

UNIT 1

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN 18TH CENTURY FRANCE

1.1. Introduction

Political developments in the world today resonate with French revolution. It means its influence is too big. In this unit, we look at the social and economic conditions in France in order for us to understand the French Revolution.

1.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter learners should be able:

- Identify the main estates or classes in 18th century France
- Describe the main socio-political and economic conditions of the main classes or estates in 18th century France.
- Show how the socio-political and economic conditions of these classes led to revolution in 1789 in France.

1.3. On the Eve of the Revolution

In 1789, France like the rest of Europe, still clung to an outdated social system that had emerged in the Middle Ages.

1.3.1. The old regime (ancient regime).

The old regime or ancient regime was a socio-political system that existed in most of Europe during the 18th century, that is, before the French revolution. In France, there was a seriously misleading attempt by some Frenchmen to present their old regime as a period of perfect tranquillity. The system of absolute monarchy or *absolutism*, the increasingly outdated feudal society and temporal power of an established but discredited Church all led to problems and conflicts that increased in intensity towards the end of 18th century. A necessary prelude to understanding the French Revolution and its outcomes is an analysis of a feudal society and tensions that were to destroy it. In the 18th century, absolutism was declining. *Absolutism is the system of rule in which the king has the absolute power.*

1.3.2. The government

In 18th Century France, the centralised administrative machine that had been created by Louis XIV still governed the country at the *Palace of Versailles* in 18th century France, the royal will was still the most important factor in determining almost every aspect of foreign, economic and religious policies. The *Palace of Versailles* was a complex institution that housed the court and government under one rule. Louis XIV (1638-1715) had tried to keep the two apart, respecting the social hierarchy with its privileges and distinctions while he excluded the nobility from political power.

Louis XIV was a capable leader but his successor Louis XV and XVI (1754-1793) had neither the ability nor the authority of their lustrous predecessors. What developed was poor leadership and so there was absence of royal control. The monarchy became weak and machinery of government faced a lot of problems.

Louis XV was more devoted to hunting and enjoying the pleasures of the court than to the affairs of state. He allowed the government to drift and its direction was disputed by rival factions. Louis XVI was better than the Louis XV. But he was really not suitable for the position. He was weak and hesitating in character and lacked the qualities necessary for leadership. He married an Austrian princess, *Marie Antoinette* who exercised considerable influence on him and not always for good causes. As a foreigner, *Marie Antoinette* was unpopular. The nobles infiltrated the government and this situation produced unsatisfactory forces of inertia that became pronounced at the time when social economic changes were subjecting the system to growing strain. The nobles had scored limited victories that were not satisfying. They were not satisfied because the machinery of centralized absolutism was still intact. So, they did not have political power. Under this *ancient regime* or old order everyone in France was divided into one of the three social classes.

1.3.3. The First Estate

The First Estate consisted of high-ranking members of clergy of the *Roman Catholic Church* who numbered about 130,000 people and owned approximately 10% of the land. In earlier times, the church had the great value in the country. It had protected the weak, assisted the poor and provided healthcare. It had restrained the violence and brutality of the powerful nobles and provided education. However, by the 18th century, the church had become corrupt, many of upper clergy had ceased to believe in Christianity. They were mainly concerned with maintaining their privileges which included the control of education and of the oppressed and, having a lot of influence in the civil law, through their control of registers of birth, marriages and deaths.

The clergy were exempted from paying the tax although the church had agreed to pay revolutionary contribution every five years to the state. The church could put financial pressure on the government by threatening to withhold or reduce its contribution to the treasury. Although the church was rich, it was burdened by debts because it had developed the habit of

using loans to contribute to the treasury instead of using its own revenues. The clergy were radically divided since the upper clergy came from the nobility and shared the interest of nobility while Paris priests were often poor and came from the class of commoners. The church came under a lot of criticism from the men of *Enlightenment* who were also called reformers e.g., Voltaire, Rousseau and others. The historical role of Christianity at this time had been one of persecution and funders of opposition to intellectual achievement or to inquiry of knowledge.

1.3.4. Second Estate.

The nobility made up the second estate that was composed of between 120,000 to 350,000 people. In spite of the small number, they owned about 25 to 30 percent of the land. Under Louis XV and Louis XVI, the nobility had continued to play the important and even crucial role in French society. They held many of the leading positions in the government, the military, the judiciary and higher church offices. They controlled much of the heavy industries in France either through investment or by ownership of mining and other businesses. The French nobility like the clergy was also divided. There was the nobility of the robe that was created when the monarchy granted the titles to its servants or when monarchy began suffering from poverty. They sold their nobility to the bourgeoisie. These nobles now dominated the royal law courts and important administrative offices.

1.3.5. The Third Estate or Commoners

They constituted or made up the overwhelming majority of the French population. They were divided by vast differences in occupation, level of education, and also wealth. The peasants who alone constituted 75 to 80% of the total population were by far the largest segment of the third estate. They owned about 35-40% of the land although their landholding varied from area to area and over half of them had no or little land on which to survive. While the clergy and the nobles enjoyed the great privileges the peasants bore the burdens of the state, e.g. taxation which was very heavy. Everyone including children of 7 had to pay the tax. Serfdom no longer existed on a large scale in France but French peasants still had obligations to their local landlords. The obligations were the relics of feudalism that had survived from an earlier age. They had continued and had been even reaffirmed in the 18th century as a result of the strength of the nobility as a class. Their obligations included the payment of fees for the use of village facilities such as flour mill, community oven, wine press as well as tithe to the clergy or to the church. The nobility also maintained their right to hunt on peasants land and in the process destroyed the crops of the peasants. The peasants resented these obligations as well as the attempt of noble landowners in the 18th century to enclose the open fields and divide village common lands since enclosure eliminated the open pastures that poor peasants used for their livestock.

French peasants enjoyed no privileges. They were poor yet they had to pay the tax from which nobles and clergy were exempted. Although French peasants were living a miserable life, they were better off than those in most other European countries where serfdom still existed.

Another part of the third estate consisted of skilled craftsmen or artisans, then shopkeepers and other wage earners or workers in the cities.

The 18th century had been the period of rapid urban growth but 90 % of French towns had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants while only 9 cities had more than 50,000. In the 18th century, the purchasing power of the urban groups had been reduced by a rise in consumer prices that was greater than the increase in wages. In Paris, for example, income lagged behind food prices.

The economic discontent of this segment of the third estate and as they struggled for their survival, led them to play an important role in the revolution. One indication of the ups and downs of revolutionary riots in Paris was the relationship to changes in bread prices. Bread made up three quarters of a diet of an ordinary person and it cost one third to one half of his or her income. In a view of this, sudden increases in the price of bread immediately affected public order. People expected bread prices to be controlled. They grew desperate when the prices rose and their only reaction was to riot so as to try and change the situation. In the towns, also lived a large groups of unskilled workers who were potential source of danger.

The third estate also constituted 8% or 2.3 million people who were the bourgeoisie or the middle class who owned about 20 to 25 % of the land. This group included merchants, industrialists, and bankers who controlled the resources of trade, manufacturing and finance and benefitted from the economic prosperity after 1730. The bourgeoisie also included professional people such as lawyers, holders of public offices, doctors and writers. Many members of the bourgeoisie tried to find security and status by buying up lands. They had their own set of grievances because they were often excluded from the social and political privileges monopolized by the nobles. These resentments of the bourgeoisie were often for a long time assumed to be the major cause of the French Revolution. In fact, although these tensions existed, the situation that led to the revolution was not simply the case of united bourgeoisie fighting against the united noble class. Evidence shows that neither class was united. The nobles were divided by vast differences in wealth and importance. In the third estate, similar division separated wealthy financiers from local lawyers in the French rural towns in the bourgeoisie class. Interesting similarities existed in the upper levels of society between the wealthier bourgeoisie and the nobility. It was still possible for bourgeoisie individuals to enter the ranks of the nobility by obtaining public offices and entering nobility of robe. In fact, between 1774 and 1779, 2500 wealthy bourgeoisie entered the ranks of nobility. Over the century as a whole, 6500 new noble families were created.

➤ **Reflections:** *What was the social structure of the old regime in France?*

Finally, the new critical ideas of enlightenment proved attractive to both nobility and bourgeoisie because both groups shared a common world view of liberal and political thoughts. The old view that French Revolution was the result of conflict between two rising rigid orders, the bourgeoisie and nobility has been expanded or enlarged and revised. Both nobility and bourgeoisie elites had become used to a new socio-economic reality based on wealth and economic achievement. They were increasingly frustrated by a monarchical system based on

privileges and on old rigid social order based on the concept of estates. The opposition of these elites to the old order of things led them ultimately to drastic action against the monarchical regime, although they were soon split on the problem of how far to go in eliminating the traditional privileges. In a real sense, the revolution had its origin in the political grievances.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. What were the main socio-economic conditions of the following classes in 18th century France?
 - (a) The First Estate
 - (b) The Second Estate
 - (c) The Third Estate

Summary

In the 18th century, France like the rest of Europe, still clung to an outdated social system that had emerged during the Middle Ages. Under the ancient regime or old order, everyone in France was divided into one of the three social classes or estates. The first estate was made up of the clergy, the second estate was made up of the nobility; and the third estate comprised the vast majority of the population. It is this division of French society in the 18th century that led to revolution in 1789.

UNIT 2

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

2.1. Introduction

Paris, France, the heart of Enlightenment, drew many intellectuals and others eager to debate new ideas. Reforms proposed one evening became the talk of the town the next day. Enlightenment ideas flowed from France, across Europe and beyond. Everywhere, thinkers examined traditional beliefs and customs in the light of reason and found them flawed. Even some absolute monarchs experimented with enlightenment ideas, although they drew back when changes threatened the established way of doing things. This chapter examines the age of enlightenment, the philosophes and how enlightenment thought affected 18th century politics before the French Revolution.

2.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter learners should be able:

- Explain what enlightenment is.
- Describe the nature of enlightenment thought
- Examine the main psychological traits of the philosophes
- Show how enlightenment thought affected 18th century politics before the French Revolution.

2.3. Enlightenment

The Enlightenment is a name given by historians to an intellectual movement that was predominant in the western world during the 18th century. The goal of the Enlightenment was to understand the natural world and the place of humankind in it thoroughly on the basis of reason and without turning to religious beliefs.

During the Enlightenment, a group of thinkers or philosophes developed and made popularly related sets of ideas that formed the basis for modern thought. After 1713, the enlightenment was largely centred in France and its leading proponents were known as philosophes although this term is not easily translated as philosophers. The philosophes were mostly writers and intellectuals who analysed the evils of society and sought reforms in accordance with the principles of reason.

By the last quarter of 17th century around 1675, parisian women established the institute of the Salon. The women that owned and operated the Salons became known as *Salonnières*. These were socially conscious and sometimes learned women who regularly entertained the

philosophes and at the same time sponsoring their discussions of literary works, artistic creations and new political ideas. By 1750, Salonnières, their salons and philosophes had met in France once again the intellectual centre of Europe. Aspiring hostesses competed and attracted the talented, the witty and the powerful to their home. By 1750, Madame Geoffrin of Paris was a leading Salonnières. She brought together in her home the brightest and most talented people of her time. It was the possibility of being a Salonnières who by her graciousness enabled conversation to flourish artists to find patrons and the nobility or the aristocracy to be entertained. There was also the fact that as a Salonnières the women brought the circles of power in her home. She created an environment to which she could help or hinder, not only artistic, literary reputations but also political policies as well.

Salonnières were privy to court secrets while Salons were acquainted and frequented by ambassadors, statesmen and intellectuals and artists. In the environment of the Salon, opportunities were many for enterprising women, e.g. woman could meet and marry of superior social rank or wealth men.

Although it was centred in France, this intellectual movement took place throughout Europe. The philosophes based their ideas mainly on reason and they condemned everything that rested merely on authority and tradition. In this regard, the main objects of their criticism were institutions such as government and the church which were based on authority and tradition and irrational customs that perpetuated old ways of thinking and therefore hindered progress. Noble privileges like succession system, the courts of law, and the condition of the peasantry were also condemned by the philosophes. Although the philosophes were critical and combative, they were not political or social revolutionaries. Their views were not always sound. They found it easier to condemn the existence of state of affairs than to suggest alternatives. Their ideas were revolutionary in many ways but in practice, the philosophes hoped for rather painless change often through reform from above by enlightened monarchs.

The philosophes admired England where liberal ideas and practices were most developed but as in the case of *Baron DE Montesquieu*, they showed a lack of proper understanding of the English system. While other people act without thinking or without being conscious of the causes that made them take certain action or even that for every action, there must be a cause. The Philosophe is aware of the causes for every action and knows to what extent he may take action. In this way, Philosophe avoid taking action without using reason. For the philosophe, truth is not something he believes can be found everywhere. He looks for it wherever he can find it. The greatest principle of the philosophe is that when he has not found truth, that is, when he has no ground for passing judgment, he knows that he has to remain silent.

2.4. The Philosophes

- ***Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)***. He was a professor of philosophy at the German University of Königsberg in East Prussia and he was one of the world's most profound philosophes. He is particularly known for his analysis of human mind and how it relates to nature and set forth in his book "Critique of Pure Reason (1781)". According to

Kant, enlightenment is the act of man living his self-caused to maturity. Immaturity is inability to use one's intelligence without the guidance of others. Such immaturity is self-caused if it is not caused by lack of intelligence but by lack of determination and courage to use one's intelligence without being guided by another. All that was required of enlightenment was freedom and so the main point of the enlightenment is the man's release from self-caused immaturity, especially in matters of religion. Most enlightenment thinkers rejected the traditional sources of authority such as the church or custom. Instead, they argued that people should rely on reason, experience and nature as their guide.

- **Voltaire (1694-1778).** Voltaire was certainly the most famous of the philosophes. He wrote almost every type of literature from drama to satire to history and essays. His estimated correspondence of 10,000 thousand letters including Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great were written in critical style in which he tried to spread the gospel of *rationalism* and reform of abuses. Even in his own time, his reputation became a legend among kings as well as literate commoners. He exhibited most of main elements of the Enlightenment. One of these elements was admiration for and idealization of England's political system that the philosophes had. Voltaire became familiar with England during his 3 year banishment from France 1726 to 1729. He was banished because of his critical writings that led to his imprisonment twice in the Bastille. When he returned to France, he continued to champion toleration and played an important role in popularizing the ideas of English scientists when he returned to France or what is known as *Newtonian science* and the principles of the English political system.

Many of the philosophes were strongly opposed to traditional religious institutions and ideas, but only a few went so far as to prophase *atheism*, that is, belief that there is no God. More than any of the philosophes, Voltaire personified the scepticism of his century towards traditional religion and the injustices of the ancient regime. Voltaire had many disciples and imitators but his only rival in spreading the Enlightenment was a set of books, the famous Encyclopaedia edited by Denis Diderot (1713-1784). The encyclopaedia which was the main tool in spreading of the ideas by the Philosophes declared the supremacy of the new science denounced superstition and expounded the merits of human freedom. Its pages contained critical articles by philosophes on the evils of slave trade, unfair taxes and cruel criminal law. More than has been widely understood the encyclopaedia and many other achievements of the philosophes were the joint efforts with the female colleagues among Salonnières.

- **Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).** He was perhaps the single most important enlightenment writer and perhaps the best known of all the philosophes. More than anyone else, he tested the outer limits of enlightenment thought and went to criticize its very foundation. However, some people say that he merely recycled older enlightenment ideas. As a philosopher, he is famous for his books entitled the *Social Contract*, *Emile*, *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, and *Confessions*.

He was born in Geneva, Switzerland, the son of a watchmaker. His mother died a few days after his birth. His father abandoned him when he was ten and left him with relatives and friends. He was brought up as a *Calvinist* and had no regular schooling though he was encouraged to develop an interest in reading serious books. In the 1740s, he appeared in Paris, and ended up spending much of his life in France, mainly in Paris where he became one of the philosophes who contributed to the Encyclopaedia. He was important not merely for his ideas but also for his passionate rhetoric which enflamed the generation and beyond. Although he believed in the general objectives of Enlightenment, he distrusted reason and science. He believed in human impulse and intuition, trusted emotions rather than thought, the heart rather than the mind. His being shunned by the upper-class people encouraged his hatred for the *French Ancient Regime*.

He summed up the major problem that he tackled most of his life in the first sentence “the *Social Contract*” which was most famous and also his most important political work. It was in this book that he provided a blueprint for an ideal society which was in contrast to his earlier book “*Emile and the origin of inequality*”. The social contract starts with famous opening lines which reads “*Man is born free but everywhere is in chains.*” The central concept of Rousseau’s thought was *liberty*. Most of his work dealt with the mechanisms through which human beings were forced to give up their liberty. At the core of his thoughts on government and authority was the idea of social contract (1762) in which government and authority are in mutual contract between the authorities and the government. This contract implies that the governed agreed to be governed or to be ruled only so to their rights. Property and happiness should be protected by the rulers. Once the rulers cease to protect the people they rule, the social contract is broken and the people being ruled are free to choose another set of rulers. This idea became the primary driving force in the *Declaration of Independence* in USA which was more or less a legal document outlining the breach of contracts suit. In fact, all modern liberation discourses at some level or another owes its origin to social contract and Rousseau’s earlier work on the “*origin of inequality*” published in 1754. This discourse on inequality outlines all clear ideas that were to greatly influence modern culture.

- ***Baron Charles de Montesquieu (1689-1755)***. *Baron Charles de Montesquieu* had inherited a fortune and had time to write as he mixed with Parisian higher society where he proved himself as a good conversationalist. *Montesquieu* was one of the greatest philosophes who brilliantly pioneered the methods of writing novels, plays and so on. He wrote the “*Persian Letters*” which was an extremely influential social satire published in 1721. He satirized French society and criticized France’s monarchical absolutism and the church, because like many members of the high French nobility, he was dismayed that royal absolutism had triumphed under Louis XIV. He offended authorities with his views but that added to his popularity. He was a Catholic who believed that people should think for themselves. In his other work entitled the “*Spirit of the Laws*” (1748), he argued that despotism could be avoided if there was a

Separation of Powers with political power divided and shared by a variety of classes and legal estates holding an equal right and privileges. A strong independent upper class was especially important according to Montesquieu because in order to prevent abuses of power, it was necessary that by arrangement of things, *power should check power or power checked power*. Montesquieu greatly admired the English balance of power among the king, houses of parliaments and independent courts. He believed that in France, the 13 high courts, the parliaments were frontline defenders of liberty against royal despotism. Montesquieu was clearly not a democrat because he showed fear about the uneducated poor but his theory of *separation of powers* had a great impact on the wealthy and educated people of France. The constitutions of the young United States of America in 1789 and that of France in 1791 were largely based on his theory.

- **Reflections:** *What topics were addressed by the philosophes in their Encyclopaedia articles?*

2.5. The Enlightenment and English thought

The French enlightenment had a powerful influence on English thought. Many young upper class Englishmen visited France to complete their education. Among them were three leading English thinkers. **Adam Smith (1723-1790)**, the Scottish father of modern economics, **David Hume (1711-1766)**, the best-known English sceptic and **Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832)**, the founder of utilitarian philosophy.

- **John Locke (1632 – 1704)**. English philosopher who published two *Treatises of Government* in 1690. Locke believed that all people had the same natural rights of life, *Liberty and Property*. In his essay, Locke stated that the primary purpose of government is to protect those natural rights. He also stated that governments hold their power only with the consent of the people. Locke's ideas greatly influenced revolutions in America and France.
- **David Hume (1711-1776)**. He was a Scottish philosopher, historian and economist. He was an empiricist from the school of Locke. It is said that the starting point for enlightenment was John Locke's book entitled "*Essay concerning human understanding*" published in 1690 which attacked the metaphysical arguments. Metaphysics is a belief in the existence of objects that cannot be seen or touched. Among interesting features of Hume's empiricist philosophy are revolutionary view of causality, problem of induction and the distinction between fact and value. For empiricists, knowledge comes to a person exclusively through experience. What is true is what experienced by the senses and at the same time consisted and coherent with past experiences. It was upon this basis that natural physical laws such as Newtonian laws were developed. Hume was a relentless critic of metaphysics and religion. In his

book entitled “*Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*” he examined and largely refutes the argument upon which the natural religion of the British Royal Society was founded. Although he is better known for his work in history, philosophy and politics, Hume also made several essential contributions to economic thoughts. His contributions to economics are found mostly in his book entitled “*Political Discourse*” (1752) that strongly influenced his close friend and fellow countryman Adam Smith. Hume died in the year the book entitled “the *Wealth of Nations*” was published and in the presence of its author, Adam Smith.

