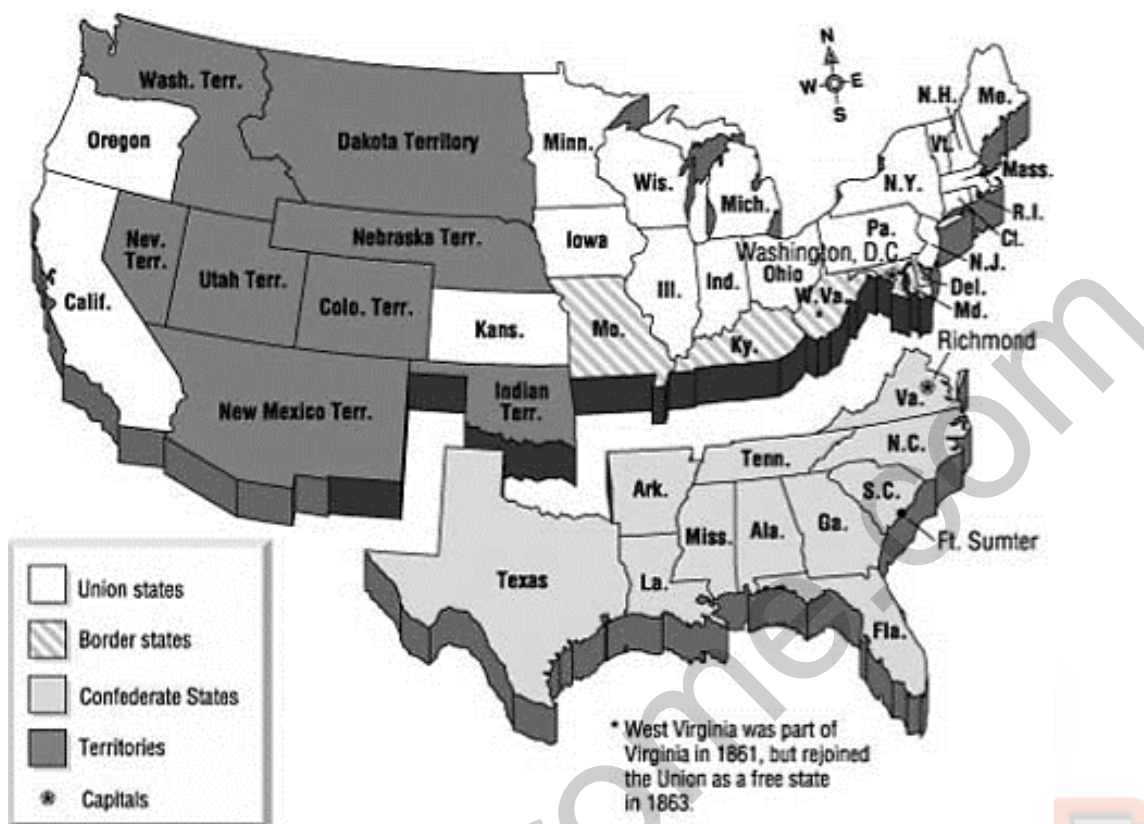
Northern victory in the war preserved the United States as one nation and ended the institution of slavery that had divided the country from its beginning. But these achievements came at the cost of 625,000 lives, nearly as many American soldiers as died in all the other wars in which this country has fought combined. The American Civil War was the largest and most destructive conflict in the Western world between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the onset of World War I in 1914.

The Civil War started because of uncompromising differences between the free and slave states over the power of the national government to prohibit slavery in the territories that had not yet become states. When Abraham Lincoln won election in 1860 as the first Republican president on a platform pledging to keep slavery out of the territories, seven slave states in the South seceded and formed a new nation, the Confederate States of America. The incoming Lincoln administration and most of the Northern people refused to recognize the legitimacy of secession. They feared that it would discredit democracy and create a fatal precedent that would eventually fragment the no-longer United States into several small, squabbling countries. This led to the American Civil War (1861-65).

### **The Economic division**

Between 1815 and 1861 the economy of the Northern states was rapidly modernizing and diversifying. Although agriculture, mostly smaller farms that relied on free labour, remained the dominant sector in the North, industrialization had taken root there. Moreover, Northerners had invested heavily in an expansive and varied transportation system that included canals, roads, steamboats, and railroads, in financial industries such as banking and insurance and in a large communications network that featured inexpensive, widely available newspapers, magazines, and books, along with the telegraph.

By contrast, the Southern economy was based principally on large farms (plantations) that produced commercial crops such as cotton and that relied on slaves as the main labour force. Rather than invest in factories or railroads as Northerners had done, Southerners invested their money in slaves, even more than in land. By 1860, 84 percent of the capital invested in manufacturing was invested in the free (non slaveholding) states. Yet, to Southerners, as late as 1860, this appeared to be a sound business decision. The price of cotton, the South's defining crop, had skyrocketed in the 1850s, and the value of slaves, who were, after all, property, rose commensurately. *By 1860 the per capita wealth of Southern whites was twice that of Northerners, and three-fifths of the wealthiest individuals in the country were Southerners.* The heavily rural South had few cities of any size, and little manufacturing except in border areas. Slave owners controlled politics and the economy, although about 75% of white Southern families owned no slaves and usually were engaged in subsistence agriculture.



### The issue of new territory

At the time of the American Revolution, the institution of slavery was firmly established in the American colonies. It was most important in the six southern states from Maryland to Georgia, but the total of a half million slaves were spread out through all of the colonies. In the South, 40% of the population was made up of slaves, and as Americans moved into Kentucky and the rest of the southwest, one-sixth of the settlers were slaves.

During this time many Americans found it difficult to reconcile slavery with their interpretation of Christianity and the lofty sentiments that flowed from the Declaration of Independence. No serious national political movement against slavery developed, largely due to the overriding concern over achieving national unity.

The three-fifths clause provided slaveholders with extra representatives in Congress and the amendment process made the national abolition of slavery very unlikely in the foreseeable future. With the outlawing of the African slave trade on January 1, 1808, many Americans felt that the slavery issue was resolved.

During and in the aftermath of the American Revolution, the northern states abolished slavery by 1804. In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Congress barred slavery from the Midwestern territory north of the Ohio River, but when Congress organized the southern territories acquired through the Louisiana Purchase, the ban on slavery was omitted. Between 1803 and 1854, the United States achieved a vast expansion of territory through purchase, negotiation, and conquest. At first, the new states carved out of these territories entering the union were apportioned equally between Slave and Free states. It was over territories west of the Mississippi that the proslavery and antislavery forces collided.

When the slave territory of Missouri sought statehood in 1818, Congress debated for two years before arriving upon the **Missouri Compromise of 1820**. The Missouri Compromise was an effort by Congress to defuse the sectional and political rivalries triggered by the request of Missouri late in 1819 for admission as a state in which slavery would be permitted.

At the time, the United States contained twenty-two states, evenly divided between slaves and free. Admission of Missouri as a slave state would upset that balance, it would also set a precedent for congressional agreement in the expansion of slavery.

The extraordinarily bitter debate over Missouri's application for admission ran from December 1819 to March 1820. Northerners, argued that Congress had the power to prohibit slavery in a new state. Southerners held that new states had the same freedom of action as the original thirteen and were thus free to choose slavery if they wished. After the Senate and the House passed different bills and deadlock threatened, a compromise bill was worked out with the following provisions- Missouri was admitted as a slave state and Maine (formerly part of Massachusetts) as free, and except for Missouri, slavery was to be excluded from the Louisiana Purchase lands north of latitude 36°30'.

The Missouri Compromise was criticized by many southerners because it established the principle that Congress could make laws regarding slavery. Northerners, on the other hand, condemned it for agreeing in the expansion of slavery (though only south of the compromise line). Nevertheless, the act helped hold the Union together for more than thirty years. It was repealed by the **Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854**, which established popular sovereignty (local choice) regarding slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, though both were north of the compromise line. In 1857, the Supreme Court in the **Dred Scott case** declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, on the ground that Congress was prohibited by the Fifth Amendment from depriving individuals of private property without due process of law. The court held that no black, free or slave, could claim U.S. citizenship, and therefore blacks were unable to petition the court for their freedom. The Dred Scott decision incensed abolitionists and heightened North-South tensions.

### **Slavery**

From the anti-slavery perspective, the issue was primarily about whether the system of slavery was an anachronistic evil that was incompatible with republicanism. The strategy of the anti-slavery forces was containment, to stop the expansion and thus put slavery on a path to gradual extinction. The slave-holding interests in the South denounced this strategy as infringing upon their Constitutional rights. Southern whites believed that the emancipation of slaves would destroy the South's economy, due to the large amount of capital invested in slaves and fears of integrating the ex-slave black population.

By the early 1830s, those who wished to see that institution abolished within the United States, called **Abolitionists**, and were becoming more strident and influential. They claimed obedience to "higher law" over obedience to the Constitution's guarantee that a fugitive from one state would be considered a fugitive in all states.

### **Sectionalism**

Sectionalism refers to the different economies, social structure, customs and political values of the North and South. It increased steadily between 1800 and 1860 as the North, which phased slavery out of existence, industrialized, urbanized, and built prosperous farms, while the South concentrated on plantation agriculture based on slave labour, together with subsistence farming

for poor freemen. In the 1840s and 50s, the issue of accepting slavery (in the guise of rejecting slave-owning bishops and missionaries) split the nation's largest religious denominations (the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches) into separate Northern and Southern denominations.

Historians have debated whether economic differences between the industrial Northeast and the agricultural South helped cause the war. Most historians now disagree with the economic determinism of historian Charles A. Beard in the 1920s and emphasize that Northern and Southern economies were largely complementary. New Orleans, the largest cotton exporting port for New England and Great Britain textile mills, shipping Mississippi River Valley goods from North, South and Border states

### **Protectionism**

Historically, southern slave-holding states, because of their low cost manual labour, had little perceived need for mechanization, and supported having the right to sell cotton and purchase manufactured goods from any nation. Northern states, which had heavily invested in their still nascent manufacturing, could not compete with the full-fledged industries of Europe in offering high prices for cotton imported from the South and low prices for manufactured exports in return. Thus, northern manufacturing interests supported tariffs and protectionism while southern planters demanded free trade.

The Democrats in Congress, controlled by Southerners, wrote the tariff laws in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, and kept reducing rates so that the 1857 rates were the lowest since 1816. The Whigs and Republicans complained because they favoured high tariffs to stimulate industrial growth, and Republicans called for an increase in tariffs in the 1860 election. The increases were only enacted in 1861 after Southerners resigned their seats in Congress. In 1860-61 none of the groups that proposed compromises to head off secession raised the tariff issue.

### **States' rights**

The South argued that each state had the right to secede, leave the Union at any time, that the Constitution was a "compact" or agreement among the states. Northerners rejected that notion as opposed to the will of the Founding Fathers who said they were setting up a perpetual union.

### **Economy in 1860**

Population of Southern States was 9 million out of which 4 million were slaves. On the other hand population of Northern states was 22 million (Northern states attracted the vast majority of the waves of European immigration through the mid-19th century).

While the southern states produced two-thirds of the world's supply of cotton, the South had little manufacturing capability, about 29 percent of the railroad tracks, and only 13 percent of the nation's banks. The South did experiment with using slave labour in manufacturing, but for the most part it was well satisfied with its agricultural economy.

The North, by contrast, was well on its way toward a commercial and manufacturing economy, which would have a direct impact on its war making ability. By 1860, 90 percent of the nation's manufacturing output came from northern states. The North produced 17 times more cotton and woollen textiles than the South, 30 times more leather goods, 20 times more pig iron, and 32 times more firearms. The North produced 3,200 firearms to every 100 produced in the South. Only about 40 percent of the Northern population was still engaged in agriculture by 1860, as compared to 84 percent of the South.

### **Prelude to War**

Slavery was the central source of escalating political tension in the 1850s. The Republican Party was determined to prevent any spread of slavery, and many Southern leaders had threatened secession if the Republican candidate, Lincoln, won the 1860 election. The Republican Party, dominant in the North, secured enough electoral votes to put Abraham Lincoln in the White House without support from the South. After Lincoln won without carrying a single Southern state, many Southern whites felt that disunion had become their only option, because they thought that they were losing representation, which would hamper their ability to promote pro-slavery acts and policies. Before Lincoln's inauguration, seven Southern states seceded and formed the Confederacy, under the Presidency of Jefferson Davis. The incoming Lincoln administration and most of the Northern people refused to recognize the legitimacy of secession. They feared that it would discredit democracy and create a fatal precedent that would eventually fragment the no-longer United States into several small, squabbling countries.

As both the North and the South mobilized for war, the relative strengths and weaknesses of the "free market" and the "slave labour" economic systems became increasingly clear - particularly in their ability to support and sustain a war economy. The Union's industrial and economic capacity soared during the war as the North continued its rapid industrialization to suppress the rebellion. In the South, a smaller industrial base, fewer rail lines, and an agricultural economy based upon slave labour made mobilization of resources more difficult.

### **The War**

The event that triggered war came at Fort Sumter in Charleston Bay on April 12, 1861. Claiming this United States fort as their own, the Confederate army on that day opened fire on the federal garrison and forced it to lower the American flag in surrender. Lincoln called out the militia to suppress this "insurrection." Four more slave states seceded and joined the Confederacy. By the end of 1861 nearly a million armed men confronted each other. Several battles had already taken place--near Manassas Junction in Virginia, in the mountains of western Virginia where Union victories paved the way for creation of the new state of West Virginia, at Wilson's Creek in Missouri, at Cape Hatteras in North Carolina, and at Port Royal in South Carolina where the Union navy established a base for a blockade to shut off the Confederacy's access to the outside world.

Lincoln had used the occasion of the Union victory at Antietam to issue a preliminary **Emancipation Proclamation**, which freed all slaves in the rebellious states after January 1, 1863. He justified his decision as a wartime measure, and did not go so far as to free the slaves in the Border States loyal to the Union. Still, the Emancipation Proclamation deprived the Confederacy of the bulk of its labour forces and put international public opinion strongly on the Union side. Some 186,000 black soldiers would join the Union Army by the time the war ended in 1865, and 38,000 lost their lives.

Lincoln made the emancipation proclamation to keep Europe out of the civil war, Europe was the biggest trade partner of the south buying cotton and tobacco and the European nations, especially Britain and France believed the south had a right to separate from the US. However, Europe was against slavery by this point in history and Emancipation Proclamation made Civil War a moral war.

For three long years, from 1862 to 1865, Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia staved off invasions and attacks by the Union Army of the Potomac commanded by a series of ineffective

generals until Ulysses S. Grant came to Virginia from the Western theatre to become general in chief of all Union armies in 1864. In the meantime Union armies and river fleets in the theatre of war comprising the slave states west of the Appalachian Mountain chain won a long series of victories over Confederate armies commanded by hapless or unlucky Confederate generals. In 1864-1865 General William Tecumseh Sherman led his army deep into the Confederate heartland of Georgia and South Carolina, destroying their economic infrastructure while General George Thomas virtually destroyed the Confederacy's Army of Tennessee at the battle of Nashville.

By the spring of 1865 all the principal Confederate armies surrendered, and when Union cavalry captured the fleeing Confederate President Jefferson Davis in Georgia on May 10, 1865, resistance collapsed and the war ended. The long, painful process of rebuilding a united nation free of slavery began.

### **Reconstruction Era**

Soon after the war, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated and the responsibility of reconstruction came on the shoulders of his deputy Andrew Johnson. Johnson announced his plans for Reconstruction, which reflected both his staunch Unionism and his firm belief in states' rights. In Johnson's view, the southern states had never given up their right to govern themselves, and the federal government had no right to determine voting requirements or other questions at the state level. Under Johnson's Presidential Reconstruction, all land that had been confiscated by the Union Army and distributed to the freed slaves by the army or the Freedmen's Bureau (established by Congress in 1865 to assist refugees and freed slaves) reverted to its pre-war owners. Apart from being required to uphold the abolition of slavery (13th Amendment to the Constitution), swear loyalty to the Union and pay off war debt, southern state governments were given free rein to rebuild themselves.

As a result of Johnson's leniency, many southern states in 1865 and 1866 successfully enacted a series of laws known as the "**black codes**" which were designed to restrict freed blacks' activity and ensure their availability as a labour force. These repressive codes enraged many in the North, including numerous members of Congress, which refused to seat congressmen and senators elected from the southern states.

### **Radical Reconstruction (1867-71)**

In early 1866, Congress passed the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Bills and sent them to Johnson for his signature. The first bill extended the life of the Freedmen's bureau, while the second defined all persons born in the United States as national citizens who were to enjoy equality before the law. After Johnson vetoed the bills (causing a permanent rupture in his relationship with Congress that would culminate in his impeachment in 1868) the **Civil Rights Act** became the first major bill to become law over presidential veto. The following March, again over Johnson's veto, Congress passed the **Reconstruction Act** of 1867, which temporarily divided the South into five military districts and outlined how governments based on universal (male) suffrage were to be organized. The law also required southern states to ratify the 14th Amendment, which broadened the definition of citizenship, granting "equal protection" of the Constitution to former slaves, before they could re-join the Union. In February 1869, Congress approved the 15th Amendment (adopted in 1870), which guaranteed that a citizen's right to vote would not be denied "on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude."

By 1870, all of the former Confederate states had been admitted to the Union, and the state constitutions during the years of **Radical Reconstruction** (1867-71) were the most progressive

in the region's history. African-American participation in southern public life after 1867 would be by far the most radical development of Reconstruction, which was essentially a large-scale experiment in interracial democracy unlike that of any other society following the abolition of slavery. Blacks won election to southern state governments and even to the U.S. Congress during this period. Among the other achievements of Reconstruction were the South's first state-funded public school systems, more equitable taxation legislation, laws against racial discrimination in public transport and accommodations and ambitious economic development programs (including aid to railroads and other enterprises).

### **End of Reconstruction**

After 1867, an increasing number of southern whites turned to violence in response to the revolutionary changes of Radical Reconstruction. The Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations targeted local Republican leaders, white and black, and other African Americans who challenged white authority. Though federal legislation passed during the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant in 1871 took aim at the Klan and others who attempted to interfere with black suffrage and other political rights, white supremacy gradually reasserted its hold on the South after the early 1870s as support for Reconstruction waned. Racism was still a potent force in both South and North, and Republicans became more conservative and less egalitarian as the decade continued. In 1874, after an economic depression plunged much of the South into poverty, the Democratic Party won control of the House of Representatives for the first time since the Civil War.

When Democrats waged a campaign of violence to take control of Mississippi in 1875, Grant refused to send federal troops, marking the end of federal support for Reconstruction-era state governments in the South. By 1876, only Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina were still in Republican hands. In the contested presidential election that year, Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes reached a compromise with Democrats in Congress. In exchange for certification of his election, he acknowledged Democratic control of the entire South. The Compromise of 1876 marked the end of Reconstruction as a distinct period, but the struggle to deal with the revolution ushered in by slavery's eradication would continue in the South and elsewhere long after that date. A century later, the legacy of Reconstruction would be revived during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, as African Americans fought for the political, economic and social equality that had long been denied them.





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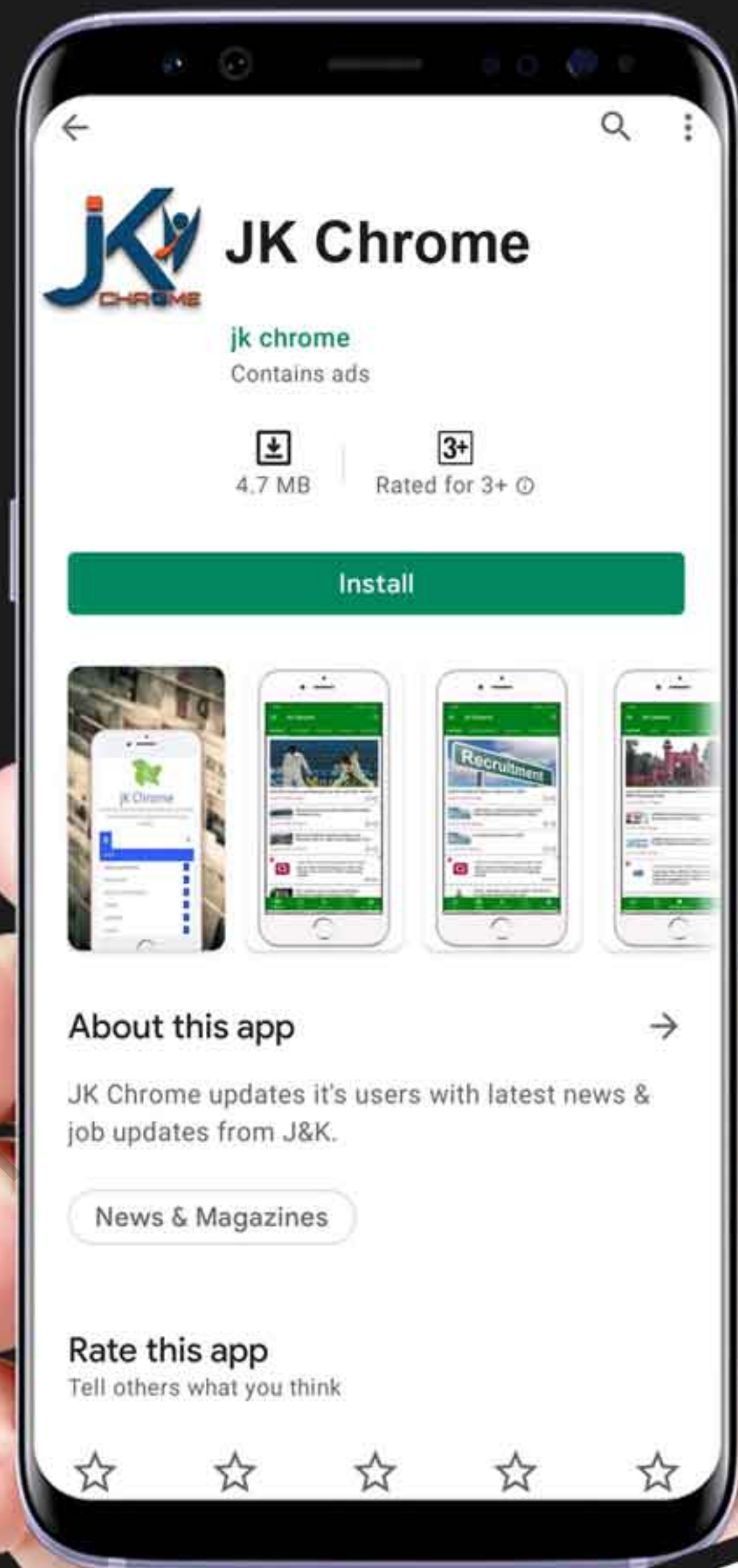
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## 11. ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO AND UNIFICATION

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*“The unification of Italy did not follow any pre-conceived plan, and many ideological, political and economic forces aided it directly and indirectly. Curiously, a favourable European climate was an essential ingredient for the Unification of Italy. There existed several pairs of the international conflicts and out of their interactions sprang the Italian Unification.”* Lipson

*“Italy was made by the long high-minded apostate of Mazzini, the audacity of Garibaldi, the cold policy of Cavour, by war and insurrection, by armed violence, endorsed by popular vote.”* Palmer

### INTRODUCTION

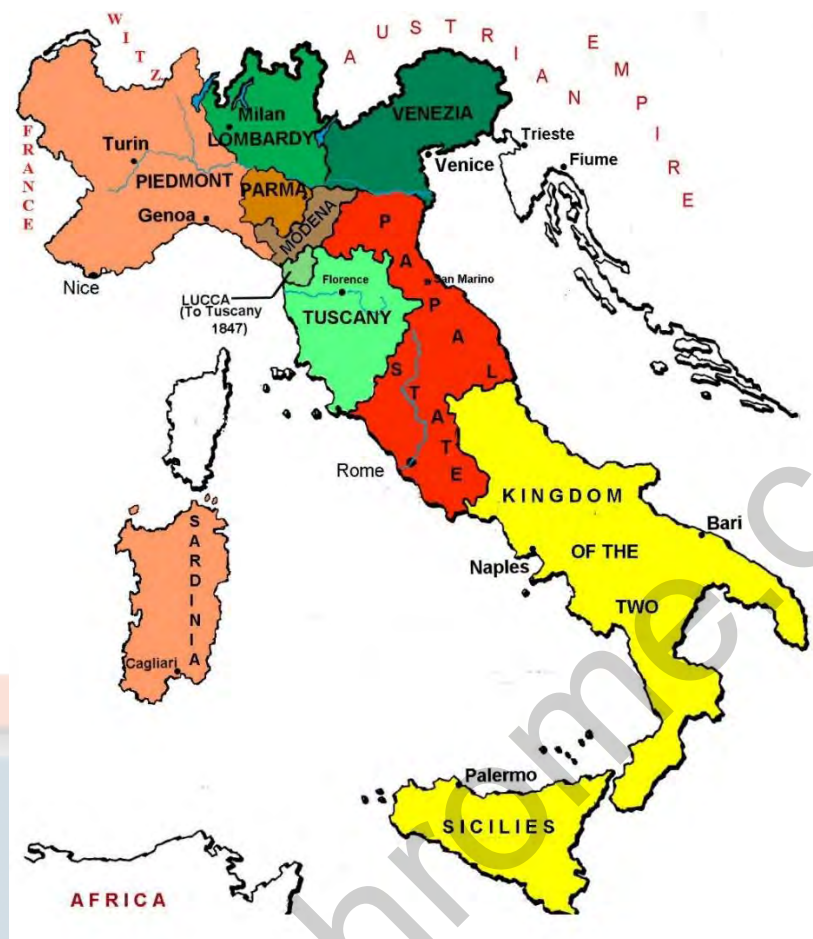
During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, nationalism fuelled efforts to build nation-states. Nationalists were not loyal to kings, but to their people—to those who shared common bonds. Nationalists believed that people of a single “nationality,” or ancestry, should unite under a single government. However, people who wanted to restore the old order from before the French Revolution saw nationalism as a force for disunity. While nationalism destroyed empires, it built nations. Gradually, authoritarian but rulers of relatively small kingdoms began to see that nationalism could also unify masses of people against large Empires. They soon began to use nationalist feelings for their own purposes. They built nation-states in areas where they remained firmly in control. Italy was one of the countries to form from the territory of crumbling empires.

Italy faced two main obstacles to unity. The first main obstacle came from Austria which ruled the two northern Italian states of Lombardy and Venetia. Three members of its royal family, the Habsburgs, ruled the three central Italian states of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Austria was a great European power and too strong for the Italians. France was a very strong power, whose ruling dynasty Bourbons ruled Naples and Sicily too. There was no chance for Piedmont to defeat France and take Naples and Sicily. Also the French army had stayed in Rome since 1849 to protect the Pope. This French garrison formed an additional obstacle to Italy unity.

### Italian Risorgimento

The Risorgimento was an ideological and literary movement that helped to arouse the national consciousness of the Italian people, and it led to a series of political events that freed the Italian states from foreign domination and united them politically.

For centuries, Italy had been a battleground for ambitious foreign and local princes. Frequent warfare and foreign rule had led people to identify with local regions. The people of Florence considered themselves Tuscans, those of Venice Venetians, the people of Naples Neapolitans, and so on. But as in Germany, the invasions of Napoleon had sparked dreams of national unity. The Congress of Vienna, however, ignored the nationalists who hoped to end centuries of foreign rule and achieve unity. To Prince Metternich of Austria, the idea of a unified Italy was laughable. At Vienna, Austria took control of much of northern Italy, while Hapsburg monarchs ruled various other Italian states. In the south, a French Bourbon ruler was put in charge of Naples and Sicily.



In response, nationalists organized secret patriotic societies and focused their efforts on expelling Austrian forces from northern Italy. Between 1820 and 1848, nationalist revolts exploded across the region. Each time, Austria sent in troops to crush the rebels.

### Young Italy

In 1832, the first organized nationalist group within the peninsula of Italy was formed. Their leader was Giuseppe Mazzini and his party was called Young Italy. No person over the age of 40 was allowed to join. The goal of this secret society was “to constitute Italy, one, free, independent, republican nation.”

In 1848 several revolts, mostly led by Mazzini, broke out in eight states within the Italian peninsula. For a short while Mazzini led a republican government that was based in the city of Rome. He believed that nation-states were the best hope for social justice, democracy, and peace within Europe. But French forces soon repressed the Revolution by force. Like many other nationalists, Mazzini spent much of his life in exile, plotting and dreaming of a united Italy. Although revolution had failed, nationalist agitation had planted seeds for future harvests. He proclaimed in exile that “Ideas grow quickly, when watered by the blood of martyrs.” To nationalists like Mazzini, a united Italy made sense not only because of geography, but also because of a common language and history. Nationalists reminded Italians of the glories of ancient Rome and the medieval papacy. To others, unity made practical economic sense. It would end trade barriers among the Italian states and stimulate industry.

### **Piedmont Sardinia's kingdom of North Italy**

After 1848, leadership of the Risorgimento (Italian nationalist movement) passed to the kingdom of Sardinia, which included Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy as well as the island of Sardinia. Piedmont-Sardinia was the most powerful of the Italian states. The kingdom adopted a liberal constitution in 1848 and became a sensible alternative to Mazzini's democratic idealism. The leaders of the Italian nationalists also began to ally themselves with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Its constitutional monarch, Victor Emmanuel II, hoped to join other states to his own, thereby increasing his power.

In 1852 Victor Emmanuel II named Count Camillo di Cavour as his Prime Minister. Cavour was a wealthy, middle-aged aristocrat, who worked very hard to expand Piedmont-Sardinia's power. Cavour came from a noble family but favoured liberal goals. He was a flexible, practical, crafty politician, willing to use almost any means to achieve his goals. Like Bismarck in Prussia, Cavour was a monarchist who believed in Realpolitik. Once in office, Cavour moved first to reform Sardinia's economy. He improved agriculture, had railroads built, and encouraged commerce by supporting free trade. Cavour's long-term goal, however, was to end Austrian power in Italy and annex the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia.

Mazzini mistrusted Cavour, he felt that all Cavour wanted to do was to strengthen Sardinia's power, and not to unite Italy. Cavour's plan was to first take control of northern Italy and rule it from Sardinia. He began to achieve this territorial goal through diplomacy and trickery. Cavour's view was that the only way for him to take full control over Northern Italy was to remove the Austrians who, at the time, ruled a considerable area in the north of the peninsula. In 1855, led by Cavour, Sardinia joined Britain and France against Russia in the Crimean War. Sardinia did not win territory, but it did have a voice at the peace conference. Sardinia also gained the attention of Napoleon III.

### **The Plombieres Agreement**

In 1858, Cavour negotiated a secret deal with Napoleon III, who promised to aid Sardinia in case it faced a war with Austria. The northern-Italian kingdom envisaged at Plombieres that France would be rewarded, receiving Savoy and Nice. A year later, the shrewd Cavour provoked that war. A combined French and Sardinian army won two quick victories over Austria. Meanwhile, nationalist groups overthrew Austrian-backed rulers in several other northern Italian states. These states then joined with Sardinia. Sardinia then controlled all of northern Italy except for the province of Venetia. Cavour then looked at controlling the south of Italy. He secretly began to help a band of nationalist rebels in the south.

### **Giuseppe Garibaldi and the Southern States**

Attention shifted to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in southern Italy. There, Giuseppe Garibaldi, a long time nationalist and an ally of Mazzini, was ready for action. Like Mazzini, Garibaldi wanted to create an Italian republic. He did not hesitate, however, to accept aid from the monarchist Cavour. By 1860, Garibaldi had recruited a force of 1,000 red-shirted volunteers. Cavour provided weapons and allowed two ships to take Garibaldi and his "Red Shirts" south to Sicily (In battle, Garibaldi and his followers always wore bright red shirts, therefore, known as the Red Shirts). With surprising speed, Garibaldi's forces won control of Sicily, crossed to the mainland, and marched triumphantly north to Naples

## **Unification of Italy**

Garibaldi's success alarmed Cavour, who feared that the nationalist hero would set up his own republic in the south. To prevent this, Cavour urged Victor Emmanuel to send Sardinian troops to deal with Garibaldi. Once he controlled Sicily, Garibaldi crossed over to the mainland and began to spread his movement northward. Instead, the Sardinians overran the Papal States and linked up with Garibaldi and his forces in Naples. Garibaldi called for an election and the result was that the voters decided in favour of Garibaldi stepping aside and allowing the region to be ruled by King Victor Emmanuel II. In a patriotic move, Garibaldi turned over Naples and Sicily to Victor Emmanuel. Shortly afterward, southern Italy voted to approve the move, and in 1861, Victor Emmanuel II was crowned king of Italy.

Two areas still remained outside the new Italian nation, Rome and Venetia. Cavour died in 1861, but his successors completed his dream. In a deal negotiated with Bismarck after the Austro-Prussian War, Italy acquired Venetia. Then, during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, France was forced to withdraw its troops from Rome. The Roman Catholic popes had ruled this territory for centuries and as most of the rebels were Roman Catholics they created a special section for the church which was named the Vatican City. The city of Rome became the capital of the United Kingdom of Italy. For the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire, Italy was a united land.