- **Adam Smith (1723-1790).** He was a Scottish philosopher of moral philosophy. He is often regarded as the father of economics and his writings had been enormously influential. In his famous book “*An Inquiry into the Nature of Wealth of Nations,*” Smith attacked the theory of mercantilism, which promoted the idea that the wealth of a country was determined by the amount of gold and silver that they possessed. According to his theory, to build up its reserves of precious metals, the state or the country should promote domestic industries, encourage exports and discourage imports. Mercantilist theory called for government control of economy so that the state would compete successfully with other nations for a share of the world’s scarce resources. He argued that the real basis of the country’s wealth was measured by the quantity and quality of its goods and services, not by the amount of precious metals that it had stored. He also argued that the government intervention in the economy retarded the economic progress, reduced the real value to the annual produce of country’s land and labour. On the other hand, when people pursued their own interest and sought to improve their condition, they fostered economic expansion which benefitted the whole society. Smith limited the authority of the state to maintaining law and order, administering justice and defending the country against the foreign invaders. This concept of *laissez-faire* that states that government should not interfere with the market, became the core principle of 19th century liberal thought. To explain the concept of *laissez-faire*, Smith proclaimed the principle of the invisible hand that he saw as the mechanism by kind god administered wealth in which human happiness was maximized. He made it clear that certain structures in society had to be put in place before the invisible hand mechanism would work efficiently. For example, the law protecting property had to be strong and everyone had to adhere to moral values, such as preventing theft and cheating. As far as Smith was concerned, theft was the worst crime of all even though if a poor man stole from a rich man that might increase the overall happiness of the poor man. In fact, Smith went so far as to state that the purpose of government should be to defend the rich from the poor. Although in the 19th and 20th century, he satirised as a mouthpiece for business interest, that is capitalism, he is considered to be one of most original thinkers of the Enlightenment.

2.6. The Achievement of the Age of Enlightenment

The Enlightenment owes its substance to the thought of a relatively small group of the 18th century philosophes who came from many countries but were centred on France. Although they often argued among themselves, there were a number of issues on which most of them agreed. As a result, there emerged a morality that was different from that of the previous age. The philosophes made popular general rules of behaviour which later became widely accepted in most civilized societies.

They agreed on the following:

- a) They did not like war or the idea of military glory.
- b) They supported the religious toleration, freedom of speech and freedom of the press.
- c) They wanted individual liberties or freedom to be protected by law against the tyranny of rulers.
- d) They wanted equality before the law of all citizens and no social classes were to be recognized when men were brought before the law.
- d) They abhorred torture and other barbaric punishments wanted them abolished.
- e) They agreed that punishment should fit the crime and should be imposed only to restrain potential offenders.
- f) They agreed that there should be freedom of movement across state boundaries both for individuals and trade goods.
- g) They agreed that the church did not need to use the threat of internal torment in hell to make people accept good moral behaviour.
- h) They agreed that the majority of the people would follow simple clear rules and be good citizens without necessity of imposing harsh punishments on them unless their goodness was ruined in childhood.

Although the philosophes did not solve the problem of suffering and evil in the world, the age of enlightenment achieved a number of things, such as:

- a) Establishing in European societies a general agreement about behaviour that was evil. And this is a moral attitude that still guides Europe.

- b) They led to formulation of a set of moral principles that to this day remain basic to any discussion on human rights.
- c) Although the weaknesses of their optimistic moral and political outlook are now clear, they provided the first brave examination of reality since the Greeks.
- d) They brought out brand new ideas about man and the world and taught their contemporaries to look at the church and the state using reason and to judge them by the simple criterion whether or not they brought happiness to the people.
- e) Although religious thinkers said that the Enlightenment was dead, while Marxists denounced it for promoting capitalist ideals at the expense of workers, the enlightenment is more alive today as it left lasting heritage for future generation. For example, the notions of human rights that it developed are powerfully attractive to the oppressed peoples everywhere in the world. The same notion of natural law that inspired Voltaire and Thomas Jefferson very much still appeal many people today; and the enlightenment served as a model for political and economic liberalism and for humanitarian reform throughout the 19th century western world.
- f) Rousseau's ideas on self-rule are ideas that are accepted world over to the extent that dictators are no longer welcome anywhere.
- g) A result of the Enlightenment, religious tolerance is now encouraged and the enlightenment marked a key stage in the decline of the church and the growth of modern secularism.
- h) The enlightenment was a watershed (turning point) whilst believed that progress was possible and necessary in the world. This is the belief that had survived into the 21st century even if in the weakened form.
- i) The enlightenment is usually said to have ended with the French Revolution in 1789. Indeed, some consider the enlightenment as being responsible for the revolution. The revolution contained many of the ideals of the philosophes but many critics see the enlightenment as the fantasy that collapsed amid the more violent stages of the French Revolution (1792-1794) that served to discredit the ideals of the philosophes in the eyes of many European contemporaries and were swept away by Romanticism.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Examine the basic ideas of the following Philosophes:
 - (a) Immanuel Kant (1724-1804).
 - (b) Voltaire (1694-1778).
 - (c) Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).
 - (d) Baron Charles de Montesquieu (1689-1755).

2. Who were some of the English thinkers of the Enlightenment Age? What were their ideas and how important were they?

Summary

During the eighteenth century, the conviction began to spread throughout the literate sectors of European society that change and reform were both possible and desirable. This attitude is now commonplace, but it came into its own only after 1700. It represents one of the primary intellectual inheritances from that age. The movement of people and ideas that fostered such thinking is called the *enlightenment*. Its leading voices combined confidence in the human mind inspired by the scientific revolution and faith in the power of rational criticism to challenge the intellectual authority of tradition and the Christian past.

These writers stood convinced that beings could comprehend the operation of physical nature and mould it to the ends of material and moral improvement. The rationality of the physical universe became a standard against which the customs and traditions of society could be measured and criticised. Such criticism penetrated every corner of contemporary society, politics, and religious opinion. As a result, the spirit of innovation and improvement came to characterise modern European and western society.

UNIT 3

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789-1799).

3.1. Introduction

On April 28, 1789, unrest exploded at the Paris wallpaper. A rumour had spread that the factory owner was planning to cut wages even though bread prices were souring. Enraged workers vandalised the owner's home. Riots like these did worry most nobles. They knew that France faced a severe economic crisis but thought that financial reforms would ease the problem. The nobles were wrong. The crisis went deeper than government finances. Reform would not be enough. By July, the hungry, unemployed and poorly paid people of Paris had taken up arms. Their actions would push events further and faster than anyone could had foreseen. In this chapter, we discuss the aims, long and short-term causes of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era.

3.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter learners should be able:

- Outline the aims of the French Revolution.
- Explain the short and long-term causes of the French Revolution
- Describe the main events leading to the French Revolution
- Examine the Napoleonic Era in France and its achievements.

3.3. Aims of the French Revolution.

There were political and economic aims.

Its political aims were:

- (a) To establish equality of all property owners by abolishing the privileges enjoyed by only the nobility.
- (b) To establish a constitutional government responsible for an assembly of property owners elected on restricted French property franchise.

Its economic aims:

- (a) To abolish internal customs duty and establish international market.

- (b) To abolish the guilds and government restrictions on entry into particular trades and businesses and to establish freedom of enterprise and laissez-faire.
- (c) To end feudal dues and churchy levies charged on agricultural property.

The revolution resulted among other things in ending the relative political and social stability of the Ancient Regime and overthrow the Bourbon monarchy in France and the establishment of the First Republic.

This revolution and the earlier American Revolution (1776) led to political and social changes that swept through western civilization in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The revolution had both long term and short-term causes. Long term causes also known as the underlying causes are those that go back many years before the revolution. Short-term causes are also known as immediate causes are those that happened close to the moment the revolution took place. Usually a revolution does not happen without the other and so events that bring important changes need both long-term and short-term causes.

3.4. Long-term causes of the French Revolution.

- The Old Regime or the ancient regime was itself the problem. The socio-political system that existed in most of Europe during the 18th century was absolutism in which the monarchs had absolute control over the government. As a result of the writings of the philosophes, absolutism was challenged. Under the old regime, people were divided into classes of the privileged and the unprivileged. The privileged people e.g. those in the first and the second estate in France did not pay taxes and were treated well by the states while the unprivileged people or commoners e.g. those in the third estate paid taxes and were treated badly by the state. This unjust socio-political system caused resentment and were also challenged by the philosophes and was one of the long term causes of the revolution.
- Despite economic expansion for 50 years, the French economy experienced periodic crises. Bad harvests (1777-1788) left peasant farmers with little money for taxes and the beginning of manufacturing depression resulted in food shortages, rising prices for food and other necessities and employment in the city. The number of people estimated by scholars, at almost one third of the population reached the crises proportions on the eve of the revolution. The influence of the philosophes was also long-term causes of the revolution. Although the philosophes did not advocate revolution, their ideas were widely circulated among the literate bourgeoisie and noble elites of France.
- The system of mercantilism which restricted trade was also the long-term cause of the revolution.
- The influence of other revolutions e.g. *England's Glorious Revolution (1688-1689)* and the *American Revolution (1775-1783)* were also a long-term cause of the revolution. The

American Revolution was felt more directly in France than in any other country. This was because hundreds of French soldiers served in America and were influenced by the experience. The most famous of these soldiers was the *Marquis de Lafayette*. He left France for America determined only to fight England which was the traditional enemy of France. He returned to France with a love of liberty and firm democratic conviction.

3.5. Short-Term Causes of French Revolution

The immediate cause of the French Revolution was the government's declaration of bankruptcy caused by deficit spending. For more than a century before Louis XVI became king in 1774, the French government had undergone periodic crises, the crises were the result of long wars waged during the reign of Louis XIV, the royal mismanagement of affairs under Louis XIV, the losses incurred in the *French Indian War (1756-1763)* and increased indebtedness from loans to American colonies during *American Revolution (1775-1783)*.

In Aug, 1774, Louis XVI appointed a liberal *Controller-General of Finance (Minister of Finance)* *Ann Robert Jacques Turgot* who instituted a policy of strict control in government expenditures. Within two years, however, most of the reforms had been withdrawn and reactionary members of nobility and clergy supported by *Queen Marie Antoinette* had forced Louis XVI to dismiss Turgot. Turgot's successor was *Jacques Necker* the Swiss banker and statesman who was *Controller-General Finance* from Oct, 1776 to May, 1781, when he was also dismissed because of opposition from reactionaries. He achieved little before his downfall.

In Nov, 1783, *Charles Aleixandre De Calonne* was appointed the *Controller-General of Finance*. He was intelligent enough to recognize that it was only by making wealthy and the well-born to contribute a fair share of the state's revenue that he could reduce the annual deficit that had reached 110 million French pounds (Livres), tripling the figure of just 10 years earlier. The members of the *Assembly of Notables*, most of them members of the higher nobility and higher clergy with a few wealthy bourgeois completely rejected Calonne's plan. They asserted that the privilege of exemption from paying the general taxes was sacrosanct and advised the royal administration to cut expenditures instead of trying to increase revenue. *Marie Antoinette* using her influence on her husband had Calonne dismissed and he was replaced in 1786 by her own candidate, *Lomenie de Brienne*, who was the archbishop of Toulouse, but unable to handle the situation, he resigned in Aug, 1788 and Necker was recalled to serve as the *Controller-General of Finance*.

At this time, with France facing the worst famine in its history, they developed what was known as the *Great Fear* in which the hungry and the impoverished peasants feared that the nobles at the *Estates-General* were seeking greater privileges and had formed what was known as the *Pact of Hunger* meant to starve them. This led to attacks of the nobles throughout the country.

Louis XVI had no choice but to call for a meeting of the *Estates-General* to find a solution to bankruptcy problem. The *Estates General* had not met since 1614. The summoning of the *Estates General* to meet set in motion the series of events that resulted in the revolution that

led to the abolition of monarchy and setting up of a completely new socio-political system in France. By calling the *Estates General* to meet the government virtually admitted that the king could not govern without the help of some representative assembly.

The *Estates General* consisted of representatives from *Three Orders* or *Estates* of French society. According to the formula of 1614, the *Three Orders* in the *Estates General* were to be composed of an equal number of deputies and were to deliberate in three separate assemblies. This ensured that the third estate would be in a permanent minority in its relations with the other estates but the third estate of 1789 was not willing to accept this humble role anymore. After complicated and controversial procedure to select delegates, the estates general opened Versailles on 5th may 1789. To prepare the meeting, men and women throughout the country drew up the lists of grievances that resulted in their delegates to discuss. After considerable controversy, the *Estates-General* included a double representation of the third estate of commoners so that it consisted of three hundred first estate or clergy representatives and three hundred second estates or noble representatives and 600 hundred commoners.

On 17th June, 1789, after a conflict over whether or not deliberations should take place by estates or as one common body and over whether or not votes should be cast. The third estate separated itself from the other two and declared itself the *National Assembly or the Parliament* of France and invited many members from other estates. Louis XVI responded by locking the third estate out of the meeting. The third estate relocated to nearby tennis court, where its members took an oath which is known in history as the *Tennis Court Oath* and vowed to stay together and create a written constitution for France. Necker who had been reinstated as *Controller General* by the king in 1788 advised him to go for a compromise. However, their indecisive king was persuaded by Courtiers led by his younger brother, the Comte d'Artois (*Later Charles X*) and *Marie Antoinette* and the leaders of the privileged orders to agree to quash the self-styled *Assemblies Decree of 17th June*. He was also advised to stop all talk of the National Assembly and ordered the third estate to proceed with proper business as one of the three estates. The king tried to reverse the work of national assembly but his plan miscarried or backfired.

On 23 June 1789, the king had capitulated a single legislation order. He ordered three estates to meet together as the National Assembly and court?? The days of the divine right monarchy were almost over as the powers of Louis XVI were crumbling. However, the king got into pressure from the Queen and Comte d'Artois and attempted a further showdown. On 11th June, 1789, he issued orders for concentration of several royal foreign troops in Paris and Versailles. At the same time, Necker, the popular campaigner was again dismissed from the government and sent to exile. He was replaced by Baron de Breteuil, a member of Queen's inner circle courtyard. The dismissal of Necker proved to be the spark that began the insurrection in Paris. Necker was known to have opposed the king's attempt to use force on the third estate prior to the *Tennis Court Oath*.

His dismissal and sending into exile was greeted by many as a signal that the *National Assembly* and its supporters in the capital were about to be crushed by armed force. When news of the

king's plan to use military force against the *National Assembly* reached Paris on 14th, July, 1789, suspicious Parisians, mostly artisans, stormed the *Bastille a Grim Fortress* which was the *Royal Prison* which was then a symbol of despotism of Bourbons from which they had suffered for so many years. The *Bastille* was stormed ostensibly to prevent the king from dissolving the *National Assembly*. After destroying the old prison, revolutionaries identified the storming and destruction of the *Bastille* with their victory for liberty, although there were only a few prisoners in it. Eventually, the destruction of the *Bastille* became one of the most important symbols of the Revolution. Revolutionaries commemorated the first anniversary of the Revolution in the *Festival of the Federation held on 14th, July, 1790*. The destruction of the *Bastille* touched off rural unrest throughout France where peasants attacked nobles, records of feudal dues and owed taxes were destroyed. Parisians organized their own government which they called *Commune*. Small group or factions controlled the small city of Paris. The Parisian insurrection of 14, July, 1789, not only saved national assemblies from dissolution but changed the course of the revolution by giving it a far more active popular and violent dimensions. The violence of the peasants' insurgency worried the deputies of the national assembly and caused them on the night of 4th Aug 1789 to vote to abolish feudalism by sweeping away the old wave of privileges. The 4th Aug decree permitted the National Assembly to construct a new regime.

Since it would take many months to draft a constitution on 26th, 27th Aug 1789, the assembly promulgated its basic principles in the constitutional preamble known in history as the *Declaration of the Rights of a Man and of a Citizen* and picked out major components of the declaration and studied them. The delegates formulated the ideals, later summarized as *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*. The declaration was a rallying point for the future as it provided the ideological foundations for the assembly's actions and was educational tool for the nation. The declaration also taken as the death sentence for the Ancient Regime. The Comte d, Artois and many nobles panicked over these ominous events and fled the country The Parisian Commune feared that Louis XVI would invite foreign troops to invade France to put down the rebellion or the revolution. After all, Louis XVI married to *Marie Antoinette* who was the sister of *Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph II*. A group of women attacked the Versailles on 5th October 1789. Their march was taken over by the National Guard led by La Fayettee. They forced the royal family to relocate to Paris along with the National Assembly. The Royal Family spent the next several years in the Tuileries Paris as virtual prisoners.

Small group of proponents for women's political rights took shape in Marie-Jean Caritat that launched the campaign of women's rights from 1890 to 1901. The boldest statement for women's political right came from the pen of Butcher's daughter Marie Gouze (1748-1793) who was a journalist and brought under the pen name of Olympe de Gouges. In September 1791, she published the *Declaration of the Rights of Women and Female citizens* modelled on the declaration of the *Rights of Man and the Citizens*. She argued in her declaration that women were equal citizens and should benefit from governmental reforms just as men did. The Comte de Artois and many nobles punished over these ominous events fled the country. They lived abroad and hoped that with foreign help, the Ancient Regime would be restored in France.

Despite all of their problems, however, the Bourgeoisie took charge of the revolution and united on the basis of the trust in their king. But on 20th June, 1791, Louis XVI did something that ended in general distrust of most of the people in France. He planned to organize an army and crashed the revolution. He, therefore, appealed to Leopold II, the brother of Marie Antoinette who promised him Austrian troops. Louis XVI and his family tried to flee France and almost succeeded before being recognized near the village called Varennes. He was captured and brought back to Paris where he now became a prisoner of the Revolution and also an enemy of the Revolution. With his attempt to escape, the National Assembly wondered just how possible a monarchy was eliminated or if indeed it was now even necessary. The National Assembly however at this time was busy working on reforms meant to dismantle the regime than to bother about the king. By the end of Sep 1791, the National Assembly announced that its work was done. The following reforms were made in the National Assembly:

- (a) Abolishing of guilds and trade unions.
- (b) Abolishing of special privileges. For example, church lands were seized, divided and sold to peasants. A civil constitution of the clergy was enacted. It required that the church officials be elected by the people and salaries paid by the government. Two-thirds of church officials fled the country rather than swearing allegiance to this. All feudal dues and tithes and all special privileges of the First and Second estates were abolished.
- (c) The declaration of the rights of man
- (d) The Constitution of 1791 was enacted. Under this constitution France became a limited monarchy with king becoming merely a head of state. All laws were created by legislative assembly and feudalism was abolished. But this constitution also had democratic features in it, as voting was limited to tax payers and offices were reserved for property owners. The new government became known as legislative assembly.
- (e) Equality before the law. This was for men only.
- (f) Many nobles left France.
- (g) Reforms in local governments. The thirty provinces and their petty tyrants and intendants where they placed with 86 new departments to be ruled by elected governors. New courts with judges elected by the people were established. Taxes were levied based on the ability to pay.

Reflections:

- *What economic troubles did France face in 1789 and how did they lead to further unrest?*

- *What actions did the delegates of the Third Estate take when the Estates-General met in 1789?*
- *What was the significance of the storming of the Bastille?*

3.6. The Napoleonic Era

General Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) was the emperor of the French who consolidated and actualized many reforms of the French Revolution. He is recognized as one of the greatest military commanders of all time who conquered the larger part of Europe and did much to modernize the nations he ruled. He is also known to have been a workaholic and impatient, short-term planner. He dominated both French and European history from 1799 to 1815. The Coup d'état that brought him to power occurred exactly ten years after the outbreak of the French Revolution. In a way, Napoleon brought the Revolution to an end in 1799 but he was also a child of the revolution and called himself the son of the Revolution. The French Revolution had made possible his rise first in the military and then to the supreme power in France. Even beyond this, Napoleon had once said "I am the Revolution." And he did not stop reminding Frenchmen that they owed to him the preservation of all that was beneficial in the revolutionary program.

Napoleon was born on 15th AUG, 1769 in Ajaccio on the Mediterranean island of *Corsica*, shortly after the island had been annexed to France. He was the fourth of the 11 children of *Carlo Bonaparte*, a lawyer and Letitia Ramolino, a housewife both of whom belonged to Corsican Italian nobility. He was educated at French military schools for aristocrats or the nobility such as the College of Autun in Burgundy, the college of Brienne and finally the Ecole Militaire all at the expense of King Louis XVI. He graduated in 1785 at the age of 16 and joined the artillery as the second lieutenant. He was rapidly promoted and in 1796 he was made commander of the French army in Italy where he forced Austria and its allies to make peace in the *Treaty of Campo Formio*. Also in 1796, he married Josephine de Beauharnais, the widow of the noble guillotined in the revolution and the mother of two children. She was six years older than him.

In 1798, Napoleon conquered the Ottoman-ruled Egypt in an attempt to strike at the British trade routes with India. He was stranded when his fleet was destroyed by the British and the admiral Horatio Nelson at the *Battle of the Nile*. Napoleon was not discouraged. He reformed the Egyptian government and law. He abolished serfdom and feudalism and quarantined basic rights.

Meanwhile France now faced a new collision of Austria, Russia and the lesser powers that had allied with Britain. Napoleon abandoned his army and returned to Paris where his government was in crisis to save France. In Paris, he participated in coup d'état. That took place on 9th-10th Nov, 1799 and destroyed Directory. Napoleon and his colleagues established a new regime called Consulate. Although the Consulate maintained the democratic form, Napoleon became from its inception a new kind of authoritarian leader. He became first consul with

almost dictatorial powers. The other consuls were Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, Pierre Roger Ducos.

On 7th Feb 1800, a new constitution was approved by the French through plebiscite (referendum). On 19 Feb 1800, Napoleon established his residence at the Tuileries Palace where Louis XVI was held under house arrest between the period of his attempted escape from Paris and his execution. ON 15th July 1801, Napoleon signed a Concordat with Pope Pius VII. It ended the schism between the French government and the Catholic Church by returning lands to the clergy that were confiscated from the church during the ant clergy period of the French Revolution and assuring the pope that France would remain a Catholic country.

In 1802, he was made consul for life and two years later in 1804 Emperor of France. The Constitution of 1791, the Convention and the Directory alike had been organized around the representation and supremacy of parliament. These were fundamental principles first proclaimed in June 1789 by the National Assembly but this system ended with the consulate. Napoleon put in place the centralized government with the prefects system that became the cornerstone of Napoleonic dictatorship. He established the Bank of France, he created the *Legion of Honour* as a reward for loyal service to the nation. He established the University of France for centralized education system. He reinstated Roman Catholicism as the state religion through concordat and completed law reform with the *Code Napoleon* in 1807. The Code sought to abolish the privileges and inequalities embodied in the customs of the Ancient Regime. The principles of personal liberty, freedom of conscience, and equality before the law were consecrated by the court. It protected property but made women second class citizens. All of Napoleon's innovations endured throughout the 19th century despite the succession of political upheavals on Napoleon's innovations. Historians that admired Napoleon consider these innovations as the strong foundation stone on which modern French society developed.

Wars of Conquest. In 1800 he defeated the Austrians at Marengo and then negotiated a peace treaty called the Peace of Laneville in which France was established as a power on the continent.

In 1803 Britain resumed war with France later joined by Russia and Austria. Britain suffered defeat at Trafalgar in 1805. Britain hit back. So Napoleon abandoned the plan to invade Austria-Russia forces.. He gained a lot of new territories including annexation of Russian lands which ostensibly gave him control of Europe. The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved and Holland and Westphalia were created and over 5 years Napoleon's relatives and royalties were restored as leaders in Holland, Westphalia, Italy, Naples, Sweden and Spain. In 1810, he had his childless marriage with Josephine annulled and he married Maria Louise, the daughter of Austria Emperor Francis I who was a brother of Maria Louise. Metternich claimed that he helped arrange his marriage. A son called Napoleon II and also known as the king of Rome was born on 1811.

The peninsula war began in 1808 and became running sore. The arrival of Napoleon's brother Joseph as king of Spain provoked the war called the Peninsula War. It was costly in which the

French over the next 5 years drained resources. The peninsula war cost France 30,000 casualties, huge sum of money and resulted in France becoming weakened empire. Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 resulted in the disastrous retreat from Mexico. Therefore, all the European empires united against him and there was tight reaction in favour of the allies.

Although he thought brilliantly, the old ideas were impossible and on March, 1814, Paris fell. Napoleon accepted the treaty of Fontainebleau that gave him sovereignty over the tiers of Mediterranean island of Elba and annual pension of 2 million Francs from the Bourbon right to the title of Empire. In March 1815, he escaped from Elba and marched into French capita. The *Battle of Waterloo* ended his second reign. The British imprisoned him on the remote second Atlantic island of St. Helena where he died on 5th May 1821.

Napoleon's achievements. Napoleon was one of the greatest military commanders in history. Few deny that he was military genius. At St. Helena, he said "Waterloo will erase the memory of all my histories". But he was wrong because for better or worse, he is best remembered as a General not for his enlightened government.

However, his enlightened government must be taken into account if he is to be fairly called *Napoleon the Great*. It is for this reason that it has been stated that the more one studies carefully what Napoleon did during the time he wielded power in France and over much of Europe. The more one comes to appreciate the fact that apart from being a sometimes brilliant general and military strategist, he really originated some important reforms.

He has also been portrayed as the power-hungry conqueror but he denied being such a conqueror. Instead, he argued that he was building a federation of free peoples in Europe united under a liberal government. If this was his goal, however, he intended to achieve it by taking power in his own hands. He created and granted constitutions, introduced law codes, abolished feudalism, created efficient government, and promoted education, science and arts and literature.

Napoleon believed strongly in the power of education to build New France he envisioned. It was in this regard that in 1802, a new system of education became law, establishing the foundation for what exists to this day. Elementary schools were a local responsibility but secondary schools were supported and controlled by the state. In his last years, Napoleon insisted to have written that "One of my great objectives was to render education accessible to everybody".

Napoleon proved to be an excellent civil administrator. One of his greatest achievements was his supervision of the revision of the French law into codes. The new codes seven in number incorporated some of the freedoms gained by the people of France during the French Revolution, including religious toleration and the abolition of serfdom. The most famous of the codes, the Code Napoleon or the Civil Code still forms the basis of French Civil Law.

Napoleon also centralized the government of France by appointing prefects to administer regions called departments into which France was divided. It has been suggested that Napoleon's own opinion of his career may be summed up by the following quotation.

He closed the gulf of anarchy and brought order out of chaos. He rewarded merit regardless of birth or wealth wherever he found it. He abolished feudalism and restored equality to all regardless of religion and before the law.

Napoleon was the first leader to start using propaganda to boost his image. He publicized his achievements and so on. It has been suggested that without Napoleon, the gains of the French Revolution would quickly have disappeared. When he first became the major actor on the political scene in 1796, France was still suffering from horror of the reign of terror. It was massively in debt and had enemies threatening her borders. During the next two decades, he expanded the French Empire, created economic prosperity, extended the rule of law through the Code Napoleon, abolished the privileges and payments of feudal dues and established a bureaucracy that rewarded talent instead of hereditary connections.

Yet, he also declared himself emperor for life, ruling as autocratically as any monarchy, employing a large secret police force strictly censoring political literary and artistic expression and rewarding family and cronies with aristocratic privileges. In this way, he both consolidated the gains of revolution and also subverted them for his own selfish interests and those of France. All in all, it can be stated that Napoleon's influence can be seen in France even today. Reminders of him are there in Paris Arc de Triomphe which is the centrepiece of the city, which was built to commemorate his victories in war.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Suppose you are Jacques Necker. Explain how your economic reform would benefit France?
2. What issues arose when Louis XVI called the Estate-General?
3. What reforms did Napoleon introduce during his rise to power?
4. How did Napoleon impact Europe and the rest of the world?

Summary

In the spring of 1789, the long festering conflict between the French monarchy and the aristocracy irrupted into a new political crisis. This dispute unlike earlier ones, quickly outgrew the issues of its origins and produced the wider disruption of the French Revolution. The quarrel that began as a struggle between the most exclusive elements of the political nation soon involved all sectors of French society.

From 1799 to 1815, Napoleon Bonaparte would dominate France and Europe. A hero to some, an evil force to others, he gave his name to the final phase of the revolution – the Age of Napoleon.

UNIT 4

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN

4.1. Introduction

For thousands of years following the rise of civilisations, most people lived and worked in small farming villages. However, a chain of events set in motion in the mid-1700s changed that way of life for all time. Today we call this period of change the *Industrial Revolution*. In this unit, we examine the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, why Britain led way and the social impact of the Industrial Revolution.

4.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter learners should be able to:

- Explain the dawn of the industrial Age.
- Show why Britain led the way in the Industrial Revolution.
- Analyse the impact of the Industrial Revolution.

4.3. The Dawn of the Industrial Revolution

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries at the time the French Revolution was opening a new political era, another revolution namely the Industrial Revolution which began in Britain around 1780s was beginning to transform economic and social life. Although it took decades for the Industrial Revolution to spread, it was truly revolutionary in the way it fundamentally changed Europeans, their society and their relationship to other peoples and the world itself. It was also revolutionary because it revolutionized or changed the productive capacity of Great Britain, Europe and the United States.

Although most products were still made by hand, the period of Industrial Revolution made a quantum leap in industrial production. Like the Reformation (which was the 16th century movement from which protestant churches emerged) or the French Revolution, for the Industrial Revolution no one was left unaffected. Everyone was touched one way or another. The peasants and nobles, parents and children and artisans were all affected. The Industrial Revolution can be said to have made the European working class and the European middle class as well.

As a result of the Industrial Revolution new social relationships appeared. Men that owned the means of production no longer treated fellow men as men but as a commodity that could be bought and sold on open market. This commodification of man is what bothered Karl Marx. His solution was to go beyond merely seeking to get profits by having social revolution. The growth of manufacturing industry transformed some regions of England, Wales and Scotland economically, socially and culturally.

➤ **Reflections:** *Why was the Industrial Revolution a turning point I world history?*

4.4. Why Britain led the way in the Industrial Revolution.

A number of causal factors and facilitating factors combined to produce the first industrial revolution.

- ***Overseas Demand.*** It was once strongly argued that the commercial revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries promoted the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries. During the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, the world was divided up into trading empires of major European powers. Through a combination of aggressive acquisition and success in war, Britain was able to create one of the largest and most successful of these empires. Its colonies in the East and the West Indies and particularly in North America not only provided goods that could be traded to other European nations but more importantly became rapidly expanding market for British-manufactured goods. The success that British merchants had in these markets caused them to demand ever greater output from domestic industry which made the manufacturers think about coming up with methods of increasing production and at the same time making production cheap. The value of domestic exports which were predominantly manufactured goods mainly textiles increased from around 4 million pounds annually in the first years of the 18th century to 10 million in the 1760s and 40 million pounds in the early 1800s. Access to these long distance markets was generally kept open by the power of the British navy and there were no long-sustained interruption to growth of these markets and effect on expanding the British economy.
- ***Domestic Demand.*** Although overseas demand expanded rapidly during the period, it was domestic market that was the largest and most important outlet for emerging industry. That market also grew rapidly during the period partly because of the rapid increase in the population partly because of the rising standards of living of large groups within the population and partly because within an increasingly urban environment and proletarianized labour force and much larger percentage of population was brought out of rural inefficiency and put into radio contact with the market. Increasing mass consumption helped the emergence of mass production. Unfortunately there are goods statistics of domestic trade stock demand to make accurate comparison with overseas sectors.

- ***There was also the aspect of supply besides demand.*** Just it has been argued that industrialization was caused by expansion of demand which made people pay attention to finding new and improved production methods so too it has been suggested that it was pushed forward by a number of independently inspired cost reducing innovations i.e. it was not the market expanding merchants that were the driving force of industrialization but the inventive genius of engineers who devised new machines which reduced production cost, cheapen market prices, and encouraged self-generated market expansion. In this scenario, it was not the commercial revolution that lay behind the industrial revolution but scientific revolution of the 17th and early 18th centuries.

In the 18th century, Great Britain had already gone ahead in the producing of cheap cotton goods, using the traditional methods of cottage industry. The development of ***Flying Shuttle*** in 1733 by ***John Kay*** had sped the process of weaving on a loom and enabled weavers to double their output. This, however, created shortages of yarn until ***James Hargreaves*** developed the ***Spinning Jenny*** that was perfected by 1768 and which allowed spinners to produce yarn in better quantities. In 1769, ***Richard Arkwright*** invented the water frame spinning machine that was powered by water or hose and in 1779, ***Samuel Crompton*** invented the mule that combined aspects of the water frame and spinning jenny which increased yarn production even more.

In 1787, ***Edmund Cartwright*** invented power loom that allowed the weaving of cloth to catch up with the spinning of yarn. The water frame, Crompton's mule, and power loom presented new opportunities to entrepreneurs. The steam engine that was invented in the 1760s by Scottish engineer ***James Watt*** was the invention that pushed the cotton industry to the even greater height of productivity. This invention played a major role in the industrial revolution as it revolutionized the production of cotton goods and caused the factory system to spread to other areas of production and in that way created the whole new industry. The steam engine that was created as the result of the need for more efficient pumps to eliminate water seepage from deep mines ensured the success of industrial revolution.

- ***The Political system.*** The 17th century had seen traumatic changes in the British political system with civil war, the commonwealth and the triumph of parliament in the long power struggle with the monarchy and old aristocracy. The middle classes had not only established themselves in the political structure but prospered as well in the economic system both of town and country.
- The pursuit of money through the trade or industry was both possible and acceptable. Through social acceptability was still achieved only through the ownership of land but money could buy land and with it social acceptability. Britain did not suffer from the problems of Ancient regimes and feudal structures which frustrated the emergence and prosperity of the middle class in most continental countries. There were very good

opportunities and rewards for entrepreneurship and capitalist spirit was unleashed to drive the economy forward.

- ***Transport Revolution.*** If demand through expanding markets at home and abroad was an important causal factor in the industrialization process, it was the improvement in the transport facilities, e.g. roads, rivers, canals, coasting trade and laterally the railways that enabled that demand to be both realized and satisfied. Mass demand can only be translated into mass production if there are means of transporting goods from centralized factories to widespread market. Transport must not only be cheap because there is little point in introducing cost-reducing innovations in the production process if high-transport costs mean that prices in the market remain high or increased. The substitution for wheeled wagon for the pack of horses and the reliable and direct canal barge for the river boat and coaster were as important in reducing the market costs of textiles, iron and other products of the industrial revolution as were the new machines and factories of heroic investors.
- ***The Agricultural Revolution.*** An essential prerequisite for industrial revolution is the ability to move resources, that is, labour, capital, and raw materials, out of agriculture into industry. The transformation of agricultural economy into industrial economy must be paid for by agriculture. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Britain saw major changes in the ownership, distribution and organization of the land which facilitated the improvement in both output and productivity. This was through the enclosure system that entailed consolidating and enclosing scattered pieces of land. In general terms, there was a movement away from subsistence agriculture where individuals and communities were mainly concerned with producing their own food requirement towards commercial agriculture where crops were directly produced for markets both regional and national.

The agricultural revolution in England can be said to have contributed to the effectiveness of the first industrial revolution in three main ways:

- (a) By feeding the growing population and particularly the population of industrial centres.
 - (b) By increasing the purchasing power for the people for products of British industry.
 - (c) By providing substantial part of capital required to finance industrialization and to keep it going even through the period of major war.
- ***The financial revolution.*** Just as Britain's transport, agricultural and industrial system was transformed during the 18th and early 19th centuries saw too was its financial system. It was changes here that facilitated the modernization of the other parts of the

economy. A large and stable Central Bank, the Bank of England, acting as both the government's bank and commercial operation was established at the end of the 17th century. And the 18th century saw the proliferation of private banks in London and major cities and small country banks throughout the country. Again, no other nation in Europe at that time had such a system nor indeed the freedom to develop it.

- ***Advantageous supply and balance of raw material.*** The relatively small island of Britain was greatly endowed with the wide range of natural resources that were well located for easy exploitation. From medieval times and earlier, metals such as lead and tin had been mined not only to supply the domestic market but also heavy overseas demand and in the 18th century, large copper deposits also began to be expensively exploited. Iron ore was widely distributed across the country and mining expanded rapidly to keep up with demand from the smelting industry that was being revolutionized by new furnaces and operating techniques. Coal deposits provided cheap fuel for heating during manufacturing processes powered steam engines which gradually revolutionized every aspect of manufacturing and transport and made possible the process of urbanization that could have been delayed by continued reliance on wood. The direction of technological progress within the whole European tradition was towards a greater power generation and the use of heat and Britain was in a uniquely advantageous position to take the lead in developing that technology.
- ***Advantageous government policies.*** During the 17th and for most of the 18th century, government and private sector joined hands under the banner of mercantilist economic policy to maximize the benefit of national interests. Colonies were acquired and defended only where they benefitted domestic economic interests. Commercial regulations were carefully shaped to give advantage to British merchants and shipping interests. Wars were fought and peace settlements agreed to maximize the advantages of trade. However, once the British economy began to take a world lead and no longer needed government help and encouragement, parliament quickly accepted rapid retreat and embraced the concept of laissez-faire.
- ***Relatively good level of elementary education.*** Although by today's standard, it was far from good, it has been argued that Britain generally had a high level of literacy and numeracy across the population as a whole than most other European countries in the early 18th century. This was an asset produced by an extensive system of village and private schools. The great inventors and entrepreneurs of industrial revolution had all benefitted from this system to acquire the basic abilities which later were able to be improved independently.

Reflections:

- *What conditions in Britain paved the way for the Industrial Revolution?*
- *What led to the advancement of the British textile industries?*
- *Why was the development of railroads important to industrialisation?*

4.5. Social Impact of the Industrial Revolution

It has been noted that the first consequences of revolutionary development, that is, the inventions during the Industrial Revolution were more beneficial than generally believed. Cotton goods became much cheaper and they were bought and treasured by all classes. In the past, only the wealthy could have afforded comfort and cleanliness of underwear which was called body linen because it was made from expensive linen clothes. Millions of poor people who had earlier worn nothing underneath their clothes could afford to wear cotton sleeves and underpants, as well as dresses and shirts. The benefits above should not hide the fact that conditions in the first phase of the industrial revolution were not rosy as the sections below will show.

- ***Working conditions.*** 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 land owners were enclosing common village lands, people from the rural areas flocked to the towns and the new factories to get work. This resulted in a very high unemployment rate for workers in the first phase of 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 who 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. The migrants to new industrial towns who were desperate for work had no bargaining power to demand high wages, fairer work hours or better working conditions.

Worse still since only wealthy people in Great Britain were eligible to vote, workers could not use democratic political system to fight for rights and reform. In 1799 and 1800, the British parliament passed the *Combination Act* which made it legal for workers to form Trade Unions or to combine as a group to ask for better 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 ten to 14 hours a day 6 days a week with no paid vacation or holidays. Each industry had safety hazards e.g. process of purifying iron demanded workers to toil amid temperatures as high as 130 degrees in the coolest part of iron work. Under such dangerous conditions, accidents occurred regularly.

- ***Living conditions.*** Working in new industrial cities had an effect on people's lives outside of the factories as well. As workers migrated 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 sixty 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 on their homes or small shops and raised farm animals. They were their own bosses. 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.

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 was at odds with the old traditional festivals which dotted the village holiday calendar. Employers discouraged workers from attending these festivals.

After the 1850s, however, recreation improved along with the rise of emerging 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 have become places with opportunity for sport and entertainment that they are today. During the first sixty years of IR, living conditions were by far the worst for the poorest of the poor. In desperation, many were tied to "poor houses" set up by the government. Conditions in the poor houses were designed to be deliberately harsh places to discourage people from staying on relief or government food aid.

- ***Urbanization.*** One of the defining and most lasting features of Industrial Revolution was the rise of cities. In free industrial society over 80 % of the 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, namely Great Britain lived in cities than in rural areas. This process of urbanization in England continued unabated throughout 19th century. The city of London grew from a population of 2 million in 1840 to 5 million in 1880. Manchester also grew rapidly and became major industrial centre. The process of urbanization stimulated booming new industries by concentrating workers and factories together and the new industrial cities became sources of wealth for the nation. Despite growth in wealth and industry, urbanization also had some negative effects. On the whole, working class neighbourhoods were crowded, dirty and bleak and polluted.
- ***Public health and life expectancy.*** In the first half of the 19th century, urban overcrowding, poor diets poor sanitation and especially 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 or houses contributed to the fast spreading of disease. The neighbourhoods were filthy and unplanned and carelessly done. Roads were

muddy and lacked side roads. Houses were built touching each other with no room for ventilation.

Perhaps most importantly, houses 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 raged through new industrial towns especially in poor working class neighbourhoods. In 1849, ten thousand people died of cholera in three months in London alone. Tuberculosis claimed 60,000 to 70,000 lives in each decade of the 19th century. Poor nutrition, disease, lack of sanitation and harmful medical care in these urban areas had devastating effect on the average life expectancy of British people in the first half of the 19th century. Average life expectancy in the rural areas of England was 45 years of age but it was only 37 in London and an alarming 26 in Liverpool. Infant mortality rate was very high with 25 to 33 percent of children in England dying before the 5th birthday in the first half of the 19th century.

- ***Child Labour.*** Child labour was unfortunately essential to the first factories, mines and mills in England. In textile mills as the new power looms and spinning mules took the place of skilled workers factory owners used cheap and skilled labour to decrease the cost of production and child labour was the cheapest labour of all as they were paid one tenth of what other men were paid. It is not surprising therefore that children were heavily employed in the first factories in history. In 1789, in Richard Arkwright's new spinning factories, two thirds of 1,150. Finally, the tedious and dangerous factory work had negative effect on the health of children. The British parliament later passed a law to protect children. -Working class families and the role of women.

The Industrial Revolution completely transformed the role of a family. In traditional agricultural society, families work together as a unit of production, tending to fulfil the knitting the sweaters and tending the fire. Women could parent also play a role in producing food or goods needed for the households. 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 the money for their families. Women took care of their home and saw their economic role decline. While many factory workers were initially women, most of them were young women who would quit working when they married. In stark contrast to the various changing tasks that the farmer performed in pre-industrial society, factory workers typically completed repetitive and monotonous (boring) tasks for 10 to 14 hours each day. Industrial working-class families, though not working together, did serve an economic purpose of raising money to support each other. For example, children often work do earn some income for their families. In difficult circumstances, mothers struggled to make ends meet and keep the family out of poor houses.