## **Analysis**

### European Circumstances

It is true that Italy could never unify herself by her efforts alone. If Italy could not overcome the obstacles, then she needed foreign aid. With foreign aid, Italy defeated Austria and took northern and central Italy. This is just the way the aid from France, Britain and Prussia helped Italy expel the Austrians from the Italian peninsula. The most important factor was circumstances of Europe which favoured Italy. In 1870, Prussia went to war with France to complete German unity. When war broke out, France recalled her troops from Rome. When the French left Rome, the Italians occupied it. It was this favourable circumstances that helped Italy complete unity.

### Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi

Unification of Italy was a cardinal epoch in the history of the world. In the formation of this nation state, Mazzini rose as the saint and Garibaldi stood as the sword. If it had not been Cavour's contribution, Italy would not have been unified. Cavour was really important in the process of Italian unification. He was not only a clever statesman, but also a skilful diplomat who realized the importance of foreign support. He also handled Garibaldi's challenge tactfully. This prevented a possible intervention of France and Austria. In conclusion, Cavour was indispensable to Italian Unification.

Mazzini was first to popularize the issue of the unification of Italy and spearheaded the Italian revolutionary movement. His efforts helped bring about the independent and unified Italy in place of the several separate states, many dominated by foreign powers which existed until the 19th century. He also helped define the modern European movement for popular democracy in a republican state. Mazzini's thought had a very considerable influence on the Italian and European republican movements.

Garibaldi was a central figure in the Italian Risorgimento, since he personally commanded and fought in many military campaigns that led eventually to the formation of a unified Italy. He is

considered, with Camillo Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II and Giuseppe Mazzini, as one of Italy's "fathers of the fatherland".

#### Was all this planned by Cavour?

One may argue that Cavour did not believe in the possibility of Italian unification, because he thought that there were too many obstacles in the way. What was planned at Plombieres was therefore not Italian unification. If fully materialized, the Plombieres Pact would result in the division of Italy rather than unification. It would in fact fit in with Napoleon III's intention, it would expel Austrian influence from northern Italy and it would reform the governments in other parts of Italy to France's advantage. Lombardy-Venetia, the Duchies and Romagna would be added to Piedmont-Sardinia to make a Kingdom of Italy large enough to be a useful French client-state but not powerful enough to resist the wishes of France and to pursue an independent policy of its own. The two Sicilies could form another French client state to be ruled by a French ruler. The Pope would retain control of the Papal States and gain increased prestige.

For Cavour, the Plombieres Pact was a plan to extend the power and influence of his monarch and Piedmont, as much as he can. He might not have any master plan that he was to pursue without any deviation. He was, like Bismarck, prepared to adopt his policy and objectives to every changing circumstance, yet at the same time remaining firmly in control. Thus, we can say that Cavour wanted to get as much as could reasonably be obtained, but no more. At Plombieres, he was successful in getting Napoleon III to control North Italy but no more. Also his agreement to cede Savoy and Nice to France showed that he was not an Italian nationalist.

#### **Aftermath**

Despite unification, Italy still struggled. The greatest tension still existed between the people of industrial north and the agricultural south. The north was richer and had more cities than the south. For centuries, northern Italian cities had flourished as centres of business and culture. The south, on the other hand, was rural and poor. Its population was booming, but illiterate peasants could extract only a meagre existence from the exhausted farmland. These people had two totally different ways of life and their dialects were so strong that they barely understood each other when they spoke, despite the fact that they both spoke the same language, Italian. Peasant revolts broke out in the south and strikes and riots took place in the northern cities. Hostility between Italy and the Roman Catholic Church further divided the nation. Popes bitterly resented the seizure of the Papal territory and urged Italian Catholics (almost all Italians) not to cooperate with their new government.

The Italian parliament was highly disorganized and as a result, prime ministers and cabinets changed frequently. The Italian government could not deal with the country's economic problems. The nation lacked important natural resources such as coal. Industries did sprout up in northern regions but was relatively slow. The leaders turned to the imperialism of African territories but Italy's failed attack on Ethiopia and other poorly managed interests in the region, led them to be the only nation that lost money from imperialism in Africa.

## 12. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

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*"The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches or by majority decisions but by blood and iron."* - Otto von Bismarck

*"In fact, Bismarck had no master plan but was, like Cavour, brilliant at making use of whatever opportunities came his way."* W.G. Shreeves

*"Bismarck's plan was to preserve and extend the power of Prussia. He was a Prussian and not a German nationalist...It was Bismarck's task to take over the leadership of the German unification movement and manage it in such a way that Prussia remained intact and more powerful than before."* W.G. Shreeves

*"German princes came to support the Zollverein as a means of winning back the middle classes from revolutionary activity thus making political unity unnecessary."* Taylor

### **The Holy Roman Empire**

The Holy Roman Empire was a multi-ethnic complex of territories in central Europe that developed during the Early Middle Ages. The largest territories of the empire after 962 were the German states, though it included the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Kingdom of Burgundy, the Kingdom of Italy, and numerous other territories.

The office of Holy Roman Emperor was traditionally elective, although frequently controlled by dynasties. The German prince-electors, the highest ranking noblemen of the empire, usually elected one of their peers as "King of the Romans", and he would later be crowned Emperor by the Pope, the tradition of papal coronations was discontinued in the 16th century, when Kings of the Austrian Habsburgs dynasty were made Emperor continually for centuries.

The empire never achieved the extent of political unification formed in France, evolving instead into a decentralized, limited elective monarchy composed of hundreds of sub-units, principalities, duchies, counties, Free Imperial Cities, and other domains.

The power of the emperor was limited, and while the various princes, lords, and kings of the empire were vassals and subjects who owed the emperor their allegiance, they also possessed an extent of privileges that gave them de facto sovereignty within their territories. Emperor Francis II dissolved the empire on 6 August 1806, after its defeat by Napoleon at the Battle of Austerlitz.

### **Confederation of the Rhine**

Napoleon reorganized much of the Empire into the **Confederation of the Rhine** (1806–13), a French satellite.

- Confederation of the Rhine was a union of all the states of Germany, except Austria and Prussia, under Napoleon Bonaparte, which enabled the French to unify and dominate the country until Napoleon's downfall.
- The formation of the confederation was preceded by French encroachment in Germany beginning in 1792.
- The Confederation of the Rhine was abolished after Napoleon's fall from power in 1813. Napoleon was chiefly interested in the confederation as a counterweight to the two principal German states, Austria and Prussia, but the consolidation that it brought broke down old barriers and later contributed to the movement for German unification.



### Mediatization of the German States

German mediatization was the major territorial restructuring that took place between 1802 and 1814 in Germany and the surrounding region by means of the mass mediatization and secularization of a large number of Imperial Estates, ecclesiastical principalities, free imperial cities, secular principalities and other minor self-ruling entities that lost their independent status and were absorbed into the remaining states.

- By Mediatization, the lesser territorial rulers in South and West Germany, who were not allowed to join the Confederation of the Rhine, lost their status of Imperial immediacy, i.e. were mediatized.
- The Mediatization did not confiscate possessions of the mediatized nobility, but put their lands under Territorial supremacy of the members of the Confederation, i.e. they were made subordinate to another Noble (who gets seat in the Assembly).
- Other German states that nominally retained their independence were garrisoned with French troops and effectively were controlled by France for the benefit of France. Other German territories were given to Napoleon's German allies.
- The member states, drastically reduced to 39 from more than 300 (under the Holy Roman Empire) were recognized as fully sovereign.

### Early Nationalism

The populations of these states didn't like being ruled by French rather than Germans, and it made many of the smaller German states realize that they needed to group together to become strong enough to resist such randomly imposed territorial settlements and foreign rulers by outside powers.

- The German economy was seriously disrupted by Napoleon's continental blockade that attempted to exclude British goods. German smugglers were so successful that the French felt obliged to occupy Holland and the German coast as far as Lubeck in 1810, but British goods still found their way in, and the French took draconian measures against those found in possession of such contraband. This only served to fuel resistance to the French



occupiers and strengthened national self-consciousness which was further exacerbated by the “**Continental System**,” which subordinated the German economy to French needs.

- The invasion by Napoleon's French Empire and the subsequent dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire brought about a German liberal nationalism as advocated primarily by the German middle-class bourgeoisie who advocated the creation of a modern German nation-state based upon liberal democracy, constitutionalism, representation, and popular sovereignty while opposing absolutism. Fichte in particular brought German nationalism forward as a response to the French occupation of German territories in his addresses to the German Nation, evoking a sense of German distinctiveness in language, tradition, and literature that composed a common identity.
- Following Napoleon's subjugation of Europe and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, the German states realised that being small and politically divided meant being vulnerable to strong aggressors. The states realised they needed each other for common defence. The German princes stirred up nationalistic feelings in the German population to help raise armies to drive Napoleon's forces out of German territory. This was aided by the development of nationalist societies within the German universities.
- Allied victory at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 was partially a result of successful political and military cooperation between the German states. The lessons learned by the defeat of Napoleon and the strong nationalism that was stirred up to finally drive him out, helped strengthen the sense of a common German identity.

### **The German Bund (Confederation)**

At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the allied forces decided to dissolve the Confederation of the Rhine. They wanted to eradicate the memory of French occupation. The German states now formed the German Confederation, also known as the Bund. It aimed to protect its members and give them a stronger voice in Europe. It had a Diet (Parliament) but it did not achieve much as decisions had to be unanimous.

The two large states, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Prussia, dominated the confederation. Of the two, Prussian was more open to nationalism for three reasons-

- i. Prussia had a mainly German speaking population, Austria-Hungary consisted of many different ethnic groups who spoke several languages.
- ii. Prussia had a very strong military, the most powerful in Central Europe
- iii. Prussia industrialized faster than any of the other German states

Also, Prussia was strengthened in the Congress of Vienna. Prussia was given two-fifth of Saxony and Rhineland.

### **Factors against Unification**

- Large number of states to bring together, i.e. 39
- The Confederation was working just fine on the contemporary standards and nowhere was it felt to replace it with something else.
- Religion was a great divide and the issue over which a long and bitter War was fought two centuries ago. Although, Religion was not as great a dividing factor as it once was, it still had considerable weight.
  - Southern States generally had state religion as Catholic Christianity
  - Northern States generally had state religion as Protestant Christianity

- Other countries didn't want Germany to become a nation. This would disturb the Balance of Power in Europe. France was especially worried about Germany becoming a nation because she would be a strong rival right next door.
- Austrian and Prussian rivalry was a great barrier in the path of Unification. Inclusion of one diminishes the chances of the other in the United Germany.

### **Industrialisation and demographic change**

In the early 19th century, industrialisation was gaining pace in the German states.

- The exploitation of Germany's vast raw materials brought wealth for an emerging middle class. One of the states which benefitted most was Prussia, which was granted control of industrial land on the River Rhine in 1815.
- The industrial revolution brought demographic change. Urbanisation increased as people moved to the towns to work in the new industries. The population rose and people living in such close proximity meant there was potential for uprisings.
- The development of the railways greatly improved communication between the states and allowed for the growth of increased inter-state trade.

However, industrial growth for the German states was severely hampered by trade barriers and differences in laws and currencies. The new middle class began to push for change to improve their economic standing.

### **The Zollverein**

Most existing trade was conducted within and between the 39 states. But it was hampered by tariff barriers. The movement to create a free-trade zone in Germany received great impetus from economists and soon from the Bourgeoisie and the Nationalists. With growing production and improved transportation, businesses looked to maximise profits by increasing the markets available for their goods. A single Germany without so many taxes and tariffs would increase prosperity. Much push for economic change came from Prussia. The profits of Prussian businesses were limited by taxes which had to be paid for moving goods between the two Prussian territories.

- In 1818 Prussia enacted a tariff law abolishing all internal customs dues within its own territories and lowered import rates. It also announced its willingness to establish free trade with neighbouring states.
- In 1828 a customs union was set up in southern Germany by Bavaria and Wurttemberg, joined by many other states.
- Zollverein, a German customs union established in 1834 under Prussian leadership, merging other custom unions like of Southern Germany. It created a free-trade area throughout much of Germany and is often seen as an important step in German reunification.
- By 1836, 25 of the 39 German states had joined this economic alliance. This indicated that a more permanent, political union could be beneficial. The historian William Carr referred to the Zollverein as the mighty lever of German unification.
- Austria's reactionary influence within the Confederation remained substantial, but what now changed was that the Zollverein effectively created a common economic interest collectively shared by the member states.
- By 1848, Zollverein included 28 of the 39 German states, excluding Austria. By the time Austria realised how important the Zollverein had become in the early 1850s, it was too

late as Prussian dominance of the German Customs Union had 'tied virtually all of non-Austrian Germany to Prussian leadership'.

- By the 1850s had become clear to Austria that the Zollverein was assuming political overtones, due to the member states virtual surrender of economic affairs to Prussia and their growing interdependence, Prussia was intent on permanently excluding Austria from the union.
- Austria failed again in the mid-1860s to enter the German Customs Union.
- The Zollverein gained even greater importance in the 1860s as Prussia went through its period of massive industrialization and creation of rail and communication networks, whilst Austria stuck outside the union and fell behind.

### German Revolution of 1848

Revolution in Paris in early 1848 triggered social unrest across the continent. The German Confederation experienced revolutionary activity until the summer of the succeeding year. The popular unrest grew predominantly out of grievances resulting from the economic downturn of the late 1840s. There was a major riot in Berlin. The outcome was that a terrified Prussian king, Frederick William IV was forced to call a constitutional convention at Frankfurt. German liberal nationalists harnessed the opportunity the revolutionary spirit provided to call for the formation of a parliament in Frankfurt to discuss political issues, i.e. issues of reform and unification. The outcome was that a liberal constitution was written for the kingdom.

However small it was, the first attempt to unify Germany failed in 1848. It was in the form of a revolution from the people. Now the attempts were made to unify it from above.

### The Grossdeutsche vs The Kleindeutsche

The main debate at Frankfurt was the long standing question of the fundamental model of the Unification. The model of diplomatic spheres of influence resulting from the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15 after the Napoleonic Wars endorsed Austrian dominance in Central Europe. However, the negotiators at Vienna took no account of Prussia's growing strength within and among the German states, failing to foresee that Prussia would challenge Austria for leadership within the German states. This German dualism presented two solutions to the problem of unification- Kleindeutsche and Grossdeutsche.

The Nationalists at the Convention marginally voted against the 'Grossdeutsche' solution, which would include Austria, and in favour of the 'Kleindeutsche' solution, excluding Austria.

- **The Grossdeutsche ("Greater Germany")** favoured unifying all German-speaking peoples under one state, this was promoted by the Austrian Empire and its supporters.
- **The Kleindeutsche ("Lesser Germany")** sought only to unify the northern German states and did not include Austria, this proposal was favoured by the Kingdom of Prussia.

The 'Kleindeutsche' camp was naturally stronger from the start because in the area of economic policy, their goal was already a reality.

### Wilhelm I

In 1861 Wilhelm I succeeded Frederick William to the throne. He wanted several reforms, especially one to double the size of the Prussian army. However, the liberal parliament refused to grant him any money for his reforms. Wilhelm saw this as a major challenge to his authority. He was supported by the Junkers (wealthy, landowning class). In return for their support, Wilhelm enlisted all of his cabinet ministers and military leaders from the Junkers class.

### **Otto von Bismarck**

In 1862, to overcome his difficulties with the parliament, Wilhelm elected a conservative Junker, Otto von Bismarck, to become his new prime minister. Bismarck was a master of realpolitik (the politics of reality). Bismarck's stance was tough and contained no room for idealism. Bismarck's action was to declare that he would rule without the consent of parliament and without a legal budget. His actions would be final, even though they were indirect violation of the constitution. As Prussia's prime minister, Bismarck first moved to build up the Prussian army. Although the liberal legislature refused to vote funds for the military, Bismarck strengthened the army with money that had been collected for other purposes. With a powerful, well equipped military, he was then ready to pursue an aggressive foreign policy. Over the next decade, he led Prussia into three wars. Each one increased the Prussian prestige and power and paved the way for German unity. Bismarck always claimed that he was loyal to both king and country yet his thirst for power was seen in his expanding of the Prussian empire.

#### Foreign Policy

Bismarck knew Austria was a major obstacle to unification. To succeed in his aims war seemed inevitable. Before he fought the powerful Austrian empire, however, he needed to weaken its position in Europe.

- Prussia refused to help Poland when it rebelled against Russian control. Bismarck then formed a powerful alliance with Russia.
- Bismarck then formed another key alliance with France. In a meeting with Napoleon III, he promised to support France in its plans to invade and control Belgium.
- Bismarck also struck a deal with Italy. Italy promised to help Prussia in any war against Austria, providing Austria were the aggressor and Italy gained Venetia in return.

#### **Danish War (1864)**

A new Danish constitution announced that the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein would become part of Denmark. Bismarck wanted to keep his rival, Austria, content so he suggested a joint invasion of these provinces. In 1864 he formed an alliance with Austria. The two countries then went to war against Denmark. Bismarck wanted to take back the border provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. The quick victory increased national pride among the Prussians and other German states now supported Prussia into becoming the head of a unified German nation. Parts of the terms between Austria and Prussia, Austria would control Holstein, Prussia would control Schleswig. Bismarck suspected this would lead to tensions, and such disagreements would suit his plans perfectly.

#### **Austro-Prussian War (1866)**

Bismarck deliberately created border conflicts with Austria over Schleswig and Holstein. Finally, in 1866, Austria declared war on Prussia. The conflict was over very quickly and became known as the Seven Weeks' War, in which Prussia humiliated Austria. In addition, Austria lost the region of Venetia in Italy and was forced to hand it over to Italy. Prussia's victory meant that it now united eastern and western parts of the German kingdoms. In 1867, the remaining states of the north joined a North German Confederation and as soon as it was in place, it became dominated by Otto von Bismarck and Prussia. By 1867, only a few southern German states remained independent from Prussia. The majority of these people were Roman Catholics which meant that they did not want to become part of a nation that was dominated by German

Protestants. However, Bismarck felt he could win the support of these southerners if they faced a threat from outside of the region. Bismarck saw that if he started a war with France then the people in the south would rally to his side.

### **Franco-Prussian War (1871)**

Otto von Bismarck was a cunning man, who could create “incidents” that never existed, just to achieve his goals. To start a war against France, he published an altered version of a diplomatic telegram, describing a meeting that took place between Wilhelm I and the French ambassador to Germany. Bismarck changed the words so that they read that Wilhelm I insulted the French and this provoked them to declare war on Prussia on July 19, 1870. Also, Bismarck used the Hohenzollern candidacy to provoke France. Bismarck projected Leopold as future King of Spain. Bismarck uses the rhetoric of German pride to gather all of the other German confederation members around Prussia. He says that France has insulted the German people and should be made to pay. Soon, the Prussian army, invaded northern France. By September, the Prussians had surrounded the main French force and then took over 80,000 prisoners, including the Emperor Napoleon III. The Prussians then laid siege on Paris and finally, after a four-month blockade, a starving Paris surrendered.

On January 18, 1871, at the captured palace of Versailles, King Wilhelm I of Prussia was crowned Kaiser (emperor). The Germans called their Empire the Second Reich, the first being the Holy Roman Empire. Bismarck had achieved his goal of dominating Germany and Europe by the use of “blood and iron.”

### **Analysis of German Unification**

European liberalism offered an intellectual basis for unification by challenging dynastic and absolutist models of social and political organization; its German manifestation emphasized the importance of tradition, education, and linguistic unity of peoples in a geographic region. Economically, the creation of the Prussian Zollverein (customs union) in 1818, and its subsequent expansion to include other states of the German Confederation, reduced competition between and within states. Emerging modes of transportation facilitated business and recreational travel, leading to contact and sometimes conflict between and among German-speakers from throughout Central Europe.

#### Military successes

Military successes, especially Prussian ones, in three regional wars generated enthusiasm and pride that politicians could harness to promote unification. This experience echoed the memory of mutual accomplishment in the Napoleonic Wars, particularly in the War of Liberation of 1813–14. By establishing a Germany without Austria, the political and administrative unification in 1871 at least temporarily solved the problem of dualism.

#### Bismarck

Historians debate whether or not Otto von Bismarck, the Minister President of Prussia, had a master-plan to expand the North German Confederation of 1866 to include the remaining independent German states into a single entity, or whether he simply sought to expand the power of the Kingdom of Prussia. They conclude that factors in addition to the strength of Bismarck's Realpolitik led a collection of early modern polities to reorganize political, economic, military and diplomatic relationships in the nineteenth century. Reaction to Danish irredentism and French nationalism provided foci for expressions of German unity.

Some historians argue that Bismarck only intended to unify the north German states but the strength of nationalist feelings after 1866 led to German unification under its own steam. According to this opinion, Bismarck actually reacted to political changes in other German states and capitalised on it rather than pursuing a master plan from the beginning to control all German states.

Bismarck's success was due in part to his strong will. He was a master of Realpolitik, or the realistic politics based on the needs of the state. Although Bismarck was the architect of German unity, he was not really a German nationalist. His primary goal was to bring more power to the Prussian Ruling family. Unification was seen as a means to this end.

### 'Blood and Iron' or 'Coal and Iron'

'Coal and iron' refers to economic ties unifying Germany and 'blood and iron' refers to the unification of Germany through force.

Due to the abolition of customs barriers and the currency no longer varying from each state trade increased between the countries. This did not occur however without the help of the railways. Lines were extended throughout the states of the Zollverein. Communication between the states increased greatly and now not only were economic barriers broken down but also physical ones. Communication to enable unity increased greatly through the railways.

Germany unified under Prussia, however, it was also a great possibility that they would and could unify under Austria. However, more than Military power of 1860s, it was Economic progress and social integration of Prussia with the other states for decades, which decided the issue and isolated Austria when the moment arrived.

Economically the states had been brought together but when the Erfuhr parliament (1850) had their first meeting, the majority of the states did not show as they were at a meeting of the Bund being held by Austria at the same time. This shows that even though the states were economically unified under Prussia through the Zollverein they still turned to Austria when it came to political matters. To be able to unify, the states needed to come together both economically and politically under Prussia. Bismarck realised that however much Germany was economically unified, it would take a lot more than he expected for them to unite politically under Prussia.

Therefore, Coal and Iron indeed brought the German states closer, it was in fact Blood and Iron which unified the Germany.

### Zollverein

Traditionally, academic literature saw the Zollverein as a precursor to political unification and interpreted this customs union as a political tool created by Prussia to exert power over other German states. This view was challenged by Dumke (1976), who focused on the financial advantages of membership. These advantages stemmed predominantly from economies of scale for customs administration allowed by the institutional structure of a customs union.

Both of these approaches provide a reason for the creation of the Zollverein but fail to give a consistent rationale for the observed nature of the formation process, especially the negotiation structure and sequence of accession. However, the end product of unification was remarkably similar to the boundaries of the Zollverein. Thus, as the German Confederation moved towards revolution in 1848, the idea that economic integration may gradually lead to political unification was relatively widespread. As the Zollverein was behind Prussia's economic success, it

contributed not only to Germany as unifying economic force but also helped Prussia to gain political and military ascendancy over Austria which paved the way for a Kleindeutschland.

### **Aftermath**

In 1871 it had a population of 41 million people, and by 1913 this had increased to 68 million. A heavily rural collection of states in 1815, the united Germany became predominantly urban. During its 47 years of existence, the German Empire operated as an industrial, technological, and scientific giant. Germany became a great power, boasting a rapidly growing rail network, the world's strongest army, and a fast-growing industrial base. In less than a decade, its navy became second only to Britain's Royal Navy.

In 1815, the Congress of Vienna agreed that there were five Great Powers in Europe: Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century greatly strengthened one of the Great Powers, as Prussia became Germany. In 1815 these five Great Powers were nearly equal in strength. However, by 1871, Britain and Germany were clearly the most powerful, both militarily and economically. Austria, Russia and Italy would now stand far behind these two nations. France stood somewhere in the middle, still struggling politically and economically.

### **In Europe the special characteristic of the years between 1850 and 1870 was a close alliance between liberalism and militarism. Explain**

In 1848 liberalism was already in close alliance with nationalism. The failures of that alliance in 1848-9 bred disillusionment and brought to most of Europe a period of conservatism. At the same time the development of science and technology fostered a mood of realism and even materialism. Liberal movements in Europe changed in tune with these shifts of mood. Benefits both economic and constitutional which, in 1848, liberals had looked for only from more democratic republics and representative parliamentary systems, they were now more willing to receive from the hands of kings and their ministers, from diplomatic coups and victorious generals. Armies were no longer regarded as the enemy of liberals and nationalists, used chiefly to crush revolutions, but as the agencies of national unification at the expense of foreign powers. Until 1871 support for Prussian leadership in Germany and for Bismarck's policy of 'blood and iron' came from liberals and progressives, from people who favoured parliamentary government, constitutional liberties, freedom of conscience and thought, broader educational opportunities, and scientific and industrial progress.

### **The German Empire was created more by coal and iron than by blood and iron. Examine**

The statement was given by John Maynard Keynes. The context in the question is the chain of events leading to the Unification of Germany in 1871. Student, apart from role of militarism in the unification, should focus more on economic reason (or vice versa if they can generate enough arguments)

- Prussian and German economies During the 1850s, the Prussian and wider German economy grew significantly. Prussia gained more access to natural resources in areas such as the Rhine.
- Improved railways- As part of this economic growth, there was massive increases in rail building. In 1870 there was 3 times of the 1850.
- Support for peasants- During this time, Prussia introduced changes to improve the working conditions of factory peasants. This aimed to reduce support for revolutionary ideas.

- Influence Due to the Zollverein, the smaller German states' economies were tied to Prussia. As Prussia's economy grew, so did the others, and this increased their reliance on Prussia.
- A stronger economy allowed Prussia to build a bigger and stronger army. Also, the extensive train network was a significant reason for Prussian success in their war against Austria.
- The main strength of the economy was based on the Zollverein, from before Bismarck's time in office. Bismarck was able to use the outcome of a stronger economy to build a stronger army.
- The military of Austria was comparable to that of Prussia and with one proper alliance it could have humbled Prussia, however, it was the economic prosperity which drifted German states towards Prussia. A phenomena one can see today that all east European nations prefers Euro zone over Russia.





## 13. THE WORLD WAR I

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*“One day the great European War will come out of some damned foolish thing in the Balkans.”*- Otto von Bismarck (1888)

*“We have conquered for ourselves a place in the sun. It will now be my task to see to it that this place in the sun shall remain our undisputed possession, in order that the sun's rays may fall fruitfully upon our activity and trade in foreign part...”* - Kaiser Wilhelm II (1901)

*“European nations began World War I with a glamorous vision of war, only to be psychologically shattered by the realities of the trenches. The experience changed the way people referred to the glamour of battle; they treated it no longer as a positive quality but as a dangerous illusion.”*- Virginia Postrel

*“After the ‘war to end war’ they seem to have been pretty successful in Paris at making a ‘Peace to end Peace’.”* Archibald Percival Wavell

### INTRODUCTION

After 1871, Germany's trade and industry increased vigorously, challenging and, in some areas, even exceeding that of Great Britain, until then the premier industrial nation of Europe. A many-sided rivalry developed between Germany and Britain, intensifying when Wilhelm II assumed power and began building a strong, ocean-going navy.

Seeking to balance the rise of German power, Britain and France began to draw closer together diplomatically as the 20th century began. Germany, meanwhile, had allowed an old alliance (during the time of Bismarck) with Tsarist Russia to lapse in 1890, and faced ongoing French resentment over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which Germany had annexed in 1871. The perceived danger of "encirclement" by hostile nations began to loom in the minds of German leaders. These factors together formed some of the tinder which would ignite the outbreak of war in 1914.

### The Road to War

World War I is one of the most hotly contested issues in history in which a number of sub plots merged into one. The Unification of Germany by Bismarck, and escalating from there on can be said to be the opening narrative of the story. There is no doubt that Germany's misguided foreign policy contributed to the outbreak of war, however the extent to which it contributed is the contended issue. The World War I was the culmination of historical developments in Europe, at least since 1871. This argument states that war was inevitable between Austria and Serbia, that imperial expansion by Russia eastward was also likely to provoke war, and that the French were still furious over their loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian war.



There was certainly a general rise in nationalism in Europe, which played a major role in the start of the conflict. The war became inevitable when the so-called "blank check" was created when Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph sent a letter to German Kaiser Wilhelm II, asking for German support against Serbia. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, Kaiser Wilhelm II's Imperial Chancellor, telegraphed back that Austria-Hungary could rely on Germany to support whatever action was necessary to deal with Serbia.

### **The Alliance System**

One factor which helped to escalate the conflict was the alliance system of the late nineteenth century. Although there had always been alliances between different European nations, the diplomatic trend during the nineteenth century was to have secret alliances, committing states to defensive military action. These were encouraged by Bismarck who, in the process of unifying Germany, sought to pacify those surrounding states which might prove hostile. As well as seeking protection in the size of their armies, the countries of Europe sought protection by forming alliances.

#### The Triple Alliance

At first, Bismarck had kept Germany friendly with Russia. Kaiser Wilhelm II overturned this, and concentrated instead on the Dual Alliance of 1879 between Germany and Austria-Hungary, which became the Triple Alliance (or Central Powers Alliance) when Italy joined in 1882.

#### The Triple Entente

- France in 1894 made an alliance with Russia
- In 1902 Britain made a naval treaty with Japan.
- In 1904 France made an agreement with Britain called the Entente Cordiale ('Friendly Relationship' not a formal alliance, but a promise to work together).
- In 1907, Britain made an entente with Russia, thus forming the Triple Entente (France, Russia and Great Britain).

- In 1914, Britain, Russia and France agreed not to agree to peace separately.

The countries of Europe thought that the alliance system would act as a deterrent to war; in fact it tied the countries together so that, when one country went to war, the others felt themselves obliged to follow. By 1914 most of the smaller European states had been drawn into this web of alliances. Serbia had allied itself with Russia whilst its enemy, Bulgaria, chose the patronage of Germany. A number of small states maintained their neutrality in this complicated network of alliances. Belgium, for instance, was a neutral state, its independence guaranteed by Britain, France, and Germany.

It is interesting to note, however, that all the ruling families of Europe were related to each other in some form or fashion. This led to many Europeans feeling that it was a family affair that they had been dragged into and forced to endure.

### **Important events before the Great War (1898-1914)**

#### **The Readjusting Alliances (1898-1907)**

- In 1898, the Spanish-American War began. Within months the United States defeated an old imperial power, Spain. The Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii were now American, and Cuba became an American protectorate. The United States was now a world power.
- In 1898 the German Reichstag passed a bill calling for a sharp increase in naval spending.
- The three-year Boer War (1899–1902) divided British society, but the army's initial incompetence eventually turned to victory. On the Continent there was loose talk about intervention in the Boer War. Suddenly Britain's imperial possessions appeared vulnerable; their splendid isolation had become lonely and also dangerous.
- The Russians, pressed their territorial aggressiveness in the Far East, thus angering the Japanese and alarming the British about their position in India. To offset these threats, **Britain made a defensive alliance with Japan in 1902**. It strengthened Britain's position in the Far East and allowed some realignment of British naval forces.
- **Entente Cordiale (1904)** - France conceded Egypt to Britain and the British pledged to support French efforts to control Morocco. The two countries also resolved long-standing disputes about fishing rights off Newfoundland. The agreement represented imperialism at its zenith.
- Britain's ally, Japan, launched a surprise attack on the Russians. At no point in the ensuing Russo-Japanese War did either the French or the British consider intervention. The land struggle in Manchuria proved costly, with the Japanese finally prevailing. The humiliating defeat of Russia resulted in revolutionary conditions.
- **Moroccan Crisis (1905)**- In 1904 France had concluded a secret treaty with Spain partitioning Morocco and had also agreed not to oppose Britain's moves in Egypt in exchange for a free hand in Morocco. Germany, however, insisted upon an open-door policy in the area; and, in a dramatic show of imperial power, the emperor William II visited Tangier and, from his yacht on March 31, 1905, declared for Morocco's independence and integrity. The resultant international panic, the First Moroccan Crisis, was resolved in January–April 1906 at the Algeiras Conference, where German and other national economic rights were upheld and where the French and Spanish were entrusted with the policing of Morocco.
- **Russo British Entente (1907)** - The new British foreign secretary Sir Edward Grey wanted to ensure Britain's imperial position. He opened negotiations with Russia on a range of

issues including Persia and the Indian frontier. Thus Britain and Russia came to an agreement, again called an Entente, in August 1907. This represented another British success in securing its imperial realm. Though the agreement was touted as anti-German in origin, it really grew out of imperial interests. Yet taken together, the two agreements represented a fundamental shift in London's relationship with its two former antagonists.

- The years after 1905 saw a profound change in the British Foreign Office. By 1907 suspicion about any German action was the rule of thumb. This attitude did not prevent negotiations with Germany over naval issues, but the bureaucratic apparatus saw every German action from the worst possible angle.