- ***Emerging middle class.*** Gradually, a middle class emerged in industrial cities, mostly towards the end of the 19th century. Until then, there had been only two major classes in society. Aristocrats born into their lives of privilege and wealth and low-income

commoners born in the working classes. However, new urban industries gradually required more of what is today called white-collar jobs, such as business people, shopkeepers, bank clerks, insurance agents, merchants, accountants, managers, doctors, lawyers and teachers. Middle class people tended to have monthly or yearly salaries rather than hourly wages. One piece of evidence of this emerging middle class was the rise of little shops in England that increased from 300 in 1875 to 2600 by 1890. Another mark of distinction of the middle class was their ability to hire servants to cook and clean the house from time to time. It is not surprising therefore that from 1850 to 1871 a number of domestic servants increased from 900,000 to 1.4 million. This is proof of a small but rising middle class that prided themselves on taking responsibility on themselves and their family. They viewed professional success as the result of person's energy, perseverance and hard work. In this new middle class, families became sanctuaries from stressful industrial life.

Home remained separate from work and took on the role of emotional support where women of the house created a moral and spiritual safe harbour away from the rough and tumbled of industrial work outside. They could not afford to send their children to school as children became more of economic burden and better health care reduced infant mortality, middle class women began to have fewer children.

- **Wealth and income.** Historians disagree whether or not life improved for the working class in the first phase of IR (1790-1850). One historian has argued that life clearly did not improve for the majority of the British people. Historians did not even agree if real wages for workers increased during this period. One historian argued that they did not increase. But after 1840 or 1850 as England entered the second phase of IR, it appears that real wages began to increase

Reflections:

- *What led to the massive migration of people from farms to cities?*
- *How did members of the working class react to their new experiences in industrial cities?*
- *How did the Industrial Revolution affect the lives of men, women and children?*

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. What were the immediate and long-term effects of the agricultural revolution that occurred in the 1700s?
2. How do you think population growth contributed to the Industrial Revolution?
3. Explain how new sources of energy, specifically coal, contributed to the Industrial Revolution?

4. Explain how transport advances contributed to Britain's global trade.
5. How did the Industrial Revolution affect (a) cities (b) population distribution?
6. Explain how Industrial Revolution changed the living conditions for both the middle class and the working class.

Summary

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of the industrialisation of European economies. The Industrial Revolution was a turning point in world history as it brought so many changes to society. The Industrial Revolution started in Britain because of a number of characteristics of eighteenth-century Britain made it ripe for industrialisation. Britain was blessed with a lot of natural resources, the effects of demand and supply, advances in textile industries and there was a transportation revolution. The Industrial Revolution also had a social impact because people moved to new industrial cities, new social classes emerged and life in the factories and mines was affected.

UNIT 5

REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE (LIBERALISM AND NATIONALISM)

5.1. Introduction

In 1848, Europeans saw street protests explode into full-scale revolts. As in 1789, the upheavals began in Paris and radiated out across the continent. In this unit, we discuss the Romantic Movement, liberalism and nationalism, the revolutions of 1848, Italian unification, Germany Unification and British Splendid Isolation.

5.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter, learners should be able to:

- Describe the Romantic movement
- Show the differences between liberalism and nationalism
- Explain how Italy and Germany became unified states.
- Describe policy of Splendid Isolation

5.3. Romantic Movement (Romanticism)

The Romantic Era was a time in history that was surrounded by war, e.g. Seven Years War 1756-1763, The French and Indian War 1754-1763 and the American Revolution 1775-1783 which directly preceded the French Revolution 1789-1799. These wars along with the political and social turmoil that went with them served as a catalyst for the production of a huge amount of art and literature never seen before. It was expressed most strongly in the visual art, music and literature but had a major impact on historiography, education and natural history.

Romanticism was a reaction against the enlightenment preoccupation with reason in discovering the truth because it considered Enlightenment to be mechanical, impersonal and artificial. Although it is hard to define accurately, Romanticism essentially involves:

- a) Considering emotion, intuition to be more important than reason or at least equal to reason.
- b) A belief that there are important areas of experience neglected by the rational mind and a belief in the general importance of individual.

In philosophy, the romantics took from Kant both the emphasis on free will and the doctrine that reality is ultimately spiritual with the nature itself being the mirror of human soul. It was also in part a rebellion against new trends, such as rationalism, urbanization

and secularism. Many historians have noted some specific connections between romanticism and conservatism particularly in the longing for less complex life, respect for traditional religion, and the sense of unity between rural life and human institutions.

Many romantics were especially critical of emerging industrialization and were convinced that it would cause people to become alienated from inner selves and the natural world around them. Individualism was an important characteristic of romanticism. Romantics desired to follow their inner drives to achieve personal goals and this led them to rebel against the middle-class conventions.

Romantic poetry showed fully one of the most important characteristics of romanticism and this was the love of nature, which is evident in the works of William Wordsworth. Romantics attacked science which they accused of reducing nature to a mere subject of studies. There was a revival of religion in the Age of Romanticism, especially Catholicism that had lost its attraction to many educated elites in the 18th century when Enlightenment was becoming popular.

One of the key ideas and the most long-lasting legacies of romanticism is its emphasis on nationalism, which became a central theme of romantic acts and political philosophy. Early Romantic Nationalism was strongly inspired by Rousseau who argued that geography formed the natural economy of a people. The nature of nationalism changed dramatically, however, after the French Revolution with the rise of Napoleon and the reactions in other nations. Although initially *Napoleonic Nationalism* inspired nationalistic movements in other countries later when the French Republic became Napoleon's empire, Napoleon was no longer the inspiration to nationalism but the object to its struggle.

Romanticism played a critical role in the national awakening of many central European peoples, who lacked their own national states, e.g. Poland which had lost its independence to Russia when the Russian army crushed the Polish uprising under Nicholas I.

5.4. Liberalism

Liberalism which was one of the most prominent ideologies of the nineteenth century owed much to the enlightenment of the 18th century, the American and French Revolutions at the end of that century. In addition, liberalism became increasingly important as the Industrial Revolution progressed because the emerging industrial middle class to a large extent adopted it as its own. There were differences of opinion among people called liberals but they all began with a common denominator and this was a *conviction that people should be as free from restraint as possible in their practice of both economics and politics.*

Economic liberalism is based on the principles of *laissez-faire*, which means that the state should not interfere in the running of economic affairs. The main exponent of *laissez-faire* was Adam Smith, the author of "*Wealth of Nations*". Smith argued that government should not

interfere with the economic liberty of the individual but should concern itself with three important functions of providing *defence* for the country, *protection of individuals* and *construction and maintenance of infrastructure* that individuals could not manage to look after.

Political *liberalism* like *economic liberalism* just stressed that people should be free from restraint. The liberty required was the peaceful enjoyment of private independence, the right of individuals to pursue their own affairs without being impeded so long as they did not interfere with the rights of others to also enjoy their freedom. Politically, liberals came to hold a common set of beliefs, the major being the *protection of civil liberties or basic rights of all people*. These included:

- (a) Equality before the law,
- (b) freedom of assembly,
- (c) speech and press,
- (d) And freedom from arbitrary arrest.

All these freedoms should be guaranteed by a written document along the lines of *American Bill of Rights* or *French Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen*, that is, it must be a written constitution that guarantees the freedom. In addition to religious toleration for all, most liberals advocated for *separation of Church and State* and believed in *Constitutional Monarchy*.

The liberals in the first half of the 19th century also believed in limited suffrage where all people would be entitled to equal civil rights but not equal political rights. In this regard, the right to vote and hold office would be open only to men who met certain property qualifications. This favoured the industrial middle class that wanted to share power with the land-owning classes. These liberals therefore were not democrats because they did not want the lower classes to share in having political power.

5.5. Nationalism

European nationalism in its modern sense can be defined as *a state of mind arising from an awareness of being part of a community or nation that has common institutions, traditions, language and customs*. This community is called a nation and the primary loyalty of individuals would be to the nation rather than to clan or tribe or village or other political units.

Nationalism also involves the desire of people to assert its unity and to be independent in their own country in relation to other people. Nationalism did not become a popular force of change until the time of French Revolution and even then it was not so much political as cultural with its emphasis upon the uniqueness of particular nationality. This cultural idea of nationality usually came before the wish of political unity. It was cultural nationalism that evolved into political nationalism. Nationalism threatened to upset the existing political order both internationally and nationally, making it fundamentally radical. A united Germany or united Italy would upset the balance of power established in 1815 at the *Congress of Vienna* and independent Hungary would mean the breakup of *Austrian Empire*.

The conservatives tried very hard to suppress nationalism because they feared that such dramatic changes might take place. The countries where nationalistic feelings were most vigorously allowed were Germany and Italy, though Napoleonic imperialism had similar effects on Spain, Poland, Russia and Belgium. At first, nationalism was the spirit of resistance to the harsh demand and heavy fisted domination of foreigners and it was therefore anti-French. The role of Napoleon in the growth of nationalism was not intentional. In fact, the rise of nationalism in, for example, Germany and Italy was more result of revolt against Napoleon's empire than the deliberate intention of the empire to promote it. The most important result of this was that in the first half of the 19th century nationalism and liberalism formed a strong alliance.

The combination of liberalism and nationalism also gave an international dimension to nationalism that led to the wider *Young Europe* movement with the creation of *Young Italy*, *Young Germany*, and *Young Switzerland Movement*. Nationalism which was a growing force since the French Revolution tended to be associated with liberal and humanitarian ideals during the first half of 19th century. Nationalism also played a central role in the revolutions of 1848 but after 1848, it became more pragmatic and conservative as illustrated by unification of Germany and Italy.

5.6. The Revolutions of 1848

- In 1848, revolutions broke out throughout Europe. These revolutions have not always received the kindest treatment from historians. They have used gentle mockery, open sarcasm and hostile content in their narrative and evaluations of the revolutions. Those historians that have tried to give a fair evaluation of the revolutions have often downgraded them and considered them not to be serious political movements that could not be compared to the serious revolutions of 1789 and 1917.
- Beginning shortly after the New Year 1848, Europe exploded into revolutions from Paris to Frankfurt, Budapest and Naples. Liberal protestors rose up against conservative establishments. The year 1846 witnessed severe famine which was Europe's last serious food crisis as the progress in the industrialization and mechanization was accompanied by disaster in agriculture. The faster shipment of potatoes from the Americas crossed the Atlantic to Europe allowed the survival of those arriving with potatoes. The potato blight in Europe in 1846 accompanied by drought and bad harvests caused food shortages and higher prices. Ireland was especially hard-hit with typhus following on the heels of potato blight. Ireland had 8.5 million but in 1851, its population was down to 6.5 million.
- In 1845 the number of people leaving Europe for the US began rising. These were Germans looking for land to farm, English artisans looking for work in their crafts and there were the Irish running from hunger. Thousands of Irish died on the ships taking them to the U.S. Therefore, poor grain harvests, the appearance of blight and generally

depressed economic conditions across much of Europe in 1845-1846 led to sharply rising food prices while wages remained stagnant and thereby reducing consumer demand with consumers buying less and less profits fell forcing thousands of industrial workers to lose their jobs and leading to radicalization of political attitudes.

- Trade was disrupted as there was less general spending and as food came first as the poorest classes of people struggled to keep themselves fed and everyone found the necessities of life to be much more expensive. High unemployment combined with high prices sparked liberal revolt. As with several instances of revolution in Europe previously, 1848 had its major point of origin in France. The events that followed in Feb 1848 in France made Austria's Prince ...Clemens Von Metternich..... saying true, that "When France sneezes, Europe catches the cold." Moderate liberals, that is lawyers, doctors, merchants, bourgeoisies, guaranteed to push actively for the extension of suffrage through their "Banquet Campaign" which were named in this way because its leaders attempted to raise money by giving rousing speeches at subscribed or paid-for dinners in major urban areas of France.
- When on 22nd of Feb in 1848, Paris officials cancelled the scheduled banquet, fearing organized protests by middle and working classes, Parisians demonstrated against the Depression. Skilled workers, factory labourers and middle-class liberals poured into streets. The National Guard citizen militia of bourgeois Parisians defected from *King Louis Phillip* and the Army Garrison stationed in Paris joined the revolutionary protests as well. Louis Phillip attempted to reform but the workers rejected the half-hearted changes. The king fled and the demonstrators proclaimed the second French Republic on 24th Feb 1848.
- The overthrow of the monarch set the wave of protests throughout east and central Europe led by radical liberals and workers who demanded constitutional reform or complete government change. In March 1848, protests in German provinces brought swift reform from local Princes while Kaiser William Fredrick IV of Prussia yielded to revolts in Berlin by promising to create a Prussian assembly. The collapse of autocracy in Prussia encouraged liberals in the divided German provinces to join together at the Frankfurt Assembly to frame a constitution and unite the German nations. Middle class civil servants, lawyers and intellectuals dedicated to liberal reform dominated the convention that met in May 1848. However, after drawing the boundaries for German states and offering the Crown to Kaiser William Fredrick IV in March 1849, he refused to accept it and, in this way, dashed the hopes for a united liberal Germany.
- In Austria on 12th March 1848, students, workers, and middle-class liberals revolted in Vienna setting up the Constituent Assembly. Austria had been ruled mainly by State Council consisting of Metternich and four others. The revolt voiced its anger against the Metternich and the police, not against the king Ferdinand I. A terrifying and scornful

the Metternich who was about 75 years old went into exile in England. King Ferdinand accommodated the rebels.

- In Budapest, the Magyars led a movement of national autonomy led by patriot Lajos Kossuth. In Prague similarly (Czech-Slovakia) the Czechs revolted in the name of self-government.
- In Italy new constitutions were declaring in Tuscany and Piedmont with the goal of overthrowing their masters. Here, middleclass liberals pushed the idea of Italian unification alongside the defeat of Austrians with the help of the young Italy movement founded in 1831 by the nationalists Giuseppe Mazzini an Italian patriot who favoured the democratic revolution to unify the country. In Feb 1849, Mazzini led a democratic revolt against the pope in Rome and became the head of republic of Rome later that month. However, the democrats had gone too far by attacking the Pope. The French who were self-proclaimed protectors of the Pope moved in and defeated Mazzini's Roman Legion. The Pope was restored and the idea of a democratic Italy collapsed in that period.
- Meanwhile, from August 1848, the Austrian army soundly defeated every revolt in its empire. In Vienna, Budapest and Prague the Austrian armies crushed the liberal and democratic movements returning the empire to the conservative establishment that ruled at the beginning of 1848.
- Nothing had come out of the revolutions of 1848. It has been said that the revolutions of 1848 were "A turning point in modern history that modern history failed to turn". Every one of the revolutions was a complete failure. Although minor reforms were carried out in German Provinces and in Prussia conservative regimes that dominated Europe remained in power. Although they were complete failures, the 1848 revolutions inspired a lot of discussion and in this regard, we can consider two points:
 - (a) The year 1848 marked the end of the so-called "Concert of Europe" that had been created after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 as a way to maintain the European balance of power by having the continent's major powers to meet and resolve their differences and prevent aggression or war. After 1848, the European powers seemed incapable of uniting actions to maintain the status quo probably the revolutions of 1848 weakened the regime in the eyes of the people.
 - (b) The revolutions failed to bring about significant change. In France, the December 1848 presidential election brought Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte into office. It took less than three years to consolidate absolute power. In Austria, a new emperor Franz Joseph I continued Austrian dominance over all the minorities in Eastern Europe. In Prussia, they promised the assembly a little power and was constituted by aristocratic elite.

5.7. Factors for the failures of the revolutions.

1. ***Lack of unity.*** The main factor was the lack of unity among the revolutionaries. They failed to unite on the question of future form of government in their states. Consequently, the reactionary powers took advantage of this weakness of revolutionaries and so rebellions could easily be squashed or put down by autocratic and reactionary rulers against whom they rebelled.

The Republicans and socialists of France united and took part in the revolutionary activities against Louis Phillip but after the proclamation of Second Republic, these two groups could not remain united. The members of these parties did not even know whether the basis of the revolution was social, political or economic. They could not decide whether they wanted change in the political system of the country or their aim was to bring about social change as well. The Republicans declared that they had achieved their goal with the downfall of Louis Phillip and the establishment of the democratic government in the country.

On the other hand, the socialists wanted to bring about thorough change in the social setup with the help of the Republican form of government. In this way, differences arose among the two groups. The Republicans had cruelly put down the power of socialists as many as 10,000 workers and socialists' leaders were killed in the conflict. Bonapartists took advantage of this situation and Louis Napoleon, the president of the Second Republic, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte easily killed the republican form of government and established an absolute monarchy known as the Second Empire.

In the same manner, the patriots of countries like Austria, Italy and Hungary and Germany also failed due to the lack of unity among them in the same manner. The revolutionaries of different states of Italy could not unite to frame a universal policy regarding the future form of government. Some patriots wanted to make Italy a republic under the leadership of Mazzini. The supporters of the core wanted to create a federation of various states while constitutionalists wanted to establish constitutional monarchy under the leadership of King Piedmont. During these differences, the revolutionaries' changes were introduced in Europe that did not last long and the revolutions collapsed in almost all countries.

2. ***The Spirit of cooperation among reactionary rulers.*** The rulers of different countries of Europe extended their fullest cooperation to one another in stemming the idea of revolution. All of them had agreed to help one another. When the people of Italian provinces rose in revolt against their rulers, Austria immediately provided help to those rulers. In this way, the revolutionaries could easily be put down and autocracy could easily be established in Northern Italy. When Austria requested Russia for military help for quelling the revolution of Hungary, Russia happily acceded to the request and helped Austria. Louis Bonaparte dispatched his army to Rome to help the Pope in destroying the Republic of Rome established by the revolutionaries under the leadership of Mazzini. Not only this but French army remained stationed in Rome for several years and therefore the autocratic rule of the

Pope would easily be established in Rome. The revolutions of German state were suppressed by the United Armies of Austria and Prussia. In this way, the spirit of active cooperation among the rulers of different countries of Europe was instrumental in frustrating the revolutions.

3. ***Feelings of mutual distrust among different races.*** It was an important reason for the failure of revolutions of 1848 that different races living in different countries in Europe looked on one another with doubt, suspicion and jealousy. Most of these races lived in Austrian empire. They were made up of different nationalities. Therefore, they could not unite and fight against their autocratic rulers. The mutual feelings of jealousy and distrust of different races contributed to the failure of revolutions of 1848 in Europe.
4. ***Lack of able leadership.*** Although the tide of the revolutions of 1848 of France soon reached shores of other countries and their patriots greatly celebrated over the success of the revolution, their excitement could not be guided along the right lines due to the absence of talented leadership. At that time, the European countries did not have universal leaders of undisputed capability who could organize and guide the movement along the right lines. This meant that the movements could not be properly organized and planned and in the end, they were mercilessly put down by the autocratic powers. Revolutionaries did not have a large well trained and experienced army while the armies of the rulers were all well organized and well-disciplined and easily defeated the army of the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries had no experience of administration. Therefore, liberal and popular governments that they established could not run smoothly and they eventually failed.
5. ***Limited scope of the revolution.*** The revolutions originated only in the cities of Europe. The common people living in the villages or rural areas were quite indifferent and ignorant of the program and the main features of the revolution. The people in the rural areas had the faith in the old traditions, customs and political systems. They were not taught about their rights and the way to get them. As a result of this, the scope of the revolution of 1848 was limited to the urban areas only. It was for this reason that the revolutionaries failed to get the sympathy, support and cooperation of the common people of rural areas. Although in the urban areas the revolutionary ideas were sufficiently explained, the revolution failed even in the urban areas because of the rising conflict between the labour class or workers and middle class or bourgeoisie. Both classes took part in the revolution.

In this way, it may be concluded that the disunity of the revolutionaries, the spirit of cooperation among the rulers' mutual distrust between different races indifferent leadership and limited scope of the revolution were the main reasons for the failure of the revolution. Owing to these circumstances, the revolutions in almost all countries were mercilessly squashed by autocratic rulers and their absolute monarchy was re-established. That is why it is said that "the year 1848 was a turning point at which history failed to turn"

5.8. Italian unification

The French Revolutionary ideas of the late 18th century affected Italian peoples as well as those in other parts of Europe. Some Italians joined in the fight against the *French Directorate* but were defeated by Napoleon who brought most of Italy under his own rule or that of his brother Joseph. Napoleon also formed an alliance with the Pope. As things stood out, French domination of Italy helped to hasten the date of Italian unity and freedom in three ways:

(a) Napoleon soldiers spread revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity wherever they went.

(a) The French government did not actually practice these ideals in dealing with the Italians but regulated all Italian commerce in the interest of France and treated Italy like a province to be exploited. This treatment made the Italians resent the French intensely and they developed a stronger sense of national unity and solidarity than they had ever had before.

(c) Napoleon reduced still further the number of separate states in Italy. This resulted in plotting out some of the separate customs and loyalties among the Italians. After the defeat of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 gave back to Austria most of her old rights in Italy. Austria and Spanish Bourbons and the Pope were again Italy's masters.

In 1848, at the time of revolution in France, many of the Italians revolted against their government and gained some new constitutional rights. The liberal minded king of Piedmont and Savoy, Charles Albert (1798-1849) even attacked Austria. He was defeated and was forced to give up his throne and people all over Italy lost many of their new rights. After the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848, Italians came to believe that Italy could be united only under the leadership and rule of one of the stronger Italian states. They began to look to Piedmont to give them this leadership.

Victor Emmanuel II became king of Piedmont when his father, Charles Albert was forced to abdicate. Like his father, Victor Emmanuel II also believed in liberty but he was a man of only average ability. Fortunately, he had Count Camilo Benso di Cavour (1810-1861) as prime minister. He was born of noble family, trained for military career and became a liberal traveling to Switzerland, France and Britain. He made his fortune in sugar mills, steel ships, banks and railroads. Once he became financially secure, he entered politics. He was until his death the most important man in Italian politics. He was a very brilliant man and he was passionately devoted to free Italy from the grasp of Austria and the Pope. In 1847, he was a cofounder of a newspaper called *Il Risorgimento* which urged Italian independence and in 1852 he became the prime minister of Piedmont. He did not want a democratic form of government. He wanted a united Italy under Victor Emmanuel II with liberal constitution to ensure the rights of the people. Two steps had to be taken before all Italian states could be organized under one government. The first step was to throw off the Austrian yoke and this, Cavour knew, could not be done without the help of some strong outside nation. The second step was to get the

consent of city states to this union and this, Cavour knew, he could handle it himself if Austria were out of the way.

Even if in some instances, he had used force. The Crimean War (1854-1856) offered Cavour an opportunity to make France his ally. The Crimean War was another chapter in the story of so-called Eastern Question or the question of who would be chief beneficiaries of the disintegration of Turkish or Ottoman Empire. In 1853, War had erupted between the Russians and the Turks in which Britain and France became involved on the side of Turkey in 1855.

Cavour sent troops to help France, Britain and Turkey against Russia. Russia was defeated and by accepting Cavour's help, France and Britain placed themselves under obligation. In July 1858, Cavour signed the Pact of Plombieres with Napoleon III in which one of the three promises was a marriage between 15-year-old daughter of Victor Emmanuel II and Clotilde Jerome the cousin of Napoleon III. Another promise was that France would help Piedmont in a war with Austria. France agreed to cooperate to overthrow Austria because she was promised the territory from Sardine. Cavour's next step in his playing of power politics was to provoke a war with Austria, which he did in April 1859. He called on France for help and France gave it. By the time Cavour died in 1861, he had create by a series of diplomatic alliances and wars Kingdom of Italy with the Piedmont as its core but still excluding Venetia and Rome. In the meantime, another force had been at work that made the union of Italian states a much simpler matter than it might have been.

Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872). It has been said that if Cavour was the brain that carefully planned difficult struggle for freedom from Austria, *Giuseppe Mazzini* was the philosopher and ideologist who roused the people to fight for their independence. By the time he was fifteen he become the spiritual inspiration for the Italian unification. He was known as the Soul of Italy. Mazzini was willing to endanger his own liberty by writing and talking of freedom of his country. In 1830, he was imprisoned. When Mazzini father inquired why his son had been thrown into prison, he was told "your son has the bad habit of thinking too much".

He was exiled from Genoa. As a result of his membership in this secret organization of Carbonari and for organizing violence, he settled in Marseilles in France where he founded the *Young Italy Movement* with members all under 40 years old. It was designed to arouse the whole of Italy to greater unity in the cause of national independence but its influence extended throughout Europe. Mazzini who is said to have been a practical businessman impressed his followers through his impassioned writing and became the main leading prophet of Risorgimento which was the movement for Italian unification. Mazzini and his followers wanted to restore Italy to the glorious days of Roman and Renaissance time. Mazzini sent propaganda literature into Italian ports hidden in cargos of stones and grains. Mazzini's intense dedication and visionary ideas were to be fulfilled by another generation of Italian patriots but to 19th century Italians, he remained the man who sacrificed everything who loved much who pitied much and who hated never.

Giuseppe Garibaldi 1801-1882. Another unification movement led by patriot and soldier *Giuseppe Garibaldi*, the romantic freelance adventurer began in southern Italy with Austria's control in Italy limited to Venice and a willingness on the part of the majority of the people throughout Italy to unite. It remained only for Garibaldi to get the movement for unification of Italy well underway. Garibaldi, the son of a poor sailor, personified the *Romantic Revolutionary Nationalism of Mazzini* and in 1848, as a lad of 17 had travelled to Rome and had been converted to the idea of new Italy, the Italy of all Italians. He was sentenced to death for his part in the uprising in Genoa. He escaped to South America where for 12 years he led the guerrilla bands in Uruguay's struggle for independence. He returned to Italy in the light for 1848 revolution. He was called the sword of Italy" with his famous regiments of 1000 red shirts. He sought to rescue fellow Italians from oppression in the kingdom of *Two Sicily* which at that time was part of Bourbon kingdom of Naples. Although many of his men were poorly armed, Garibaldi with the help of the people of Sicily, within 3 month conquered the island of Sicily and took its capital from 24,000 regular and well-armed bourbon troops and then crossed to the mainland and took Naples itself where people were already in a revolt.

By Nov, 1860, the whole kingdom under the unpopular bourbon king Francis II had fallen to Garibaldi. He apparently intended to convert the territory into an independent republic but he was persuaded to surrender it to the kingdom of Sardinia. In Nov 1860, Garibaldi gave up his power on Sicily and Naples and acknowledge the Victor Emmanuel II as the monarch of the new kingdom of Italy.

5.9. German Unification

While other nations fought Napoleon for more than ten years at the end of the 18th century, Germany was ruled by weak Prussia. After Napoleon conquered large part of Western Europe including other parts of Germany, he finally forced the King of Prussia into a war. Prussian army was quickly defeated and the country had to give up parts of its territories. This is one of the first incidents that led France and Prussia to look at each other as natural enemies. Napoleon in one way had done German states including Prussia a big favour. He organized many small states into a few larger ones. And it is his victory that made Germans realize the weakness of the government and their need to unite for defence. Reforms were made in Prussia so that in the end Prussia and other German states joined other European nations bring about the downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815.

Austria was Prussia's great rival and after 1815 Metternich played a role of tyrant. In 1848, when the common people revolted in most of the countries of Europe, Metternich's power was abruptly broken and he had to flee for his life. There was rejoicing at this downfall throughout Germany states now that they were free from the oppressions of Metternich. Germany people believed that better days were to come but hope did not last long. In the Germany states, the movement towards unity suffered setback because people as a whole were not yet ready to rule themselves. In Prussia, there followed the period of uncertainty and confusion. King William I of Prussia came to the throne in 1861 and was having trouble with the liberals in parliament. In September, 1862, he appointed Otto Von Bismarck as his chief minister and foreign minister.

Bismarck is one of the famous Germans in history along with people such as Martin Luther, and Hitler. Bismarck was a fascinating individual, man of action and strong feelings and will power. He was quoted as having said “If I have an enemy in my power, I must destroy him” and also that “I want to make music the way I like it or else nothing at all”. He was a Prussian a Junker “or landed aristocrat.” From the time he was appointed, Bismarck showed himself as the instrument of god. His loyalty to his king characterized his entire public life. He stated that he was first and foremost the royalist and everything else came after that. According to him, Prussia was not England where the cabinet was answerable to parliament. Prussian ministers were the ministers of his majesty. Also, according to him, the position of Prussia in Germany would be determined not by its liberalism but by its power. He decided that his mission was to help Prussia create a greater Germany.

As a man of strong will, he did not hesitate in carrying out his plan. He did not consider the wishes of his people because he had no faith in their ability to rule themselves. As far as he was concerned, respect for the law and decency were a waste of time. As a result, he was ruthless about the means he used to accomplish his ends. His first meeting with budget committee of parliament, he issued his most famous warning when he said “*the great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and resolutions of majority but my blood and iron*”. Bismarck was a brilliant opportunist and manipulator who became good in blending the right proportion of diplomacy and military force to achieve Germany unification. He set about creating an army that in training and equipment was second to none in Europe.

All the time that he was in power, Bismarck was making conquests of Prussia by means of diplomacy and war. He said his purpose was to bring about the unification of all the Germany people. While this was true, what Bismarck really wanted most was for Prussia and Prussian type of government to be established at the end in a united Germany. In his domestic policies, he put in place measures that forestalled socialists who were the strongest critics of the government e.g. he provided sickness and accidental insurance and pensions for workers to keep them away from becoming too interested in trade unions. In a way, Bismarck cared for his people but he made reforms from above in order to prevent revolutionary reforms from below, that is, from the people.

In order to bring about unity or unification of Germany, Bismarck followed the succession of steps that showed how clever he was. First, he plotted to eliminate Austria from her position from which she dominated *Germany Confederation*. Then there followed the three separate wars:

- (a) The first was Denmark in 1864,
- (b) The second was Austria in 1866,
- (c) The third and final was France in 1870-1871 that achieved his aims.

The *Prussia-Denmark* war was intended to test the sharpness of Prussian army and the boldness of Prussian strategy. It also enabled Bismarck to consolidate his internal position in Prussia and lay groundwork for the defeat of his parliamentary opposition. The *Austro-Prussian War* was

intended to measure Prussian military power against an equal power. It succeeded in overthrowing Austria from its leadership of Germany states and in consolidating Prussian power in the north. The *Franco-Prussian* was intended to show that the Prussian army was at its peak of perfection. It succeeded in bringing south Germany states under the control of Prussia and it crushed all pretence to any solution to the problem of Germany unity other than through blood and iron.

Bismarck's word that "we Germans fear only God, nothing else in the world, now seemed justified as each of these wars laid the basis for the next one and the last one of his wars paved the way for the World War of 1914. The war with Denmark was over *Schleswig and Holstein*. Bismarck entered into a dispute with Denmark over possession of two territories that were inhabited largely by Germans but the King of Denmark ruled them. Since 1815, Holstein had been included in the *Germany Confederation* and when the king of Denmark attempted to annex *Schleswig and Holstein*, Bismarck invited Austria to participate in a war against Denmark. The brief struggle ended with Denmark defeated and renouncing claim to the two provinces in honour of Austria and Prussia. Then the sequel occurred that Bismarck wanted as a quarrel ensued between victors over the division of the spoils, the result of which was a war between Austria and Prussia.

Since Bismarck knew that Austria would be helped by the southern Germany provinces, he entered into an alliance with Italy. He promised Italy to have Venice and area controlled by Austria, Prussia won the war and Austria gave up claims on *Schleswig and Holstein* and Venice. Austria agreed to the dissolution of *Germany Confederation*. Bismarck proceeded to unite all the German states north of Main River into *North Germany Confederation*. The constitution of union was promulgated which Bismarck boasted that he wrote in a single night which provided that the king of Prussia would be the president of Confederation and upper house representing governments of several states was created and there was to be a lower house elected by universal manhood suffrage. Final step in the completion of the unification of Germany was the Franco-Prussian war.

France had since 17th century continually opposed the national implication of Germany. Bismarck wrote in one of his works that "in view of the attitude of France, our national sense of honour compelled us to go to war." Bismarck knew that war with France was the best thing possible to awaken the Germany nationalism in Bavaria and Wurttemberg and the remaining states on *Main River* in southern German area. When Bismarck was informed by King William I that he had rejected the demand by France for the perpetual exclusion of *Hohenzollern* family from Spanish throne. He decided that the time was ripe for action. *Hohenzollern* dynasty is the prominent dynasty in European dynasty mainly as the reigning house of *Brandenburg-Prussia* from 1415-1918 and imperial Germany 1871 to 1918. Bismarck altered the EMS telegram to make it look as if King William I had insulted the French ambassador and when the French people learnt of it, the whole nation was uproar. When ministers of Napoleon asked for the declaration of war, only few of them opposed the war. France had been for a long time itching for war with Prussia.

As soon as the war began, the southern Germany states rallied to the side of Prussia because they believed that she was the victim of French aggression. From the beginning, Prussia had an advantage as it had disciplined army compared to poorly organized French army. After the capture of Napoleon III at Sedan in 1870 and the conquest of Paris, four months later, the war was over. France surrendered the provinces of *Alsace and Lorraine* and paid an indemnity of 1 billion dollars. On 18th July 1871, Bismarck had Prussian King William I proclaimed as Kaiser or emperor of Germany in the *Hall of Mirrors* in the *Palace of Versailles*. Bismarck was raised to the status of Prince and became imperial Chancellor answerable only to Kaiser. The *New German Empire* became one of the strongest nations in Europe including rich provinces of *Alsace and Lorraine*. Germany began to consolidate her gains, built factories, mines and expanded trade, and encouraged her scientists. There was a long period of internal peace from 1871 until 1914. Germany did not again disturb the peace of Europe as far as going to war.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. In what form were the main aspects of romanticism expressed?
2. Discuss the differences between liberalism and nationalism
3. Politically, what were the major beliefs of the liberals?
4. The major exponent of *Laissez-faire* was Adam Smith the author of the "*Wealth of Nations*." Discuss his major arguments.
5. What was the outcome of the revolutions outside France in 1848?
6. Why did most of the revolutions of 1848 fail to achieve their goals?
7. Briefly discuss the wars that Bismarck fought in order to bring about Germany unification.

Summary

Enlightenment was mostly preoccupied with reason in discovering the truth. Romanticism was essentially involved with the consideration of emotion and intuition to be more important or at least equal to reason. Romanticism is also a belief in the general importance of the individual. Romanticism which was usually expressed in visual arts, music and literature led to the development of the nineteenth century ideologies of liberalism and nationalism. The ideologies of liberalism and nationalism led to the breaking up of revolutions in 1848 throughout Europe. However, due to lack of unity among the revolutionaries, the spirit of cooperation among the reactionary leaders, feelings of mutual distrust among different races, lack of leadership and the limited scope of revolution, these revolutions failed to bring significant change. However, to a certain extent, these revolutions gave inspiration that led to the unification of Italy and Germany.

UNIT 6

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

6.1. Introduction

The Russian Revolution was a period of political and social revolution across the territory of the Russian Empire which started with the abolishment of monarchy and concluded with the establishment of the Soviet Union by the Bolsheviks and the end of the civil war. The Russian Revolution took place in 1917 when the peasants and working class people of Russia revolted against the government of Tsar Nicholas II. In this unit, we discuss the socio-political and economic conditions in Tsarist Russia, the impact of World War I on the Russian Revolution, Marxism and Leninism, the communist takeover and civil war in Russia, the building of Communist Soviet Union, the meaning and legacy of the Russian Revolution.

6.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter, learners should be able to:

- Describe the socio-political and economic conditions in Tsarist Russia.
- Discuss the impact of World War I on the Russian Revolution
- Analyse Lenin's views on Marxism
- Explain the Bolshevik take over and civil war in Russia
- Discuss the building of Communist Soviet Union and the legacy of the Russian Revolution.

6.3. Tsarist Russia

The Tsarist state system had developed over a long period. The Tsar's authority was supported by several features. These are known as the 'Pillars of Autocracy'.

Autocratic government -This vast, diverse Empire was ruled by a series of Tsars. They ran the country as autocrats. This meant that the Tsar, and only the Tsar, governed Russia: Tsars believed that they had a divine right to rule Russia, their position and power had been given to them by God.

- **The nobility** -The nobility accounted for approximately 10 per cent of the population. This upper class owned all the land and was dependent on the Tsar. They also dominated the army command and civil service: the civil service helped the Tsar run the Russian Empire. Administrators and officials carried out the instructions of the Tsar and his ministers. They were appointed and paid by the Tsar. They owed their position to the Tsar and were very loyal to him. To oppose him would mean losing power and position

- **The law** -The Tsarist legal system was designed to support autocracy and Tsarist authority. It was also intended to suppress opposition and increase fear among the population. A standard punishment for opponents of the Tsar was exile to the remote region of Siberia. Many thousands of people viewed as enemies of the state were sent to Siberia. They were so far away that they had little chance of threatening Tsarist power. The Empire did not have an elected parliament and there were no elections for positions in the government. There were no legal or constitutional methods by which Tsarist power could be challenged.

- **The Okhrana**

The Tsar's will be enforced by a large police system that would report suspicious behaviour and destroy subversive groups: The secret police had a vital role in identifying and spying on enemies. They had the power to arrest potential threats as required. Agents of the Okhrana worked undercover, infiltrating groups that might present a danger to the Tsar. They acted on the Tsar's behalf, treating citizens how they saw fit. Their methods included torture and murder

- **The army**- The Tsar had a large army that became a very effective means of enforcing his power. The Tsar was the supreme commander of the army and could deploy units at will. At times of civil unrest, he would often dispatch elite Cossack cavalry regiments to deal with unruly citizens. Tsar Nicholas II suppressed strikes in Rostov (1902) and in Odessa (1903) using the Cossacks.
- **The Orthodox Church**- Orthodox priests spread propaganda. The Tsar was the head of the Orthodox Church. The Church reinforced his authority: Official Church doctrine stated that the Tsar was appointed by God. Any challenge to the Tsar - the 'Little Father' - was said to be an insult to God. The Church was very influential among the largely peasant population. It made sure this message was conveyed regularly to them. Priests explained to their followers that Russia was God's land and that he intended for life to be as the peasants found it. The Church was give financial rewards from the Tsar for this propaganda. Most of the Russian population was illiterate and had to rely on what they were told by the Church. It was their only source of education and they tended to believe the teachings of the priests. However, priests were often not respected by peasants, who believed they were increasingly corrupt and hypocritical. The word of the Church became less respected during the rule of Nicholas II.

6.4. 1905 Prelude to Revolution

In Feb 1904, the Russo-Japanese war had broken out between Russia and Japan over the territory known as Manchuria and Russia was defeated. Some people say that as a result of this defeat, revolution broke out in Russia in 1905. That began with the event commonly known as Bloody Sunday on 22 Jan, 1905. A march on the Winter Palace led by Father Gapon was organized by people unhappy with the state of things in Russia. The soldiers guarding the

Palace panicked and shot at the people, killing some of them. However, although events that followed made it look as if the Tsar might be overthrown, the whole incident does not merit the term “Revolution”. The Tsar was shaken by the violent reaction to the defeat in the Russo-Japanese war but his regime soon regained control. The Tsar was then persuaded to permit the election of a National Parliament called Duma to advise him. The elected Duma set up after the revolution had no real power. Moderates pressed for constitution and social change. But Nicholas II, a weak and ineffective leader, blocked attempts to limit his authority. Like past Tsars, he relied on his secret police and other enforcers to impose his will. A corrupt bureaucracy and an overburdened court system added to the government’s problems.

Revolutionaries hatched radical plots. Some hoped to lead discontented peasants to overthrow the Tsarist regime. Marxists tried to ignite revolution among the **proletariat** – the growing class of factory and railroad worker, miners and urban wage earners. A revolution they believed would occur when the time was ripe.

6.5. The Impact of World War I and the Two Revolutions

The outbreak of war in 1914 fuelled national pride and united Russians. Armies Dashed to battle with enthusiasm. But like the Russo-Japanese in 1904, World War I quickly strained Russian resources. Factories could not turn out enough supplies. The transportation system broke down, delivering only a trickle of crucial materials to the front. By 1915, many soldiers had no rifles and no ammunition. Badly equipped and poorly led, they died in staggering numbers. In 1915 alone, Russian casualties reached two million.

In a patriotic gesture, Nicholas II went to the front to take personal charge. The decision proved a disastrous blunder. The Tsar was no more competent than many of his generals. Worse, he left domestic affairs to his wife Tsarina Alexandra. In Nicholas’s absence, Alexandra relied on the advice of Gregory Rasputin, an illiterate peasant and self-proclaimed “holy man”. The Tsarina came to believe that Rasputin had miraculous powers after he helped her son, who suffered from haemophilia, a disorder in which any injury can result in uncontrollable bleeding.

By 1916, Rasputin’s influence over the Tsarina Alexandra had reached new heights and weakened confidence in the government. Feared for the monarchy, a group of Russian nobles killed Rasputin on December 29, 1916.

6.6. The Tsar Steps Down

By March 1917, disasters on the battlefield, combined with food and fuel shortages on the home front, brought the monarchy to collapse. In St Petersburg (renamed Petrograd during the war), workers were going on strike. Marchers, mostly women, surged through the streets, shouting “Bread! Bread!”. Troops refused to fire on the demonstrators, leaving the government helpless. Finally, on the advice of military and political leaders, the Tsar abdicated.

Duma leaders then set up a provisional, or temporary government. Middle class liberals in the government began preparing a constitution for a new Russian republic. At the same time, they continued the war with Germany.

Outside the provisional government, revolutionary socialists plotted their own course. In Petrograd and other cities, they set up *soviets*. Or councils of workers and soldiers. At first, the soviets worked democratically within the government. Before long, though, the Bolsheviks, a radical socialist group, took charge. The leader of the Bolsheviks was a determined revolutionary, V.I. Lenin.