### **Europe in Transition and Division (1907–1911)**

- After defeat against Japan, Russia recast their foreign policy from expansion in the Far East. It returned to two previous areas of Romanov imperial interest, the Balkans and the Straits at Constantinople.
  - By 1906 Austro-Serb relations, once modestly agreeable to Vienna and Belgrade, had considerably deteriorated. The schism between the two neighbours grew progressively wider, which in turn offered the Russian minister new possibilities.
  - Turkish power in Macedonia and the Balkans appeared weaker than ever. Russia turned toward possible gains at the Straits and perhaps elsewhere.
  - Britain decided to negotiate with Russia on Persia and the implicit protection of Britain's position in India. The new Anglo-Russian entente protected Russian interests without surrendering the possible future resumption of expansion.
- Austria had few specific policy objectives-
  - To construct rail lines linking the monarchy with Turkish railways, enhancing the monarchy's position in the Balkans. It immediately drew Russian attention.
  - A stronger Ottoman Empire would hurt Russian interests.
  - The formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the monarchy.

The Bosnian crisis was joined by Russian, Habsburg, and Serbian troops, war seemed a real possibility. The tension finally ending when St. Petersburg told the Serbs to capitulate in March 1909. That reversal had only come after a strong threat from Berlin of German intervention if the crisis continued.

Why was peace maintained in 1909 on Bosnian Crisis?

- The Russian army remained weak from its defeats at the hands of the Japanese.
- Neither France nor Britain gave more than token support to Russia. The ally and the new entente partner viewed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as simply ratifying arrangements already conceded at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

The annexation tumult ended fifteen years or more of cooperation between Austria and Russia over the future of the Balkans. Once collaborators, they were now ferocious competitors, as such, the future chances of even détente between the two were remote. Serbia had been forced to pledge it would keep South Slavic propaganda under control, but these promises were not honoured.

- The Anglo-German naval race intensified and armaments now joined imperialism as the second theme influencing international politics. There were periodic efforts to curb the naval race, prompted in part by political needs in both countries. Each country continued to trumpet construction of the new dreadnought class of battleships.

- **The Second Moroccan Crisis (1911)** - The Second Moroccan Crisis (1911) was precipitated when the German gunboat Panther was sent to Agadir on July 1, 1911, ostensibly to protect German interests during a local native uprising in Morocco but in reality to intimidate the French. This “Agadir Incident” sparked a flurry of war talk during the summer and fall (the British even made preparations for eventual war), but international negotiations continued, and the crisis subsided with the conclusion of the convention of Nov. 4, 1911, in which France was given rights to a protector-ship over Morocco and, in return, Germany was given strips of territory from the French Congo.
  - The Agadir crisis prompted another incremental but substantive change in Anglo-French relations. After some hesitation, London publicly backed French claims and left Berlin in no doubt of its position.
  - The crisis, which had started as an imperial dispute, demonstrated how the entente had now become a constant factor in European politics. If Britain did not have an alliance with France, the entente’s steady evolution with its diplomatic and now military consequences made it a “virtual” alliance.
- **Italo-Turkish War (1911)** - Italy concluded that Italy had to seize Tripoli from the Ottomans, the sooner the better. Yet the ministers were warned that any Italian move against the Turks almost certainly ensured trouble in the Balkans. Already Serbian and Bulgarian guerrilla forces were attacking Turkish posts and each other in Turkish Macedonia. But the Italian leaders simply brushed these concerns aside. In war, the Italians found themselves confronted with stubborn Turkish and native resistance, the Turkish government did not immediately sue for peace. Only with the threat of a Balkan War, endangering both Italian and Turkish interests closer to home, did peace come on 18 October 1912.

The importance of the Italian attack were- The premonitions that the Balkan states might move against the Ottoman holdings in Europe proved deadly accurate, for the Balkans were soon in play. By late spring a secret **Balkan League** that included the Serbs, the Bulgarians, and the Greeks had emerged. The grouping aimed to drive the Ottomans out of the Balkans and position the group for similar, later action against Austria-Hungary.

### **The Turbulence in Balkans (1912–1913)**

#### The First Balkan War

The Montenegrins declared war in October 1912 against Ottoman Empire, followed by the Serbs, Greeks, and Bulgarians. As the fighting started, Russia kept 200,000 additional troops on active duty in western Russia. The Turkish forces would hold their ground, proved wrong. The Balkan armies soon chased Turkish forces from large parts of Macedonia and Albania and appeared set to go all the way to Constantinople. Confronted with this turn of events, the Habsburg leadership adopted a double strategy: increase troop strength in Bosnia-Herzegovina to prevent any Serbian incursion into its imperial provinces while eventually, in November, increasing troop strength in the frontiers against Russia.

In December, a conference of ambassadors in London was convened, to negotiate peace terms between the Balkan states and the Ottomans and among themselves and to sanction the creation of the new state of Albania. A truce ensued, and then more fighting before a final accord was reached in May 1913. The general peace had been maintained.

When Vienna issued a seven-day ultimatum to Serbia in October 1913 to abandon territory assigned to Albania, Belgrade capitulated. Again, Vienna concluded that the threat of force worked, an axiom that dominated its strategy eight months later.

### The Second Balkan War

In June 1913, the Second Balkan War broke out. Bulgaria, angered at its small share of the booty from the Turkish collapse, unwisely decided to attack its former allies. The allies, now joined by Romania, quickly defeated the Bulgarians, causing them to lose still more territory in the Treaty of Bucharest. Still, the fighting had ceased. Unfortunately for Austria-Hungary, its strong position in the Balkans had lost its footing.

### **Position of the Nations in 1914**

- **Serbia**, doubled in size and population, had enhanced his standing with the Pan-Slavs. Moreover, he had just forced Berlin to capitulate and accept changes to the appointment status of General Otto Liman von Sanders in Constantinople.
- **Russia**, still coveting the Straits, would have less to fear if push came to shove. Its relations with Serbia continued on an intimate basis. With the Turks ousted, Serbia now focused his attention on Austria-Hungary. While Russia cautioned the Serbs that recovery had to come, it stirred the pot of South Slavic Nationalism.
- **France** remained unequivocal in their support of Russia and of the alliance. The French, moreover, had tried to assist Russia with Britain and pressed for Anglo-Russian naval talks. Desperate to have Russia threaten Germany, the French now expanded their alliance commitment to an arena far from France.
- **Britain**, the third partner in the Triple Entente, in 1914, focused almost completely on the Irish question. The prospect of Home Rule for Ireland brought paroxysms of anger and despair to the Tory leadership. Britain, despite agreeing to naval talks, was having friction with Russia over Persia and other colonial issues.

In 1914 the Triple Alliance showed less coherence and more internal tensions than its rival, a fact that contemporaries realized. While the alliance itself had been renewed in late 1912, complete with newly-agreed upon military and naval plans, there were problems.

- **In Italy**, political turmoil did little to assure confidence, and Austro-Italian tensions increased as they vied openly for the upper hand in Albania. Italian irredentism over the Tirol had resurged.
- **In Germany**, the Prussian General Staff and the Kaiser expressed almost frantic concerns over the growth of the Russian army and economy. Increasingly, leaders indiscreetly talked of small war before Russia's rearmament would be complete in 1917. Germany also worried, rightly so, about its chief ally, Austria-Hungary. The Balkan Wars had not been kind to the old monarchy. Further, Germany and Austria-Hungary disagreed on many aspects of the future.

The years from 1898 to late June 1914 saw a nearly complete transformation of European diplomacy and the emergence of global international politics. Imperialism and armaments were themes that linked many of the changes. The major actors, especially the Triple Entente powers, took steps that helped to divide Europe into two competing alliances, even if the powers occasionally dealt with members of the other grouping. On the continent, Germany remained the fulcrum around which Russian, French, and Austrian policy revolved. But the centrality of Germany's position did not make it the only actor, its three neighbours also had their agendas.

The British, though always mesmerized by imperial concerns, gradually but steadily linked their fortune to those of France and Russia.

### The July Crisis

- On 28 June in Sarajevo (Bosnia), Gavrilo Princip a Bosnian Serb trained in Belgrade by the Black Hand, assassinated the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, Archduchess of Austria.
- By 3 July, Vienna had resolved to punish Serbia. By 6 July Austria had gotten assurances of German support from Germany.
- 14 July Austria gave ultimatum to Serbia.
- 25 July, The Habsburg minister declared the Serbian response inadequate.
- 24 July Russia started preparatory steps for mobilization.
- 28 July Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and shots were exchanged that night.
- 30 July Russia mobilized and the other great powers were soon drawn into the fray.
- By 5 August the Triple Entente and Austria-Hungary and Germany were at war (the Italians remained out).
- 23 August Japan declared war on Germany and the Ottoman Empire reached a secret agreement with Germany and Austria.
- Woodrow Wilson proclaimed that the Americans would observe "strict neutrality."
- War soon also spread to Africa.

### What caused the Great War

The historians for over a century could not make consensus over 'what caused the war'. Following are the five different views over the start of the Great War

1. "Germany caused the war." Three main variants are offered.
  - a. The minimalist Germany-blaming view- Germany consciously risked a general continental war in July 1914 in order to make gains for the German-Austrian alliance. Germany preferred the pre-war status quo to a continental war but did knowingly risk such a war.
  - b. Intermediate Germany-blaming views- Germany preferred a continental war (war against France and Russia) to the pre-war status quo, but preferred the pre-war status quo to a world war (war against Britain, France, and Russia). Or, Germany preferred a continental war to a crisis victory or the pre-war status quo, and plotted to cause it.
  - c. The maximalist Germany-blaming view- Germany preferred even a world war to the pre-war status quo and plotted to cause the war that occurred.

If Germany had caused the War, Kaiser had three probable desired outcomes in mind

- Austria crushes Serbia whereas Russia and France stand inert.
- War erupts between the Central Powers and the Dual Alliance (France and Russia) whereas Britain remains neutral.
- Britain joins France and Russia in a war against the Central Powers.

2. Russia or Serbia or Britain or France or Austria caused the war.

- a. For two decades, Britain organized the encirclement of Germany and conspired to cause the war.

- b. Many scholars put prime responsibility on Austria and Russia. Some others heavily blame Serbia. Some blame France and Britain for not restraining Russia more firmly. Some suspect that France egged Russia on.
3. Crisis bungling caused the war- In this view no European power will fully risked war. European leaders simply mismanaged the July crisis.
  - a. Russia began pre-mobilization without realizing that mobilization meant war or that partial mobilization against Austria was impossible.
  - b. Austria failed to give Russia its evidence showing that Serbia was responsible for the death of the Austrian Archduke. Had Russia known Serbia's guilt, it would have sympathized more with Austria's position.
  - c. British leaders did not realize that mobilization meant war, hence they unwisely failed to restrain Russian mobilization.
  - d. German Chancellor also did not fully understand that mobilization meant war until war was inevitable.
  - e. The French ambassador to Russia failed to warn French leaders that Russian leaders were thinking of mobilizing against Austria-Hungary in order to coerce it. Hence French messages urging restraint on Russia arrived too late (July 30) to prevent Russian mobilization.
  - f. German leaders falsely assured Russia that Germany would tolerate Russian partial mobilization against Austria, leading Russia to mobilize.
  - g. German leaders wrongly hoped Britain would stand aside from a continental war. This stemmed partly from Britain's failure to make up its mind to fight, and issue clear warning to Germany, until after the July crisis was out of control. In part this reflected Britain's failure to foresee the speed of events, in part it reflected the secrecy of German plans to attack Belgium.
4. The explosive military situation caused the war.
  - a. Inflexible military mobilization plans caused the war by spreading a local Balkan war outward to engulf all Europe.
  - b. An imperative to rush to mobilize, stemming from a first-move advantage, caused the war.
  - c. The widespread belief in the power of the offense and the general embrace of offensive military plans primed the world for war. This explosive military backdrop magnified the dangers posed by a minor crisis and rather normal blunders by leaders. They had no margin for error.
5. Malignant supercharged Nationalism (jingoism) and Nationalist mythmaking fuelled expansionism throughout Europe, causing the war. The race to Capitalist supremacy added to this Nationalism

### **Events during the War**

#### **1914**

- July- Austrians present a humiliating ultimatum to the Serbian government amounting to Austrian intervention in Serbia's internal affairs.  
Dual Alliance of Austria-Hungary and Germany declare war on Serbia, determined to crush its independence.
- August



- Germany declares war on Russia (even though her ally was still only at war with Serbia and not Russia).
  - Germany declares war on France, citing an alleged French air raid on Nuremberg as justification. Germany, on her own initiative, was now at war with two great powers whereas Austria-Hungary only with Serbia.
  - Britain declares war on Germany after Germany demanded unobstructed passage for her armies through Belgium. (Britain was the guarantor of Belgium's neutrality stance.) Germany now at war with three major powers.
  - Austria declares war on Russia; Dual Monarchy now at war with Russia.
  - Britain and France declare war on Austria, Montenegro declares war on Germany.
  - Japan at war with Germany. (The Japanese, allied with the British since 1902, entered the war hoping to gain German outposts in the Pacific and in China.)
  - Austria at war with Japan.
  - October - Turkey joins the Central Powers
  - November - Russia and Serbia declare war on Turkey.
- Great Britain and France declare war on Turkey.

### 1915

- May- Italy abandons the Triple Alliance and joins the Allies after securing promises of Austrian territory from them.
- September - Bulgaria joins Triple Alliance

### 1916

- Rumania joins the Triple Entente
- August- Italy declares war on Germany

### 1917

- 1917 marks a turning point in European history. First, for the first time an outside power stepped in to help Europe settle its affairs. Thereafter, the US would have a large say in the future of Europe. Second, the Russian Revolution marked the ascension of a socialist nation committed to the destruction of the pre-European order.
- April- US declares war on Germany - the Americans enter World War I.
- June- Greece joins the allies
- October - Russian Revolution establishes the Union of Soviet and Socialist Republics and the new government sought peace with the Central Powers
- December- Russia signs an armistice with Germany.
- US declares war on Austria-Hungary
- Central Powers and Russia conclude an armistice

### 1918

- January - President Wilson went before Congress to explain American war aims through what were called the Fourteen Points. The last point would establish "A general association of nations, affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."
- November- Armistice (defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary)

## 1919

- January - Paris Peace Conference convenes.
- June 28- Treaty of Versailles is signed

By the end of the war, the German Empire, Russian Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire had ceased to exist. National borders were redrawn, with several independent nations restored or created, and Germany's colonies were parcelled out among the winners.

### Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points

In January 1918, Wilson outlined the fourteen elements he felt were essential to a lasting peace. Wilson also hoped the speech would encourage the Central powers to end the hostilities. Wilson referred to his vision of the post-war settlement as "peace without victory." The plan initially backfired and instead of signalling for peace talks, the German Army actually intensified its efforts on the European western front. Within ten months, however, the German Army conceded and appealed to Wilson to begin a series of peace talks based on the Fourteen Points. An armistice was declared on November eleven, 1918.

- Of the fourteen key areas Wilson described, eight concerned specific geopolitical issues that had to be resolved after the war, while the remaining six dealt with general ideology necessary for peace. The most significant of the points included freedom of the seas, an end to secret treaties and negotiations, establishing equal and free trade, arms reduction, welcoming the new Soviet Russia into the international community, granting self-government to the peoples in Central Europe and the Balkans, independence for Turkey and Poland, and establishing a forum of nations to ensure freedom and peace for all peoples of the world.
- Wilson's Fourteen Points were based purely on a sense of morality and righteousness, unlike most of the Allied aims, which were based on vindictiveness and a desire for war spoils. They were based on a sense of liberalism that was new to international politics. The final and perhaps the most famous of the Fourteen Points, for example, called for global cooperation in order to secure true peace.
- He had believed that no lasting peace would ever be established unless he, or another such impartial statesman, attended the peace accords. Otherwise he felt certain the European powers would fall into further fighting over land and colonial rights. Wilson knew that if he allowed the other European nations to destroy Germany, the continent would eventually dissolve into war again.

In an attempt to ensure such a renewed conflict would not occur, Wilson proposed that the nations of the world, including Germany, to create a forum called **The League of Nations**. He felt that if such a league existed, nations could address their grievances in an open discussion rather than plot against each other and arm for war.

### Paris Peace Conference

Although hostilities had been brought formally to an end by a series of armistices between the Allies and their adversaries by November 11, 1918, the conference did not open until Jan. 18, 1919.

It was decided that French, British, U.S., and Italian heads of government and foreign ministers themselves, with the Japanese, would constitute a Supreme Council (**Council of Ten**), to monopolize all the major decision making. In March, however, the Supreme Council was, for reasons of convenience, reduced to a Council of Four, numbering only the Western heads of

government, as Japan abstained from concerning itself with matters of no interest to Japan. The foreign ministers continued to meet as a **Council of Five** dealing with secondary matters.

The five Great Powers likewise controlled the **Supreme Economic Council**, created in February 1919 to advise the conference on economic measures to be taken pending the negotiation of peace. Specialized commissions were appointed to study particular problems

- The organization of a League of Nations and the drafting of its Covenant
- The determination of responsibility for the war and guarantees against a renewal of it
- Reparations to be paid
- International labour legislation
- International ports, waterways, and railroads
- Financial and economic questions of a permanent sort
- Aviation, naval and military matters
- Territorial questions.

Paris Peace Settlement		
Country	Name of the Treaty	Year when the treaty was signed
Germany	Treaty of Versailles	28 June 1919
Austria	Treaty of Saint-Germain	10 September 1919
Bulgaria	Treaty of Neuilly	27 November 1919
Hungary	Treaty of Trianon	4 June 1920
Ottoman Empire	Treaty of Sèvres, subsequently revised by the Treaty of Lausanne	Sèvres: 10 August 1920 Lausanne: 24 July 1923

- **The Treaty of Versailles**

The population and territory of Germany was reduced by about 10 percent by the treaty. On the west Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, and the Saarland was placed under the supervision of the League of Nations until 1935. In the north three small areas were given to Belgium. After a plebiscite in Schleswig, northern Schleswig was returned to Denmark. In the east Poland was resurrected, given most of formerly German West Prussia and Poznan, given a “corridor” to the Baltic Sea. Danzig was declared a free city. All Germany’s overseas colonies in China, in the Pacific, and in Africa were taken over by Britain, France, Japan, and other Allied nations.

The war guilt clause of the treaty deemed Germany the aggressor in the war and consequently made Germany responsible for making reparations to the Allied nations in payment for the losses and damage they had sustained in the war. It was impossible to compute the exact sum to be paid as reparations for the damage caused by the Germans, especially in France and Belgium, at the time the treaty was being drafted, but a commission that assessed the losses incurred by the civilian population set an amount of \$33 billion in 1921. Although economists at the time declared that such a huge sum could never be collected without upsetting international finances, the Allies insisted that Germany be made to pay, and the treaty permitted them to take punitive actions if Germany fell behind in its payments.

The German army was restricted to 100,000 men, the general staff was eliminated. The manufacture of armoured cars, tanks, submarines, airplanes, and poison gas was forbidden and only a small number of specified factories could make weapons or munitions. All of

Germany west of the Rhine and up to 30 miles (50 km) east of it was to be a demilitarized zone. The forced disarmament of Germany, it was hoped, would be accompanied by voluntary disarmament in other nations.

- **The Treaty of Saint-Germaine**

The treaty officially registered the breakup of the Habsburg Empire, recognizing the independence of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) and ceding eastern Galicia, Trento, southern Tirol, Trieste, and Istria. Plebiscites eventually determined the disposition of southern Carinthia (which went to Austria) and the town of Sopron (which went to Hungary). The union of Austria with Germany was expressly forbidden without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. The military clauses limited Austria's long-service volunteer army to 30,000 men and broke up the Austro-Hungarian navy, distributing it among the Allies. Although Austria was made liable for reparations, no money was ever actually paid.

- **The Treaty of Trianon**

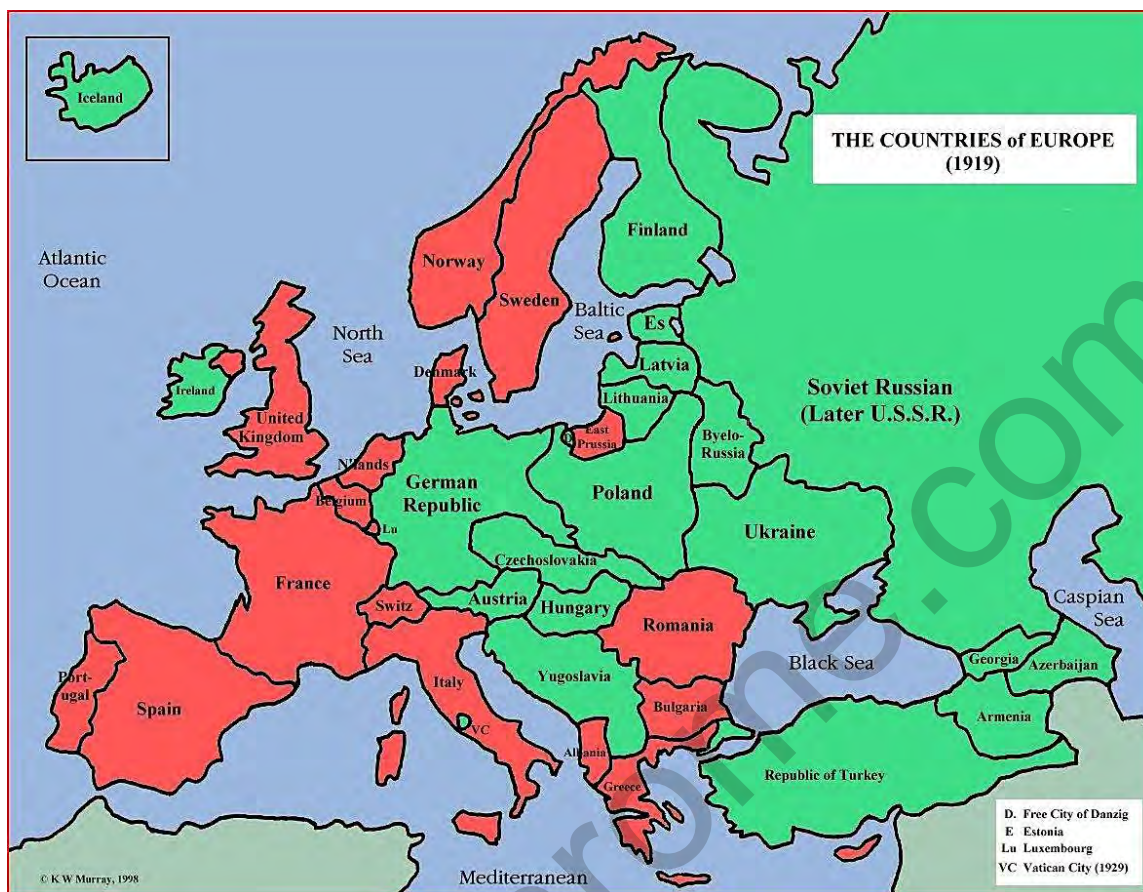
By the terms of the treaty, Hungary was shorn of at least two-thirds of its former territory and two-thirds of its inhabitants. Czechoslovakia was given Slovakia, sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, the region of Pressburg (Bratislava), and other minor sites. Austria received western Hungary (most of Burgenland). The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) took Croatia-Slavonia and part of the Banat. Romania received most of Banat and all of Transylvania. Italy received Fiume. Except for plebiscites in two small regions, all the transfers were effected without any plebiscites.

- **The Treaty of Neuilly**

Under its terms Bulgaria was forced to cede lands to Yugoslavia and Greece (thus depriving it of an outlet to the Aegean) involving the transfer of some 300,000 people. To reduce its army to 20,000 men and to pay reparations, 75 percent of which were later remitted.

- **Treaty of Lausanne**

The treaty recognized the boundaries of the modern state of Turkey. Turkey made no claim to its former Arab provinces and recognized British possession of Cyprus and Italian possession of the Dodecanese. The Allies dropped their demands of autonomy for Turkish Kurdistan and Turkish cession of territory to Armenia, abandoned claims to spheres of influence in Turkey, and imposed no controls over Turkey's finances or armed forces. The Turkish straits between the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea were declared open to all shipping.



### War without End

- Burdensome reparations imposed after World War I, coupled with a general inflationary period in Europe in the 1920s, another direct result of a materially catastrophic war, caused spiralling hyperinflation of the German currency by 1923. This hyperinflationary period combined with the effects of the Great Depression (beginning in 1929) to seriously undermine the stability of the German economy, wiping out the personal savings of the middle class and spurring massive unemployment.
- The social and economic upheaval that followed World War I powerfully destabilized Germany's fledgling democracy and gave rise to many radical right wing parties in Weimar Germany.
- Agitators from the political left served heavy prison sentences for inspiring political unrest. On the other hand, radical right-wing activists like Adolf Hitler, whose Nazi Party had attempted to depose the government of Bavaria and commence a "national revolution" in the November 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, served only nine months of a five year prison sentence for treason—which was a capital offense.
- The difficulties imposed by social and economic unrest in the wake of World War I and its onerous peace terms and the raw fear of the potential for a Communist takeover in the German middle classes worked to undermine pluralistic democratic solutions in Weimar Germany. They also increased public longing for more authoritarian direction, a kind of leadership which German voters ultimately and unfortunately found in Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist Party. Strong sense of Nationalism strengthened, after what is seen

as an unfair settlement (especially the crushing reparation payments). Becomes increasingly right-wing, as a reaction to the Socialists who signed the Treaty of Versailles.

- Similar conditions benefited right-wing authoritarian and totalitarian systems in eastern Europe as well, beginning with the losers of World War I, and eventually raised levels of tolerance for and acquiescence in violent anti-Semitism and discrimination against national minorities throughout Europe.
- In some circles this detachment and disillusionment with politics and conflict fostered an increase in pacifist sentiment. Public opinion favoured a return to isolationism. Massive economic boom due to military production results in a 'Golden Age' with massive investment into companies. Eventually the bubble bursts, causing a massive worldwide economic depression.
- Russia - Becomes the world's first Communist state, leading to a civil war which kills millions. Later on, becomes the main opponent to Nazi Germany, and then the US during the Cold War.
- France - Bitter rivalry with Germany continues, builds the Maginot Line. Desire to avoid a war at any cost results in the harsh Treaty of Versailles which causes the opposite. Maintains a strong army following World War I.
- Britain - Like France, Britain loses almost an entire generation of men. Resolved to impose harsh conditions on Germany, but realised that this would only result in war later on. Negative public reactions to war mean massive cuts in military expenditure, meaning that Britain is unprepared for World War II.
- Italy - Gains little for its contribution to the war, and is left with a strong desire for colonies in Africa. Strong anti-Communist feelings make Mussolini's rise to power relatively easy. His future alliance with Hitler provides the basis of the Axis.
- Japan - Joined the Allies, but receives little in the way of German Pacific colonies. Expansionist government soon comes to power, leading it to align itself with the Axis and open up the Pacific front of World War II.
- British Commonwealth - Australia and New Zealand finally have their own 'national spirit' following the landings at Gallipoli. The 'Colonial' troops prove to be far better fighters than British conscripts. This increasing independence from Britain is of little consequence until World War II, when America becomes the new world leader.

World War I ended suddenly, but the 25 year peace that followed was basically an interlude till World War II in which technology advanced further, allowing for more bloodshed.

**The old reckless system of alliances pushed Europe to the Great War, a modern and mixed structure of International relations would have contained the situation. Explain**

Student need to highlight the nature of Political relations during the 19<sup>th</sup> century which leads to the World War I

- Even when there was a visibly hostile rivalry between two great powers of Britain and Germany, there was no international efforts to calm it down
- France, with no natural boundaries with Germany was intimidated, however, instead of trying to improve relations with Germany it chose to join the opposite camp more openly.
- Russia openly declared its hostility to the Turkey and its goal to end the Ottoman Empire. In modern World such goals are pursued in a subtle way.
- Germany, gave 'blank cheque', ie, assurance of unconditional support to Austria in its Balkan policies, which was prime reason of War. In a more developed world, such issues would have been solved in a multi-lateral meeting

- Britain was interested in peace, however, did nothing to ensure peace.
- No country ever used the conference for peace. The conference system was largely used either for deciding the fate of a defeated country or to settle the issue of colonies.

The lesson of Conferences was wrongly applied into the interwar years, however, in post-World War II years, the Conference system is used more practically and for better reasons. Many a times such volatile situation arrived in past half a century but no major war was fought proves the immaturity of International politics in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**“Few other countries so thoroughly nationalized an economy as did Germany in World War I, but every country moved in that direction”. Explain**

World War I, which was fought on a scale unsurpassed by all the previous wars, urged the participating nations to make the unsurpassed efforts. It urged every nation to turn to War-Socialism, where every resource was dedicated towards the wartime effort and the regulations were made on every economic resource and social exchanges.

Germany, to counter the British blockade, requisitioned raw materials, organized special war companies to run its industry and replaced wasteful competition by efficient coordination. Chemical industry was deployed to find the artificial substitutes of the scarce natural resources. It put all the males from 17 to 60 under the authority of minister of war.

Germany's model in some degree or the other was adopted by other nations too. France too set up the Industrial board for plan economy as did the USA. Britain, by 1915 found itself unable to keep up with the demand at the fronts, it had dictated control over the Industry via legislation. Price control and food rationing was very strictly adopted by all countries and even trade unions cooperated in the unprecedented manner. Every government took control of foreign credit and trade along with all the national assets abroad. Even the neutral countries had guided their economies and nationalized the assets to absorb the financial disturbances across the globe.

The nations like Britain and France, in spite of having the raw materials of their colonies at the expanse suffered acute shortages The German experiment of war-economy was so successful that it not only kept a nation with comparatively meagre natural resources fighting for 4 years, but also it was model for post war Communist Russia and National Socialists of Germany itself. In Germany, Walter Rathenau, of the great electrical trust, had fought the effects of the British blockade by requisitioning raw materials, organizing special War Companies to run industry and replace wasteful competition by efficient coordination, and encouraging chemists to find substitutes in the laboratory for the natural resources of which the blockade deprived Germany. This scion of capitalist enterprise and big business created what came to be called, quite correctly, 'war socialism' (Kriegssozialismus). A special agency controlled prices and rationed food. It decreed two meatless days a week, and fed Germans on war bread in which turnips and potatoes were mixed with flour. Labour was allocated under a National Service Law of December 1916, which put every male between the ages of seventeen and sixty under the authority of the Minister of War. Trade unions allied with the military leaders to militarize the country's economic life. Rathenau's achievement in thus creating a novel type of pure 'war economy' was well enough described in his own words: 'In its methods it is closely akin to communism, and yet it departs essentially from the prophecies and demands resulting from radical theories.' Rathenau was in the authentic tradition of Bismarck 1 in his subordinating of everything to state needs. It was entirely an emergency measure. But not only did it leave Germany with a rich experience of state socialism and economic planning, later exploited by National Socialism, but Germany's 'war economy' became an exemplar of economic planning for the whole of the postwar world.

In France special boards of industrialists were set up to plan production to meet government orders and to allocate raw materials that were in short supply. In the United States the War Industries Board, headed by Bernard Baruch, did the same. In the United Kingdom a great political battle was fought about the supply of munitions. At the outbreak of war Lord Kitchener had been appointed Secretary of State for War. He enjoyed great popularity and prestige, but his experience lay in colonial campaigns where mobility mattered more than munitions. By the end of November 1914 the call from the front for munitions of all kinds far exceeded the supply. In all the weapons needed for the new 'war of position' in France - in shells, trench mortars, machine guns, hand grenades - British supplies were both insufficient and inefficient. Kitchener was widely criticized. In May 1915 when Asquith had to reconstruct his government, he created a new Ministry of Munitions and put Lloyd George in charge of it. By means of special legislation he secured almost dictatorial control over British industry, in order to direct its energies to the urgent manufacture of munitions. His task was to equip an army of seventy divisions for a long war in the trenches. A year later he succeeded Kitchener at the War Office and threw his redoubtable energies and genius into the more general conduct of the war. In France the munitions problem was even more acute. By mid-September 1914 hardly a month's reserve of shells was left, and German occupation of the industrial provinces robbed France of most of her iron ores and much of her coal. Mobilization halved the number of workers at the great armaments plant of Le Creusot. In May 1915 Albert Thomas, a socialist engineer who had wide experience of labour organizations, was given special charge of artillery and munitions. He had to plan industrial production in the same way as did Lloyd George in Britain. Trade unions, usually reluctantly, had to accept some degree of direction and dilution of labour. National needs took precedence over all else. Every government, too, had to control foreign trade and credit, and take possession of national assets abroad. Here the United Kingdom's financial strength and long accumulation of capital investment overseas stood her in good stead. Stock held in the United States by British or French investors was sold off to Americans, and the resulting dollars were used to pay for imports. The original stockholders were repaid in domestic currency or bonds. Gold reserves were drawn upon, and large war loans were raised both at home and abroad. The whole process permanently depleted Europe's overseas investments and converted the United States from a debtor country into the world's greatest creditor. Of Europe's two most advanced industrial nations, Germany was almost entirely excluded from the world's markets by the blockade, and the United Kingdom devoted all its industrial resources to meeting the immediate needs of feeding the population and supplying the troops. Most of the world's shipping was engaged in carrying the cargoes of war, and even neutrals suffered heavily from losses of shipping. The internal balance of the economy of nearly every country in the world was affected, and the prewar pattern of international trade was completely changed.



## 14. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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### Russia before Revolution

One of the most startling and far-reaching results of the First World War was the Russian Revolution. Not only did it affect the largest nation on earth, it also had a huge impact on the rest of the world, helping lead to both World War II and the Cold War following it.