The revolutions of March and November 1917 are known to Russians as the February and October revolutions. In 1917, Russia used an old calendar, which was 13 days behind the one used in Western Europe. Russia adopted the Western calendar in 1918.

Reflections:

- *What provoked the March Revolution?*

6.7. Marxism and Leninism

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov was born in 1870 to a middle-class family. He adopted the name Lenin when he became a revolutionary. When he was 17, his elder brother was arrested and hanged for plotting to kill the Tsar. The Execution branded his family as a threat to the state and made the young Vladimir hate the Tsarist government.

6.7.1. Lenin a Brilliant Revolutionary.

As a young man, he read the works of Karl Marx and participated in student demonstrations. He spread Marxist ideas among factory workers along with other socialists, including Nadezhda Krupskaya, the daughter of a poor noble family. In 1895, Lenin and Krupskaya were arrested and sent to Siberia. During their imprisonment, they were married. After their release, they went into exile in Switzerland. There they worked tirelessly to spread revolutionary ideas.

6.7.2. Lenin's View of Karl Marx

Lenin adapted Marxist ideas to fit the Russian conditions. Marx had predicted that the industrial working class would rise spontaneously to overthrow capitalism. But Russia did not have a large urban proletariat. Instead Lenin called for an elite group to lead the revolution and set up a "*dictatorship of the proletariat*". Though this elite revolutionary party represented a small percentage of socialists, Lenin gave them the name Bolsheviks, meaning "*majority*".

In Western Europe, many leading socialists had come to think that socialism could be achieved through gradual and moderate reforms such as higher wages, increased suffrage and social welfare programmes. A group of socialists in Russia, the *Mensheviks*, favoured this approach. The Bolsheviks rejected it. To Lenin reforms of this nature, were merely, capitalist tricks to repress the masses. Only revolution, he said, could bring about needed changes.

In March 1917, Lenin was still in exile. As Russia stumbled into revolution, Germany saw a chance to weaken its enemy by helping Lenin return home. Lenin rushed across Germany to the Russian frontier in a special train. He greeted a crowd of fellow exiles and activists with this cry: “Long live the world-wide Socialist Revolution”.

Reflections:

- *Why did Germany want Lenin to return to Russia 1917?*

6.8. The November Revolution Brings the Bolsheviks to Power.

Lenin threw himself into the work of furthering the revolution. Another dynamic revolutionary, Leon Trotsky, helped lead the fight. To the hungry war-weary people, Lenin and the Bolsheviks promised ‘Peace, Land and Bread’.

6.8.1. The Provisional Government’s Mistakes

Meanwhile the Provisional Government led by Alexander Kerensky, continued the war effort and failed to deal with the land reform. Those decisions proved fatal. Most Russians were tired of war. Troops at the front were deserting in droves. Peasants wanted land, while city workers demanded an end to the desperate shortages. In July, 1917, the government launched the disastrous Kerensky offensive against Germany. By November, according to one official report, the army was “a huge crowd of tired, poorly clad, poorly fed, embittered men”. Growing numbers of soldiers mutinied. Peasants seized land and drove off fearful landlords.

6.8.2. The Bolshevik Takeover

Conditions were ripe for the Bolsheviks to make their move. In November 1917, squads of *Red Guards* – armed factory workers – joined mutinous sailors from the Russian fleet in attacking the provisional government. In just a matter of days, Lenin’s forces overthrew the provisional government without a struggle.

The Bolsheviks quickly seized power in the cities. In Moscow, it took a week of fighting to blast the local government out of the walled Kremlin, the former Tsarist Centre of

government. Moscow became the Bolshevik's capital and the Kremlin their headquarters.

“*We shall now occupy ourselves in Russia in building up a proletarian socialist state*” declared Lenin. The Bolsheviks ended private ownership of land and distributed land to peasants. Workers were given control of the factories and mines. A new red flag with an entwined hammer and sickle symbolized union between workers and peasants. Throughout the land, millions thought they had at last gained control over their own lives. In fact, the Bolsheviks – renamed *Communists* – would soon become their masters.

Reflections:

- *How were the Bolsheviks able to seize power from the Provisional Government?*

6.9. Civil War, NEP Consolidation

After the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin quickly sought peace with Germany. Russia signed the *Treat of Brest-Litovsk* in March, 1918, giving up a huge chunk of its territory and its population. The cost of peace was extremely high, but the Communist leaders knew that they needed all their energies to defeat a collection of enemies at home. Russia's *withdrawal* affected the hopes of both the *Allies* and the *Central Powers*.

6.9.1. Russia Plunges into Civil War

For three years, civil war raged between the “*Reds*” as the Communists were known, and the counterrevolutionary “*Whites*.” The “*White*” armies were made up of Tsarist imperial officers, Mensheviks, democrats, and others, all of whom were united only by their desire to defeat the Bolsheviks. Nationalist groups from many of the former empire's non-Russian regions joined them in their fight. Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania broke free, but nationalists in Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia were eventually subdued.

The Allies intervened in the civil war. They hoped that the Whites might overthrow the Communists and support the fight against Germany. Britain, France and the United States sent forces to help the Whites. Japan seized land in East Asia that Tsarist Russia had once claimed. The Allied presence, however, did little to help the Whites. The Reds appealed to nationalism and urged Russians to drive out the foreigners. In the long run, the Allied invasion fed Communist distrust of the West.

Brutality was common in the civil war. Counterrevolutionary forces slaughtered captured Communists and tried to assassinate Lenin. The Communists shot the former

Tsar and Tsarina and their five children in July, 1918 to keep them from becoming a rallying symbol for counterrevolutionary forces.

6.9.2. War Under Communism

The Communists used terror not only against the Whites, but also to control their own people. They organized the *Cheka*, a secret police force much like the Tsar's. The Cheka executed ordinary citizens even if they were only suspected of taking action against the revolution. The Communists also set up a network of forced labour camps in 1919 – which grew under Stalin into the dreaded *Gulag*.

The Communists adopted a policy known as “war communism.” They took over banks, mines, factories and railway roads. Peasants in the country-side were forced to deliver almost all of their crops to feed the army and hungry people in the cities. Peasant labourers were drafted into the military or forced to work in factories.

Meanwhile, Trotsky, turned the Red Army into an effective fighting force. He used former Tsarist officers under the close watch of *commissars*, Communist party officials assigned to the army to teach party principles and ensure party loyalty. Trotsky's passionate speeches roused soldiers to fight. So did the order to shoot every tenth man if a unit performed poorly.

The Reds' position in the centre of Russia gave them a strategic advantage. The White armies were forced to attack separately from all sides. They were never able to cooperate effectively with one another. By 1921, the Communists' had managed to defeat their scattered foes.

6.9.3. Building the Communist Soviet Union

Russia was in chaos. Millions of people had died since the beginning of World War I. Millions more perished from famine and disease. Lenin faced the enormous problem of rebuilding a shattered state and economy.

In 1922, Lenin's Communist government united much of the Old Russian Empire into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) or Soviet Union. The Communists produced a constitution that seemed both democratic and socialist. It set up an elected legislature, later called, the *Supreme Soviet* and gave all citizens over the age of 18 the right to vote. All political power, resources and means of production would belong to workers and peasants. The Soviet Union was a multinational state made up of European and Asian peoples. In theory, all the member republics shared certain equal rights.

Reality, however, differed greatly from theory. The Communist Party, not the people, reigned supreme. Just as the Russian Tsars had, the party used the army and secret

police to enforce its will. Russia, which was the largest republic, dominated the other republics.

6.9.4. Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP)

On the economic front, Lenin retreated from his policy of “war communism” which had brought the economy to near collapse. Under party control, factory and mine output had fallen. Peasants stopped producing grain, knowing the government will only seize it.

In 1921, Lenin adopted the *New Economic Policy*, or *NEP*. It followed some capitalist ventures. Although state kept control of the banks, foreign trade and large industries, small businesses were allowed for private profit. The government also stopped squeezing peasants for grain. Under the *NEP*, peasants held on to small plots of land and freely sold their surplus crops.

Lenin's compromise with capitalism helped the Soviet economy recover and ended armed resistance to the new government. By 1928, food and industrial production, climbed back to pre-war levels. The standard of living improved, too. But Lenin always saw the *NEP* as temporary retreat from communism. His successor would soon return the Soviet Union to Communism.

Reflections:

- *How did the government and economy under Lenin differ from “pure” communism?*

6.9.5. Stalin Takes Over.

Lenin died in 1924 at the age of 54. His death set off a power struggle among Communist leaders. The chief contenders were Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Trotsky was a brilliant Marxist thinker, a skilful speaker and an architect of the Bolshevik revolution. Stalin, by contrast, was neither a scholar nor an orator. He was, however, a shrewd political operator and behind-the-scenes organiser. Trotsky and Stalin differed on the future of communism. Trotsky edged support for world-wide revolution against capitalism. Stalin, more cautious, wanted to concentrate on building socialism at home first.

Eventually, Stalin, isolated Trotsky within the party and stripped him of party membership. Trotsky fled the country in 1929, but continued to criticize Stalin. In 1940, Stalin's agents murdered Trotsky in Mexico.

In 1922, Lenin had expressed grave doubts about Stalin's ambitious nature: “Comrade Stalin... has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution.” Just as Lenin had warned, in the years that followed, Stalin used ruthless measures to win dictatorial power.

6.10. The Legacy and Meaning of the Russian Revolution

- The Russian Revolution, also known as the *October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution*, was a turning point in history when more than 2000 years of philosophy, history, religion, and culture based on the notion of natural inequality among human beings was definitively called into question. Inspired and informed by the teachings of Marx and Engels, Russian communism set in motion a movement aiming to challenge all social and political orders built upon the presumed right of the privileged to rule over others.
- The revolution carried out by Lenin and consolidated by Stalin transformed Russia from a largely bureaucratic empire of peasants into an industrial giant, and became the fulcrum of an international movement against colonialism and unbridled capitalism.
- In Western Europe, conservative and other governments started welfare initiatives to forestall their workers opting for revolution.
- Despite its tumultuous origins, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) eliminated poverty and established free healthcare and highly subsidized housing, as well as free education and job security. It became a model for others to emulate, and Marxism-Leninism became the battle cry of oppressed classes all over the world.
- In the post-Second World War period when decolonization began to take place, Anti-colonial, nationalist leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru of India, military strongmen such as Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt, the leaders of the Baathist parties of Iraq and Syria, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, the nationalist-turned communist Fidel Castro and many others emulated the Russian model of non-capitalist development. The ideas of a strong state, central planning in the form of five-year development plans, and egalitarian reforms were adopted, and welfare systems of different levels came into being.
- Later, in the 1970s, the Soviet Union actively supported armed liberation struggles against Portuguese colonies in Africa. The Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa and Rhodesia and the Palestine liberation movement also found in Moscow strong and consistent support.
- However, notwithstanding such fantastic achievements and popular appeal, communism failed because of some major political and economic errors. A serious flaw in Marxism and subsequently in Leninism had been to assume that once the workers or their party captures power the state is transformed into an organization that only serves the interests of the people. This is unfortunately not true. The state always remains an instrument of power and it must be kept under control through checks and balances. In this regard the Western democratic theory of the state is more realistic, and the democratic state has survived and developed through a system of multiple controls including an open society, a free press, and the rule of law, thus enshrining modalities of self-correction and reform.

- The Soviet Union ultimately became too bureaucratic, with extreme organization of the economy and strict limits on the freedom of individuals to write and publish, so that there was no political opposition to challenge the policies of the government. It over-spent, extended itself economically, and therefore its economy was greatly weakened. These weaknesses resulted in the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. What were the causes of the March revolution?
2. How did Lenin adapt Marxism to conditions in Russia/?
3. What were the causes and effects of the civil war in Russia?
4. Why did Lenin compromise between the ideas of capitalism and communism in creating NEP?

Summary

In the early years of the twentieth century, Russia was in a troubled state. Nicholas II, who was the Tsar (Emperor) from 1894 until 1917, insisted on ruling as an autocrat (someone who rules a country as he sees fit, without being responsible to a parliament) but had failed to deal adequately with the country's problems. Unrest and criticism of the government reached a climax in 1905 with Russian defeats in the war against Japan (1904 – 5). There was a general strike and an attempted revolution, which forced Nicholas to make concessions. These included the granting of an elected parliament (*Duma*). When it became clear that the *Duma* was ineffective, unrest increased. Disastrous Russian defeat in the First World War culminated in two revolutions, both in 1917.

The first revolution in March overthrew the Tsar and set up a moderate *Provisional Government*. When this could not work better than the Tsar, it was itself overthrown by a second uprising – the *Bolshevik Revolution* (November).

The new Bolshevik government was shaky at first and its opponents tried to destroy it causing a bitter civil war (1918 – 20). Thanks to the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks won the civil war and now calling themselves communists were able to consolidate their power. Lenin began the task of leading Russia to recovery, but died prematurely in January 1924.

UNIT 7

THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM (1800 – 1914)

7.1. Introduction

Imperialism is the domination by one country of the political, economic or cultural life of another country or region. In this chapter, we discuss, the building of overseas empires, the motivation for imperialism, scramble for Africa, and Europeans claims in the Muslim Regions, patterns of colonial rule and the legacy and consequences of European imperialism.

7.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter, learners should be able to

- State the motivations for imperialism
- Discuss the scramble for Africa
- Explain the patterns of colonial rule
- Describe the legacy and consequences of European imperialism.

7.3. The Motivations for Imperialism

By 1800s, Europe had gained considerable power. Strong, centrally governed nation-states had emerged and the Industrial Revolution had greatly enriched European economies. Encouraged by their new economic and military strength, Europeans embarked on a path of aggressive expansion that today's historians call "new imperialism." In just a few decades, beginning in the 1870s, Europeans brought much of the world under their influence and control. Like other key developments in world history, the new imperialism exploded out of a combination of causes.

7.3.1. Economic Interests Spur Expansion

The Industrial Revolution created needs and desires that spurred overseas expansion. Manufacturers wanted access to natural resources such as rubber, petroleum, manganese for steel, and palm oil for machinery. They also hoped for new markets of consumers to whom they could sell their factory goods. Bankers sought ventures to invest their profits. In addition, colonies offered a valuable outlet for Europe's growing population.

7.3.2. Political and Military Motives

Political and military issues were closely linked to economic motives. Steam-powered merchant ships and naval vessels needed bases around the world to take on coal and supplies. Industrial powers seized islands or harbours to satisfy these needs.

Nationalism played an important role, too. When, France, for example, moved into West Africa, rival nations like Britain and Germany, seized lands nearby to halt further French expansion. Western leaders claimed that colonies were needed for national security. They also felt that ruling a global empire increased a nation's *prestige* around the world.

7.3.3. Humanitarian and Religious Goals.

Many Westerners felt a genuine concern for their “little brothers” beyond the seas. Missionaries, doctors and colonial officials believed they had a duty to spread what they saw as blessings of Western civilisations, including its medicine, law and Christian religion.

7.3.4. Applying Social Darwinism

Behind the idea of the West's civilising mission was a growing sense of racial superiority. Many Westerners had embraced the idea of *Social Darwinism*. They applied Darwin's ideas about natural selection and survival of the fittest to human societies. European races, they argued, were superior to all others and imperial domination of weaker races was simply nature's way of improving the human species. As a result, millions of non-Westerners were robbed of their cultural heritage.

Reflections:

- *What factors contributed to European imperialism in the 1800s?*

7.4. The Scramble for Africa

Shortly afterward, King Leopold II of Belgium hired Stanley to explore the Congo River basin and arrange trade treaties with African leaders. Publicly, Leopold spoke of a civilising mission to carry the light “that for millions of men still plunged in barbarism will be the dawn of a better era.” Privately, he dreamed of conquest and profit. Leopold's activities in the Congo set off a scramble by other nations. Before long, Britain, France and Germany were pressing rival claims to the region.

7.4.1. Berlin Conference

To avoid bloodshed, European powers met at an international conference in 1884. It took place not in Africa but in Berlin, Germany. No Africans were invited to the conference.

At the *Berlin Conference*, European powers recognised Leopold's private claims to the *Congo Free State* but called for free trade on Congo and Niger rivers. They further agreed that a European power could not claim any part of Africa unless it had set up a government office there. This principle led Europeans to send officials who would exert their power over local rulers and peoples.

The rush to colonise Africa was on. In the 20 years after the *Berlin Conference*, the European powers partitioned almost the entire continent. As Europeans carved out their claims, they established new borders and frontiers. They redrew the map of Africa with little regard for traditional patterns of settlement or ethnic boundaries.

7.4.2. Horrors in the Congo

Leopold and other wealthy Belgians exploited the riches of the Congo, including its copper, rubber, and ivory. Soon there were horrifying reports of Belgian overseers brutalising villagers. Forced to work for almost nothing, labourers were savagely beaten or mutilated. The overall population declined drastically.

Eventually, international outrage forced Leopold to turn over his personal colony to the Belgian government. It became the *Belgian Congo* in 1908. Under Belgian rule, the worst abuses were ended. Still, the Belgians regarded the Congo as a possession to be exploited. Africans were given little or no role in the government and the wealth of their mines went out of the country to Europe.

7.4.3. France Extends its influence

France took the giant share of Africa. In the 1830s it had invaded and conquered Algeria in North Africa. The victory cost tens of thousands of French lives and killed many times more Algerians. In the late 1800s, France extended its influence along the Mediterranean into Tunisia. It also won colonies in West and Central Africa. At its height, the French empire in Africa was as large as the continental United States.

7.4.4. Britain Takes its Share

Britain's share of Africa was more scattered than that of France. However, it included more heavily populated regions with many rich resources. Britain took chunks of West and East Africa. It gained control of Egypt and pushed south into the Sudan.

In southern Africa, Britain clashed with the Boers who were descendants of Dutch settlers. Earlier, Britain had acquired the Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1815. At that time, many Boers fled British rule, migrating north and setting up their own republics. In the late 1800s, however, the discovery of diamonds and gold in the Boer lands led to conflict with Britain. The *Boer War*, which lasted from 1899 to 1902, involved bitter guerrilla fighting. The British won in the end but at a great cost.

In 1910, the British united the Cape Colony and the former Boer republics into the Union of South Africa. The new constitution set up a government run by whites and laid the foundation for a system of complete racial segregation that would remain in force until 1993.

7.4.5. Others Join the Scramble

Other European powers joined the scramble for colonies, in part to bolster their image, while also furthering their economic growth and influence. The Portuguese carved out large colonies in Angola, and Mozambique. Italy reached across the Mediterranean to occupy Libya and then pushed into the “horn” of Africa at the southern end of the Red Sea. The newly united Germany Empire took lands in eastern and south-western Africa, including Cameroons and Togo. A Germany politician trying to ease the worries of European rivals, explained, “We do not want to put anyone in the shade, but we also demand our place in the sun.”

7.5. European Claims in Muslim Regions

Napoleon’s Egyptian campaign highlighted Ottoman decline and opened a new era of European contact with Muslim regions of the world. European countries were just nibbling at the edges of Muslim countries. Before long they would strike at their heartland.

7.5.1. Stress in Muslim Regions

Muslim lands extended from western Africa to Southeast Asia. In the 1500s, three giant Muslim empires ruled much of this world – the *Ottoman* in the Middle East, the *Safavids* in Persia and the *Mughals* in India.

By 1700, all the three empires were in decline. The decay had many causes. Central governments had lost control over powerful groups such as landowning nobles, military elites and urban craft guilds. Corruption was widespread. In some places, Muslim scholars and religious leaders were allied with the state. In other areas, they helped to stir discontent against the government.

In the 1700, reform movements sprang up across various Muslim regions of Africa and Asia. Most stressed religious piety and strict rules of behaviour. *Usman dan Fadio* led the struggle to reform Muslim practices in Africa. In the Sudan, Muhammad Ahmad announced that he was the *Mahdi*, long-awaited saviour of the faith. The *Mahdi* and his followers fiercely resisted British expansion into the region.

Another Islamic reform movement, the *Wahhabi* movement in Arabia rejected the schools of theology and law that had emerged in the Ottoman Empire. In their place, they wanted to recapture the purity and simplicity of Muhammad’s original teachings. Although the revolt was put down, the *Wahhabi* movement survived. Its teachings remain influential in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia today.

In addition to internal decay and stress, the three Muslim empires faced powerful threats from Western imperialists. Through diplomacy and military threats, European powers won treaties giving them favourable trading terms. They then demanded special rights for Europeans residing in Muslim lands. At times, European powers protected those rights by intervening in local affairs.

7.5.2. Problems for Ottoman Empire

At its height, the Ottoman Empire had expanded across North Africa, South-eastern Europe and the Middle East. By the early 1800s, however, it faced serious challenges. Ambitious provincial rulers, had increased their power. Economic problems and corruption added to Ottoman decay.

As ideas of nationalism spread from Western Europe, internal revolts weakened the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire. Subject peoples in North Africa, Eastern Europe and the Middle East threatened to breakaway. In the Balkans, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians and Romanians gained their independence. Revolt against Ottoman rule also erupted in Arabia, Lebanon, Armenia. The Ottomans suppressed these uprisings, but Egypt slipped out of their control.

European states sought to benefit from the slow crumbling of the Ottoman Empire. After seizing Algeria in 1830s, France hoped to gain more Ottoman territory. Russia schemed to gain control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Control of these straits would give the Russians access to the Mediterranean Sea. Britain tried to thwart Russia's ambitions, which it saw as a threat to its own power in the Mediterranean and beyond to India. And in 1898, the new Germany Empire helped to increase its influence in the region by building a *Berlin-to-Baghdad* railway.

Since the late 1700s, several Ottoman rulers had seen the need for reform and looked to the West for ideas. They reorganised the *bureaucracy* and the system of tax collection. They built railway roads, improved education and hired Europeans to train a modern military. Young men were sent to the West to study science and technology. Many returned with Western political ideas about democracy and equality.

The reforms also brought improved medical care and revitalised farming. These improvements however, created a different set of problems. Better healthcare resulted in a population explosion that increased the already intense competition for the best land and led to unrest.

The adoption of Western ideas also increased tension. Many officials objected to changes that were inspired by foreign culture. For their part, the repressive *Sultans*, rulers of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, rejected reform and tried to rebuild the autocratic power enjoyed by earlier rulers.

In the 1890s, a group of liberals formed a movement called the *Young Turks*. They insisted that reform was the only way to save the empire. In 1908, the *Young Turks* overthrew the *Sultan*.

Before they could achieve their planned reforms, however, the Ottoman Empire was plunged into the World War that erupted in 1914.

Traditionally, the Ottomans had let minority nationalities live in their own communities and practice their own religions. By the 1890s, however, nationalism was igniting new tensions especially between Turkish nationalists and minority peoples who sought their own states. These tensions triggered a brutal genocide of the Armenians, a Christian people concentrated in the eastern mountains of the empire. *Genocide* is a deliberate attempt to destroy a racial political or cultural group.

The Muslim Turks accused Christian Armenians of supporting Russian plans against the Ottoman Empire. When Armenians protested repressive Ottoman policies, the Sultan had tens of thousands of them slaughtered. Over the next 25 years, between 600, 000 and 1.5 million Armenians were killed or died from diseases and starvation.

7.5.3. Egypt Seeks to Modernise

In the early 1800s, Egypt was a semi-independent province of the Ottoman Empire, making great strides toward reform. Its success was due to *Muhammad Ali*, an ambitious soldier appointed governor of Egypt by the Ottomans. Ali used the opportunity created by Napoleon's invasion and the civil war that followed to seize power in 1805.

Mohammed Ali is sometimes the "father of modern Egypt." He introduced a number of political and economic reforms, including improving tax collection, reorganising the land holding system and backing large irrigation projects to increase farm output. By expanding cotton production and encouraging the development of many local industries, Ali increased Egyptian participation in world trade.

Mohammed Ali also brought Western military experts to Egypt to help him build a well-trained, modern army. He conquered the neighbouring lands of Arabia, Syria, and Sudan. Before he died, in 1849, he had set Egypt on the road to becoming a major Middle Eastern power.

Mohammed Ali's successors lacked his skills and Egypt came increasingly under foreign control. In 1858, a French entrepreneur Ferdinand de Lesseps, organised a company to build the Suez Canal. European nations gained power over the Ottomans by extending loans at high interest rates. In 1875, the ruler of Egypt was unable to repay loans he had contracted for the canal and other projects. To pay his debts, he sold his shares in the canal. The British bought the shares gaining controlling interests in the canal.

When Egyptian nationalist revolted against foreign influence in 1882, Britain made Egypt a protectorate. In theory, the governor of Egypt was still an official of the Ottoman government. In fact, he followed policies dictated by Britain. Under British influence, Egypt continued to modernise. However, nationalist discontent simmered and flared into protests and riots.

7.5.4. European Interests in Persia.

Like the Ottoman Empire, Persia faced major challenges in the 1800s. The *Qajar Shahs*, who ruled Persia from 1794 to 1925, exercised absolute power. Still, they did take steps to introduce reforms. The government helped build telegraph lines and railroads and experimented with a liberal constitution. Reform, however, did not save Persia from Western imperialism. Russia wanted to protect its southern frontier and expand into Central Asia. Britain wanted to protect its interests in India.

For a time, each nation set up its own sphere of influence in Persia. The discovery of oil in the early 1900s heightened foreign interests in the region. Both Russia and Britain plotted for control of Persian oil fields. They persuaded the Persian government to grant them *concessions* or sent troops into Persia. Persian nationalists were outraged. The nationalists included two different groups. Some Persians wanted to move swiftly to adopt Western ways. Others, led by Muslim religious leaders condemned the Persian government and Western influences.

7.6. Patterns of Colonial Rule

The leading imperial powers developed several kinds of colonial rule. The French practiced *Direct Rule*, sending officials and soldiers from France to administer their colonies. Their goal was to impose *French Culture* on their colonies and turn them into French provinces.

The British by contrast, relied on a system of *Indirect Rule*. To govern their colonies, they used Sultans, chiefs or other local rulers. They then encouraged the children of the local ruling class to get an education in Britain. In that way, they groomed a new “Westernised” generation of leaders to continue indirect imperial rule and to spread British civilisation. Like France and other imperialist nations, however, Britain could still resort to military force if its control over a colony was threatened.

In a *Protectorate* local ruler were left in place but were expected to follow the advice of European advisors on issues such as trade or missionary activity. A protectorate cost less to run than a colony did, and eventually, did not require a large commitment of military forces.

A third form of Western control was the Sphere of Influence, an area in which an outside power claimed exclusive investment or trading privileges. Europeans carved out these spheres in China and elsewhere to prevent conflicts among themselves.

7.7. The Legacy and Consequences of European Imperialism.

- European Imperialism in Asia and Africa has certainly left a lasting legacy in the modern world. Some former colonies have fared quite well. A couple former imperial port cities—Hong Kong and Singapore—have been among the wealthiest cities or countries in the world.

- Older former settler colonies—such as the United States, Canada, and Australia—are also among the wealthiest. Other countries that have recently shuffled off imperial control—China and India—have had the fastest growing economies in the world since opening up their economies to the highly competitive global free market.
- Other countries have not fared well at all. Almost all of the poorest countries in the world are in sub-Saharan Africa, with the Congo leading the pack. Most of these African countries have seen their GDP per capita decrease since independence from European imperial control.
- Political instability has perhaps been the biggest problem in the development of Africa. Companies do not want to risk investing in countries suffering from civil wars, rebellions, corruption, and violent regime change
- Between independence starting in 1957 and continuing through 1990, only six out of 150 African heads of state gave up their power voluntarily. Clearly, the newly independent nations of Africa still struggle with unscrambling the legacy of imperialism.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. What were the reasons for the rapid spread of Western Imperialism?
2. How did Western imperialism spread through Africa and Asia so quickly?
3. Compare and contrast how Britain and France ruled their colonies,

Summary

Imperialism is the policy of extending a nation's authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over other nations. Motivated by economic, cultural, religious and social motives, Western countries built overseas empires which has left a lasting legacy in the modern world today.

UNIT 8

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

8.1. Introduction

By 1914, Europe had enjoyed a century of relative peace. Idealists hoped for a permanent end to the scourge of war. International events, such as the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 and the first peace universal conference in 1899, were steps towards keeping the peace. But in 1914 war broke out. In this unit we discuss the causes, how the war was fought and how the

8.2. Learning Outcomes

8.3. Causes of the First World War.

The First World War was caused by a number of factors:

8.3.1. The Alliance System

While peace efforts were under way, powerful forces were pushing Europe towards war. Spurred by distrust of one another, the great powers of Europe – Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Britain, France and Russia – signed treaties pledging to defend one another. These alliances were intended to promote peace by creating powerful combinations that no one would dare attack. In the end they had the opposite effect. Two huge alliances emerged.

8.3.2. The Triple Alliance

The first of these alliances had its origins in Bismarck's days. He knew that France longed to avenge its defeat in the *Franco-Prussian War*. Sure, that France would not attack Germany without help, Bismarck signed treaties with other powers. In 1882, he formed the *Triple Alliance* with Italy and Austria-Hungary. In 1914, when war did start Italy and Austria-Hungary fought on the same side. They became known as the *Central Powers*.

8.3.3. The Triple Entente

A rival block took shape in 1893, when France formed an alliance. In 1904, France and Britain signed an *Entente*, a non-binding agreement to follow common policies. Though not as formal as a treaty, the entente led to close military and diplomatic ties. Britain later signed a similar agreement with Russia. When war began, these powers became known as the *Allies*.

Other alliances also formed. Germany signed a treaty with the Ottoman Empire. Britain drew close with Japan.

Reflections:

- *What two alliances took shape before the beginning of the First World War?*

8.4. Rivalries and Nationalism Increased Tension

The European powers jealously guarded their *status*. They competed for position in many areas. Two old empires, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey, struggled to survive in an age of nationalism.

Competition – Economic rivalries helped sour the international atmosphere. Germany, the newest of the great powers was growing into an economic and military power-house. Britain felt threatened by its rapid economic growth. Germany in turn, thought the great powers did not give it respect. Germany also feared that when Russia caught up to other industrialized nations, its huge population and vast supply of natural resources would make it unbeatable competitor.

Overseas rivalries also divided European nations. In 1905 and again in 1911, competition for colonies brought France and Germany to the brink of war in Morocco, then under France's influence. Although diplomats kept the peace, Germany did gain some territory in Central Africa. As a result of the two Moroccan crises, Britain and France strengthened their ties against Germany.

With international tension on the rise, the great powers began to build up their armies and navies. The fiercest competition was the naval rivalry between Britain and Germany. To protect its vast overseas empire, Britain had built the world's most respected navy. As Germany began acquiring overseas colonies, it began to build up its own navy. Suspicions of Germany motives, Britain in turn increased naval spending. Sensational journalism dramatized the arms race and stirred national public opinion against rival countries.

The rise of *militarism* or the glorification of the military, also helped to feed the arm's race. The militarist tradition painted war in romantic colours. Young men dreamed of blaring trumpets and dashing cavalry charges – not at all the sort of conflict they would soon face.

Nationalism – Aggressive nationalism also caused tension. Nationalism was strong in both Germany and France. Germans were proud of their new empire's military power and industrial leadership. The French were bitter about their 1871 defeat in the *Franco-Prussian War* and yearned to recover the lost province of *Alsace and Lorraine*.

In Eastern Europe, Russia sponsored a powerful form of nationalism called *Pan-Slavism*. It held that all Slavic peoples shared a common nationality. As the largest Slavic country, Russia felt that it had a duty to lead and defend all Slavs. By 1914, it stood ready to support Serbia, a proud young nation that dreamed of creating a South Slav state.

Two old multinational empires particularly feared rising nationalism. Austria-Hungary worried that nationalism might foster rebellion among the many minority populations within its empire. Ottoman Turkey felt threatened by the nearby new nations, such as Serbia. If realised, Serbia's dream of a South Slave state could take territory away from both Austria-Hungary and Turkey.

In 1912, several Balkan states attacked Turkey and succeeded in taking a large area of land away from Turkish control. The next year, the Balkan states fought among themselves over the spoils of war. These brief but bloody Balkan wars raised tensions to a fever pitch. By 1914, the Balkans were called the "powder keg of Europe" – a barrel of gunpowder that a tiny spark might cause to explode.

Reflections:

- *How did international competition and nationalism increase tensions in Europe?*

8.5. The Assassination in Sarajevo – the immediate cause of the War.

The Great War began in Eastern Europe where a regional conflict between tiny Serbia and the huge empire of Austria-Hungary grew rapidly into a general war. The crisis began when *Archduke Francis Ferdinand* of Austria-Hungary announced that they would visit Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. Francis Ferdinand was the nephew and heir of the aging Austrian emperor, Francis Joseph. At the time of his visit, Bosnia was under the rule of Austria-Hungary. But it was also the home of many Serbs and Slavs. News of the royal visit angered many Serbian nationalists. They viewed the Austrians as foreign oppressors. Some members of *Unity or Death*, a Serbian terrorist group commonly known as the *Black Hand*, vowed to take action.

The archduke ignored warnings of anti-Austrian unrest in Sarajevo. On June, 28, 1914, he and his wife *Sophie*, rode through Sarajevo in an open car. As the car passed by, a conspirator named, *Gavrilo Princip* seized his chance and fired twice into the car. Moments later, the archduke and his wife were dead.

The news of the assassination shocked Francis Joseph. Still he was reluctant to go war. The government in Vienna, however, saw the incident as an excuse to crush Serbia. In Berlin, Kaiser William II was horrified at the assassination of his ally's heir. He wrote to Francis Joseph, advising him to take a firm stand towards Serbia. Instead of urging restraint, Germany gave Austria a promise of unconditional support no matter what the cost.

Austria sent Serbia a sweeping *ultimatum*, or a final set of demands. To avoid war, said, the *ultimatum*, Serbia must end all anti-Austrian agitation and punish any Serbian official involved in the murder plot. It must even let Austria join in the investigation. Serbia agreed to most, but not all, of the terms of Austria's ultimatum. This partial refusal gave Austria the opportunity it was seeking. On July, 28, 1914 Austria declared war on Serbia.

The war between Austria and Serbia might have been just another regional conflict like most European wars of the previous century. However, the carefully planned alliances soon drew the great powers in deeper conflict.

Russia and France backed Serbia. After Austria's declaration of war, Serbia turned to its ally, Russia, the champion of Slavic nations. From Ste Petersburg, Nicholas II telegraphed William II. The Tsar asked William to urge Austria to soften its demands. When this plea failed, Russia began to *mobilise* or prepare its military forces for war. On August 1, Germany responded by declaring war on Serbia.

Russia in turn, appealed to its ally France. In Paris, nationalists saw a chance to avenge France's defeat in the *Franco-Prussian War*. Though French leaders had some doubts, they gave Russia the same kind of backing Germany offered to Austria. When Germany demanded that France keep out of the conflict, France refused. Germany then declared war on France.

Germany invaded Belgium. By early August, the battle lines were beginning. Italy and Britain still remained uncommitted. Italy chose to stay neutral for the time being. *Neutrality* is a policy of supporting neither side in war. Britain had to decide quickly whether or not to support its ally France. Then, Germany's war plans suddenly made the decision for Britain.

A cornerstone of Germany's military policy was a plan developed year earlier by General *Alfred von Schlieffen*. Germany's location presented the possibility of a two-front war – against France in the west and Russia to the east. The *Schlieffen Plan* was designed to avoid this problem. Schlieffen reasoned that Germany should move against France first because Russia's lumbering military would be slow to mobilise. However, Germany had to defeat France quickly so that its armies could then turn around and then fight Russia.

To ensure a swift victory in the west, the *Schlieffen Plan* required Germany armies to march through neutral Belgium and then swing south behind French lines. The goal was to encircle and crush France's army. The Germans embarked on the plan by invading Belgium on August 3. However, Britain and other European powers had signed a treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. Outraged by the invasion of Belgium, Britain declared on Germany on August 4

Once the machinery of war was set in motion, it seemed impossible to stop. Military leaders insisted that they must mobilise their forces immediately to accomplish their military goals. These military time tables made it impossible for political leaders to negotiate instead of fight.

Reflections:

- *What happened because of the assassination of Francis Ferdinand and his wife?*

8.6. War around the World

Though most of the fighting took place in Europe, World War I was a global conflict. Japan allied with Britain used the war as an excuse to seize Germany outposts in China and Islands in the Pacific.

The Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers. Because of its central location, the Ottoman Empire was a desirable ally. If the Ottoman Turks had joined the Allies, the Central Power would have been almost completely encircled. However, the Turks joined the Central Powers in late October 1914. The Turks then cut off crucial Allied supply lines to Russia through the Dardanelles, a vital strait connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

8.6.1. War in the colonies

European colonies were also drawn into the struggle. The Allies overran scattered Germany colonies in Africa and Asia. They also turned to their colonies and dominions for troops, labourers and supplies. Colonial recruits from British India and French West Africa fought on European battlefields. Canada, Australia and New Zealand set troops to Britain's aid.

People in the colonies had mixed feelings about serving. Some were reluctant to serve rulers who did not treat them fairly. Other colonial troops volunteered eagerly. They expected that their service would be a step toward citizenship or independence.

8.7. The United States Declares War

Soon after the Russian Revolution began, however, another event altered the balance of forces. The United States declared war on Germany. Many factors contributed to the decision of the United States to exchange neutrality for in 1917.

Why did America join the Allies? Many Americans supported the allies because of cultural ties. The United States shared a cultural history and language with Britain and sympathised with France as another democracy. On the other hand, some Germany Americans favoured the Central Powers. So did many Irish Americans, who resented British rule of Ireland, and Russian Jewish immigrants, who did not want to be allied with the Tsar.

Germany had stopped Submarine attacks in 1915 after pressure from President Wilson. However, in early 1917, Germany was desperate to break the stalemate. On February 1, the Germany government announced that it would resume unrestricted submarine warfare. Wilson angrily denounced Germany.

Also, in early 1917, the British intercepted a message from the Germany foreign minister, Arthur Zimmermann, to his ambassador to propose that Germany would help Mexico "to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas and Arizona" in return for Mexican support against the United States. Britain revealed the Zimmermann note to the American government. When the note became public, anti-Germany feeling intensified in the United States.

In April, 1917, Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany. “We have no selfish end to serve,” he stated. Instead he painted the conflict idealistically as a war “to make to make the world safe for democracy” and later as a “war to war.”

The United States needed months to recruit, train, supply and transport a modern army across the Atlantic. But by the 1918, about two million American soldiers had joined the war-weary Allied troops fighting on the Western Front. Although relatively few American troops engaged in combat, their arrival gave Allied troops a much-needed morale boost. Just as important to the debt-ridden Allies was American financial aid.

A final showdown on the Western Front began in early 1918. The Germans badly wanted to achieve a major victory before eager American troops arrived in Europe. In March, The Germans launched a huge offensive that by July had pushed the Allies back 40 miles. These efforts exhausted the German, however, and by then American troops were arriving by the thousands. The Allies then launched a counterattack, slowly driving Germany forces back across France and Belgium. In September, Germany Generals told the Kaiser that the war could not be won.

Uprising exploded among the hungry city dwellers across Germany. Germany commanders advised the Kaiser to step down. William II did so in early November, fleeing into exile in the Netherlands.

By autumn, Austria-Hungary was also reeling toward collapse. As the government in Vienna became weak, the subject nationalities revolted, breaking the empire of the Hapsburgs. Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire also asked for peace.

The new Germany government sought an agreement to end fighting, with the Allies. At 11 A.M. on November 11, 1918, the Great War at last came to an end.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Why did European nations form alliances?
2. How did the Austrian government react to the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand?
3. How did nationalism within the Ottoman Empire come into play during the war?

Summary

In the years leading to the end of the nineteenth century, there was a lot of tension among some leading nations in Europe. Spurred by distrust of one another, the great powers of Europe – Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Britain, France and Russia – signed treaties pledging to defend one another. These alliances were intended to promote peace by creating powerful combinations that no one would dare attack. In the end they had the opposite effect. Two huge alliances emerged. The *Triple Alliance* involving Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy which came to be known as the *Central Powers* and *Triple Entente* involving Britain, France and Russia which came to be known as the *Allies*. Nationalism and overseas military competition also increased tension.

The Great War began in Eastern Europe where a regional conflict between tiny Serbia and the huge empire of Austria-Hungary grew rapidly into a general war. However, with the joining of the United States in the war around April in 1917, the Central Powers were defeated and At 11 A.M. on November 11, 1918, the Great War at last came to an end.

UNIT 9

THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

9.1. Introduction

The victorious Allied nations met at the Paris Peace Conference to discuss the fate of Europe, the former Ottoman Empire and various colonies around the world. The central Powers and Russia were not allowed to take part in the negotiations. In this unit, we discuss the conflicting goals, challenges with the peace, the Treaty of Versailles, outcome of the peace settlements and the Weimer Republic

9.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter, learners should be able to:

- Discuss the conflicting views of the Big Three at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919
- Analyse the terms of the Versailles Treaty
- Show the outcome of the peace settlement
- Examine the challenges of the Weimer Republic.

9.3. Conflicting Views of the Big Three at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Woodrow Wilson was one of the three strong leaders who dominated the Paris Peace Conference. He was a dedicated reformer and at times was so stubbornly convinced that he was right that he could be hard to work with. Wilson urged for “peace without victory” based on the *Fourteen Points*, a list of his terms for resolving this and future conflicts. He called for freedom of the seas, free trade, large-scale reduction of arms, and an end to secret treaties. For Eastern Europe, Wilson Favoured self-determination, the right of people to choose their own form of government. Finally, Wilson urged the creation of a “general association of nations” to keep the peace in the future.

Two other Allied leaders at the peace conference had different aims. British Prime Minister *David Lloyd George* was in favour of a less severe settlement enabling Germany to recover quickly so that she could resume her role as a major customer for British goods. But the British public expected a harsh settlement.