First of all, Russia's flat and open terrain made it vulnerable to invasions that forced the Russian Czars to develop a strong absolutist state in self-defence. Second, Russia's huge size, northerly location, and isolation from Europe kept Russia cut off from the mainstream of political, economic and technological developments taking place in Western Europe. Therefore, Russia's geography and history made it a slow moving, autocratic, and backward giant that was constantly falling behind the more advanced societies in the West.

This triggered a vicious cycle of reforms to catch up with the West, a conservative backlash against the reforms, Russia falling further behind the West, more reforms, and so on.

By the 1890s Russians could no longer ignore the forces of industrialization transforming the rest of Europe and leaving it further and further behind. Therefore, reformers targeted Russia's repressive government that used secret police to track down socialist dissidents, its backward social structure that kept the peasants in virtual, if not legal, serfdom, and its equally backward economy just starting to industrialize. Two other factors also pushed Russia toward change. One was the rising popularity of socialism. A more immediate catalyst for change was Russia's humiliating defeat in a war with Japan (1903-5) that dramatized Russia's backwardness.

All this set off the **Revolution of 1905**, which took Czar Nicholas II by surprise and forced him to agree to both political and economic reforms. The main political reform was the establishment of a Duma (parliament), which attempted to turn the Czar's absolute government into a constitutional monarchy. However, once the revolution settled down, the czar did all he could to crush and eliminate the Duma. Nevertheless, the Duma, however limited in power, persisted in being a voice for reform even as political repression reasserted itself.

At the same time, substantial economic reforms were taking place. The Czar's chief minister, Peter Stolypin, pushed through reforms that distributed land to some two million peasants. This gave peasants an incentive to produce more, and, by World War I, 75% of Russia's crops were going to market, with 40% of those crops going abroad. This, combined with Russia's political repression, created a gap between its economic progress and political backwardness. All that was needed was a catalyst to trigger a full-scale revolution. That catalyst was World War I.

Many Russians, like other Europeans, greeted war jubilantly in 1914, sure that they would win a quick and glorious victory. In fact, Russia was poorly prepared for war. Its troops, although brave, were barely trained, poorly equipped (many not even having rifles), and incompetently led. Their war minister boasted of not having read a new book on military tactics in twenty-five years. As a result, Russian armies met with one disaster after another. Aggravating the situation was the Czar, Nicholas II, a weak willed man who was controlled by his wife, the Tsarina. She herself was German born and of suspect loyalty as far as many Russians were concerned. She was also under the spell of Rasputin, a drunken, semi-literate Siberian peasant posing as a monk. He did have the apparent ability to control the bleeding of the crown prince, who was a hemophiliac, along with an apparent hypnotic power over women. While scandal reigned at court (at least until Rasputin was murdered), Nicholas took personal command of the war effort, with catastrophic results.

By the 1910s there were three major parties on the political scene of Russia

- Peasants, who maintained the majority of the population in Russia. They were excessively poor and could barely escape famine from harvest to harvest. The population boom in Russia from 1867-1896 was felt most drastically by the peasants. The increase of 30 million people in less than 30 years was too great that the land to the peasants' disposal did not increase sufficiently. The government tried to help, but war took precedence.
- Industrial working class. These workers were employed in the mines, factories and workshops of the major cities. They suffered low wages, poor housing and many accidents. Again, the government tried to help by passing factory acts to restrict the amount of hours one could work. However, their efforts were at too small a scale to have any real effect. As a result, there were many strikes and constant conflicts between the workers and the police.
- The Tsar of Russia was the cause of much disapproval. Tsar Nicholas II was much more interested in his family life, than matters of the state. He had an obsession with retaining all his privileges and the belief that he was chosen by God to rule. Also, he didn't understand the forces of industrialization and nationalism that were growing throughout Russia. His disregard for the struggles of the people led them to lose faith in him and the long-standing tradition of autocracy. The people were not content and were ready to revolt. They just needed a good reason and a strong leader.

### **World War I**

In the years leading up to the Russian Revolution of 1917, the country had a succession of wars. These were, The Crimean War (1854-56), The Russo-Turkish War (1877-78), The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and World War I (1914-18). All of these required a lot from the state, including tax dollars and manpower. Russia suffered defeat in all, except against Turkey. This series of war caused great discontent among the people and caused suffering in the country's economy and government.

In 1914, Russia entered the war with much vigor. However, their enthusiasm was not enough to sustain them and the army suffered many casualties and loss of artillery supplies. Russia lacked mobilization skills to counter its losses, but more importantly it lacked good leadership. Tsar Nicholas II (1894 – 1917) had complete control over the bureaucracy and the army. He refused to share his power and the masses began to question his leadership. In the summer of 1915, the Duma (parliament), demanded a government with democratic values and which responded to the people's needs. Later that year, however, Nicholas dissolved the Duma and went to the war front. His leaving was detrimental.

### **The February Revolution**

The government was taken over by Tsarina Alexandra and her unique counterpart, Rasputin. Alexandra was a very strong-willed woman, who disliked parliaments and supported absolutism. She attempted to rule absolutely in her husband's absence by dismissing and electing officials on a whim. In the cities, food shortages continued to rise and the morale of the people fell. Riots broke out on March 8, 1917 in the city of Petrograd. (The Julian calendar that Russia used at the time was 13 days behind the western, Gregorian, calendar. Therefore, some date the riot on February 24th.) It was started by women demanding more bread, but eventually spread to other industries and throughout the city. Even the soldiers on the front joined in the revolution. The

Duma set up a provisional government on March 12, 1917 and a few days later the tsar stepped down.

The provisional government established a liberal program of various rights. These included freedom of speech, religion and assembly; equality before the law; and the right of unions to organize and strike. The leaders of this new established government, including Alexander Kerensky, were still opposed to social revolution and saw the continuation of the war effort as a national duty.

### **Dvoevlastie- The dual Power deadlock**

Two contending groups emerged out of the chaos to claim leadership of Russia. The first was made up of former Duma members and the second was the Petrograd Soviet. The former Duma members represented the middle and upper classes while the Soviet represented workers and soldiers.

In the end, the former Duma members formed a Provisional Government which officially ran the country. The Petrograd Soviet allowed this because they felt that Russia was not economically advanced enough to undergo a true socialist revolution.

Within the first few weeks after the February Revolution, the Provisional Government abolished the death penalty, granted amnesty for all political prisoners and those in exile, ended religious and ethnic discrimination, and granted civil liberties.

What they did not deal with was an end to the war, land reform, or better quality of life for the Russian people. The Provisional Government believed Russia should honor its commitments to its allies in World War I and continue fighting, however, Lenin did not agree.

However the Provisional government had to compete for power with the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. This group even made decrees of their own. One of which took away the authority of the officers and placed it with elected committees. This led to a collapse of army discipline. Later that year, soldiers began returning home to seize some land for their families. Peasants were looting farms and having food riots because the provisional government had not overcome the problem of food supply. Anarchy was taking the place of liberty and this was the perfect situation for a radical socialist like Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to take control.

Lenin (1870-1924) was a strong supporter of Marxian socialism. He believed that capitalism would only disappear with a revolution and this was only possible under certain conditions. The socialism party was split between Lenin's, Bolsheviks, or "majority group" and the Mensheviks, or "minority group". Lenin's group did not stay the majority, but he kept the name and developed a disciplined, revolutionary group. The Bolsheviks attempted to seize power in July, but failed. Lenin fled from Petrograd and went into hiding in Finland. The party's popularity, however, grew tremendously throughout the summer.

By the autumn of 1917, it was clear that the main social and economic problems that caused the uprising in March still existed. In the second half of September, there was a debate in Petrograd between the Bolsheviks and the other parties (socialists and Mensheviks). The voting figures clearly pointed towards a Bolshevik majority. Leon Trotsky was elected as chairman of the governing body. Trotsky (1879-1940) was a radical Marxist, amazing orator and huge supporter of Lenin. Outside Petrograd, the feelings of the population coincided with the Bolshevik convictions. The people wanted to see the end of Kerensky's government, the end to the war and they wanted new land distribution. Trotsky and Lenin saw the answer to all these desires in a Bolshevik seizure of power.

### **The Kornilov Affair**

In August, General Lavr Kornilov (Supreme Commander of Russian military forces) ordered his troops to Petrograd. One view says he believed that the radicals had toppled the Provisional government, whereas other view said he wanted to seize the power of Russia and turn it into Military Dictatorship.

To secure his position, Kerensky had to ask help from Bolsheviks and the Petrograd Soviet, which called upon armed Red Guards to "defend the revolution". The Kornilov Affair failed largely due to the efforts of the Bolsheviks, whose influence over railroad and telegraph workers proved vital in stopping the movement of troops. The Bolsheviks' role in stopping the attempted coup and the help from Provisional Government, which provided them with arms and ammunition, further strengthened their position.

In early September, the Petrograd Soviet freed all jailed Bolsheviks and Trotsky became Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. Growing numbers of socialists and lower-class Russians viewed the government less and less as a force in support of their needs and interests.

The Bolsheviks benefited as the only major organized opposition party that had refused to compromise with the Provisional Government, and they benefited from growing frustration and even disgust with other parties, such as the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, who stubbornly refused to break with the idea of national unity across all classes.

### **The October Revolution**

From Finland, Lenin urged the Bolshevik committee to plan an armed uprising. Many thought it was too premature and reckless. However, after Lenin made a trip to Petrograd incognito and they debated with them for ten hours, the Bolsheviks were convinced. Trotsky masterfully executed the revolution. He formed a military-revolutionary committee to head the arming of workers throughout Petrograd. Factory meetings were held to boost the workers' enthusiasm. Finally, on the night of November 6 (or October 26), the combined forces of the Bolshevik soldiers and workers stormed the city and seized government buildings. They went on to gain the majority in the congress and declared Lenin as their new leader.

Lenin declared an end to the fighting and made armistice proposals. He also decreed the nationalization of land. However, he was far from solving the problem of hunger among the people. Lenin and his Bolsheviks had increased opposition in the next few years.

### **Treaties of Brest-Litovsk**

Peace treaty signed by the Central Powers with Soviet Russia concluded hostilities between those countries during World War I.

German demands included the establishment of independent states in the Polish and Baltic territories formerly belonging to the Russian Empire and in Ukraine.

The Soviet government accepted a treaty by which Russia lost Ukraine, its Polish and Baltic territories, and Finland. (Ukraine was recovered in 1919, during the Russian Civil War.) The treaty was ratified by the Congress of Soviets on March 15. Both the Ukrainian and Russian treaties were annulled by the Armistice on Nov. 11, 1918, which marked the Allied defeat of Germany.

### **Russian Civil War**

The Russian Civil War (1918-21) was fought to decide who should control Russia in the wake of the October 1917 revolution. During this period a conglomerate of anti-Bolshevik groups, dubbed

the Whites, fought to remove the Bolsheviks from power and restore some elements of the old order. Other groups not directly aligned with the Bolsheviks or the Whites fought for independence or control of their own regions. The Russian Civil War was a pervasive conflict, drawing in many disparate political and military groups, nationalist movements and all classes of Russian society. Several foreign nations, most of whom opposed Bolshevik government in Russia, also contributed troops, weapons, supplies and intelligence to warring parties.

The Russian Civil War emerged from strong and widespread resistance to the new Bolshevik order. Opposition to the Bolsheviks after the October 1917 was pronounced, however in early 1918 this opposition began to strengthen and intensify into a counter-revolutionary movement. Tsarists, liberals, Mensheviks and SRs alike believed the Bolsheviks were usurpers who had stolen power, despite their claims that they represented the working classes. The catalyst for the outbreak of civil war was an uprising by the Czech Legion. A Russian Imperial Army unit, the Czech Legion contained volunteers of Czech and Slovak heritage who enlisted to defend their homeland during World War I. By May 1918 the Legion was distributed along the Trans-Siberian Railway but found itself unable to move, due to transport shortages and Bolshevik red tape. Tensions between Czech Legion soldiers and Bolshevik officials began to escalate. On May 14th the Legion began to rebel, killing several Bolsheviks and seizing control of Chelyabinsk, a town not far south of Ekaterinburg, where the former tsar and his family were being held.

Over the coming weeks the Czech Legion continued its revolt against Bolshevik authority, seizing control of towns and stations along the Trans-Siberian Railway. They were joined by other aggrieved groups, particularly former tsarist officers and loyalist militias. By the end of June 1918 the counter-revolutionaries controlled most of the railway, and with it all of Siberia.

Behind the White armies emerged a political movement, a loose coalition of anti-Bolsheviks comprised of monarchists, liberals, non-Bolshevik socialists and disgruntled peasants. These groups had very few shared values or objectives, other than their opposition to the Bolsheviks and their determination to overthrow the Soviet regime. Most White leaders were nationalist and imperialist, they wanted to retain the Russian Empire and restore it to a position of strength in Europe and Asia. Beyond that, however, they had little in common politically. They had no system of government in mind, no agreed foreign policy, no single leader or leadership group. Some wanted the tsar restored, some wanted a constitutional monarchy, some wanted a republic, and some expressed no views on the matter.

Together this broad movement became known as the Whites. Foreign powers also intervened to bring about the collapse of Bolshevism. With the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, the Bolsheviks appeared not only as traitors to the war cause, but an ideological threat to democratic, capitalist nations. Most foreign powers refused to recognise the legitimacy of the Bolshevik regime, dealing instead with White generals in exile. British, French and American units were all sent to various Russian ports to support White forces, while Japanese troops invaded in the east. Foreign military intervention was lukewarm at best, rarely did foreign units directly engage the Bolsheviks on their own. Some foreign powers were chiefly interested in protecting resources previously lent to Russia. By late 1918 World War I had come to an end and nobody wanted to commit large troop numbers to another major conflict. As a consequence, foreign troops began withdrawing from Russia in 1919.

The Bolshevik victory in the Russian Civil War can be attributed to several factors.

- The White armies fought as separate units and for the most part were unable or unwilling to coordinate their strategy or offensives.
- They were geographically scattered around Russia and not often able to combine their forces in sufficient numbers to push back the Red Army.

- The Whites were politically divided and not particularly well led, the only common view all Whites shared was opposition to the Bolshevik regime.
- The Whites also lost important generals at important times. Kornilov was killed in battle in March 1918 and Kolchak was captured and executed in January 1920. In contrast to White forces, the Red Army was strongly disciplined and contained five million soldiers at its peak.
- The Bolsheviks and Soviets also maintained control of Russia's industrial heartland, most of its major cities, its significant ports and railways. This gave them access to infrastructure, communications and supply lines.
- The Bolshevik propaganda campaign was also more successful, promoting a White victory as a return to the 'old Russia' – a prospect that terrified most Russians.
- When administering the regions they controlled the Whites often resorted to similar methods employed by the Bolsheviks, ie. Conscription, grain requisitioning, coercion and terror. The Whites failed to win sufficient support from the Russian people and could not present themselves as an alternative to the Soviet regime.



## 15. THE SOVIET UNION

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Russia by 1918 appeared to be in the hands of the communists (the Bolshevik Party) led by Lenin. The Provisional Government had been overthrown and the Bolsheviks had appeared to have gained power in Russia and that the country's problems seemed to be over. In fact, those problems had only just begun.

In the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Russia was to lose a great deal of land which included 60 million people to the Germans. The land also included 25% of her farming land and 75% of her iron ore and coal deposits. But the treaty got Russia out of the war and allowed Lenin the time to concentrate on home issues. One can analyse this treaty while looking at Versailles and how harsh Versailles appeared to be. Many thought that if the Germans were willing to hand it out, they should be willing to take similar punishment.

During the civil war (1918-21), domestic problems were dealt with by the Cheka, the feared communist secret police. They had used what was known as the Red Terror during the civil war to keep people in order. To survive during the civil war, Lenin introduced War Communism.

### **War Communism (1917-21)**

In the factories, the government took complete control. The workers who had been given the right to run factories, had that right taken away. Managers ran them and discipline was strict. Food was rationed. Workers and soldiers received the most while civil servants received little. The workers had to do what the government said they had to – just as in the days of the Tsar.

In June, 1918, a decree was passed that ended all forms of private capitalism. Many large factories were taken over by the state and in November, 1920, any factory/industry that employed over 10 workers was nationalised.

War Communism also took control of the distribution of food. The Food Commissariat was set up to carry out this task. All co-operatives were fused together under this Commissariat.

War Communism had six principles:

1. Production should be run by the state. Private ownership should be kept to the minimum. Private houses were to be confiscated by the state.
2. State control was to be granted over the labour of every citizen. Once a military army had served its purpose, it would become a labour army.
3. The state should produce everything in its own undertakings. The state tried to control the activities of millions of peasants.
4. Extreme centralisation was introduced. The economic life of the area controlled by the Bolsheviks was put into the hands of just a few organisations. The most important one was the Supreme Economic Council. This had the right to confiscate and requisition.
5. The state attempted to become the sole distributor as well as the sole producer. The Commissariats took what they needed to meet demands. The people were divided into four categories – manual workers in harmful trades, workers who performed hard physical labour, workers in light tasks/housewives and professional people. Food was distributed on a 4:3:2:1 ratio. Though the manual class was the favoured class, it still received little food. Many in the professional class simply starved. In July 1918, the Bolsheviks decided that all surplus food had to be surrendered to the state. This led to an increase in the supply of grain to the state. However, the policy of having to hand over surplus food caused huge resentment in the countryside, especially as Lenin had promised “all land to the people” pre-November 1917. While the peasants had the land, they had not been made

aware that they would have to hand over any extra food they produced from their land. Even the extra could not meet demand.

6. War Communism attempted to abolish money as a means of exchange. The Bolsheviks wanted to go over to a system of a natural economy in which all transactions were carried out in kind. Effectively, bartering would be introduced. By 1921, the value of the rouble had dropped massively and inflation had markedly increased. The government's revenue raising ability was chronically poor, as it had abolished most taxes. The only tax allowed was the 'Extraordinary Revolutionary Tax', which was targeted at the rich and not the workers.

War Communism was a disaster. In all areas, the economic strength of Russia fell below the 1914 level. Peasant farmers only grew for themselves, as they knew that any extra would be taken by the state. A bad harvest could be disastrous for the countryside and even worse for cities. Malnutrition was common, as was disease. Those in the cities believed that their only hope was to move out to the countryside and grow food for themselves. Between 1916 and 1920, the cities of northern and central Russia lost 33% of their population to the countryside. Under War Communism, the number of those working in the factories and mines dropped by 50%. In the cities, private trade was illegal, but more people were engaged in this than at any other time in Russia's history. Large factories became paralysed through lack of fuel and skilled labour.

In the countryside, the Cheka was sent out to take food from the peasant farmers. Anybody found keeping food from others was shot. The peasants responded by producing food only for themselves and so the cities were more short of food than before. Life under Lenin appeared to be worse than under Nicholas II.

People survived by doing whatever they could, there was a great increase in robberies and law and order was on the verge of breaking down. Agriculture had been ruined by the war and in 1921, after a drought, there was a terrible famine. Five million people died as a result of this. Cannibalism was common amongst those who survived. Every part of industry was at a worse level than it had been in 1913.

**Grain** 80 mill tons (in 1913) vs 37.6 mill tons (in 1921)

**Coal** 29 mill tons (in 1913) vs 9 mill tons (in 1921)

**Oil** 9.2 mill tons (in 1913) vs 3.8 mill tons (in 1921)

**Iron** 4.2 mill tons (in 1913) vs 0.1 mill tons (in 1921)

**Steel** 4.3 mill tons (in 1913) vs 0.2 mill tons (in 1921)

**Sugar** 1.3 mill tons (in 1913) vs 0.05 mill tons (in 1921)

**Electricity** 2039 mill kW (in 1913) vs 520 mill kW (in 1921)

By 1921, opposition to Lenin had grown. The country was in a disastrous state when compared to the state it had been in under the tsar. Workers formed themselves into Workers' Opposition demanding higher wages, more food and the return of workers control of industry. These were the same workers who had supported Lenin in 1917.

Also sailors at a base near Petrograd rose up against the communist government. The base was called Kronstadt. It needed 20,000 soldiers from the Red Army to put down the rising and those sailors who had surrendered were executed. This uprising deeply upset the government as sailors had always been seen as loyal supporters of the communists.

### **New Economic Policy (1921-28)**

*"The terms in which Lenin defined the relationship between the old economic policy (war communism) and the new (NEP) were of offensive and retreat, construction and pause, leaving no*



*room for a positive acceptance of the NEP in Bolshevik minds. NEP was never conceived of as a path to socialism but as a detour, as a temporary obstacle to overcome. The Bolshevik Party desperately needed a role to play; it needed a reaffirmation that it was leading Russia and not simply waiting for the conditions to arise when the socialist offensive could resume.” Vladimir Brovkin*

Lenin knew that he had to change the economy if he was to survive. In 1921, War Communism was scrapped and the New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced. It was introduced to provide “breathing space” for Russia’s depleted and war ravaged economy. The main feature of the NEP was to relax the severe restrictions and grain requisitioning imposed on Russia by war communism. The NEP also permitted capitalist activity in the lower levels of the economy. Russian farmers were once again permitted to buy and sell at market, while a new group of merchants, retailers and profiteers, dubbed the Nepmen, began to emerge. Under war communism these activities would have been punishable by death but the NEP allowed them, and in some respects encouraged them. The NEP’s radical shift in economic policy and reintroduction of petty capitalism was welcomed by many Russians – but it caused ideological tension and divisions in the ranks of the Communist Party, with hardliners interpreting it as a step backwards.

The formal decree that introduced the NEP was called “On the replacement of prodrazvyorstka [grain requisitioning] with prodnalog [a fixed tax]”. Under war communism and prodrazvyorstka, the amount of grain requisitioned was decided on-the-spot by unit commanders. The amount of prodnalog was fixed by the state, allowing peasants to retain whatever surplus they had produced. The Soviet government also lifted a ban on agricultural and town markets to re-open and allowed peasants to buy and sell their surplus produce. The taking of grain by the Cheka was stopped. The peasant farmers would have to give to the government a set amount of grain each year in tax but if they produced any extra they could sell it in the open market and make money.

Small factories producing things which the people could buy but were not essential to life, were returned to their original owner. They could sell goods and make a profit. Larger factories producing essential items remained under the control of the government. The economic system that replaced war communism can best be described as a mixed or blended economy, with elements of both socialism and capitalism.

The replacement of requisitioning with a fixed tax, along with the return of market trading and a revived currency, provided peasant farmers with an incentive to work harder and produce more. As a consequence the level of agricultural production began to rise significantly. Peasants who produced more began to acquire surplus goods and cash, which they used to buy more land or hire labour. A new class of kulak peasants, a group long demonised in Bolshevik propaganda and persecuted by the Red Army and CHEKA, began to re-appear. Another group of opportunistic middle-men and retailers also emerged during the NEP period. Dubbed the Nepmen, they were mostly shopkeepers, salesmen and market stall holders who obtained items wholesale or second hand and then sold them for a profit, a capitalistic activity that was strictly forbidden before 1921.

### **NEP success or failure**

In comparative terms the NEP was a success, though it did not solve all of Russia's economic problems, nor did it produce immediate results. By the mid-1920s Russia's agricultural output had been restored to pre-World War I levels.

Because the NEP allowed elements of capitalism to return to Russia, some in the Communist Party hierarchy viewed it as a retreat or an acknowledgement that socialist policies had failed. Lenin responded by justifying the NEP as a temporary measure; it was intended to provide "breathing space" for the Russian people and their economy, which was on the brink of collapse after seven years of war. Lenin staved off criticism from within his own party by declaring that while elements of petty capitalism would return, the Soviet government retained control of the "commanding heights" of the economy: industry, mining, heavy manufacture and banking.

Nevertheless the NEP did seem like a concession that earlier policies had failed. Much like chief minister Peter Stolypin's land reforms of 1906-7, the NEP encouraged and increased class divisions by allowing some peasants to enrich themselves. The NEP did not solve all of Russia's economic ills either. Despite improved wages and conditions it became difficult to attract workers back to the cities. As a consequence Russia's industrial recovery in the early 1920s was much slower than its agricultural recovery.

### **Five year plans of Stalin**

When Lenin's reign over the Soviet Empire ended in 1924, the future course of Communist policies and the dominance of their ideology on an international level were cast into doubt. This insecurity in the Soviet system was even further exacerbated by the rocky period of transition and the shaky events surrounding the succession of power. However, when the dust settled and Josef Stalin emerged as the new leader of the Soviets, the course of Communist economic policies was clear and lofty were its goals. In the ensuing years, the effects of these policies would have a profound impact not only upon the Russian peoples, but the Soviet Republics as well.

In 1928, the Communist Party approved the first of Stalin's proposed Five-Year Plans. The two major policies stipulated in his First Five-Year Plans were extremely demanding and in the long run proved to be unattainable.

- He called for the collectivization of all farmlands, thus transferring the control of all private farming into the hands of the Soviet leadership.
- The beginnings of major industrial development, especially in the areas of heavy industry. He further emphasized his call for massive industrialization when he spoke to his industrial managers in 1932, "We are 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us!"

From the very beginning, Stalin's proposal of a Five-Year Plan for the Soviet Union economy was severely criticized. Although many warned that the plan was unrealistic, irrational, and even mathematically impossible. Although Stalin continually declared himself victorious, claiming that his Plan's were achieved, the Soviet economy was bound to fail. Under the initial Five-Year Plans and Plans to come, there was far too much emphasis on heavy industry and the working population suffered the consequences. Perhaps if Stalin had put less stress on such extreme industrialization and paid more attention to the welfare of the citizens, it would have been better for not only the Soviet people, but also for the prolongation of the state.

The main objective of this extensive plan was for rapid industrialization, which was to be supported by a socialized agriculture. Stalin called for extreme capital investment, most of which

was to go towards heavy industry. Furthermore, he insisted that the proportion of investment devoted to heavy industry increase each year. By the end of the five years, overall industrial production was to increase by 250% and heavy industry by 330%. High rates of growth were also set for transportation, energy, agriculture, raw materials, and fuel.

By July, 1930, the Party shortened the Five-Year plan to four years, and by the end of 1932, the plan was proclaimed to be officially complete. However, "the fulfillment was more psychological, than statistical." Although the Dnieprostroi Dam and other big projects had been successfully completed, many of the other goals outlined in the plan had not been reached. Stalin could not even claim to have expanded heavy industry by 330%, nor could he claim that industry in general had expanded by 250%. Stalin compensated for any gaps between reality and the plan, saying "most mistakes were due to bungling and/or treason on the part of subordinates, not to defects of planning and were matters not for economists but for the police"

It must be noted that, although the objectives of the plan had not fully been reached, there was in fact tremendous growth in industry between 1928 and 1932. Stalin had truly made a big step in Soviet industrialization, however this growth was at the expense of the Soviet citizens who were overworked and starving.

It was especially bad for the peasants in the countryside who were experiencing Stalin's version of collectivization of agriculture. Stalin believed religion to be a central obstacle to collectivization, and ordered the burning and destruction of thousands of churches, cemeteries, and religious symbols. Anyone who tried to prevent this was arrested or deported. Also, anyone who would not join the collectivization, namely the kulaks, was deported to remote areas. In 1930 alone, 115,000 kulaks were deported, and in 1931, 265,800 were deported. Certainly many died along the way. A much larger number of peasants died in the "artificially created" famine in the winter of 1932-1933. I say artificially created because it was actually collectivization itself, along with people's unwillingness to collectivize and deportation that led to food shortages.

Now it is clear that extreme industrialization was not the right choice for the USSR economy. It would have been wiser for the Soviet planning to concentrate more on agriculture (without collectivization) and consumer goods. Surely it is better for the success of a country to concentrate on the health of the workers and to concentrate on making the population happy. Stalin had put so much (too much) capital investment into heavy industry that other areas of the economy lacked attention, leading to the downfall of the USSR in 1990.

## 16. THE INTERWAR YEARS (1919-1939)

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During World War I, some 10 million Europeans were killed, about 7 million were permanently disabled, and 15 million seriously wounded, mostly young men of working age and middle class backgrounds. This loss, combined with the destruction of land and property, led to a European situation of grave pessimism and poverty for many. Living conditions declined dramatically at the close of the war, the infant mortality rate skyrocketed, and life was quite difficult for Europeans of the period.

The Allies bore the brunt of the debt, and material damages, France especially. But the Central Powers were punished severely by the war's concluding treaties. Germany lost 15 percent of its pre-war capacity, all of its foreign investments, and 90 percent of its mercantile fleet. The Treaty of Versailles imposed reparations payments which were generally considered intolerable and impossible. In Austria, agricultural production fell 53 percent from pre-war levels, and starvation was a persistent problem. Inflation hit all of Europe in the first years after the war, as pent up demand was released and production fell off due to a shortage of raw materials. By 1920, prices in Hungary were 23,000 times what they had been before the war, and in Russia the multiplier was 4 million. A sharp depression in 1920 and 1921 corrected prices to some extent.

This depression, however, meant that the debtor countries increasingly found it impossible to pay their war debts. Germany pleaded with Britain and France for a moratorium on reparations payments, but France would not agree, and in fact, sent troops into the Ruhr in 1923, when Germany defaulted on its payments. In 1924, a solution was presented in the form of the Dawes Plan, presented by the American, Charles Dawes. Under this plan the total sum owed by Germany would remain the same, but the yearly payments were reduced, and Germany was granted a loan. The German Chamber of Deputies accepted the plan on August 27, 1924. As a result, the German mark began to stabilize, and Germany was able to pay on time for a short while.

Meanwhile, the European Allies had their own financial problems. They ended the war deeply indebted to the United States. The United States demanded payment in gold and dollars, which the Allies borrowed from creditor nations, creating even greater debt elsewhere.

From 1925 to 1929, Europe entered a period of relative prosperity and stability. However, unemployment remained high, and population growth outstripped economic growth. During this time, world trade increased and speculative investment increased as the result of better economic times. US creditors, flush with capital coming in from Europe, led this speculative movement.

Germany continued to struggle with reparations payments, and in 1930, the Young Plan replaced the Dawes Plan, lowering annual payments yet again, but to no avail. In attempts to maintain benefits for the unemployed and drive prices down, taxes were hiked, and unemployment shot up again. As the Great Depression that had struck the United States in 1929 began to set in throughout Europe in the early 30s, banks began to collapse. Despite international loans, Germany, and Europe as a whole, plunged into depression, during which currencies collapsed and all hope of stability was dashed. Despite efforts to stabilize world prices and European employment, Europe remained mired in depression until the outbreak of World War II.

While Europe struggled to rebuild during the 1920s, the United States prospered as the major creditor of the Allied nations. The United States feared the depreciation and collapse of foreign currencies, so demanded payment in dollars and gold, a situation which put a great deal of

pressure on European treasuries. However, US financial institutions benefited greatly from this influx of capital, and sought ways in which to invest it, driving up the US stock market by speculation, and often sending capital back to Europe in the form of loans. American financial experts favoured massive international loans as a means of increasing American exports, increasing employment, and strengthening the already mighty dollar.

### **The League of Nations**

- International cooperative organization
- Established to prevent future wars
- United States was not a member
- Failure of League because it did not have power to enforce its decisions

American President Woodrow Wilson intended the League of Nations to be the primary body of a new style of international relations based on the cooperation of all of the nations of the world. Small nations as well as large nations were asked to join, dependent on their acceptance of the Covenant of the League. The League of Nations first met in November 1920.

- Forty-two nations were represented at this first meeting. Notably absent were German, Russia, and the United States.
- Germany, identified as the aggressor in World War I, was barred from admission at first, and admitted in 1926.
- Russia, now the Soviet Union, was not invited to join the League due to the radical policies of the new communist government. The Soviet Union finally became a member of the League in 1935.
- In November 1919, the US Senate voted against accepting membership to the League, and the nation never joined.
- The League of Nations succeeded in providing assistance to bankrupt nations, supervising its mandates, and resolving conflicts between minor powers but cannot find exact mechanism to do so.

### Analysis

- The New System- The League of Nations was at first heralded as the bastion of a new system of international relations in Europe. The so-called **Old diplomacy** is known as the Westphalian System, since it had been in place since the Treaty of Westphalia, signed at the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 by the major European powers. Under the Westphalian system the elites of government often met in secret to determine the fate of Europe and the world. World War I shattered the old system along with the empires that had maintained it. The secretive nature of the Westphalian system had led to petty resentments, the pursuit of narrow self-interest, and the division of Europe into warring camps. Many, including Woodrow Wilson, felt that a more open, all- inclusive system would be more fostering to cooperation, a concept of international justice, and peace. The League was seen as a way to institutionalize these goals and strive for peace as a collective world community.
- The Contradictions of League- The League of Nations was an organization wracked by contradictions and insufficiencies from the start. Membership was determined by the acceptance of the Covenant of the League, which stated the goals and philosophy upon which it was founded. The covenant, however, had been drafted by small committees behind closed doors, thus violating the spirit of "open covenants openly arrived at"

expounded by the Covenant of the League itself. This contradiction foreshadowed a similar crises of ideology in the future for the League. The United States' failure to join the League of Nations was a major blow to the hopes of its founders, and to Wilson's view on the character of the 'new diplomacy'.

- **Body without power-** The founding and structure of the League of Nations was established primarily for the purpose of preventing future wars, a new concept for Europeans who traditionally believed that war was a necessary and inevitable outgrowth of international relations. However, the League could not come to a decision on how best to do this, without infringing on the sovereignty of the member countries, as would have been the case if the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol had been passed. The failure of these two measures left the League with only the power to invoke economic sanctions against a nation determined to be the aggressor in a conflict, and greatly called into question the authority and ability of the League to mediate conflicts.

The League of Nations thus exercised only limited powers, and did so clumsily. Most powerful nations preferred to manage their affairs outside of the League, only rarely deferring to the League's authority.

### **Major Nations of Europe during Interwar Years**

#### **Eastern Europe**

The reorganization of Europe after the Great War reached its greatest extent and had its greatest impact in Eastern and Central-Eastern Europe. The primary reason for turmoil was the organization of newly defined geographic regions under newly formed governments that were unaccustomed to deciding their own fate.

- The lands of Eastern Europe had been under the Domination of the German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian governments until after World War One, at which point they became independent. These independent nations all tried democracy, hailed as the best system by which to introduce the principle of national self- determination to a fledgling nation. However, in a region where democracy was unfamiliar, the system had many problems.
- The general public had no experience with democracy, and thus was ignorant of the structures and philosophy that supported a democratic government. Accustomed to following orders and living a life without political impact, the masses proved to be a non-entity in politics in many places, or a disorganized entity, or an easily misguided entity.
- Additionally, the politicians of Eastern Europe had been handed their orders from the governments that had dominated them. They were not used to democratic deliberation and government within a democratic framework. Some proceeded tentatively, afraid that a wrong move would put them out of favour with the population or lead the government down a dangerous path. Indecision on many issues led to chaos and inaction on the part of many Eastern governments. This allowed others to usurp and abuse power, forming oppressive, fascist dictatorships.
- Surprisingly few in the region objected to this development. To many it seemed that fascism was the only solution to the problem of an aimlessly drifting government. A major source of distress and chaos in Eastern Europe was the interaction of different ethnic groups.

## Britain

The British government had a great deal of difficulty in adjusting to post-war politics.

- Immediately after World War I, workers in many key industries began to strike, demanding higher wages, better working conditions, and shorter hours now that the war was ended. Workers in the mining and railway industries were especially adamant, and troops were called in on a number of occasions.
- However, the spirit of the labour movements did not blossom in Britain as it did elsewhere, and the socialist goal of nationalization of industry was put on hold. Factories owned by the government were sold off, and soon practically no businesses remained in government hands. During the early years after the war, Britain stayed out of foreign affairs and hoped that laissez-faire economics would jump-start the post-war economy.
- In March 1926, the Samuel Commission, at the behest of the government, released a report on the coal industry advocating wage reductions, setting off strikes all over the nation in May. The Triple Alliance, made up of miners, rail workers, and other transport workers began the strike, and workers in other industries around the nation struck in sympathy. However, the spirit of Conservatism remained high and the government held out.
- The onset of the depression in the early 1930s tore the British Parliament apart, as disagreement over recovery measures divided the nation. Unemployment benefits were cut in 1931, and adjusted again in 1934. The remainder of the peacetime years was spent dabbling in different potential solutions to the nation's economic problems.
- In the realm of foreign relations, the only major issue was the resurgence of German aggression. In 1937, Prime Minister Chamberlain pursued the failed **policy of Appeasement** in regard to Adolf Hitler's aggression, signing the Munich Pact. His hopes for avoidance of war dashed, he presided over Britain's declaration of war on Germany on September 3, 1939. He clung to power until his death on November 9, 1940, when Winston Churchill took over.
- For centuries, Britain had been widely successful economically and politically, always seemingly a step ahead of the other nations of the world. However, once the brutal war ended, Britain was cast into the mires of post-war rebuilding, just like the other nations of Europe.
- Focusing on its own problems, Britain had attempted to stay relatively removed from European power politics during the inter-war years, a project which enjoyed fair success until Nazi Germany began to rear its ugly head. Chamberlain, who proved throughout his time in office that international relations were not his forte, agreed to sign the Munich Pact in 1938, granting Hitler the Czech Sudetenland in an attempt to appease the ambitious dictator. The move was a failure, and Hitler soon demonstrated his desire for total European domination, to which the British responded with a declaration of war. At last he accepted his rival, Winston Churchill, as his successor, who was more ready to lead his country into the War than any other leader.

## France

Though victorious, France lost 1.5 million men in World War I, and had 3.5 million wounded. After the war, France faced an increased death rate was up and falling birth rate. The workforce accordingly declined, and France never fully recovered during the inter-war period.

- Steel production, a good indication of the status of heavy industry, was more than cut in half, and both agriculture and industry fell into serious decline after the war. The value of

the franc fell by about 50 percent during 1919, the first year of peace. To pay off bondholders, France was forced to borrow at extremely high short-term rates.

- However, its economic problems were not insurmountable, but the political will was lacking to tackle the fairly major adjustments that did need to be made, and there was little willingness in French society to adopt new attitudes commensurate with significant change.
- After war, France demanded full payment of reparations by Germany. When the Germans asked for a moratorium on payment, and subsequently defaulted on their reparations, Poincare sent 40,000 troops to occupy the Ruhr in Germany. This action cost France considerable funding, and failed to force the Germans to pay, but rather led to the drafting of the Dawes Plan, under which annual payments of reparations were decreased. Poincare's decision to occupy the Ruhr was a gesture of frustration that gained nothing for France. France had no backing from its allies, the operation was very costly, and it soured relations even further between France and Germany. Germany had not been made to pay, and demonstrably could not be made to do so.
- After the onset of the depression in the early 1930s, support for extremist groups began to expand. As the government floundered, support for both fascism and communism grew, climaxing in February 1934 with a series of riots and police confrontations resulting in a number of deaths and the barricading of the main square in Paris. The coming years held much turmoil for the French government, and in the elections of the spring of 1936, the radical leftist Popular Front emerged victorious, which floundered soon.
- Next year, the election of Rightist government restored a degree of economic stability with a program that included an increase of armaments manufactures. France would need these armaments soon, however, the **Maginot line mentality** (no need of armament as they thought Maginot line will suffice) prevented French armament for long. It was not long before France declared war on Germany, on September 3, 1939.
- Under the rightist government, France headed into war, with well-equipped armed forces, but was politically and psychologically unprepared to withstand the fundamental test of unity and common purpose that was to come.

## USA

In 1919, the signing of the Treaty of Versailles marked the end of World War I. Woodrow Wilson (president of the United States) participated personally in the conference and suggested the fourteen points in attempt to achieve peace. He brought Germany onto the bargaining table and sought peace based on democracy, self-determination, disarmament and the creation of the League of Nations. Yet the US Senate declined the Treaty and refused to make USA a member of the League of Nations. The United States aimed for isolationism and stayed out of European affairs.

Also in 1919, the Americans experienced the Red Scare. The end of the war brought a sense of insecurity and a fear of anarchist, communists and immigrants to the US. A series of violent event occurred in US that symbolized the American's unrest. The Palmer Raids was initiated and thousands of anarchist and communist were grouped together and exiled to Russia. Other raids involved the killing of 6000 so-called communists who had been plotting a revolution.

New President Harding (elected in 1920) promoted a "return to normalcy," which meant the rebirth of nativism, isolationism and the rejection of government intervention. Nativism is the act of preserving native inhabitants and calls upon the growth of national identity. Leading USA



through the Roaring Twenties, Harding's policies reflect a conservative laissez-faire attitude. This period is also known as the Jazz age, the age of intolerance and the age of wonderful nonsense, was a time of utmost escalation. New technologies and ideas rocketed American economy. The new decade was a time of change, for better or for worse.

Then the unexpected Stock Market Crash of 1929 plummeted American economy. This brought the United States of American into the Great Depression and dragged the rest of the world with it. This depression lasted until in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president and suggest the New Deal. A series of measures involved with banking, unemployment, farm policies and business reforms occurred as an attempt to pull out of the depression. Roosevelt summarized the New Deal as a "use of the authority of government as an organized form of self-help for all classes and groups and sections of our country." Roosevelt pledged to be a good neighbour to Latin America and insisted upon isolationism. Although in isolationism the Americans still traded with Japan. However, when Japan began her territorial conquest and invaded Manchuria, USA in attempt to de-escalate tension stopped the trades with Japan. Yet instead of de-escalating tension, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in 1941. This ended American's pacifism and isolationism, forcing America into WWII.

During this time period, America experienced its greatest economic escalation and de-escalation. With the Roaring Twenties rocketing American advancement in every aspect and then during the Dirty Thirties, Americans were faced with the struggle meet the basic needs to survive. They played an interesting role in this time period, as they continuously announced their isolation yet still intervened on many events.

### **USSR**

After accepting the humiliating Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1917, the Bolshevik government under the Vladimir Lenin was trying its best to fight off the White Army, win the Civil War and re-stabilize the country after the devastating aftermath of World War I. Not only did Lenin introduce the New Economic Plan, a project designed for national economic recovery and development, he also established the Cheka, which was a state security organization that protected the Bolshevik government.

After Lenin's death in 1924, there was a struggle for power within the Soviet Union, mainly between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. In the end, Stalin was able to win the majority the votes and came into Russia's highest office in 1924. Trotsky meanwhile, was exiled to Mexico, where he continued to oppose Stalin, but was then assassinated under Stalin's orders. In trying to industrialize the country, Stalin replaced Lenin's New Economic Plan with his Five-Year Plans starting 1927. To fuel these plans, Stalin created a nationwide famine, especially in the Ukraine region, which claimed approximately three million lives. Starting from the 1930s, Stalin's paranoia initiated what is now known as the Great Purges and the Great Terror. For nine years, Stalin eliminated potential threats to his reign based on suspicion only. Officers, generals, party members, and even ordinary citizens "disappeared" overnight. Only through the use of terror and propaganda did Stalin achieve this without any opposition. At the end of 1939, statistics shown that another million some innocent people were killed by the Purges, increasing the death count of pre-war Russia to over four million people.

Though the Soviets are almost caught up with the Western countries in terms of industrialization, Stalin still needed much more time to rebuild his party and staff after the heavy

losses. When the Germans offered to sign the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, Stalin quickly accepted the proposal in order to buy time for himself. At the time, Russia was still relatively weak as a power and could not have defended itself in case of all-out war. Thus, the Non-Aggression Pact was like a saviour to the Soviets, as not only did they gain valuable time to prepare, they also obtained a sphere of influence in Poland. However, what Stalin did not expect was the rapid conquest of Poland by the Nazis. Within weeks, the Nazi Army had conquered their half of Poland and crushed the Polish opposition with the Blitzkrieg, and on Oct.17, 1939, the Red Army was forced to invade their half of Poland.

## Italy

- Rise of fascism
- Ambition to restore the glory of Rome
- Invasion of Ethiopia

In 1915, the French, British, and Russians had promised territory to Italy in exchange for joining the Allied cause. However, when the war ended, the principle of national self-determination stood in the way of Italian efforts to collect on this promise. Under this widely accepted philosophy, the Allies could not grant Italy the territory it had been promised because it was not theirs to give, since most of the territory promised to Italy was populated by non-Italians. The Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando returned from the Paris Peace Conference at the close of World War I embarrassed and empty-handed, with nothing to show for the sacrifices of the Italian war effort. The Italian people naturally turned against Orlando's government, as well as the returning veterans, and both were widely despised.

Like the other warring nations, Italy had borrowed extensively to finance its war effort. In 1919, the Italian national debt was six times its pre-war level, and the lira had depreciated to one-third its pre-war value. Amid the chaos of the early inter-war years, Benito Mussolini founded the Fascist Party, in March 1919. The Fascist Party, composed largely of war veterans, was vehemently anti-communist, and advocated the glorification of war, which they claimed displayed the nobility of the Italian soul. The Fascists thought Italy was destined to recapture the glory of Rome.

Political tensions between the Fascists and the Communists mounted in Italy almost to the point of civil war. Fascist 'black shirts' and communist 'red shirts' were often seen brawling in the streets. By the summer of 1922, the Fascist army marched from Naples to Rome, declaring their loyalty to the king, Victor Emmanuel, and to the Roman Catholic Church, and claiming its purpose was to free Italy from the liberal left. The Communists also possessed their own army, and the king feared open violence. In an effort to avoid this he named Mussolini premier on October 30, 1922. Mussolini used his private army, now turned into a militia, to purge local governments of any opposition to fascism. He consolidated his power under the motto: "All in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state." Under this doctrine he ruled Italy with a tight fist during the war years, instituting economic and social reforms, some successful, others unsuccessful.

Mussolini's strength lay in his ability to harness the anger and disillusionment of the returning soldiers and the lower middle class. Soldiers returned to a broken homeland after World War One, filled with misery and poverty. Moreover, they were not thanked for their sacrifices but jeered as the cause of Italy's hard times. These jeers seemed to be coming from more than

anywhere else, the liberal left, which was in control of the Chamber of Deputies early in the inter-war years. Under their rule, conditions only worsened, and in many instances it seemed like they were doing nothing as Italy collapsed. The Fascist party appealed to the frustrations of these soldiers, and to the culturally instilled conservatism of the middle class. Rather than preaching liberalism and newly emerging liberal values, the Fascists offered a return to traditional politics and traditional values, promising to undo the changes made by the liberals and lift poor, crippled Italy to a position of glory once more. Most importantly, they offered the masses a type of government in which the leaders could and would do something about deteriorating conditions. To many, it did not matter what exactly the Fascists did, but only that they acted, and acted within the framework of a stable and strong government.

Mussolini's rule as dictator fell nicely into the established totalitarian mould of an omnipotent state apparatus that controlled thought and suppressed dissent, demanding obedience and uniformity. Mussolini's ascent to power is also a perfect example of the means by which dictators during the inter-war years commonly rose to power, by literally beating the legal state apparatus down through brutality and intimidation until it had no choice but to legally accept the imposed government. Though Mussolini's means of ascension to power were by no means legal, in the end, he was granted control of the government by the king himself. This legitimization of totalitarian government was seen commonly throughout the twentieth century.

### Germany

- Inflation and depression
- Democratic government weakened
- Anti-Semitism
- Extreme nationalism
- National Socialism (Nazism)
- German occupation of nearby countries

The rise of Nazi Germany was the capstone of the inter-war period, and led to the outbreak of World War II, shattering the tenuous peace.

In 1920, Hitler seized control in the German Workers Party, changing its name to the National Socialist German Workers Party, called the Nazi Party for short. On November 9, 1923, Hitler and World War I hero General Ludendorff attempted a small revolution known as the Beer Hall Putsch. Hitler spent two years in prison, where he wrote *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), which outlined his future policies, centered on the theory of Aryan superiority and Jewish inferiority. In 1929, as the world became mired in depression and unemployment rose, so did support for the Nazi Party, which promised employment and a return to glory for the nation. In 1932 the Nazis won 37.3 percent of the popular vote and occupied 230 seats in the German Reichstag. There was little stability in the German government at this time, and seeking a solution to this instability, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor on January 30, 1933. Once in office, Hitler dissolved the Reichstag and persuaded Hindenburg to issue a decree granting Hitler authority to prohibit public meetings, the wearing of political uniforms, and publication of dissenting opinions.

On February 27, 1933, the Reichstag building burned down and a retarded Dutch boy claiming he worked for the communists was arrested for arson. There is evidence to prove that the Nazis themselves had set the fire, but in any case, Hitler used the incident to persuade Hindenburg to

restrict all individual rights and declare that the central government could oust any state government failing to maintain order. Hitler systematically took control of all of the state governments this way.

On March 23, 1933, the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act, giving Hitler the power to make decrees with the status of law, and ending elections. When Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler fused the positions of chancellor and president into one office- Fuhrer.

Hitler's vague policy included a planned economy in which the unemployed were put to work on government projects, working hours were shortened to open up jobs, and labour was forbidden to organize. The government oversaw all functions of the economy. All education and speech was controlled. Curricula and textbooks were rewritten to reflect Nazi ideology, and all movies, newspapers, radio, and art were regulated by the vigilant Ministry of Propaganda, under Joseph Goebbels. One of the Ministry's main tasks was to mobilize German anti-Semitism in support of Nazi persecution of German Jews, which would reach its climax in the Holocaust, begun in earnest in 1941. The persecution of the Jews was a major step in Hitler's plan to conquer all of Europe for the Aryan race, a plan that resulted in the outbreak of World War II.

There are many explanations for why Hitler was able to come to power in Germany. The first focuses on the evil genius of Hitler himself. A skilled manipulator, he played the masses, the government, and the media perfectly, creating a party that reached into every aspect of German life.

A second explanation contends that the German people were in a situation that made totalitarianism possible. Germans were deeply ashamed of their loss in World War One, and the German state was devastated by the war and the Treaty of Versailles, which mandated vast reparations payments. Soldiers returned from the war to rampant unemployment and general misery. The German people, with a history of anti-Semitism, found it much easier to blame the defeat on the Jews and socialists than themselves. Hitler provided this scapegoat, and claimed that if only the Germans could expel the Jews, the state could return to its past glory.

The German state had a long tradition of authoritarian government, and many Germans associated the liberalization of that government with the outbreak of war, and more importantly, the devastation of the post-war period. Many sought a return to the old ways, believing that modern, liberal beliefs had sacrificed German honour and allowed the state to depreciate in the name of freedom. Hitler offered not freedom, but rather security. He promised to take action to improve the economy, and return German national pride, and the masses, in most cases, were happy to grant him the ultimate power he needed to do so.

Hitler's political program was a vague collection of promises that led each societal group to believe it would be the primary beneficiary of the Nazi government. He promised relief for the unemployed, protection of private property against the communist threat, profits for large businesses, and survival for small businesses.

These promises addressed the most important reason for Hitler's ascent to power- the economic depression that wracked Germany during the inter-war years. This is demonstrated most clearly by the lack of growth in the Nazi Party between 1925 and 1928, a period of relative prosperity during which the Party actually lost three seats in the Reichstag. Luckily for Hitler, the 1930s brought depression to Germany, and one out of every two German families was affected by unemployment. As the leader of the frustrated and disillusioned, Hitler reaped the political benefits.

Hitler's consolidation of power mirrored Benito Mussolini's in many ways, as Hitler manipulated President Hindenburg into granting him legal dictatorial power, one step at a time, so as to legitimize the rise of the Third Reich. Hitler had used corruption and intimidation to get what he wanted, and he had gotten away with it, due in part to the legality of many of his actions under concessions made by Hindenburg.

Hitler's government was the ultimate example of totalitarianism. During the twelve-year reign of the Third Reich, Germany had one police officer for every 155 citizens, serving as enforcers of the system of total control. The Nazi Party controlled and defined Germany, and was in turn controlled and defined by Hitler.

## **Japan**

- Militarism
- Industrialization of Japan, leading to drive for raw materials
- Invasion of Korea, Manchuria, and the rest of China

The First World War was another chance for the ascension of the Japanese Empire. Japan had annexed German territories in Asia, participated in an international intervention in Russia and annexed the rest of the Sakhalin Island. The USSR was very weak. China was crushed by internal conflicts. The First World War was another disappointment for the Japanese. They were not able to take advantage of this opportunity. The ascension of the Japanese empire was in conflict with its former allies, Great Britain and the United States. Once again, Japan was treated as the first of the second-class powers.

After the First World War, there were just two great powers which came out better off, the USA and Japan. The European powers were exhausted by the war effort. The entire Asian market was open to Tokyo, and trade created dizzying rates of economic growth.

The Taisho period (1912-26), named after Emperor Yoshihito Taisho, was a period of economic development for Japan. During his short reign, the process of modernization begun in the Meiji era continued. Japan became the sixth or seventh world power, depending on which criteria were used. Except for the Rice Revolt and the Tokyo earthquake, the entire period was very stable as regards domestic matters. The process of democratization continued, with universal suffrage being introduced for adult males. The educational system advanced, and books became more and more accessible.

The Great Depression had negative effects on the whole world. Since it was dependent on exports, Japan had serious problems. Many companies dealing in heavy industry or chemicals went bankrupt. The lack of foreign market demand also affected the textile industry.

### Militarism in Japan

The period after the decline of Feudalism saw the creation of modern state with economic development and industry and military domination at home and rapid conquests and expansion with national disaster in Japan. The destruction of Japanese cities, the surrender of armed forces and foreign occupation and Japan's war with China marked the end of the restoration period and beginning of new age of Japan Militarism. Modernization combined with a sense of national pride, the growth of population, the industrial development contributed to the rise of militarism in Japan. It was in late 1920s and early 1930s that brought this change and took alarming proportions by 1937. This was the creation of right wing political parties and the army. The army that dominated the Japanese politics was keen on war conquest, its officers had little knowledge of international politics advocated expansion of the empire by the force which culminated into a national disaster post World War II. Japanese militarism was anti-democratic and authoritarian

in nature. Military warlords who believed that Japan's interests could be safeguarded only under totalitarian regime dominated it. The power came under the war minister and the Navy minister who dominated the Japanese politics. The totalitarian feature of Japanese militarism also highlighted that it was not a peaceful movement but dominated by ultra-nationalism. Ultra-nationalists started operating in Japan to reduce the influence of liberal organizations. An ultra-nationalist society was started in 1910 followed by the Greater Japan Nationalist Society in 1919. They believed that a glorious future lies in the hands of army. The Japanese militarism was anti-communist and pro capitalist. Russia was the natural enemy of Japan as their interests clashed over Manchuria and other parts of Asia. The rise of Bolsheviks further deteriorated the relations between them. Japan was also concerned with the colonial expansion based on capitalist lines that was resented by Russia. This was one feature that made Japan to sign Anti-Comintern Pact with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The Japanese totalitarianism retained a Japanese pattern shaped by the absence of individualism. The personality cult was absent and emperor was still regarded as a symbol of unity and common rallying point for the whole nation.

The attempts of the militarists to capture power in Japan reached a turning point when Minseito party won the elections in 1936. Four days after the election results, some junior regimental officers revolted in Tokyo to overthrow the government. Though this coup ended in failure the power of the militarists increased and moderates conceded to the demand that war minister and the navy minister had to be military officers on active service that marked major triumph of militarists.

The Hirota cabinet accepted the seven-point programme called National Political Renovation. By it the government was committed to expand armament, the stock piling of the materials of war giving full support to the Japanese army in Manchuria and control of education. This meant that the government was under the control of the military. With the signing of anti-Comintern pact ended the diplomatic isolation of Japan and increased the influence of right wing in the country. Japan was clearly in the path of military control. The National Mobilization Act of 1938 ended the parliamentary government in Japan. This enabled bureaucracy to take power from legislature. The military now controlled the industry and other wings of the government.

### Road to War

Japan followed aggressive policy towards Manchuria from 1930s onwards. Manchuria was strategically important subjected to Russian and Japanese control. Chinese nationalist party KMT considered Manchuria as the first line of the defense of their country while the Japanese considered it as lifeline. China's refusal to repay loans of 150 million yen and the assassination of a Japanese captain in 1931 led to invasion of Manchuria. The immediate cause was the destruction of a section of south Manchurian Railway in a bomb explosion gave Japan opportunity to seize Mukden. In three months the Japanese extended their authority in Manchuria. Japan extended its control over Inner Mongolia and North China. In 1933 Japan withdrew from League of Nations to continue with its aggression policy. In 1935 Hirota, Japanese PM proposed three point programme to settle Sino- Japanese dispute by ending anti-Japanese activity, recognize Manchukuo and to accept help in suppressing communism. The Chinese nationalists and the communists joined hands and the Japanese property in China was destroyed. Japan tried to destabilize the KMT government and tried to establish a popular government on the lines of Manchukuo.

Japan resorted to economic blockade of China in 1939. Japanese activities were seen suspiciously by Britain, America and other powers. The relations with Russia were strained over

Mongolia. Political isolation pushed Japan towards Nazism and Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936 led to agreement to suppress communism. In 1940 the tripartite countries signed a pact that agreed to mutual cooperation in recognizing Japan and military aid in the wake of war. When World War II broke out Japan exploited the situation thoroughly by extracting an agreement from China and secured the right of sending troops into China. Initially Japan was successful. In 1941 England and Netherlands declared war on Japan. Japan took over Hong Kong in 1941 and conquered Manila, Malaya, Singapore, Dutch Indies and Burma in 1942. Japan was hit by USA embargo which made them declare war against USA and bombed Pearl Harbour in 1941.

### **Timeline of the Interwar Years**

#### **1918**

- The Armistice with Germany marks the end of World War I. German troops evacuate occupied territories and Allied troops subsequently move in and occupy the German Rhineland.

#### **1919**

- Opening of the Paris Peace Conference to negotiate peace treaties between the belligerents of World War I.
- Germany and the Allied powers sign the Treaty of Versailles after six months of negotiations. The German armed forces are limited in size to 100,000 personnel and Germany is ordered to pay large reparations for war damages.
- German Austria signs the Treaty of Saint-Germain. The peace treaty with the Allies regulates the borders of Austria, forbids union with Germany and German Austria has to change its name to Austria.

#### **1920**

- Creation of the Free City of Danzig which was neither approved by Germany nor Poland.
- The Paris Peace Conference comes to an end with the inaugural General Assembly of the League of Nations. Although one of the victors of World War I, the United States never joins the League.
- Turkey signs the Treaty of Sevres with the Allied powers. The treaty partitions the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish armed forces are reduced in size. Greece did not accept the borders as drawn up in the treaty and did not sign it. The Treaty of Sevres was annulled in the course of the Turkish War of Independence and the parties signed and ratified the superseding Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

#### **1922**

- The Russian Civil War (ongoing since 7 November 1917) ends in Bolshevik victory with the defeat of the last White forces in Siberia.
- Fascist leader Benito Mussolini is appointed prime minister of Italy by king Victor Emmanuel III after the March on Rome.
- France and Belgium occupy the Ruhr in an effort to compel Germany to step up its payments of war reparations.
- The Treaty of Lausanne, settling the boundaries of modern Turkey, is signed in Switzerland by Turkey and the Entente powers. It marks the end of the Turkish War of Independence and replaces the earlier Treaty of Sèvres.

**1923**

- The Beer Hall Putsch takes place, in which Adolf Hitler unsuccessfully leads the Nazis in an attempt to overthrow the German government. It is crushed by police the next day.

**1924**

- Leader of the Soviet Union Vladimir Lenin dies, and Joseph Stalin begins purging rivals to clear the way for his leadership.
- Fascists win elections in Italy with a 2/3 majority.
- The Dawes Plan is accepted. It ends the Allied occupation of the Ruhr and sets a staggered payment plan for Germany's payment of war reparations.

**1925**

- The Locarno Treaties are signed in London (they are ratified 14 September 1926). The treaties settle the borders of Western Europe and normalize relations between Germany and the Allied powers of Western Europe, however, left eastern borders of Germany with Poland open for revision.

**1926**

- The Treaty of Berlin is signed by Germany and the Soviet Union, which declares neutrality if either country is attacked within the next five years.
- Germany joins the League of Nations.

**1927**

The Chinese Civil War begins between nationalists and communists.

**1928**

- Italy and Ethiopia sign the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty, pledging cooperation and friendship.
- The Soviet Union launches the First Five-Year Plan, an economic effort to increase industrialization.

**1929**

- The Young Plan, which sets the total World War I reparations owed by Germany at US\$26,350,000,000 to be paid over a period of 58½ years, is finalized.
- The Great Depression begins with the Wall Street Crash.

**1930**

- France withdraws its remaining troops from the Rhineland ending the occupation of the Rhineland.

**1931**

- Mukden Incident: the Japanese stage a false flag bombing against a Japanese-owned railroad in the Chinese region of Manchuria, blaming Chinese dissidents for the attack. Using the Mukden Incident as a pretext, the Japanese invade Manchuria.

**1932**

- The Stimson Doctrine is proclaimed by United States Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson in response to Japan invading Manchuria. The Doctrine holds that the United States government will not recognize border changes that are made by force.



- Fighting between China and Japan in Manchuria ends with Japan in control of Manchuria.
- Paul von Hindenburg is reelected President of Germany, defeating Adolf Hitler in a runoff.

### 1933

- Nazi leader Adolf Hitler is appointed Chancellor of Germany by President Paul von Hindenburg.
- Germany's parliament building the Reichstag is set on fire. The Reichstag Fire Decree is passed, nullifying many German civil liberties (mainly to purge the Communists of Germany).
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt is inaugurated as President of the United States.
- The Reichstag passes the Enabling Act, making Adolf Hitler dictator of Germany.
- Japan leaves the League of Nations over the League of Nations' Lytton Report that found that Manchuria belongs to China and that Manchukuo was not a truly independent state.
- Germans are told to boycott Jewish shops and businesses in response to the Jewish boycott of German goods organized the previous month.
- Germany's first concentration camp, Dachau, is completed. Homeless, alcoholic, and unemployed sent to Nazi concentration camps.
- The Gestapo secret police is established in Germany. Hitler outlaws trade unions. All non-Nazi parties are banned in Germany. The Nazi party becomes the official party of Germany.
- Germany leaves the League of Nations (October).

### 1934

- The SS becomes an organization independent of the Nazi Party, reporting directly to Adolf Hitler.
- Upon the death of President Paul von Hindenburg, Adolf Hitler makes himself Führer of Germany, becoming Head of State as well as Chancellor.
- Members of the Wehrmacht begin swearing a personal oath of loyalty to Hitler instead of to the German constitution.
- The Soviet Union joins the League of Nations.
- The Abyssinia Crisis begins with the Walwal incident, an armed clash between Italian and Ethiopian troops on the border of Ethiopia.
- Japan renounces the earlier Naval Treaties (to limit the Navies of countries against militarism).

### 1935

- The Neutrality Act of 1935 is passed in the United States imposing a general embargo on trading in arms and war materials with all parties in a war and it also declared that American citizens travelling on ships of warring nations travelled at their own risk.
- The Reichstag passes the Nuremberg Laws, introducing anti-Semitism in German legislation
- Italy invades Ethiopia, beginning the Second Italo-Abyssinian War. League denounces Italy and calls for an oil embargo that fails.

### 1936

- In violation of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany remilitarizes the Rhineland.

- After the Rhineland move Hitler met separately with French and British journalists, emphasizing his limited expansionist aim of building a greater German nation, and his desire for British understanding and cooperation.
- A Naval Treaty is signed by the United Kingdom, United States, and France. Italy and Japan each declined to sign this treaty.
- Italian troops march into the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, marking the end of the Second Italo–Abyssinian War.
- The failed Spanish coup of July 1936 by Nationalist forces marks the beginning of the Spanish Civil War.
- Germany began its Four Year Plan, an effort to make Germany self-sufficient and increase armaments.
- The Great Purge commences in the Soviet Union with widespread repression of suspected opponents of the regime. The purge leads to the imprisonment and death of many military officers, weakening the Soviet Armed Forces ahead of World War II.
- The Anti-Comintern Pact is signed by Japan and Germany. The signing parties agree to go to war with the Soviet Union if one of the signatories is attacked by the Soviet Union.
- The two sides in the Chinese Civil War temporarily suspend hostilities to fight the Japanese.

### 1937

- The Marco Polo Bridge Incident occurs, beginning the Second Sino-Japanese War.
- U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt gives the Quarantine Speech outlining a move away from neutrality and towards "quarantining" all aggressors.
- Italy joins the Anti-Comintern Pact.
- Italy leaves the League of Nations.
- Start of the Rape of Nanking following Japanese victory in the Battle of Nanking.

### 1938

- The incidents in Pacific Ocean further strains relations between Japan and the United States.
- Austria is incorporated by Germany.
- The Soviet–Japanese border conflicts begin with the Battle of Lake Khasan. Soviet Union wins the Battle.
- The Munich Agreement is signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy. The agreement allows Germany to annex the Czechoslovak 'Sudetenland' area in exchange for peace in an attempt to appease Hitler.
- The Kristallnacht pogrom begins in Germany; many Jewish shops and synagogues are smashed, looted, burned, and destroyed throughout the country.

### 1939

- A uranium atom is split for the first time at Columbia University in the United States.
- Adolf Hitler orders Plan Z, a 5-year naval expansion programme intended to provide for a huge German fleet capable of defeating the Royal Navy by 1944. The Kriegsmarine is given the first priority on the allotment of German economic resources. The Naval race for supremacy of Atlantic begins.

- Germany occupies the rest of Czechoslovakia part in violation of the Munich Agreement. The Czechs do not attempt to put up any organized resistance having lost their main defensive line with the annexation of the Sudetenland.
- Germany establishes the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The protectorate includes those portions of Czechoslovakia not incorporated into Germany, Poland, Hungary, or the new Slovak Republic.
- German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop delivers an oral ultimatum to Lithuania, demanding that it cede the Klaipėda Region (German name Memel) to Germany.
- Adolf Hitler demands the return of the Free City of Danzig to Germany.
- The United Kingdom and France offer a guarantee of Polish independence.
- The Spanish Civil War ends in Nationalist victory. Spain becomes a dictatorship with Francisco Franco as the head of the new government.
- Italy invades Albania with little in the way of military resistance. Albania is later made part of Italy through a personal union of the Italian and Albanian crown.
- The Soviet Union proposes a tripartite alliance with the United Kingdom and France. It is rejected.
- In a speech before the Reichstag, Adolf Hitler renounces the Anglo-German Naval Agreement and the German–Polish Non-Aggression Pact
- Soviet–Japanese border conflicts: The Battle of Khalkhin Gol begins with Japan and Manchukuo against the Soviet Union and Mongolia. The battle ends in Soviet victory on September 16, influencing the Japanese to not seek further conflict with the Soviets, but to turn towards the Pacific holdings of the Euro-American powers instead.
- The Pact of Steel, known formally as the "Pact of Friendship and Alliance between Germany and Italy", is signed by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The Pact declares further cooperation between the two powers, but in a secret supplement the Pact is detailed as a military alliance.
- Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain reaffirms support for Poland and makes it clear that Britain did not view Free City of Danzig as being an internal German-Polish affair and would intervene on behalf of Poland if hostilities broke out between the two countries.
- The Einstein-Szilárd letter is sent to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Written by Leó Szilárd and signed by Albert Einstein, it warned of the danger that Germany might develop atomic bombs. This letter prompted action by Roosevelt and eventually resulted in the Manhattan Project.
- The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is signed between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, with secret provisions for the division of Eastern Europe - joint occupation of Poland and Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, Finland and Bessarabia. This protocol removes the threat of Soviet intervention during the German invasion of Poland.
- German ultimatum to Poland concerning the Polish Corridor and the Free City of Danzig
- Without response to its ultimatum, Germany invades Poland, start of World War II.

**League of Nations, an organisation with turbulent but a hopeful start yet a farcical end.**  
**Examine**

*Students need to underline the success of League of Nations in its early years and its failures in later years*

Success in 1920s

- In 1919, Poland and Czechoslovakia fought over this area, which was rich in coal, in 1920 the League arbitrated on the dispute, splitting the area between the two countries.

Although neither country was happy about the decision, they accepted it and stopped the fighting.

- The League settled a dispute between Sweden and Finland, after an investigation it said that the islands should belong to Finland, Sweden and Finland agreed.
- The League settled a dispute between Germany and Poland, it held a plebiscite and suggested a partition, Germany and Poland agreed.
- The Turks demanded Mosul, a part of Iraq (a British mandate). The League supported Iraq, Turkey agreed.
- Greece invaded Bulgaria, which did not fight back, but appealed to the League. The League ordered Greece to withdraw, which it did.
- 400,000 Prisoners of WW I repatriated
- Worked with great success against leprosy (extermination of mosquitoes)
- League gave economic advice to Austria and Hungary in early 1920s to help their economies.

#### Failures in 1930s

- Japan conquered Manchuria in 1932. When the League supported China, Japan left the League.
- Italy invaded Abyssinia in 1935. Although the League officially condemned the Italians, France and Britain were caught making a secret agreement to give Abyssinia to Italy.
- These crises destroyed the authority of the League, and it was powerless to stop Germany after 1935.
- By the time of the Sudeten crisis of 1938, Britain and France were ignoring the League, and were trying appeasement instead.
- Japan attacks and conquers Manchuria. The League objects, but can do nothing.
- 1933- Hitler announces that Germany is leaving the League.
- 1936- Italy attacks and conquers Abyssinia. The League objects, but can do nothing.
- 1935- Hitler renounces the Treaty of Versailles and starts re-arming in defiance of the League.
- 1936- The League's Disarmament Conference fails.
- 1936- German army re-occupies the Rhineland in defiance of the League.
- 1937- Italy leaves the League.
- 1938- Munich Agreement - Britain and France, ignoring the League, follow the policy of appeasement and give Hitler the Sudetenland.
- 1939- The fascists win the Spanish Civil War and Spain leaves the League

## 17. WORLD WAR II

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After World War I, defeated Germany, disappointed Italy, and ambitious Japan were anxious to regain or increase their power. All three eventually adopted forms of dictatorship that made the state supreme and called for expansion at the expense of neighbouring countries. These three countries also set themselves up as champions against Communism, thus gaining at least partial tolerance of their early actions from the more conservative groups in the Western democracies.

Following were the causes of the Second World War

- The anger felt in Weimar Germany that was caused by the Treaty of Versailles.
- Appeasement- desire for peace on the part of the democracies, which resulted in their military unpreparedness.
- The League of Nations, weakened from the start by the defection of the United States, was unable to promote disarmament.
- The Great Depression sharpened national rivalries, increased fear and distrust, and made the masses susceptible to the promises of demagogues.
- The failure of the League to stop the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1931 was followed by a rising crescendo of treaty violations and acts of aggression.
- Nazism- Adolf Hitler's rise to power (1933) in Germany, recreated the German army and prepared it for a war of conquest, in 1936 he remilitarized the Rhineland.
- Fascism- Benito Mussolini's imperial ambitions, he conquered Ethiopia for Italy
- Imperial Ambitions of Japan in Pacific Ocean.
- The need for 'lebensraum (living space)', an area for economic expansion, by Germany in Europe. And a similar area of economic expansion for Japan in Asia
- From 1936 to 1939 the Spanish civil war raged, with Germany and Italy helping the fascist forces of Francisco Franco to victory.
- Following three events turned the European war into World War
  - a. Invasion of Poland by Germany (1939)
  - b. Invasion of Russia by Germany (1941)
  - c. Pre-emptive strike on Pearl Harbour by Japan (1941).

### Events

**1918-** World War I ends with German defeat.

**1919**

- April- League of Nations founded.
- June- Signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

**1929-** Stock Market on Wall Street crashes. The Great Depression begins

**1931-** Japan invades Manchuria.

**1935-** Fascist Italy invades, conquers, and annexes Ethiopia.

**1936**

- Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy sign a treaty of cooperation. The Rome-Berlin Axis is announced.
- Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact, directed against the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement.

**1937-** Japan invades China

**1938**

- March- Germany incorporates Austria in the Anschluss.

- September- Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and France sign the Munich agreement which forces the Czechoslovak Republic to cede the Sudetenland, including the key Czechoslovak military defence positions, to Nazi Germany.

### 1939

- March- under German pressure, the Slovaks declare their independence and form a Slovak Republic. The Germans occupy the rump Czech lands in violation of the Munich agreement, forming a Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

France and Great Britain guarantee the integrity of the borders of the Polish state.

- April- Fascist Italy invades and annexes Albania.
- August- Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union sign a non-aggression agreement and a secret codicil dividing Eastern Europe into spheres of influence.
- September- Germany invades Poland, initiating World War II in Europe. Honouring their guarantee of Poland's borders, Great Britain and France declare war on Germany. The Soviet Union invades Poland from the east. Germany and the Soviet Union divide Poland between them.

### 1940

- The Soviet Union invades Finland, initiating the so-called Winter War. Germany invades Denmark and Norway.
- May- Germany attacks Western Europe—France and the neutral Low Countries. Occupies Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Belgium. France signs an armistice agreement by which the Germans occupy the northern half of the country and the entire Atlantic coastline. In southern France, a collaborationist regime with its capital in Vichy is established.
- June- Italy enters the war. Italy invades southern France on June 21.
- August- The Soviet Union occupies the Baltic States
- September- Germany, Italy, and Japan sign the Tripartite Pact.
- October- Italy invades Greece from Albania on October 28.
- November- Slovakia, Hungary and Romania join the Axis.

### 1941

- Nazi Germany and its Axis partners (except Bulgaria) invade the Soviet Union.
- December- A Soviet counteroffensive drives the Germans from the Moscow suburbs in chaotic retreat.

Japan bombs Pearl Harbour. The United States declares war on Japan, entering World War II. Japanese troops land in the Philippines, French Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia), and British Singapore. Nazi Germany and its Axis partners declare war on the United States.

### 1942

- June- British and USA navies halt the Japanese naval advance in the central Pacific at Midway.
- October- British troops defeat the Germans and Italians at El Alamein in Egypt, sending the Axis forces in chaotic retreat across Libya to the eastern border of Tunisia.

### 1943

- February- Soviet troops counterattacks. Forbidden by Hitler to retreat or try to break out of the Soviet ring, the survivors of the Sixth Army surrenders
- May- Axis forces in Tunisia surrender to the Allies, ending the North African campaign.
- July- September- the Fascist Grand Council deposes Benito Mussolini, enabling Italian Marshall Pietro Badoglio to form a new government. The Badoglio government surrenders unconditionally to the Allies. The Germans immediately seize control of Rome and

northern Italy, establishing a puppet Fascist regime under Mussolini, who is freed from imprisonment by German commandos on September 12.

#### 1944

- June- Allied troops liberate Rome. Within six weeks, Anglo-American bombers could hit targets in eastern Germany for the first time. British and US troops successfully land on the Normandy beaches of France, opening a “Second Front” against the Germans.
- August- Allied troops reach Paris. Free French forces, supported by Allied troops, enter the French capital. By September, the Allies reach the German border, by December, virtually all of France, most of Belgium, and part of the southern Netherlands are liberated.
- October- US troops land in the Philippines.

#### 1945

- March- US troops cross the Rhine River at Remagen.
- April- the Soviets launch their final offensive, encircling Berlin. Hitler commits suicide.
- May- Germany surrenders to the western Allies.
- August- the United States drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The Soviet Union declares war on Japan and invades Manchuria. The United States drops an atomic bomb on Nagasaki.

Having agreed in principle to unconditional surrender Japan ends World War II.

- October - United Nations is born.

### Aftermath

#### Social and Economic

- 3% of the world's population at the time lost their lives prematurely between the years 1939 and 1945.
- The children who lived through the War, are more likely to be afflicted with physical and psychological problems than those born later or those who grew up in countries that were less severely affected by the war. They are statistically more likely to suffer from diabetes, depression or cardiovascular conditions.
- It took two decades (minimum, for best performing country) to overcome the economic devastation of the War.
- 'Bretton Woods' system- the Golden Age of Capitalism (post war boom) for few countries which lasted until the early 1970s.
- The deep division between Communist and Capitalist countries, which was initially economic but later trickled into the Society.

#### Political

- The Cold War, on the issue of spread of Communism vs containment of Communism.
- Emergence of the notion of Third World Countries.
- International status of Britain and France reduced in particular and Europe in general
- Decolonization across the countries of Africa and Asia
- Cold War standoff between USA and USSR for next half a century
- Europe, after over three centuries of bitter warfare set its sights on a Union(EU)
- Partition of Europe into two antagonistic political, socio-economic, and military blocs of Communism and anti-Communism
- The Eastern Europe finds itself behind an 'iron curtain' till the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century
- The International political forum, The UNO, with much more powers and stability than League of Nations.

### **The establishment of the Post-war World**

The world order created by the winning Nations was the solution of the problems of Interwar years. Following are the problems and the institutions created.

#### Economic problems during interwar years (1919-1939)

1. No money for reconstruction of poor/war ravaged countries, resulted in the rise of extremism/bitterness and ultimately Militarism.
2. The principle of loser pay all resulted in impractical demands of the nations who are left with no breathing space for economic reconstruction.
3. Since WW1 many countries pulled out of Gold standards in their currency, therefore no standard currency or commodity left with to trade internationally.
4. The excessive use of beggar thy neighbour policy of countries to devalue their currencies bring general contraction in the world trade.
5. Many countries adopted protectionist policies and mercantilism ie. Import substitution and increasing exports. This severely hurts the global trade and economy.
6. Many dominant countries like Britain and Germany created unfair trading blocs with dependent countries adopting unfair trading practices.
7. Countries which are not competitive enough or do not have enough expertise to increase exports were always in BOP crisis and due to high CAD do not have enough resources to spend on long term infrastructure and technology to come out of CAD.
8. The rise of working class unrest since 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted in success of extreme ideologies in few countries and their rising popularity in almost all nations.
9. By the end of ww2 majority of World's gold reached USA and it was also a big exporter of goods as majority of other industrialised nations were devastated during the war therefore world did not had enough liquidity to trade with.
10. No international forum, even the league of Nation collapsed too soon.

#### Solution/Institutions of the post war

1. Creation of World Banc which could give loans to the war torn countries(poor) to rebuild itself and fight poverty.
2. No such treaty like Treaty of Versailles after WW2, even with the blamed countries like Japan and Germany, efforts were made for their economic reconstruction.
3. The establishment of Bretton Woods system ensured the relatively fixed exchange rate of the currencies via pegging.
4. Dollar remained gold convertible and dominant there became main foreign reserve of the countries. The Bretton Woods system ensured currencies could not be devalued for speculative purposes.
5. The GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tarrifs) to abolish trade barriers and protectionist measures and established reciprocal and mutually advantageous trade practices.
6. The GATT system ensures abolition of unfair trading practices and trading blocks.
7. Establishment of IMF to help countries in the BOP crisis. However, with the conditionality to open their economy to prevent such crisis in future and to make countries able to repay their loan (or to promote Capitalism around the world?)
8. Establishment of ILO in 1919 for re-establishing International labour standards, social protection of working class and to ensure equal working opportunities for all.



9. USA promised under Bretton Woods system that it will continue to be on Gold standards ie. Dollar will be gold convertible to ensure long term liquidity and will invest around the world to compensate its Current Account Surplus via maintaining Current Account Deficit.
10. Formation of UNO (where all the power invested in Security Council).

**If not the monstrosity of the treaty of Versailles, there would have been no World War II.**

**Examine**

The Treaty of Versailles was indeed responsible for the World War II as it intensified the discontent in the Central Europe and students should emphasise its effects on losing sides in introduction, however, there are many other factors responsible.

- Japan and Russia were not involved in the treaty but was a major player in World War II.
- Italy was one of the gainers of the Treaty but still fought from the side of Axis in World War II
- Turkey a prominent loosed of Treaty did not took active part in World War II
- League of Nations, weakened from the start by the defection of the United States, was unable to promote disarmament.
- The Great Depression sharpened national rivalries, increased fear and distrust, and made the masses susceptible to the promises of demagogues.
- Nazism- Adolf Hitler's rise to power (1933) in Germany, recreated the German army and prepared it for a war of conquest, in 1936 he remilitarized the Rhineland.
- Fascism- Benito Mussolini's imperial ambitions, he conquered Ethiopia for Italy
- Imperial Ambitions of japan in Pacific Ocean.
- The need for 'lebensraum (living space)', an area for economic expansion, by Germany in Europe. And a similar area of economic expansion for Japan in Asia.

**It was the USSR, which gained most out of World War II and it was the USSR which lost most in it. Comment**

Student need to underline the losses on one hand and diplomatic/political gains of USSR on the other hand.

**Losses**

- USSR lost 27 million of its population.
- Nearly all the cities of USSR were devastated.
- The most developed part of USSR, European part, became inhabitable due to constant battles
- Industrial output of USSR grew but was concentrated on Military needs alone
- It was under the threat of Nuclear bomb by its biggest adversary

**Gains**

- It occupied all the east European countries
- It had the best War machinery, with the help of allies. In comparison it had a backward army in 1940.
- The USSR was accepted as a major World power of the world, something which eluded it even during Romanov dynasty
- The devastation of war helped flowering of communism all across the World and majority of Communist parties took their orders from Moscow
- The decolonisation after War resulted in setting up of left leaning governments in majority of countries

## 18. THE COLD WAR

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### 1945

- The **Yalta Conference** occurs, deciding the post-war status of Germany. The Allies of World War II (the USA, the USSR, United Kingdom and France) divide Germany into four occupation zones. The Allied nations agree that free elections are to be held in all countries occupied by Nazi Germany. In addition, the new United Nations are to replace the failed League of Nations.
- US President Harry S. Truman indicates that he was determined to take a "tougher" stance with the Soviets than his predecessor had.
- August- Truman gives permission for the world's first military use of an atomic weapon against the Japanese city of Hiroshima in an attempt to bring the only remaining theatre of war from the Second World War in the Pacific to a swift closure.
- The USSR honours its agreement to declare war on Japan within three months of the victory in Europe, and invades Manchuria. In accordance with the Yalta Conference agreements, the Soviet Union also invades Japanese Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands.
- US President Truman gives permission for the world's second and last military use of an atomic weapon against the Japanese city of Nagasaki in order to try to secure a swift Japanese unconditional surrender in the end of the Second World War.
- The Japanese surrender unconditionally to the US on board the USS Missouri to Allies' representative General Douglas MacArthur.

### 1946

- Joseph Stalin makes his Election Speech, in which he states that capitalism and imperialism make future wars inevitable.
- Winston Churchill warns of the descent of an **Iron Curtain** across Europe.
- In a speech known as the Restatement of Policy on Germany in Stuttgart, James F. Byrnes, United States Secretary of State states the US intention to keep troops in Europe indefinitely and expresses US approval of the territorial annexation of 29% of pre-war Germany.
- Truman is presented with the Clifford-Elsey Report, a document which listed Soviet violations of agreements with the United States.
- French landings in Indochina begin the First Indochina War. They are resisted by the Viet Minh communists who want national independence.

### 1947

- President Harry Truman announces **the Truman Doctrine** starting with the giving of aid to Greece and Turkey in order to prevent them from falling into the Soviet sphere.
- US extends \$400 million of military aid to Greece and Turkey, signalling its intent to contain communism in the Mediterranean.
- Secretary of State George Marshall outlines plans for a comprehensive program of economic assistance for the war-ravaged countries of Western Europe. It would become known throughout the world as the **Marshall Plan**.
- The US announces occupation policies in Germany, "An orderly, prosperous Europe requires the economic contributions of a stable and productive Germany."
- The Soviet Union forms the **Communist Information Bureau (COMINFORM)** with which it dictates the actions of leaders and communist parties across its spheres of influence.

- The United Nations passes a resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign soldiers from Korea, free elections in each of the two administrations, and the creation of a UN commission dedicated to the unification of the peninsula.

#### 1948

- Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin orders the blockade of all land routes from West Germany to Berlin, in an attempt to starve out the French, British, and American forces from the city, called **Berlin Blockade**. In response, the three Western powers launch the Berlin Airlift to supply the citizens of Berlin by air.
- The Soviet Union expels Yugoslavia from the Communist Information Bureau (COMINFORM) for the latter's position on the Greek civil war.

#### 1949

- The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** is founded by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States, in order to resist Communist expansion.
- The Soviet blockade of Berlin ends with the re-opening of access routes to Berlin. The airlift continues until September, in case the Soviets re-establish the blockade.
- The Soviet Union tests its first atomic bomb. The test, known to Americans as Joe 1, succeeds, as the Soviet Union becomes the world's second nuclear power. The beginning of **Nuclear Arms Race**.
- October 1: Mao Zedong declares the foundation of the **People's Republic of China**, adding a quarter of the world's population to the communist camp.

#### 1950

- **The** Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China sign a pact of mutual defense.
- Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek moves his capital to Taipei, Taiwan, establishing a stand-off with the People's Republic of China.
- Robert Schuman describes his ambition of a united Europe. Known as the **Schuman Declaration**, it marks the beginning of the creation of the European Community. It proposed to place French and German production of coal and steel under one common High Authority. This organization would be open to participation of Western European countries.
- North Korea invades South Korea. The beginning of **Korean War**.
- United Nations forces engage North Korean forces for the first time, in Osan. They fail to halt the North Korean advance, and fall southwards.
- United Nations forces land at Inchon. Defeating the North Korean forces, they press inland and re-capture Seoul. United Nations forces cross the 38th parallel, into North Korea. Forces from the People's Republic of China mobilize along the Yalu River. Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, falls to United Nations forces. China intervenes in Korea with 300,000 soldiers, catching the United Nations by surprise. However, they withdraw after initial engagements.

#### 1951

- United Nations forces recapture Seoul during Operation Ripper. By the end of March, they have reached the 38th Parallel, and formed a defensive line across the Korean peninsula.
- The European Coal and Steel Community is formed by the Treaty of Paris.

- President Harry S. Truman signs the **Mutual Security Act**, announcing to the world, and its communist powers in particular, that the U.S. was prepared to provide military aid to "free peoples."
- The International Authority for the Ruhr lifted part of the remaining restrictions on German industrial production and on production capacity.

## 1952

- The Marshall Plan ends, with European industrial output now well above that of 1948.
- Gamal Abdel Nasser heads a coup against King Farouk of Egypt.
- The United States tests their first thermonuclear bomb, Ivy Mike.

## 1953

- Joseph Stalin dies, setting off a power struggle to succeed him.
- An armistice agreement ends fighting in the Korean War.
- Nikita Khrushchev becomes leader of the Soviet Communist Party.

## 1954

- The Viet Minh defeat the French at Dien Bien Phu, known as '**Dien Bien Phu debacle**'. France withdraws from Indochina, leaving four independent states: Cambodia, Laos, and what became North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The Geneva Accords calls for free elections to unite Vietnam, but none of the major Western powers wish this to occur in the likely case that the Viet Minh (nationalist Communists) would win.
- Foundation of the **South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO)** by Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Like NATO, it is founded to resist Communist expansion, this time in the Philippines and Indochina.

## 1955

- **The Baghdad Pact (CENTO- Central Treaty Organization)** is founded by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. It is committed to resisting Communist expansion in the Middle East.
- **The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)** is pioneered by Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. This movement was designed to be a bulwark against the 'dangerous polarization' of the world at that time and to restore balance of power with smaller nations. It was an international organization of states considering themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.
- West Germany joins NATO and begins rearmament.
- **The Warsaw Pact** is founded in Eastern Europe and includes East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Albania, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union. It acts as the Communist military counterpart to NATO.

## 1956

- Nikita Khrushchev delivers the speech "On the Personality Cult and its Consequences" (for the first time denouncing the evils of Stalin era in USSR). The speech marks the beginning of the De-Stalinization.

- **Hungarian Revolution** of 1956: Hungarians revolt against the Soviet dominated government. They are crushed by the Soviet military, which reinstates a Communist government.
- **Suez Canal Crisis**- Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal. France, Israel, and the United Kingdom attack Egypt with the goal of removing Nasser from power but fails to do so. International diplomatic pressures force the attackers to withdraw. Canadian Lester B. Pearson encourages the United Nations to send a Peacekeeping force, the first of its kind, to the disputed territory.

## 1957

- **The Eisenhower doctrine** commits the US to defending Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan from Communist influence.
- Sputnik satellite launched followed by Sputnik 2, with the first living being on board, Laika. The beginning of **Space Race**.
- The final report from a special committee called by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to review the US defense readiness indicates that the United States is falling far behind the Soviets in missile capabilities, and urges a vigorous campaign to build fallout shelters to protect American citizens. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev claims that the Soviet Union has missile superiority over the United States and challenges America to a missile "shooting match" to prove his assertion.

## 1958

- A coup in Iraq, the 14 July Revolution, removes the pro-British monarch. Iraq begins to receive support from the Soviets. Iraq will maintain close ties with the Soviets throughout the Cold War.

## 1959

- Cuban Revolution- Fidel Castro becomes the leader of Cuba although refrains from declaring the country Communist. Cuban-inspired guerrilla movements spring up across Latin America.
- Formation of the FNL (pejoratively called **Viet Cong**) in North Vietnam. It is a Communist insurgent movement that vows to overthrow the anti-communist South Vietnamese dictatorship. It is supplied extensively by North Vietnam and the USSR eventually.

## 1960

- **Sino-Soviet split**- The Chinese leadership, angered at being treated as the "junior partner" to the Soviet Union, declares its version of Communism superior and begin to compete with the Soviets for influence, thus adding a third dimension to the Cold War.

## 1961

- Dwight D. Eisenhower closes the U.S. embassy in Havana and severs diplomatic relations with Cuba.
- **Bay of Pigs Invasion**- A CIA-backed invasion of Cuba by counter-revolutionaries ends in failure.
- **The Berlin Wall** is built by the Soviets following the breakdown in talks to decide the future of Germany.
- Fidel Castro openly describes himself as a Marxist-Leninist and Cuba a socialist state.

**1962**

- **The Himalayan War**- Chinese forces attack India, making claims on numerous border areas.
- **Cuban Missile Crisis**- Soviets have secretly been installing military bases, including nuclear weapons, on Cuba, some 90 miles from the US mainland (in response to US missiles in Turkey). Kennedy orders a "quarantine" (a naval blockade) of the island that intensifies the crisis and brings the US and the USSR to the brink of nuclear war. In the end, both sides reach a compromise. The Soviets back down and agree to withdraw their nuclear missiles from Cuba, in exchange for a secret agreement by Kennedy pledging to withdraw similar American missiles from Turkey, and guaranteeing that the US will not move against the Castro regime.

**1963**

- France announces that it is withdrawing its navy from the North Atlantic fleet of NATO.

**1964**

- US President Lyndon Johnson in New York, and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow, announce simultaneously plans to cut back production of materials for making nuclear weapons.
- US President Lyndon B. Johnson claims that North Vietnamese naval vessels had fired on two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. Although there was a first attack, it was later shown that American vessels had entered North Vietnamese territory first, and that the claim of second attack had been unfounded. The Gulf of Tonkin Incident leads to the open **involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War**, after the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.
- Leonid Brezhnev succeeds Khrushchev to become General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

**1965**

- US military buildup to defend South Vietnam. North Vietnam has also committed its forces in the war. US begins sustained bombing of North Vietnam.
- Operation Gibraltar launched by Pakistan culminates in the Second Indo-Pakistani War. **The Second Indian-Pakistani War** ends in a cease-fire. Pakistan fails in its objective of capturing Kashmir.

**1966**

- France withdraws from NATO command structure.

**1967**

- Egypt blocks the Straits of Tiran, then expels UN peacekeepers and moves its army into the Sinai Peninsula in preparation for possible attack on Israel. In response to Egypt's aggression, Israel invades the Sinai Peninsula, beginning the **Six-Day War**.
- Uprising in Naxalbari, India marking the expansion of Maoism as a violent, anti-US and anti-Soviet, revolutionary movement across a number of developing countries.

**1968**

- The **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** is opened for signature.

**1969**

- Border clashes between the Soviet Union and China
- The U.S. accomplishes the first manned moon landing, Apollo 11. Manned by Neil Armstrong, "Buzz" Aldrin, and Michael Collins.
- "Vietnamization" begins with U.S. troop withdrawals from Vietnam and the burden of combat being placed on the South Vietnamese.

**1970**

- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, ratified by the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States, among others, enters into force.

**1971**

- Bangladeshi Declaration of Independence. **Bangladesh Liberation War** begins.
- The United Nations General Assembly passes resolution recognizing the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate government of China.

**1972**

- Nixon visits China, the first visit by a U.S. President since the establishment of the People's Republic of China.
- **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I)** agreement signals the beginning of détente between the U.S. and USSR.

**1973**

- The Paris Peace Accords **end American involvement in the Vietnam War**. Congress cuts off funds for the continued bombing of Indochina.
- **Yom Kippur War** — Israel is attacked by Egypt and Syria, the war ends with a ceasefire.

**1975**

- **North Vietnam wins the war** in South Vietnam. The South Vietnam regime falls with the surrender of Saigon and the two countries are united under a Communist government.
- **The Apollo-Soyuz Test Project** takes place. It is the first joint flight of the US and Soviet space programs. The mission is seen as a symbol of détente and an end to the "space race".
- **Helsinki Accords** in Europe signed. Thirty-five states, including the USA, Canada, and all European states except Albania and Andorra, signed the declaration in an attempt to improve relations between the Communist bloc and the West. The Accords, however, were not binding as they did not have treaty status.

**1976**

- Death of Mao Zedong.

**1978**

- President of Afghanistan Sardar Mohammed Daoud's government is overthrown when he is murdered in a coup led by pro-communist rebels. A Communist regime is installed in Afghanistan.

**1979**

- **The Iranian Revolution** ousts the pro-Western Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and installs a theocracy under Ayatollah Khomeini. CENTO dissolves as a result.
- U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, sign the **SALT II Agreement**, outlining limitations and guidelines for nuclear weapons.
- President Carter signs the first directive for financial aid to opponents of the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul, Afghanistan. Nur Mohammed Taraki, The Marxist president of Afghanistan, is deposed and murdered. The post of president is taken up by Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin. **The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan** to oust Hafizullah Amin, resulting in the end of Detente.
- Islamist Iranian students take over the American embassy in support of the Iranian Revolution. The **Iran hostage crisis** lasts until January 20, 1981.

**1980**

- Josip Broz Tito, communist leader of Yugoslavia since 1945, dies at the age of 88 in Ljubljana.

**1981**

- Ronald Reagan inaugurated 40th President of the United States. Reagan is elected on a platform opposed to the concessions of détente.
- Iran hostage crisis ends.

**1982**

- President Ronald Reagan announces the "Caribbean Basin Initiative" to prevent the overthrow of governments in the region by the forces of communism.
- President Ronald Reagan signs P.L. 97-157 denouncing the government of the Soviet Union that it should cease its abuses of the basic human rights of its citizens.
- Argentina invades the Falkland Islands, starting the **Falklands War**. Falkland Islands liberated by British task force.
- Israel invades Lebanon to end raids and clashes with Syrian troops based there.

**1983**

- Ronald Reagan proposes the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or 'Star Wars'**.
- The U.S.S.R. nuclear early warning system reports launch of multiple U.S.intercontinental ballistic missiles. Stanislav Yevgrafovich Petrov, an officer of the Soviet Air Defence Forces, correctly identifies them as false alarms. This decision is seen as having prevented a retaliatory nuclear attack based on erroneous data on the United States and its NATO allies, which likely would have resulted in nuclear war and the deaths of hundreds of millions of people.

**1985**

- Mikhail Gorbachev becomes leader of the Soviet Union.
- Reagan and Gorbachev meet for the first time at a summit in Geneva, Switzerland, where they agree to two (later three) more summits.



**1986**

- **Chernobyl disaster**- A Soviet nuclear power plant in the Ukraine explodes, resulting in the worst nuclear power plant accident in history.
- **Iran-Contra affair**- The Reagan administration publicly announces that it has been selling arms to Iran in exchange for hostages and illegally transferring the profits to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

**1987**

- It is Gorbachev's hope that through initiatives of **Glasnost** (openness, debate and participation), that the Soviet people will support **Perestroika** (Reconstruction).
- The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty is signed in Washington, D.C. by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Some later claim this was the official end of the Cold War. Gorbachev agrees to talk on **START I treaty, Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty**. It was a bilateral treaty between the USA and USSR on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms.

**1988**

- The Soviets begin withdrawing from Afghanistan.
- Reagan and Gorbachev meet in Moscow. **INF Treaty (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty)** ratified. The INF Treaty eliminated all nuclear and conventional missiles as well as their launchers. By May 1991, 2,692 missiles were eliminated. The treaty did not cover sea-launched missiles.
- Gorbachev announces in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly that the Soviet Union will no longer militarily interfere with Eastern Europe.

**1989**

- **Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan.**
- **Tiananmen Square Massacre**- Beijing protests are ended by the communist Chinese government, resulting in an unknown number of deaths.
- **Revolutions of Eastern Europe**- Soviet reforms have allowed Eastern Europe to change the Communist governments there. The Berlin Wall is breached when Politburo spokesman, Günter Schabowski, not fully informed of the technicalities or procedures of the newly agreed lifting of travel restrictions, mistakenly announces at a news conference in East Berlin that the borders have been opened.
- At the end of the Malta Summit, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and US President George H. W. Bush declare that a long-lasting era of peace has begun. Many observers regard this summit as the official beginning of the end of the Cold War.

**1990**

- Boris Yeltsin elected as president of Russia.
- Iraq invades Kuwait, beginning **Gulf War**.
- George H.W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Helsinki, Finland and issue a joint declaration condemning the invasion of Kuwait.
- **Germany is reunified.**

**1991**

- Gulf War ends after American intervention.

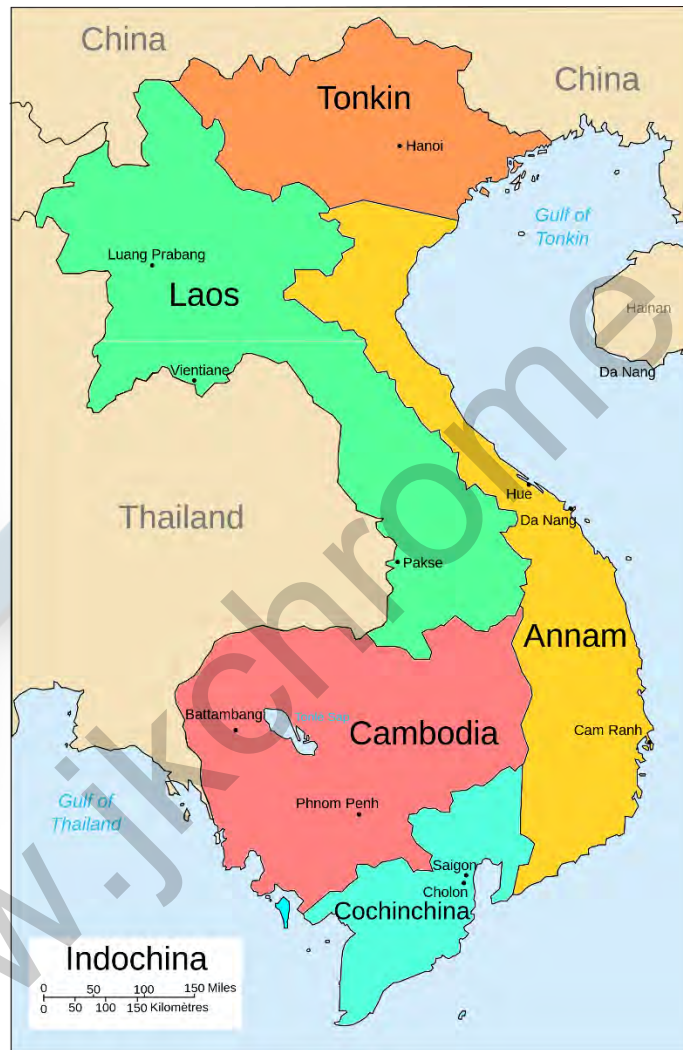
- Warsaw Pact is formally dissolved.
- Soviet coup attempt of 1991. The August coup occurs in response to a new union treaty to be signed on August 20.
- US President George H. W. Bush, after receiving a phone call from Boris Yeltsin, delivers a Christmas Day speech acknowledging the end of the Cold War. Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as President of the USSR. The hammer and sickle is lowered for the last time over the Kremlin. The Council of Republics of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR recognizes the **dissolution of the Soviet Union** and decides to dissolve itself.
- All Soviet institutions cease operations.



## 19. THE DECOLONISATION OF ASIA

### 1. French Indochina

French Indochina was a grouping of French colonial territories in Southeast Asia. A grouping of the three Vietnamese regions of Tonkin (north), Annam (centre), and Cochinchina (south) with Cambodia was formed in 1887. Laos was added in 1893 and the leased Chinese territory of Guangzhouwan in 1898. The capital was Hanoi for majority of time.



### World War II

- After the Fall of France during World War II, the colony was under Japanese occupation until March 1945. The French remained the official rulers of Indochina by allowing the Japanese to take whatever of its resources they wanted for their war effort.
- Beginning in 1941, the Viet Minh, a communist army led by Ho Chi Minh (under Viet Minh), began a revolt against the Japanese.
- These events increased Indochina's hostility to both France and Japan and gave further encouragement to Vietnamese nationalism.

- The defeat of Japan left two contenders for power inside Vietnam, the much weakened French and the Vietnamese.
- By late 1945, between 15 and 20 per cent of the Vietnamese population had starved to death as a result of Japan's plunder of the country's resources. The threat of famine unified Vietnam in support of Viet Minh forces. People rallied in excitement and anticipation behind the slogan 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese'.
- The Viet Minh took control of Hanoi on 17 August 1945, and Saigon and Cochinchina on 25 August 1945.

#### First Indochina War (1946-54)

- In October 1946, the French announced their intention of reclaiming the north which meant that the Viet Minh would have to fight for it, beginning the First Indochina War.
- The French tried to win over the people of the north by offering them 'independence'.
- Despite huge help from America, the French could not cope with the Viet Minh's guerrilla tactics (which were supported by China).
- Most of the fighting took place in Tonkin in northern Vietnam, although the conflict engulfed the entire country and also extended into the neighbouring French Indochina protectorates of Laos and Cambodia.
- In Saigon, the anti-Communist **State of Vietnam**, led by former Emperor Bao Dại, was granted independence in 1949 by the French. The northern struggles continued.
- Dien Bien Phu was to become the battle that would bring an end to the first Indochinese war, with humiliating defeat of France, known as **Dien Bien Phu debacle**.

#### The North Vietnam vs South Vietnam

- 1954, the new socialist French government and the Viet Minh made an agreement which effectively gave the Viet Minh control of North Vietnam above the 17th parallel.
- **Laos** and **Cambodia** also became independent in 1954.
- The south continued under Emperor Bao Dại, who was soon deposed by his prime minister, Dinh Diem, creating the Republic of Vietnam. Soon an insurgency, backed by the north, developed against Diem's government.
- The conflict gradually escalated into the **Vietnam War**, in which USA entered from the side of North.

## **2. Philippines**

By the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish had total colonial control over Philippines, and the native Filipinos were treated as second-class citizens. The Spanish, the Philippines was a valuable asset because of its role in the international spice trade, as a base near East Indies, India and China.

#### Spanish-American War

- As a result of U.S. intervention in a conflict between Spain and Cuba, the Americans and the Spanish began a war in 1898. For Philippines, the war began as a pre-emptive strike by the United States to demolish the Spanish Fleet in Manila, a key port city in the Philippines, in order to prevent its arrival in Cuba. The battle ended with victory of the USA.
- Filipinos were amidst a struggle for independence against Spain with the Spanish reluctant to concede control, while the U.S. sought a naval base to complement its recent annexation of Hawaii.

- Spain agreed to sell Philippines to USA for 20 million dollars. In whole world and in USA itself it was seen as an act of imperialism.

#### Philippine-American War

- Filipino rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo had been at the head of the struggle against Spain since 1896 before his exile to Hong Kong. In hope of popular support, USA arranged his return in 1898, however, Aguinaldo soon turned against the Americans and declared independence, with himself as dictator over a complex government.
- War erupted in 1899, and this time Americans were against a national force. The violence killed 20,000 Filipino soldiers, 200,000 Filipino civilians, and 4,200 American soldiers, therefore being called America's 'first Viet Nam'.
- USA captured Aguinaldo in 1901 and became masters of Philippines.
- Contrary to methods used elsewhere in decolonization, the liberation of the Philippines came as a series of gradual reforms granted by the United States.
- With the Jones Law passed by the U.S. 1916, another step towards an independent Philippine republic was taken. Through this law, the United States granted the Philippines a legislature modelled after its own. Philippines were making rapid progress towards achieving self-government.
- In 1935, the Philippines established a constitution and created the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

#### World War II

- Japanese attacked on Philippines soon after Pearl Harbour, on December 8th, controlling the entire nation within months.
- The Japanese surrendered in February of 1945. Resulting from the war in the Pacific, unity was established between the Americans and the Philippines.
- On July 4, 1946, the Philippines was officially granted full independence.

### **3. Malaysia**

The British entered Malay Peninsula in later parts of 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the East India Company established a trading post on Penang Island. Soon they have acquired Singapore and Malacca. The British were looking towards Southeast Asia for new resources. The growth of the china trade in British ships increased the company's desire for bases in the region near it.

As Advisors of the kings of Malay states, British became effective rulers. Heavy immigration from China and India was encouraged to supply labour for British rubber plantations and tin mines. After World War II, a Federation of Malaya was created under British protection, which had Communists as its biggest threat who claimed that they were fighting to free the Malayan people from the British yoke.

#### The main parties

- **Commonwealth Armed forces** (Colonial Government of Britain)
- The importation of large numbers of **Chinese and Indians labourers** for colonial industry, primarily tin mining and rubber planting.
- The formation of the Malayan Communist Party (**MCP**) in the 1930s. Which created Malayan National Liberation Army (**MNLA**), successor of Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, **MPAJA** (trained by the British Army).

- **Chinese**, who after the success of Communist Revolution in their own country were adamant on influencing its neighbours.
- **Japanese**, who routed the British in the early part of World War II. For many Malaysians this dispelled a myth of British omnipotence.
- **UMNO** (United Malays National Organisation) Hostile to the British government from 1945 to 1948. However, later The British cooperated with UMNO leaders and helped to defeat the communist insurgency. It led **the Alliance** in 1955-57 paving way for smooth decolonisation.

#### The Post War System by Britain

- After the World War II, Japanese garrison withdrew from the countryside, leaving a power vacuum that was filled by the MPAJA. Its guerrillas, seized Japanese arms, lifting their armed strength over 6,000.
- Many in the rank advocated revolution, however, the cautious approach of the leadership prevailed.
- On April the 1st 1946, the proposed **Union of Malaysia** officially came into existence with capital at Kuala Lumpur. British had gathered all the Malay ruler's approval for the Union of Malaya which they all gave. The main reason of approval was that they openly collaborated with the Japanese, and that they were also threatened with dethronement and revolution, and hence the approval was given.
- After British Military Administration was installed at Kuala Lumpur, MPAJA reluctantly agreed to disband, however only after a proportion of weapons were withheld.
- The MCP adopted a 'National Front' policy, building a broad coalition (with Malayan Democratic Union (MDU) and the Malay Nationalist Party (MNP)) to work for national independence within legal means.
- Due to bad economic conditions, the BMA was immediately faced with strikes and demonstrations in which the Communists played an active part. Several were put down by armed force and leaders banished and the government outlawed the trade unions. The party's stance became more resolutely anti-British.
- After the inauguration of the Malaysian Union, many groups kept opposing the Malaysian Union. The British had identified this problem and took action to consider the opinions of the major races in Malaya before making amendments or changes to the constitution, the Malayan Union officially ceased to exist and disbanded on January 1948. It was eventually replaced by the **Federation of Malaya** which restored the sultan's positions as rulers of the Malay states.

#### The Malayan Emergency

- MCP members regrouped as the Malayan Peoples' Anti-British Army (MPABA), many ex-MPAJA personnel. In the same year they renamed themselves as name to 'Malayan Peoples' Liberation Army' (**MPLA**)
- During this period the MCP also engaged in intimidation, including assassination, of civilians with the aim of coercing material aid, information, and silence. This policy contributed to a loss in popular support.
- The party began to campaign for a Peoples' Democratic Republic of Malaya, which included Singapore.
- The warfare continued between Communists (supported by China) and Federation of Malaysia under British.

- 1957 - Federation of Malaya becomes independent from Britain under the Alliance of Parties, headed by UMNO.

**What problems are germane to the decolonization process in the Malay Peninsula? (UPSC 2017)**

Following were the problems emerged during the end of colonial period of the Malay Peninsula.

1. Malay farmers were forced to change from subsistence farming (farming to pay for family and personal needs) to **Cash crops** to pay for colonial taxes. British policies in Malaya promoted the productions of various crops such as Tobacco, resin, oil palm and rubber, and steel which became the largest exporter. The British controlled this production and their leaving would hurt the economy as it was British Empire which had assimilated these cash crops to the outer world.
2. The Malay people were too eager **to include Singapore** in the Union, which was a bone of content for years. Whereas **British did not want to lose the control of the Malacca** strait, very much like Suez Canal (which they lost later).
3. There was **no sense of national unity** or even common interest among the people living in Malaysia. They were loyal towards their regions or home countries. Japanese occupation widened the rift between ethnic groups on one hand (Japanese gave different treatment to the different ethnic group) but gave them a national cause on the other. This was followed even during the decolonisation struggle.
4. The fate of rulers of the **Malay Kingdoms** and what to be done with them in the event of British leaving (much like princely states of India) as they gained autonomy in 1948 and were clearly not interested in decolonisation.
5. The Malayan union gave equal rights to people who wished to apply for citizenship. However, the citizenship proposal was opposed and was never put into practice. Because of the **opposition by Bhumiputera** (sons of the soil) it left Chinese and Indian residents with the **danger of being stateless people**. Indians even organised themselves into the **Central India Association of Malaya** to fight for Indian Independence and to protect the interest of Indians in Malaysia
6. The **easy granting of citizenship** to immigrants in the past by British was criticised by group of Malaysians as they felt it is to change Malayan demography.
7. The Muslim population of Malaysia was although hostile to the British government, however, it was equally hostile to **the Communists for being Godless people**. The Chinese backed MCP tried to solve the dichotomy but cannot.
8. The **support of Indonesia and Phillipines** to the rebels disrupting Federation of Malaysia. Both the countries wanted a fragmented Malay region ruled by Sultans.
9. **The rebels' attacks on rubber plantation** proved to be scorched earth like policy of Malay people. On the other hand **British stopped the food supplies** in many areas to starve the rebels, making the process of decolonisation even more devastating.
10. **The lack of mature democratic traditions during colonisation** was a big issue. Unlike India, Malay Peninsula had no experience of democracy and this made a national alternative difficult to reach and had the danger of balkanisation.
11. In the later negotiations, British want Malay to be a secular state whereas the Alliance of Malay parties wanted Islam to be recognised as the official religion of the State.
12. British wanted to include Tamil and Chinese as languages of Malaysia, rejected by Malay alliance.

## 4. Ceylon

### The colonisation of Ceylon

- 1505 - Portuguese arrive in Colombo, marking beginning of European interest.
- 1658 - Dutch force out Portuguese and establish control over the entire island except central kingdom of Kandy.
- 1796 - Britain begins to take over the island from Dutch.
- Britain starts bringing in Tamil labourers from southern India to work in tea, coffee and coconut plantations, who by mid-20<sup>th</sup> century made up 10% of the island's population.
- 1815 - Kingdom of Kandy conquered.
- 1833 - Whole Island united under one British administration.
- The British colonialists favoured the semi-European Burghers, certain high-caste Sinhalese and the Tamils who were mainly concentrated to the north of the country, exacerbating divisions and enmities which have survived ever since.

### The Independence Movement

- 1931 - British grant the right to vote via universal suffrage and introduce power sharing with Sinhalese-run cabinet, against the protests of the Sinhalese and Tamil elite who objected to the common people being allowed to vote.
- The Ceylon National Congress (CNC) was founded to agitate for greater autonomy, however, the party soon split along ethnic and caste lines. The Tamil's refusal to accept minority was the main reason behind the split.
- The Ceylonese movement was also divided into the following streams-
  - The Constitutionlists- who sought independence by gradual modification of the status of Ceylon to the Dominion status.
  - Radical groups- who called for outright independence on Indian lines, led by Marxists.
  - The Tamil groups under the leadership of G. G. Ponnambalam- He rejected the 'Ceylonese identity' and declared himself a 'proud Dravidian' and attempted to establish an independent identity for the Tamils.
- On the Sinhala-Tamil issue, riots erupted in 1939. Ponnambalam opposed universal franchise (professed vote to elites only) and gave the 50-50 formula ie. of balanced representation (protection of Tamil rights requires the Tamils, who formed 15% of the population, having an equal number of seats in parliament to that of the Sinhalese, who were about 72% of the population). This demand was rejected by British.
- Sinhalese resented the large immigration of Tamils to the southern urban centers, especially after the opening of the Jaffna-Colombo railway.
- In 1942, the Japanese Navy bombed Colombo, which led to the flight of Indian merchants, dominant in the Colombo commercial sector. This flight removed a major political problem facing the Senanayake government.

### Post War Politics

- In 1944, a new Constitution was framed, which allows parties to create government at centre. In 1945 resulting in self-government (just short of independence) was created by D. S. Senanayake under UNP-United National Party (party of business community and the landed gentry). Senanayake helped the British in war time and was pro dominion instead of full Independence professed by Marxists.



- Lord Louis Mountbatten supported Independence, especially under Senanayake government. The promise of Dominion status, and independence itself, had been given by the Colonial office.
- At the elections of 1947, the UNP fell short of majority of the seats in Parliament, but formed government with an impossible coalition with the Sinhala Maha Sabha of Solomon Bhandaranaike and the Tamil Congress of G.G. Ponnambalam.
- The 'Independence Bill of Ceylon' was passed in December 1947.
- On 11 December 1947, Senanayake signed agreements with Britain including a defence pact that paved the way for independence of Ceylon.
- On 4 February 1948, Ceylon marked its independence with a ceremonial opening of parliament.

#### The Tamil issue

- 1949 - Indian Tamil plantation workers disenfranchised and many deprived of citizenship.
- 1956 - Solomon Bhandaranaike elected on wave of Sinhalese nationalism. Sinhala made sole official language and other measures introduced to bolster Sinhalese and Buddhist feeling. More than 100 Tamils killed in widespread violence after Tamil parliamentarians protest at new laws.
- 1958 - Anti-Tamil riots leave more than 200 people dead. Thousands of Tamils displaced.
- 1959 - Bhandaranaike assassinated by a Buddhist monk. Succeeded by widow, Srimavo Bhandarnaike, who continues nationalisation programme.
- 1965 - Opposition United National Party wins elections and attempts to reverse nationalisation measures.
- 1970 - Srimavo Bandaranaike returns to power and extends nationalisation programme.

#### Ethnic tensions

- 1971 - Sinhalese Marxist uprising led by students and activists.
- 1972 - Ceylon changes its name to Sri Lanka and Buddhism given primary place as country's religion, further antagonising Tamil minority.
- 1976 - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) formed as tensions increase in Tamil-dominated areas of north and east.
- 1977 - Separatist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) party wins all seats in Tamil areas. Anti-Tamil riots leave more than 100 Tamils dead.
- 1983 - 13 soldiers killed in LTTE ambush, sparking anti-Tamil riots leading to the deaths of several hundred Tamils. Start of the **First Eelam War**.

#### The Civil war

- 1985 - First attempt at peace talks between government and LTTE fails.
- 1987 - Government forces push LTTE back into northern city of Jaffna.
- 1987- **The Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord** was an accord signed in Colombo. The accord was expected to resolve the Sri Lankan Civil War by enabling the thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka creating Provincial Councils in Sri Lanka (giving administrative powers to Jaffna) and making Sinhala and Tamil as the official languages of the country and English as the link language. It also calls for deployment of Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka to counter LTTE insurgency.
- 1988 - Left-wing and nationalist Sinhalese JVP begins campaign against Indo-Sri Lankan agreement.

- 1990 – IPKF- Indian Peace Keeping Force, leaves after getting bogged down in fighting in north. Violence between Sri Lankan army and separatists escalates, which marks the beginning of the **Second Eelam War**. Thousands of Muslims are expelled from northern areas by the LTTE.
- 1991 - LTTE implicated in assassination of Indian premier Rajiv Gandhi in southern India.
- 1993 - President Premadasa killed in LTTE bomb attack.
- 1995 - **Third Eelam War** begins when rebels sink naval craft. It engulfs entire country from 1995 to 2002 and ends with a Norwegian-mediated ceasefire.
- 2002- De-commissioning of weapons begins. The road linking the Jaffna peninsula with the rest of Sri Lanka reopens after 12 years. Passenger flights to Jaffna resume. Government lifts ban on Tamil Tigers. Rebels drop demand for separate state.
- 2003 - LTTE pull out of peace talks.
- 2004 July - Suicide bomb blast in Colombo - the first such incident since 2001.
- 2004 December - More than 30,000 people are killed when a tsunami, massive waves generated by a powerful undersea earthquake, devastate coastal communities.
- 2005 August - State of emergency after foreign minister is killed by a suspected Tiger assassin.
- 2005 November - Mahinda Rajapaksa, prime minister at the time, wins presidential elections. Most Tamils in areas controlled by the Tamil Tigers do not vote.

#### The defeat of LTTE

- 2006 April - Attacks begin to escalate again. A suicide bomber attacks the main military compound in Colombo, killing at least eight people. The military launch air strikes on Tamil Tiger targets.
- 2006 August - Tamil Tiger rebels and government forces resume fighting in the north-east in worst clashes since 2002 ceasefire. Government steadily drives Tamil Tigers out of eastern strongholds over following year.
- 2008 January - Government pulls out of 2002 ceasefire agreement, launches massive offensive. A brutal war ensues.
- 2009 January - Government troops capture the northern town of Kilinochchi, held for ten years by the Tamil Tigers as their administrative headquarters. President Mahinda Rajapakse calls it an unparalleled victory and urges the rebels to surrender.
- 2009 February - International concern over the humanitarian situation of thousands of civilians trapped in the battle zone prompts calls for a temporary cease-fire. This is rejected by the government, which says it is on the verge of destroying the Tamil Tigers, but it offers an amnesty to rebels if they surrender. Sri Lankan troops allegedly executes rebels in next few months.
- 2009 May - Government declares Tamil Tigers defeated after army forces overrun last patch of rebel-held territory in the northeast. Military says rebel leader Velupillai Prabhakaran was killed in the fighting. Tamil Tiger statement says the group will lay down its arms.

## 5. Hong Kong



### Under British Rule

- Hong Kong Island was first ceded as a crown colony to the United Kingdom from the Qing Empire in 1841 during the First Opium War. The entire Hong Kong was ceded permanently and leased for 99 years to Britain in 1898 Second Convention of Peking.
- Japan occupied Hong Kong in World War II. After the war Britain resumed control of Hong Kong against the intentions of Chiang Kai-shek.
- There were few advocates for decolonisation of Hong Kong from the British rule during the post-war period, however no movement could germinate due to absence of popular support.
- By 1980s, the question of Hong Kong sovereignty emerged the end of the 'New Territories lease' was approaching. However, the majority of the Hong Kong population, many of whom were political, economic or war refugees from the Chinese Civil War and the Communist regime on the mainland China, wished to maintain the status quo. The request for a Hong Kong representative in the Sino-British negotiation was rejected by Beijing.
- In 1984, the British and Chinese governments signed the Sino-British Joint Declaration which stated that the sovereignty of Hong Kong should be transferred to the China on 1 July 1997, and Hong Kong will enjoy a high degree of autonomy under the 'One Country, Two Systems' principle.
- On the wake of power transfer, Hong Kong saw an exodus of emigrants to overseas countries, especially after 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown in China. The incident strengthened anti-Beijing sentiments and also led to the emergence of the local democracy movement, which demanded a faster pace of democratisation before and after 1997.

### Under China

- Since 1997, the demand of universal suffrage, as promised by China, has dominated the political agenda in Hong Kong. The pro-democracy camp has called for the early implementation of the universal suffrage since the 1980s.

- For last one decade, Beijing's policies are centred to make Hong Kong an integral part of China. Hong Kong's freedoms and core values were perceived to have been eroded as a result.
- For last many years the population of Hong Kong is rejecting 'One Country, Two Systems' and making a call for independence.
- In 2009 and 2010, the construction of the Hong Kong section of the high-speed rail link to Guangzhou resulted into massive protests. Some also speculated that it is to help Chinese Army in future mobilisation.
- Since 2011, Hong Kong is undergoing the emergence of 'localist sentiments', which is against the immigration of native Chinese and see it as attack on the institutions and social customs of Hong Kong.
- In 2012, the change in education system, ie praising the Communist Party and Chinese nationalist ideology while condemning democracy and other western values. In many protests, people even displayed the nostalgic sentiments for British rule and waved colonial flags.
- In 2014, China made it mandatory that name of candidate, before standing in elections, must be passed by Beijing. This resulted in a long protest called, **Umbrella Revolution**.

## 6. Burma

In year 1057, King Anawrahta founds the first unified Myanmar state at Pagan and adopts Theravada Buddhism. Mongols under Kublai Khan conquer Pagan in 1287. Burma soon became the jigsaw of small kingdoms. After two centuries of fragmentation, in 1531, Toungoo dynasty, with Portuguese help, reunited Burma.

Located on the trade routes between China and India passing through Burma, it was a wealthy kingdom through constant trade and self-sufficient agriculture. With the Indian merchants travelling along the coasts and along rivers (especially the Irrawaddy River) through the country, where the majority of Burmese lived, Indian cultural influences filtered into the country and still exist there today.

In 1755, King Alaungpaya founded the Konbaung dynasty, which ruled for next few decades before British, while solidifying their rule in India turned their attention to the North eastern parts of India.

### Colonisation by British

- Konbaung Dynasty came in the conflict with British over its plan to expand into Arakan in the state of Assam, close to the British possessions in India, leading to the **First Anglo-Burmese War** (1824–26), which the British won. Myanmar was forced to cede Assam and other northern provinces.
- In 1852, the **Second Anglo-Burmese War** was provoked by the British who sought the teak forests in Lower Burma as well as a port between Calcutta and Singapore. The British were victorious in this war and annexes lower Burma, including Rangoon
- The British desire to access teak, oil and rubies of northern Myanmar prompted another war, the **Third Anglo-Burmese War** in 1885, capturing Mandalay.
- In 1885, the British finally occupied all the area of present-day Myanmar, making the territory a Province of British India.

### Colonial Burma

- The monarchy was abolished, King Thibaw sent into exile, and religion and state separated. This was particularly harmful because the Buddhist monks were so dependent on the sponsorship of the monarchy.
- After the opening of the Suez Canal, the demand for Burmese rice grew and vast tracts of land were opened up for cultivation, most of the jobs going to indentured Indian labourers.
- While the Burmese economy grew, most of the power and wealth remained in the hands of several British firms and migrants from India.
- The move towards foreign trade hurt the Burmese economy because a large amount of the resources were being exported for Britain's benefit, taking away a lot of resources from Burma.
- Foreign landlordism and the operations of foreign moneylenders has led to increasing exportation of a considerable proportion of the country's resources and to the progressive impoverishment of the agriculturist and of the country as a whole, making peasants poorer and increasing the unemployment.
- The British further divided the numerous ethnic minorities by favouring some groups, such as the Karen, for positions in the military and in local rural administrations.

### The National movement

- Progressive constitutional reform in the early 1920s led to a legislature with limited powers, a university and more autonomy for Burma within the administration of India
- During the 1920s, the first protests led mainly by Buddhist monks (hpongyi) and students were launched against British rule.
- In December 1930, a local tax protest by Saya San grew into a national insurrection against the government and was called the **Galon rebellion** (named on the mythical bird Garuda). Thousands of British troops were deployed to suppress the revolt. Execution of Saya San further fuelled the national aspirations.
- By 1935, the Students Union at Rangoon University was at the forefront of what would evolve into an active and powerful movement for national independence. A young law student Aung San, emerged as the potential new leader of the national movement. In the years that followed, he successfully organized a series of student strikes at the university, gaining the support of the nation.

### Separation from India

- The British separated Burma Province from British India in 1937 and granted the colony a new constitution calling for a fully elected assembly, with many powers given to the Burmese, but this proved to be a divisive issue as some Burmese felt that this was a ploy to exclude them from any further Indian reforms.
- A wave of general strikes and protests began in 1938. In Rangoon student protesters clashed with British police killing a student called Aung Kyaw. In Mandalay, the police shot into a crowd of protesters led by Buddhist monks killing 17 people. The movement became known as the '**1300 Revolution**' (named after the Burmese calendar year).
- World War II- Japan invades and occupies Burma with some help from the Japanese-trained Burma Independence Army, which later transforms itself into the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) and resists Japanese rule.
- Britain liberates Burma from Japanese occupation with help from the AFPFL, led by Aung San.

### Independence

- Hailed as the architect of Burma's new-found independence by the majority of Burmese, Aung San was able to negotiate an agreement in January 1947 with the British, under which Burma would be granted total independence from Britain.
- Although a controversial figure to some ethnic minorities, he also had regular meetings with ethnic leaders throughout Burma in an effort to create reconciliation and unity for all Burmese.
- As the new leader drafted a constitution with his party's ministers in July 1947, the course of Burmese history was dramatically and tragically altered. Aung San and members of his newly-formed cabinet were assassinated by an opposition group.
- A member of Aung San's cabinet, U Nu, was delegated to fill the position suddenly left vacant by Aung San's death.
- Burma was finally granted independence on January 4, 1948. Unlike India, Burma decided not to join the Commonwealth of Nations.

### The Military Dictatorship

- For the next ten years, Burma's fledgling democratic government was continuously challenged by communist and ethnic groups who felt under-represented in the 1948 constitution. Periods of intense civil war destabilized the nation.
- Although the constitution declared that minority states could be granted some level autonomy in ten years, but it never arrived.
- As the economy stumbled, U Nu was removed from office in 1958 by a caretaker government led by General Ne Wins, to "restore law and order" to Burma
- The General took control of the whole country including the minority states, forcing them to remain under the jurisdiction of the central government.
- Although he allowed U Nu to be re-elected Prime Minister in 1960, two years later he staged a coup and solidified his position as Burma's military dictator.
- Ne Win's new Revolutionary Council had suspended the constitution and instituted authoritarian military rule.
- Full attention turned against the communist and ethnic-minority rebel groups. They were totally wiped off.
- The country was closed off from the outside world as the new despot promoted an isolation ideology based on what he called the Burmese Way to Socialism, ie abolishment of federal system, nationalising the economy, forming a single-party state with the Socialist Programme Party as the sole political party, and banning independent newspapers.

## **7. Indonesia**

Soon after first Portuguese contacts with Indonesia for trade of spices in early 16<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch and British traders followed. In 1602, the Dutch established the Dutch East India Company (VOC), and throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the company became the dominant European power in the archipelago. As India was Asian base of Britain, Indonesia was of the Netherlands. Following bankruptcy, the VOC was formally dissolved in 1800, and the government of the Netherlands established the Dutch East Indies as a nationalised colony.

### Colonial rule

- Dutch only controlled the coastal towns of the archipelago and only by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century did Dutch dominance extend to what was to become Indonesia's current boundaries.
- In the pursuit of profits and administrative control, the Dutch imposed an authority of the Dutch East Indies on an array of peoples who had not previously shared a unified political identity.
- By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, people from many parts of the archipelago began to develop a national consciousness as 'Indonesians', which was defined as the **Indonesian National Awakening**.
- In the early decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the new organisations and leadership developed. Under its **Ethical Policy**, the Netherlands helped create an educated Indonesian elite.
- The **Ethical Period** emphasised on education, which did not deliver widespread educational opportunities, however, it did provide a Dutch education for the children of the indigenous Indonesian elite. Largely intended to provide clerical labour for the growing colonial bureaucracy, the Western education brought with it Western political ideas of freedom and democracy.
- During the 1920s and 30s, this small elite began to articulate a rising anti-colonialism and a national consciousness.
- During 1910s, the first Indonesian political parties began to emerge, some motivated by the cause of self-rule, others by Islamic principles and some others by Javanese mysticism.
- Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), formed in 1920, was a fully-fledged independence party inspired by European politics. In 1926, it attempted a revolution throughout Indonesia through isolated insurrections across Java that panicked the Dutch, who arrested and exiled thousands of communists, effectively neutralising the PKI for the remainder of the Dutch occupation.
- In 1928, a youth conference pledges to work for '**one nation, one language, one people**' for Indonesia.
- The factors behind the rise of this National Awakening were many, like the indigenous print media, urbanisation, communism, Islam, education, mass entertainment and suffering under Dutch apartheid. Indigenous voices were suppressed by the Dutch, who disallowed freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, and who extensively spied on dissident organisations.
- Dutch had no plans to give any political freedom and repressed many nationalist organisations. They controlled the agitation to a limit. Any change in this direction comes only after World War II.

### World War II and Independence

- Japanese occupation during World War II was brutal on Indonesia killing more than 4 million people due to famine and forced labour during this period.
- However, it ended the Dutch rule and encouraged the suppressed Indonesian independence movement.
- Within a week of Japanese surrender, a power vacuum arose leading to the Indonesian leadership under Sukarno (as President) proclaiming Indonesian independence on 17 August 1945. The Indonesian war-time military, students and others rallied in support of

the new Republic. The nationalists succeeded in seizing the arms of the demoralised Japanese

- The Dutch, like France in Indochina tried to re-establish their rule breaking the promise of World War II. This met with obvious resistance leading to an armed and diplomatic struggle.
- A period of unrest with a war called 'Bersiap period' began. More European died in Indonesia in this period than during the war.
- Within four years the Dutch had recaptured almost the whole of Indonesia, but guerrilla resistance persisted with no near end.
- Under strong International pressure, the Dutch recognised Indonesian independence in 27 December 1949.
- Indonesian adopted the federal structure and was called the United States of Indonesia (RUSI). On 17 August 1950, the last of the federal states were dissolved and Sukarno proclaimed a single unitary Republic of Indonesia.





## 20. THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA

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### Slavery in Africa

The history of Africa had many instances of slavery which was rooted in its history, especially Western Africa. The powerful Kings like Bight of Biafra and Benin sold their captives as slaves internally. The Arabs bought and sold these slaves in huge numbers. It is this trade which was made global by the Europeans.

In the 15th century, Henry the Navigator of Portugal planned to conquer African territory. He established Portuguese sovereignty over a huge area of coastlands. It was the stories of African gold which attracted Portuguese, however, by the end of the century they had traded around 1 lakh Africans to Europe, nearby Atlantic islands, and to Muslim merchants. Portuguese bought slaves from African kingdoms who raid the neighbouring areas and sold the captives.

### Slave Trade

For two hundred years, ie mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Portugal almost monopolised the export of more than 4 million slaves from Africa (last European country to abolish it). Slave trade continued for next more than 4 centuries, transporting more than 12 million Africans. 6 million Africans were exported in 18<sup>th</sup> century alone, with Britain responsible for largest numbers (2.5 million).

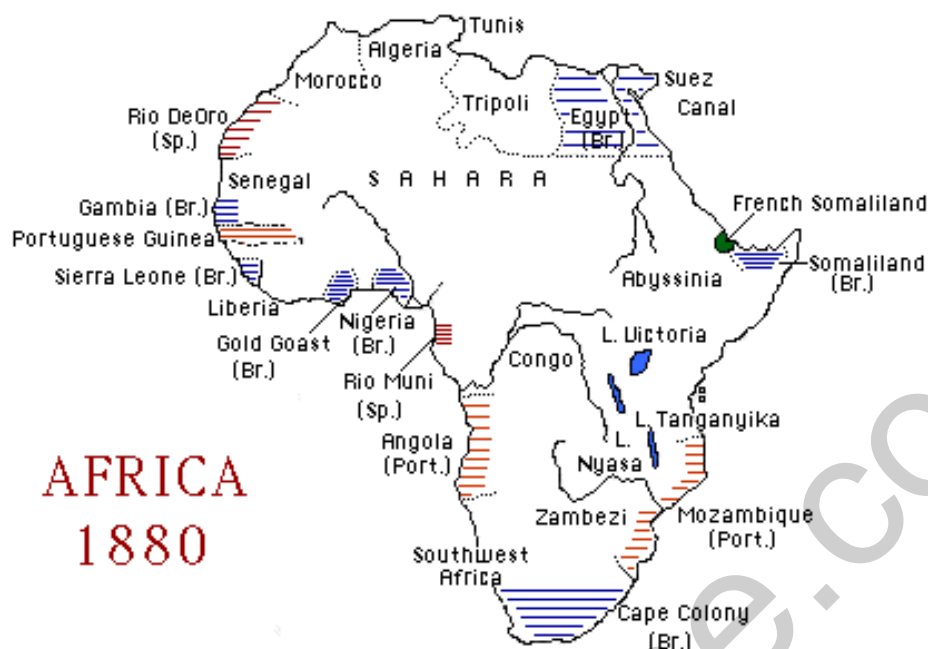
Slaves for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade were initially centred along the north western ports (Senegambia), which by mid-17<sup>th</sup> century moved to west-central Africa (around the coasts of Kongo-Angola). However, Europeans showed very little interest in the interior of Africa and only 10 percent Africa was known to them till mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century.

### The Scramble for Africa

Since mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Europeans traced the major rivers of Africa like Nile, Niger, Congo and Zambezi Rivers, and realised the vast resources hidden in the Continent.

By 1870s majority holdings were along the coast

- Portugal- Angola and Mozambique
- Britain- the Cape Colony in South, Freetown in Sierra Leone, forts along the coast of Gambia river, small territory in Lagos and the Gold Coast protectorate
- France- Algeria, Senegal and Ivory Coast
- The Ottomans- Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia



### The motivating factors of the Scramble

- The **faster transportation and communication** like steam navigation by boat, railways and telegraphs provided by Industrial Revolution took Europeans into the interiors very swiftly.
- **Medical sciences** now had the medicines for tropical diseases, which were once too deadly for Europeans. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century only one in 10 Europeans sent out to the continent by the Royal African Company survived. Six of the 10 would have died in their first year.
- **Explorations** driven by the riches of Africa supported by the new modes of communication urged and helped the Europeans to go into interiors.
- The Capitalists wanted to exploit the continent even after the end of slave trade, therefore in search of new 'legitimate trade', the explorations were encouraged. Explorers did locate **vast reserves of raw materials**, plotted the course of trade routes, navigated rivers, and identified population centres which could be a **market for manufactured goods** from Europe. It was a time of plantations and cash crops, dedicating the region's workforce to producing rubber, coffee, sugar, palm oil, timber, etc for Europe. And all the more enticing if a colony could be set up which gave the European nation a monopoly.
- Very much like the age of naval explorations in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, the explorers in many cases were funded by the **Europeans monarchs** in hope of creating a colony or overlordship over the local kings.
- After the creation of a unified Germany and Italy, **the competition in Europe** intensified. Germany joined Britain and France in dominating the European politics. Britain and especially France tried to balance it with more colonies. Colonies were also seen as assets in 'balance of power' negotiations, useful as items of exchange at times of international bargaining. Colonies with large native populations were also a source of military power. In the age of nationalism there was pressure for a nation to acquire an empire as a status symbol and satisfaction of national aspirations. This intensified in the Long Depression (1873-98)

- Germany, under Bismarck, did want colonies but searching a mechanism to stop overt conflict over the coming land grab.
- Europeans, with an eye to colonization and conquest, restricted the sale of the new weaponry to Africa maintaining military superiority.
- By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, slave trade by seas have practically ended but continued by North Africans and Arabs. The **abolitionists of Europe** gave a moral justification to go into Africa to end it.

### The 'paper partition' of Berlin Conference

- **The race of early 80s-** In the first five years of 80s, region to the north of the river Congo, Tunisia, part of Somaliland became a French protectorate, Britain occupied Egypt (from Ottomans) a part of Somaliland, Italy begins colonization of Eritrea, Germany occupied South West Africa, Cameroon, German East Africa, and Togo created.
- To avoid any mutual collision, the Berlin Conference of 1885 laid down ground rules for the further partitioning of Africa.
  - Navigation on the Niger and Congo rivers was to be free to all.
  - To declare a protectorate over a region the Colonizer must show effective occupancy and develop a 'sphere of influence'.
  - No nation was to stake claims in Africa without notifying other powers of its intentions.
  - No territory could be formally claimed prior to being effectively occupied.

### The New Imperialism

In the first phase of New Imperialism (1885-1914), ie by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Europe added almost 9 million-square miles (one-fifth of the world's land area) to its colonial possessions.

- Europe's formal holdings now included the entire African continent except Ethiopia, Liberia.
- In entire period (1885 to 1914), Britain took nearly 30% of Africa's population under its control whereas France took 15%, Portugal- 11%, Germany- 9%, Belgium- 7% and Italy- 1%. The greatest gains in this phase went to Britain, although its areas was smaller than France but large part of French occupation was in Sahara desert.
- This imperialism followed the economic expansion which fuelled the nationalism and the crises resulted out of this Imperialism helped the strengthening of alliances, especially the hard stance of Kaiser Wilhelm II during these crises led the strengthening of Triple Entente. Many of the crises played a role in 1914.



### Nature of Colonialism in Africa

- The production of cash crops- Balanced, subsistence-based economies shifted to specialization and accumulation of surpluses. The shifting to cash crops was to accumulate surplus for colonial master bringing persistent hunger for Africans.
- The Colonial lobbies were progressively set up to legitimize the New Imperialism. In Germany, France, Britain etc, the bourgeoisie began to endorse overseas colonies to insure the market's growth. In 1916, Lenin explained it, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" to explain this phenomenon. Even the call of 'proletarian nations' bolstered nationalism and militarism, which manifested as Fascism in 1920s and 30s.
- By the end of World War I, the colonized empires had become very popular almost everywhere. Public opinion had been convinced of the needs of a colonial empire.
- The racial superiority further urged white men to "civilize" the Africans. In cities like Paris, London, Berlin etc human zoos displayed the Africans, who were considered to be closer to apes than Europeans.

### Nationalism in Africa

Nationalism in Africa is divided into two phases according to the period

- i. Nationalism before 1945
- ii. Nationalism after 1945

### **i. Nationalism before 1945**

- In the first decades of colonial rule most East African communities experienced only spasmodic contacts with the white man and were controlled indirectly via local kingdoms.
- The struggle for self-determination and resistance against the intruders begun in Africa immediately after the inception of colonialism in around 1890s, like Abushiri and Bwana Hen in Tanzania, Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe, Nama and Herero in Namibia. The period and the intensity in which the early African resistance occurred in various societies depended on the intensity of colonial activities and its impact
- In 1920 the biggest welfare association in the region was the National Congress of British West Africa in Accra. It was largely formed by the **emerging African elites, educated in European education who wanted increased and effective representation** in various organs of the state especially in the legislature.
- By the mid of 1920s, the activities of the government officials, missionaries and settlers were beginning to affect much more direct on the lives of many Africans. Acts like land alienation, forced labour, injustice and taxation now were affecting the Africans more.
- The Christian missionaries proved themselves the most vigorous stimulators of change and their success in conversion was often remarkable. However, soon their excessive zeal started producing countervailing African nationalism as to protect their culture.
- The early protests against colonial rule were spontaneous and **ethnic with regional orientation**. It lacked national scope, every tribe was resisting alone and fight for tribal or regional interests.
- The early movements were apolitical and **lacked clear political focus**, i.e. it lacked political elements and were for high wages, land alienation, poor working conditions, cultural encroachment etc.
- Majority of the **movements were by elites**, based mostly organized by those who were working for the colonial government in urban areas they organized themselves and begun to ask for their rights, the interests they represented were mainly related to the cooperation with colonialism.
- Most of the **resistances were easily suppressed** by the colonialist in other words registered limited success.
- They **lacked well organized and systematic form of resistance** most of the uprising were sporadic in nature and generated internally rather than externally e.g. cattle confiscation, land alienation etc
- Protests lacked the element of uniformity and effectiveness. They were characterized by uprising in different areas and in different time.
- They were mostly motivated by the restoring of the pre-colonial social order, which had been over thrown by the colonialists.
- Therefore, pre-1945 phase is affected only by internal factors, ie only Africans were interested in their protests helped by no outside factor. The World order was against decolonisation of Africa, a situation which changed soon after the War.

#### Major issues of pre 1945 phase

- Political grievances- Africans have lost their independence to the foreigners thus nationalism to regain their lost independence. African rulers were thrown away and

replaced them by foreign rulers who were imposed on the African that they detested and wanted to restate their traditional rulers.

- Economic grievances
  - Forced labour to work on the colonial plantations to provide cheap labour. Any African who resisted was punished heavily Imposition of heavy taxes to initiate money economy taxes like hut tax, poll tax, matiti tax were introduced as to force the indigenous to work in the plantation.
  - Cattle confiscation as to deny African from engaging in other economic activities and resort on supplying cheap labour.
  - Land alienation to keep African away from practicing their subsistence agriculture and begin to supply cheap labour in plantations
  - Loss of control of their trade like Long distance trade and Trans-Saharan trade and the introduction of the so called legitimate trade
  - Destruction of African agriculture, which was self-sustaining based on the needs of Africa and in its place, cash crop plantation were introduced
- Social grievances.
  - Colonial injustice and oppression like long working hours, social abuses and separation of men from their families.
  - Heavy punishment like chopping off hands of the Africans in case of the Congo colony under Belgium, corporal punishment in Tanzania.
  - Racism and segregation of Africans, by insulting them by their colour and making them the third grade citizens on their own land
  - Destruction of African values and traditions and implanting foreign culture like religion language education and culture.

## World War II

The Second World War which occurred 1939-1945 was a necessary evil to the rise of African nationalism. The aftermath of Second World War witnessed vigorous nationalistic feelings in Africa which resulted into African independence.

- Allied forces especially France, was made accurately aware of its indebtedness to Africa during the war. In order to ensure the continuing African support European administrators had been obliged to promise the social political and economic reforms would fall the allied victory in the war. France at Brazzaville in 1944 promised a 'new deal' for the subject of the French African territories. The promise of the Brazzaville was followed up in 1946 with the abolition of the hated corvee labour system. Some European powers became reluctant to implement their promises intensified the Nationalism.
- The economic hardship of European nations after the war most of their economies were badly ruined that were not able to continue running vast over sea colonies of Africa and Asia they begun preparing them for self-determinations.

## ii. Nationalism after 1945

- It was in this period that Africans were successful in their struggle at times is referred as modern nationalism.
- These movements were well organized and planned by **elites African leaders** those were educated from colonial schools, e.g. Nyerere, Kenyatta, Nkrumah, Obote

- These were nationwide and covered the whole nation through opening up many branches in the whole state both in the rural and urban areas
- They were political in origin i.e. they struggled for political independence of Africa.
- It was dominated by both dialogue and led to armed struggle when dialogue failed.
- They were motivated by both internal and external factors unlike those before 1945 which were motivated by internal factors.
- They were largely successful in getting independence for African nations.

#### The factors that gave birth to African nationalism after 1945

- **Internal factors**- These were forces that were internally motivated, that generated within Africa societies that brought about nationalism in Africa. These included the following factors.
  - Formation of **peasant cooperative union** in rural areas to defend the interest and welfare of the farmers some associations were formed by the colonialists as to speed up the production and the marketing of cash crops as well as sensitizing peasants about cultivation, through their associations. This later developed nationalistic feelings and turned against the colonialists using their association's structures in rural areas. Some of the associations included The Kilimanjaro Cooperative Union, Victoria Cooperative, Buhaya Cooperative Union etc.
  - **Intensive exploitation** after the Second World War. In the colonies the colonizers wanted to revamp their ruined economies, which were heavily damaged by the war, large scale colonization was carried out. New measures were introduced to increase production in the colonies and to reduce metro pole expenditure on the colonies like
    - Land alienation to establish more plantations for the white settlers
    - Forced labor to work on the colonial plantations as to increase output
    - New taxes like gun tax, hut tax were introduced
 Such exploitation awakened African to start fighting for their self-determination thus rise of nationalism made African aware.
  - Formation of **independent churches** created by Africans breaking away from main stream white churches, to challenge their misdeeds over the Africans, they addressed not only religious but also social political and economic grievances of the Africans. Joseph Ejayi in West Africa, the Kikuyu Native church, the Watch tower church movement in Malawi 1906, the African national church in Tanzania etc. Such churches openly criticized the colonialists and encouraged their followers to fight them thus the rise of African nationalism.
  - Formation of **segregated African schools**. After realizing that the missionary and colonial schools taught nothing but European based syllabus, some African societies began their own schools, like among the kikuyu in Kenya Africans were taught African syllabus. This helped in educating Africans and developing the spirit of nationalism.
  - Rise of **educated elites** who had attained colonial education like Nyerere in Tanganyika, Nkrumah in Ghana, Kamuzu Banda in Malawi Abafemi Awolowo of Nigeria etc. This education helped them to get used to the white language to get exposed to various struggle and liberation of the world, but on top of that some elites came from outside Africa the combination of both helped to the rise of nationalism through provision of leadership for nationalistic struggles.
  - **The Ethiopian war** (1935-1941) has increased the momentum of African nationalism. Italy an industrialized nation was heavily and bravely resisted by an African nation

Ethiopia. This embittered the now conscious Africans and boosted their confidence towards their struggle for independence.

- **Ghana independence** in 1957, it was an example to stimulate other African nations to begin fight for their freedom so it as possible for them also to attain independence from their colonial powers
  - Formation of **social welfare association**, aimed to improve the working conditions of African workers discriminations and colonial abuses to the Africans such associations largely based in urban centres and comprised colonial civil servants like the kikuyu central association in Kenya, Tanganyika Territory Civil Service Association in Tanzania, the peoples union in Nigeria. Such association exerted more pressure on the colonialist to consider giving African independence.
  - **Mass media** especially newspaper played a big role in spreading awareness among the population in both rural and urban areas.
  - **Colonial social infrastructures** also played a big role in facilitating the spread and the rise of African nationalism. Like everywhere else, colonialism sown seed of its own destruction. Infrastructures like railways roads facilitated the nationalist activities in rural and urban centres by spreading the message of liberations in all parts of Africa.
  - The **Manchester conference of 1945**, called by pan-Africanist activities that invited all Africans from various parts of Africa and resolved that Africans should use all means peace or forceful to attain their independence.
- **External factors-** These were factors that motivated nationalism but being generated from outside Africa
    - The **returning of ex-soldiers** who participated in the war, brought awareness as they were exposed to western democracy, freedom, and liberation message. Some veterans became leaders of movements opposing the colonialists.
    - **Formation of UNO**, which replaced the league of nation where independent African states were allowed to participate as members it become an organization of all nations African and Asian nations through the UN opposed the colonialist and demanded for self-determination, unlike during the league of nation where African colonies became mandatory colonies of European nations
    - **Decolonisation of Asian nations** acted as an external pressure for the Africans to attain their independence. The partition of India was quoted as a negotiative tool to argue for their independence model.
    - **The Bandung conference (formation of NAM)** of April 1955, where Asians and Africans nations like South Africa Ghana Nigeria Egypt Libya met in Indonesia to discuss their problems which include colonialism and economic development, they emphasized solidarity, it was during this conference that. N.A.M. was formed in this conference.
    - Formation of Pan-Africanize in 1900 which later united all African independent nations to help in fighting for African independence.
    - The **British labour party** which assumed power in 1945 its policies were against colonialism which, they viewed as oppression of humanity and wastage of British money.
    - **The rise of USA** after war, making it the leading capitalist nation and begun to advocate for decolonization of African nations as a trick to compensate for not colonizing. USA instead sought for neo colonialism to get market for her finished goods area of investment for her international corporations.
    - **Marshal plan** imposed a condition on loans that colonial powers should decolonize African and Asian nations.



- USA introduced a policy of conducting **business with Independent African states** only thus it begun requesting colonialist to give independence to the African countries so as to do business with US.
- **Rise of USSR**- the Second World War witnessed the expansion and consolidation of the communist bloc. Russia begun to provide material and moral support for anti-colonial struggle for African e.g. it supported rebel groups in Angola and Namibia to fight colonialists. Many African nationalists adopted Marxist theory as a tool to fight and oppose the capitalist exploitation and oppression, therefore readily got support of USSR.
- Some colonial masters incurred a lot of losses during war and could not continue with spending to the colonies so they were forced to grant some independence to some African states. However, some European powers adopted intensive exploitation to revamp their economies, which awakened many Africans to resist.

### **The Armed Struggle**

Other methods like peaceful means and constitutional failed, the armed struggle became as the last resort for getting independence from the colonialists. Following are the factors behind struggle turning violent.

- The **unwillingness of the colonial power** to grant independence. Especially Portugal and British colonies that, were not willing to grant independence. The Africans resorted the use of force.
- **Influence of pan Africanism**, especially after shifting her headquarters from the new world to Africa .The plan of action of pan Africanism was to liberate African nations by all means.
- **Influence of front line states**. They provided military and man power support to the ant-colonial struggles in Africa e.g Tanzania during the struggle in South Africa and Zimbabwe
- **Intensive exploitation** after WWII awakened Africans against the colonialists who had increased exploitation of Africa resources as to revamp their ruined economies, this made Africans to use all means to liberate themselves.
- **Emergence of cold war** after 1945. This was the struggle between USSR and USA, every bloc wanted to win more countries in Africa as to spread their political ideologies of socialism or capitalism, this witnessed the giving up of weapons to fight the colonialists.

### **The Decolonisation**

African independence movements have existed for as long as the presence of foreign overlords, however, the spirit of African nationalism in vocal form emerged since the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1935. The intensification of exploitation fuelled the nationalistic struggles of the Continent.

- Africa was land of tribes, therefore, there was very little feeling of national hood among the colonial subjects. Almost everybody thought of himself as belonging to a certain ethnic group or region.
- The formation of organised political resistance gained momentum in the 1950s and 60s, when soldiers who had fought in both World Wars on behalf of their colonial masters joined forces with African intellectuals who had gained their education through missionary schools and universities provided by Colonial masters. Young men and women went abroad to study and were inspired by the fiery speeches of communist figures and the far-reaching goals of nationalist movements from other countries. They returned home

dreaming of 'Africa for the Africans'. Some realised this dream peacefully, others only after decades of bloodshed and struggle.

- In many cases, however, it didn't take long before the dream turned into a nightmare. Fledgling African nations became pawns in the Cold War machinations of self-serving foreign powers, and factors such as economic collapse and ethnic resentment led them to spiral down into a mire of corruption, violence and civil war.

### The approach of Colonists

- The colonial states did not intend to create a sense of national hood among the colonized people. Its major aim was to undermine all ethnic or regional loyalties.
- The colonialists had different sentiment about granting independence to African states. The bourgeoisie in the metro pole were interested in maintaining colonial exploitation, but they differed in the best way to do it. They were three types of different opinions how to maintain this among the colonialists.
  - a. **The liberals-** who realized that the only way to silence anti-colonial struggle was through reforms of granting **flag independence** to the colonized subjects thus between 1950 and 1960 liberal government of France and Britain began to grant flag independence. That is why the form of liberation were peaceful. In the system of flag independence, the political power remains in the hands of the formerly colonised and economic power remains under control of international finance capital ("The colonial powers were bent on turning independence into a 'Flag Independence' in which everything but the flag remains the same"). Countries like Zimbabwe worked for real independence, reclaimed ownership of the means of production from whites but it disrupted the economy. Previously, in the Zimbabwe, only 4 000 whites owned all the prime land and ran the industries. This model increased inequality, eg- South Africa.
  - b. **The conservatives-** who thought that maintaining the status-quo was the best way to preserve the capitalist interests, thus whenever these people were in power the question of granting independence to Africa never rose, especially in Portugal, therefore, the form of liberation in such Portuguese colonies were different.
  - c. **Third opinion-** some white settlers thought that new constitutional changes can crush their interest with those of the bourgeoisie in the metro pole. They feared that black skinned leadership would not allow them to maintain their property. In some cases they seized the power, in 1965, U.D.I (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) in Rhodesia, by white minority comprising of 5% population.

### Forms of Independence

They were four types/methods that Africans applied in their struggle to liberate themselves from the colonial domination,

#### a. **Liberation by Constitution** (Peaceful dialogue)

This involved intensive negotiation between the colonialists and African nationalists e.g. the political independence of **Tanzania, Ghana, Uganda, Zambia** etc. all applied negotiation or peaceful means to get their independence.

#### b. **Liberation by Revolution**

This was the type of liberation which involved complete overthrow of the existing political system, which was sudden and involved bloodshed. This existed in colonies where independence was

given to the minority at the expenses of the majority, the case in point is in **Zanzibar** where minority Arabs were granted independence by the British which prompted the majority blacks to make a revolution in 1964, and replaced with another new political system that is supported by the masses. It took place in **Egypt** and **Libya**.

### **c. Liberation by armed struggle and arbitration**

This was conducted in the situation where peaceful means failed and the imperialist were reluctant to negotiate or to give independence to the Africans. In such situation the Africans picked up arms to fight the imperialists by force as a method to achieve their independence it involved bloodshed and subsequent use of guerrilla warfare. For example in **Angola, South Africa, Namibia** and **Mozambique**

### **d. Combination of Constitution and armed struggle**

These liberations combined both methods. Firstly the Africans resorted to armed struggle as a way to achieve their independence and then applied dialogue and other peaceful means to solve the problems of their independence, this happened in **Kenya** and **Zimbabwe**.

### **Factors determining the forms of Decolonisation**

- **Existence of settlers-** In the colonies that had a number of white settlers like Kenya Zimbabwe whereby they had made some developments in form of investment the colonialist were not willing to surrender their wealth to Africans and were not sure of their future in case Africans take over the government, thus giving independence was very difficult. This made the Africans to apply armed struggle as the means of getting their independence
- **The nature of the colony-** Those colonies that were regarded as overseas provinces of the colonial nation and view them as their mandatory land this was mostly to colonial masters like Portugal and France in such cases the colonialist were not ready to grant independence until the African decide to use violence to give independence. Therefore armed struggle was the only solution for example in **Kenya, Angola, Mozambique** and **South Africa**.
- **The economic strength of the colony-** In those colonies where development was very high and colonial investment was huge like **South Africa** and **Zimbabwe** the colonialists were not able to grant independence to the Africans in a peaceful way, the only solution remained to apply forceful means.
- **The financial and economic position of the colonial power-** Many colonies that belonged to Portugal applied armed struggle because Portugal economic position was not good highly depended on African colonies for domestic development so she was unwilling to give independence.
- **The status of the colony-** those colonies that were under the trust ship of UN managed to achieve their Independence easily through peaceful means because of the pressure from UN and USA, like **Tanzania** got her independence early enough than other east African sister nations of Kenya and Uganda, but those who were mandatory colonies could not get their independence so easily therefore took to armed struggle.
- **The minority rule-** like UDI in **Zimbabwe** and the white racist regime in **South Africa**, where the minority white settlers declared the unilateral independence, in case of **Zanzibar** where minority Arabs were given independence by the British to the expense of the majority Africans on the islands this also caused armed struggle through a revolution

- **Existence of peasant cash crops-** colonies that had developed peasant cash crops like, **Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana,** and **Tanzania,** achieved their independence through peaceful means, the colonialist could not delay this independence after realizing that they can continue exploiting their resources through neo colonialism and they had nothing to lose in granting independence
- **The nature of reaction-** The approach Africans had towards the colonialist, also determined the form of liberation. Those African societies who were very collaborative to the colonialist and forged class alliance with the colonialist in most cases dialogue or peaceful means were applied to decolonize e.g. in **Uganda** the Gandas were used as sub-imperialist to Other areas of Uganda to spread the colonial rule so independence was through peaceful means in Uganda as to pave the way for Ganda to dominant other tribes.
- **Existence Of wealthy especially minerals-** the presence of minerals like gold diamond sliver, industries, well developed social overheads like in **South Africa and Kenya,** independence could not be given easily because the colonialist were not ready to leave such wealth unexploited. Armed struggle became the only solution in such cases. On the other hand in colonies where development was minimal no infrastructure independence was easily given through peaceful means like in **Tanzania.**



**Decolonised from Britain**

1. South Africa (1910)
2. Egypt (1922)
3. Libya (1951)
4. Sudan (1956)
5. Ghana (1957)
6. Somalia (1960)
7. Nigeria (1960)
8. Sierra Leone (1961)
9. Nigeria (1961)
10. Cameroon (1961)
11. Tanzania (1961)
12. Uganda (1962)
13. Kenya (1963)
14. Malawi (1964)
15. Zambia (1964)
16. Gambia (1965)
17. Botswana (1966)
18. Lesotho (1966)
19. Mauritius (1968)
20. Swaziland (1968)
21. Seychelles (1976)
22. Zimbabwe (1980)

**Decolonised from France**

1. Morocco (1956)
2. Tunisia (1956)
3. Senegal (1960)
4. Togo (1960)
5. Mali (1960)
6. Madagascar (1960)
7. Guinea (1958)
8. Cameroon (1960)
9. Benin (1960)
10. Niger (1960)
11. Burkina Faso (1960)
12. Ivory Coast (1960)
13. Chad (1960)
14. Central African Republic (1960)
15. Congo (1960)
16. Gabon (1960)
17. Mauritania (1960)
18. Algeria (1962)
19. Comoros (1975)
20. Djibouti (1977)

### Decolonised from Italy

1. Ethiopia (1941)

### Decolonised from Spain

1. Morocco (1956)
2. Equatorial Guinea (1968)
3. Morocco (1969)
4. Western Sahara (1976)

### Decolonised from Belgium

1. Congo DR (Kinshasa) (1960)
2. Burundi (1962)
3. Rwanda (1962)

### Decolonised from Portugal

1. Guinea-Bissau (1973)
2. Mozambique (1975)
3. Cape Verde (1975)
4. Sao Tome and Principe (1975)
5. Angola (1975)

- Namibia, decolonised from South Africa in 1990.
- Eritrea, decolonised from Ethiopia in 1993.
- Morocco was under International zone till 1956.

### Issues of Independence

- The **unwillingness of the colonial power** to grant independence. Some European nations came in Africa to stay for ever and regarded their African colonies as overseas provinces, thus they were very reluctant to grant independence this was mostly on Portuguese colonies like Mozambique, Angola.
- The **colonial state apparatus** were very oppressive and coercive to the nationalistic movements in many Africa nations these included colonial army, police and judicial system which were put in place to facilitate colonial production. This resulted in imprisonment and exile of top leaders.
- Also there was **lack of political structures, especially in rural areas** to mobilize the people to the common struggle for independence. In rural areas most of the political parties lacked branches which would have been used as centres to create awareness and mobilization of the masses most of the nationalistic activities centred in urban areas.
- **Tribalism, which worked against nationalism**, also was a problem in for the nationalistic struggle it brought disunity and weakened the nationalistic struggle for independence. Some tribes did not participant in national struggle in steady they involved secessionist politics, e.g. Buganda in Uganda which demanded for her separate independence at the expense of the entire nation of Uganda. Colonists used this divisions along tribal lines e.g. the Gandas in Uganda were favoured over other tribes by colonists, which made the Ganda to be reluctant to support the struggle for independence.
- The **low level of education** also affected the struggle for independence many masses in Africa were not educated and lacked political awareness about the essence of their

independence this was a big hindrance in the path of independence since most of the indigenous did not know the significance of the struggle.

- National movement in Africa had **financial limitations and lacked clear source of funds** since most of their members were financially sick to fund the activities of the struggle like mobilization for support from the masses for independence.
- **Poor infrastructure especially in interior regions**, during the movement to mobilize the support of masses was very difficult. This intensifies during rainy season.
- Internal disputes and insecurity also brought a hindrance in the way of independence e.g. tribal wars.
- **Religious differences** were a major problem .e.g. For Tanganyika to attain her independence the AMNUT (All Muslim National Union of Tanganyika) were not willing Tanganyika to be given their independence until a Muslim candidate is graduated to take over the government. Even Sudan is divided recently over this issue of religion.

### The Legacy of Colonialism

The effect of the period of colonisation is most evident in Africa. It is still struggling with many of the legacies, however, some also benefitted it in the long run.

#### Positive legacies

- Improved education and the building of schools and universities
- Access to a formalised monetary exchange (as opposed to bartering)
- Construction of infrastructure like railways, roadways, electricity production, hospitals etc
- The development of formal industries (such as mining, agriculture, and so on)
- Assimilation of Africa into global economy is totally an effect of its contact with European nations.

#### Negative Legacies

- The extermination of many tribes and nations of Africa, like the Namaka and the Herero by Germany. Characteristic of such genocides were death by starvation and the poisoning of wells (as was the case with Herero and Namaqua population trapped in Namib Desert)
- Modernisation theory emphasises that colonial powers built infrastructure to integrate Africa into the world economy, however this was built mainly for extraction purposes. African economies were structured to benefit the coloniser and any surplus was likely to be 'drained', thereby stifling capital accumulation.
- Most African economies continued to occupy a subordinate position in the world economy after independence with a reliance on primary commodities such as copper in Zambia and tea in Kenya, however, a one third of countries experienced increased economic growth post-independence.
- The debts of African economies are external and one-sided and unlike western economies, do not have assets or debts to balance the burden. The debt situation in sub-Saharan Africa means that the world's poorest countries were transferring wealth in the form of interest and principal.
- This economic relation results in servicing the debt, means less money is available for importing goods. Also, debt creates uncertainty and risk which puts off investors and reduces business confidence, holding back African countries from developing after decolonisation.

- Over 2,000 distinct languages are spoken in the continent, however, the hegemony of colonial languages has resulted into erosion of the linguistic diversity of Africa. Language has been used by western colonial powers to divide territories and create new identities which has led to conflicts and tensions between African nations, even today.
- Segregation is still a feature of many African nations, ie creating forms of inclusions and exclusions. Through **Zonification**, ie different architecture designs and distinct segregation of spaces in cities, colonialism is still present.
- Echoes of the colonial past are still visible in the African society today because there are still widespread social stigmas associated with the continent such as phrases of 'darkness' and 'troubled'.







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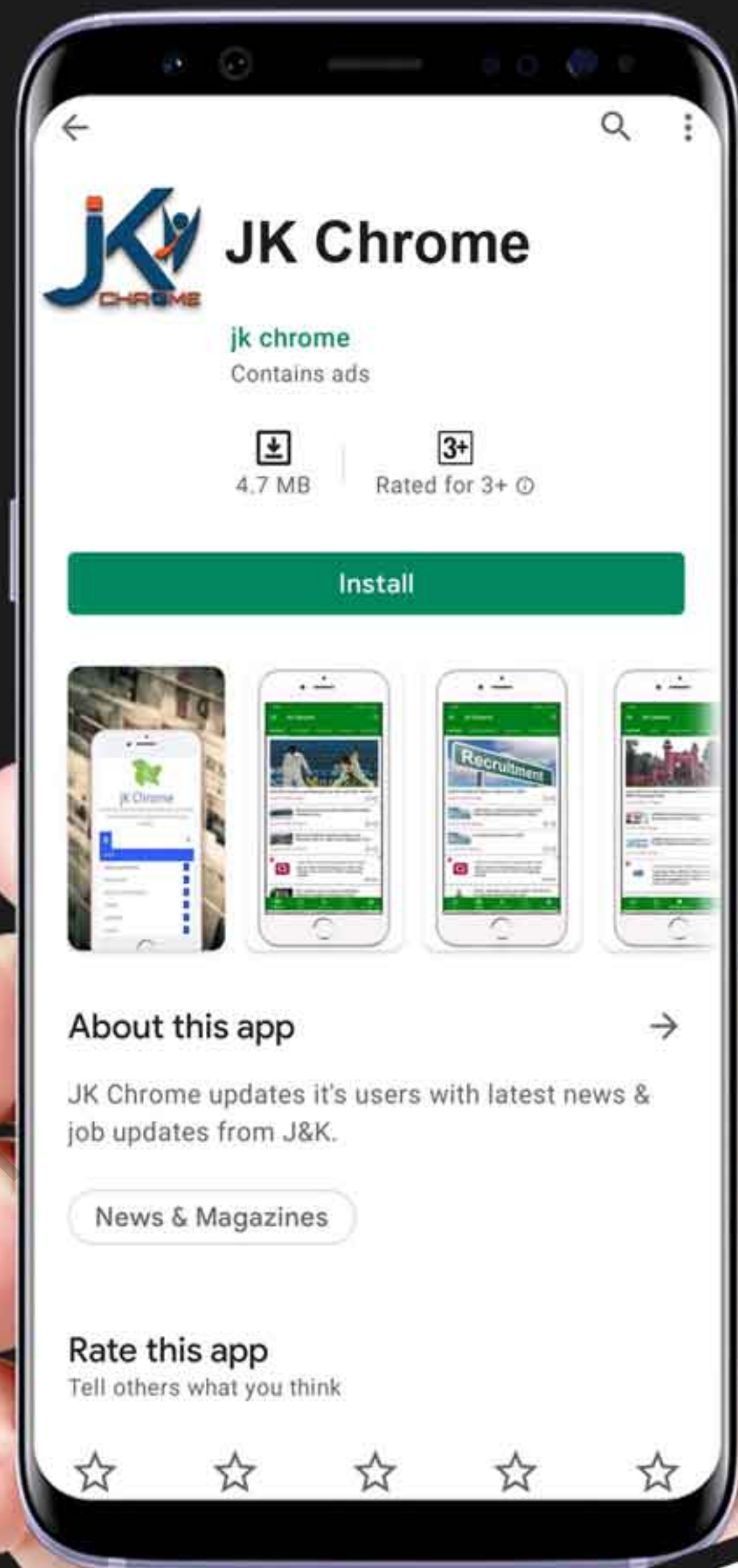
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