The chief goal of the French leader, *George Clemenceau* wanted a harsh settlement to weaken Germany so that it could never again threaten France.

Reflections:

- *How did the goals of the Big Three leaders' conflict at the Paris Peace Conference?*

9.4. Challenges with the Peace.

Crowds of other representatives circled around the “Big Three” with their own demands and interests. The Italian Prime Minister, *Vittorio Orlando* insisted that the Allies honour the secret agreements to give former Austro-Hungarian lands to Italy. Such secret agreements violated the principle of self-determination.

Self-determination posed other challenges. Many people who had been ruled by Russia, Austria-Hungary or the Ottoman Empire now demanded national states of their own. The territories claimed by these peoples often overlapped, so it was impossible to satisfy them all. Some ethnic groups became unwanted minorities in newly created states.

9.5. The Versailles Treaty

In June, 1919, the Allies ordered representatives of the new Germany Republic to sign the treaty they had drawn up at the Palace of Versailles outside Paris. The Germany delegates were horrified as the treaty was highly anti-Germany. It aimed at humiliating Germany and her allies and to completely destroy the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Here are some of the provisions of the treaty:

(b) Territorial Losses

- Alsace-Lorraine went back to France
- Memel went back to Lithuania
- Posen went to Poland
- Upper Silesia went to Poland
- The Polish Corridor went to Poland
- Western Prussia went to Poland
- Moresnet went to Belgium
- Euphen went to Belgium
- Malmedy went to Belgium
- North Schleswig went to Denmark
- Danzig was made a free city
- Small part of Silesia went to Czechoslovakia
- The Rhineland was made a demilitarised zone

(c) Colonial losses

Germany lost all her colonies. Her colonies became mandates of the League because Germany was unfit to rule. Britain and France were given mandates by the League over Germany

colonies in Africa. Japan and Australia were given mandates by the League over some Pacific islands.

- Togo and Cameroon went to Britain and France
- Namibia went to South Africa
- Rwanda and Burundi went to Belgium
- New Guinea went to Australia
- Samoa went to New Zealand
- Marshal, Mariana and other Pacific islands went to Japan.

(c) Germany was to disarm

Other parts to the treaty were aimed at weakening Germany. The treaty severely limited the size of the once-feared Germany military.

- Her air force was abolished
- She was not to produce arms anymore
- Conscription of soldiers was not allowed
- Her army was only allowed a few naval ships. The rest were shared between Britain and France.

(d) Reparations (Compensation for war damages)

The treaty forced Germany to assume full blame for causing the war. Therefore, the treaty imposed huge reparations that would burden an already damaged Germany economy. The reparations covered not only the destruction caused by the war, but also pensions for millions of Allied soldiers or their widows and families. The total cost of Germany reparations would later be calculated at \$30 billion (the equivalent of \$2.7 trillion today).

(e) The Union of Germany and Austria (Anschluss) was not allowed.

(f) The War Guilty Clause

Germany was forced to sign the *War Guilty Clause* saying she was guilty of causing the war. The Germans signed because they had no choice. However, Germany resentment of the Treaty of Versailles would poison the international climate for 20 years. It would help spark an even deadlier world war in the years to come.

9.6. Outcomes of the Peace Settlement

Self-determination in Eastern Europe. Where the German, Austrian and Russian empires had once ruled, a band of new nations emerged. Poland became an independent nation after

more than 100 years of foreign rule. The Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia fought for and achieved independence.

Three new republics – Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary – rose in the old Hapsburg heartland. In the Balkans, the peacemakers created new South Slav State, Yugoslavia, dominated by Serbia.

The Mandate System. European colonies in Africa, Asia and the Pacific had looked to the Paris Peace Conference with high hopes. Colonial leaders expected that the peace would bring new respect and an end to imperial rule. However, the leaders at Paris applied self-determination only to parts of Europe. Outside Europe, the victorious Allies added to their empires. The treaties created a system of mandates administered by Western powers.

Reflections:

- *What were the major provisions of the Versailles Treaty?*

9.7. The Weimer Republic

The Weimar Republic was Germany's government from 1919 to 1933, the period after World War I until the rise of Nazi Germany. It was named after the town of Weimar where Germany's new government was formed by a National Assembly after Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated. From its uncertain beginnings to a brief season of success and then a devastating depression, the Weimar Republic experienced enough chaos to position Germany for the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party.

Germany didn't fare well after World War I, as it was thrown into troubling economic and social disorder. After a series of mutinies by German sailors and soldiers, Kaiser William II lost the support of his military and the German people, and he was forced to abdicate on November 9, 1918.

The following day, a provisional government was announced made up of members of the *Social Democratic Party (SDP)* and the *Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USDP)*, shifting power from the military.

In December 1918, elections were held for a National Assembly tasked with creating a new parliamentary constitution. On February 6, 1919, the National Assembly met in the town of Weimar and formed the Weimar Coalition. They also elected SDP leader Friedrich Ebert as President of the Weimar Republic.

On June 28, the Treaty of Versailles was signed, which ordered Germany to reduce its military, take responsibility for the World War I, relinquish some of its territory and pay exorbitant reparations to the Allies. It also prevented Germany from joining the League of Nations at that time.

On August 11, 1919, the Weimar Constitution was signed into law by President Ebert. The law faced venomous opposition from the military and the radical left. The Constitution contained 181 articles and covered everything from the structure of the German state (Reich) and the rights of the German people to religious freedom and how laws should be enacted.

Despite its new constitution, the Weimar Republic faced one of Germany's greatest economic challenges: hyperinflation. Thanks to the Treaty of Versailles, Germany's ability to produce revenue-generating coal and iron ore decreased. As war debts and reparations drained its coffers, the German government was unable to pay its debts.

Some of the former World War I Allies didn't buy Germany's claim that it couldn't afford to pay. In a blatant League of Nations breach, French and Belgian troops occupied Germany's main industrial area, the Ruhr, determined to get their reparation payments.

The Weimar government ordered German workers to passively resist the occupation and go on strike, shutting down the coal mines and iron factories. As a result, Germany's economy quickly tanked.

In response, the Weimar government simply printed more money. The effort backfired, however, and further devalued the German Mark—and inflation increased at an astounding level. The cost of living rose rapidly and many people lost all they had.

Germany elected *Gustav Stresemann* as their new chancellor in 1923. He ordered Ruhr workers back to the factories and replaced the Mark with a new currency, the American-backed *Reichsmark*.

In late 1923, the League of Nations asked U.S. banker and Director of the Budget, *Charles Dawes*, to help tackle Germany's reparations and hyperinflation issues. He submitted the "*Dawes Plan*" which outlined a plan for Germany to pay more reasonable reparations on a sliding scale. Dawes was later awarded the *Nobel Peace Prize* for his efforts.

The *Dawes Plan* and Stresemann's leadership helped stabilize the Weimar Republic and energize its economy. In addition, Germany repaired relations with France and Belgium and was finally allowed into the League of Nations, which opened the door for international trade. In general, life improved in the Weimar Republic.

Much of the Weimar Republic's recovery was due to a steady flow of American dollars into its economy. However, America had positioned itself for an economic disaster of its own as it struggled with increased unemployment, low wages, declining stock values and massive, unliquidated bank loans.

On October 29, 1929, the U.S. stock market crashed, sending America into a devastating economic meltdown and ushering in the *Great Depression*.

The stock market crash had a global ripple effect. It was especially devastating for the newly-recovered Weimar Republic. As the flow of American money dried up, Germany could no longer meet their financial responsibilities. Businesses failed, unemployment plummeted again, and Germany faced another devastating economic crisis.

During hyperinflation, the German middle class bore the brunt of the economic chaos. When another financial crisis hit, they grew weary and distrustful of their government leaders. Searching for new leadership and fearing a Communist takeover, many people turned to extremist parties such as the *Nazi Party* led by *Adolf Hitler*, despite his unpopular and failed attempt to start a national revolution in 1923.

In 1932, the Nazi Party became the largest political party in Parliament. After a brief struggle for power, Hitler was named Chancellor in January 1933. Within weeks, he invoked Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution to quash many civil rights and suppress members of the Communist party.

In March 1933, Hitler introduced the *Enabling Act* to allow him to pass laws without the approval of Germany's Parliament or President. To make sure the *Enabling Act* was passed, Hitler forcibly prevented Communist Parliament members from voting. Once it became law, Hitler was free to legislate as he saw fit and establish his dictatorship without any *checks and balances*.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Show how self-determination became a major challenge during the peace settlement in 1919.
2. How was the issue of Germany colonies resolved according to the terms of the Versailles Treaty?
3. What political and economic problems did the Weimar Republic face?

4. Explain how the socio-political and economic conditions of the Weimar Republic facilitated the rise of the Nazi to power.

Summary

The victorious allied nations met at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 to discuss the fate of Europe. With the peace settlement among the Big Three, in June 1919, the allies ordered Germany to sign the treaty they had drawn up at the Palace of Versailles. The Treaty was very punitive on Germany as Germany lost territories in Europe, lost colonies, Germany was to disarm, pay reparations and Germany was also forced to sign the war guilty clause accepting responsibility for causing the war.

The Weimar Republic was Germany's government from 1919 to 1933, the period after World War I until the rise of Nazi Germany. It was named after the town of Weimar where Germany's new government was formed by a National Assembly after Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated. From its uncertain beginnings to a brief season of success and then a devastating depression, the Weimar Republic experienced enough chaos to position Germany for the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party.

UNIT 10

THE RISE OF HITLER AND NAZISM IN GERMANY

10.1. Introduction

Hitler's rise to power raise disturbing questions that we still debate today. Why did Germany, which had a democratic government in the 1920s, become a totalitarian state in the 1930s? How could a ruthless, hate-filled dictator gain the enthusiastic support of many Germans? In this chapter, we discuss Adolf Hitler, the factors that helped Hitler to rise to power, Hitler's domestic and foreign policies.

10.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter, learners should be able to:

- Discuss the factors that helped Hitler to rise to power
- Explain Hitler's domestic policies
- Discuss Hitler's foreign policy and give the stages of its implementation

10.3. Adolf Hitler.

Hitler was born in Austria in 1889. He was corporal in the Germany in World War I. He worked as a government agent to fight socialism after the war. He joined the *Germany Worker's Party* in 1919 and soon became its leader. He changed the party's name to *National Socialist Party (NAZI)*. The emblem of the party was the '*Swastika*'. He greatly opposed the government for signing the Versailles Treaty.

10.4. Factors that helped Hitler to Rise to Power.

- *Economic Crises* – In 1929, the Germany economy collapsed leading to the invasion of the *Ruhr* by France. This increased support for the Nazis who were non-democratic because people felt that democracy had failed.

In 1929, the *Great Depression* destroyed Germany economy. Unemployment and inflation greatly increased, therefore, the Nazis got more and more support.

- *The rise of communism* – People feared the spread of communism in Germany especially landowners, so they supported the Nazis who were against communism.

- *Weaknesses of Germany democracy* – The democratic government in Germany was very weak because: It had no deep roots in Germany as it only started in 1918. Democracy failed to solve the socio-political and economic chaos in post-war Germany, for example, in 1930, *Bruning* formed a government a government without majority in the Reichstag and ruled by decree. The democratic government accepted the hated Versailles Treaty which led to the paying of reparations and the signing of the war guilty clause.
- *Propaganda* – The Nazi had a powerful propaganda machinery. *Joseph Goebbels* was in charge of propaganda. He was very skilful in using the media to increase support.
- *Hitler's oratory ability* – Hitler was an orator, his ability to move people by his speeches led to widespread support for the Nazis. Hitler and the Nazis made promises to the desperate people of Germany to re-arm Germany, to bring law and order and to end unemployment. Therefore, people supported them.
- The Nazis used *GESTAPO* (secret police to get rid of opponents).

10.5. Hitler's Domestic Policies

- He appealed to *nationalism* by recalling past glories. Germany's *First Reich* or empire was the medieval *Holy Roman Empire*. The second Reich was the empire forged by Bismarck in 1871. Under Hitler's new *Third Reich*, he wanted to make Germany great by expelling all inferior people so that the Germany master race would dominate Europe for a thousand years.
- *Anti-Semitism*. In his book *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggles" became the basic book of Nazi goals and ideology. *Mein Kampf* reflected Hitler's obsessions – extreme nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism. Germans, he said, belonged to a superior 'master race' of Aryans or light-skinned Europeans whose greatest enemies were the Jews. Hitler blamed Germany defeat in World War I on a conspiracy of Marxists, Jews, corrupt politicians and business leaders.

In his fanatical anti-Semitism, Hitler set out to drive the Jews from Germany. In 1935, the Nazis passed the *Nuremberg Laws* which deprived Jews of Germany citizenship and placed severe restrictions on them. They were prohibited from marry non-Jews, attending or teaching at Germany schools or universities, holding government jobs, practising law or medicine or publishing books. Nazis beat and robbed Jews and roused mobs to do the same. Many Germany Jews fled, seeking refuge in other countries.

- To build for the future, Hitler put extreme emphasis on the youth. The Nazi indoctrinated young people with their ideology. In strong speeches, Hitler put across

his message of racism. He urged young Germans to destroy their so-called enemies without mercy. On hikes and camps, Hitler youths pledged absolute loyalty to Germany and undertook physical fitness programmes to prepare for war. School courses and textbooks were re-written to reflect Nazi racial views.

- To combat the Great Depression Hitler launched large public works programmes. Tens of thousands of people were put to work building highways and housing or replanting forests. Hitler also began a crash programme to rearm Germany.
- Hitler purged and controlled all opposition.

Reflections:

➤ *What were some of the restrictions that Hitler placed on the Jews?*

10.6. The aims of Hitler's Foreign Policy

- To turn Germany into a super power again.
- Revising the terms of the Versailles Treaty.
- Regaining all territories lost by Germany as a result of the Versailles Treaty.
- Re uniting all the Germany-Speaking Peoples under one flag and one Germany government (Reich).
- Gaining extra territory in Eastern Europe (Lebensraum).
- Re-building the Germany armed forces.

10.6.1. Stages of Implementation of Hitler's Foreign Policy.

Hitler began his foreign policy with a series of brilliant successes. This was one of the main reasons for his popularity in Germany.

- Given that Germany was still militarily weak in 1933, Hitler had to move cautiously at first. He withdrew Germany from the *World Disarmament Conference* and from the *League of Nations* on the ground that France would not agree to Germany equality of armaments.
- Hitler signed a ten-year *Non-Aggression Pact* with Poland, who were showing alarm in case the Germans tried to retake the *Polish Corridor*. This was something of a big achievement for Hitler. Britain took it as Hitler's peaceful intentions.
- The *Saar* was returned to Germany (January 1935) after a vote in which 90 percent vote was in favour. Though the vote had been provided for at the Versailles, Nazi

propaganda made the most of the success and Hitler announced that now all causes of grievance between France and Germany had been removed.

- In March 1936, Hitler took the calculated risk of sending troops into the demilitarised Zone of the Rhineland. This was a breach of the Versailles Treaty.
- Later in 1946, Hitler consolidated Germany's position by reaching an understanding with Mussolini (The *Rome-Berlin-Axis*) and by signing the *Anti-Comintern Pact* with Japan) also joined by Italy in 1937. Germans and Italians gained military experience helping Franco to victory in the *Spanish Civil War*.
- The Anschluss (union) with Austria (March 1938) was Hitler's greatest success to date. Germany troops moved into Austria and Austria became part of Germany.
- Anschluss (union) with Austria dealt a severe strategic blow to Czechoslovakia which could now be attacked from the south as well as from the west and north. All was ready for Germany speaking *Sudetenland*.

The *Sudetenland*, a territory in Czechoslovakia had 3 million Germans. Hitler desired to unite the *Sudetenland* with Germany and he encouraged the formation of the Nazi party in that region. Hitler claimed that the Germans of the Sudetenland had been denied self-determination. Hitler complained of the ill treatment of the Sudetenland Germans by the Czechs. Prime Minister Chamberlain of Britain chose to "appease" Hitler. Chamberlain held several meetings with Hitler and the *Munich Summit* of September 1938 gave the Sudetenland to Hitler. In 1938 and 1939 Germany troops occupied the Sudetenland and half of Czechoslovakia (i.e. Bohemia and Moravia).

- *Poland* was a new nation created by the Versailles Treaty. Germany territories given to Poland by the Versailles Treaty included Posen, Silesia and West Prussia and the Port of Danzig ruled by the League of Nations. Hitler resented the division of East Prussia by the Polish Corridor from the rest of Germany. He wanted to regain the Port of Danzig and the Polish Corridor. Poland had signed defensive agreements with Britain (April 1939) and France. On 1st September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Britain and France declared war on Germany and on 3rd September, the Second World War broke out.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. Describe the Nazi Party's ideology and Hitler's plans for ruling Germany.

2. Discuss Hitler's aims of his foreign policy.
3. What stages did Hitler take in the implementation of his foreign policy?

Summary

Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Party had assumed control of Germany by 1933. Embarked on a policy of Germany nationalism and anti-Semitism as a basis for building Germany into a world power. His foreign policy which he had successfully achieved by 1938 involved much of overturning the Versailles Treaty.

UNIT 11

MUSSOLINI AND FACISM IN ITALY

11.1. Introduction

Fascism is a form of radical, right-wing, authoritarian and extreme nationalism, characterised by dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition, and strong regimentation of society and of the economy, which came to prominence in early 20th-century Europe. In this unit, we discuss Mussolini's rise to power, his domestic and foreign policy.

11.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the chapter, learners should be able to:

- Discuss the conditions that facilitated Mussolini's rise to power
- Explain Mussolini's domestic policy.
- Examine Mussolini's foreign policy and how he implemented it.

11.3. Conditions in Italy before the Rise of Mussolini to power

- After the First World War, Italy was not fully paid for reparations (compensation for damages in the war), this made most of the Italians unhappy and caused disorder.
- Italy was not given the promised lands of Trentino, South Tyrol, Istria, Triente, Dalmatia, Adelia, Aegean Islands and protectorate powers over Albania and Fiume by the Western Allies.
- The Italian currency lost value and there was inflation, mass unemployment, heavy taxation. These conditions led to a lot of unrests, like strikes and demonstrations.
- The working class, the church, the army and the King were in favour of a Fascist government who were against communism and attacked socialism.
- The peasants did not get any support from the government and in these conditions, the Italians became disillusioned and expectant of a strong leader to save them. From these unrests there emerged Benito Mussolini.

11.4. Benito Mussolini

Mussolini was born in 1883 at Dovia. After his education, he joined teaching. He only taught for a short time and was employed as an editor of *Avanti* (A socialist Party Newspaper). In this paper, he opposed the church, nationalism and the monarchy. Due to his anti-socialist behaviour he lost the job. Mussolini fought in World War I on the side of the Allies.

On 23, March, 1919, he formed his own party called *FASCO* (*Italiano Dicombantimento*) in Milan. The Fascist Party opposed Bolshevik Communism and Socialism. His anti-communism approach gave him support from the Catholic Church.

Immediately after World War I, the situation resulted into strikes and unrests. Mussolini used this chance to show that Fascism was standing for law and order. He managed to put down the confusion.

In October, 1922, Mussolini won the election after beating other parties. He took over the coalition government and occupied Rome. Mussolini consolidated his power from 1924 – 1930.

11.5. Mussolini's Domestic Policy

- All political parties were banned and elections were not allowed.
- Parliament was replaced by a Government Council which was chaired by Mussolini.
- There was also heavy censorship of the press.
- Commerce and industry were to be improved upon in order to offer employment. More emphasis was placed upon agriculture in order to avert hunger. Transport infrastructure were to improve.
- Mussolini realised the need to win support from the Catholic Church which was already sympathetic to fascism. With this in mind, compulsory religious teaching in schools was ordered. In 1929 the *Lateran Treaty* was signed. This finally ended the division between the church and the Italian state. The Vatican was recognised as an independent state. The Pope recognise Mussolini as the ruler of Italy. The Roman Catholic Faith was to be the religion of Italy. The *Vatican* was to be the headquarters of the *Catholic Church* under the *Lateran Treaty*. This treaty was Mussolini's most constructive and lasting accomplishment because it helped to give the Fascist Party lasting respectability.

11.6. Mussolini's Foreign Policy

- On foreign policy, Mussolini, embarked on freeing the country from its problems thereby making the government appear more respectable to the world. In 1920, he made relations with other Fascist governments of Europe.
- He also fought to secure more land. Because of the desire to secure more land, in October, 1935, the Italian army invaded Ethiopia. This act was denounced by the League of Nations of which Italy was a member. In 1937, Italy withdrew from the League of Nations in reaction to the denunciation.
- In 1936, Mussolini and Hitler sided with General Francisco Franco in the *Spanish Civil War*. In the same year, Mussolini also signed a military alliance with Germany. This alliance between Germany and Italy put world peace at stake.
- In 1937, Mussolini, signed the *Anti-Comintern* with Japan another Fascist government at that time.
- In 1939, Italy occupied Albania. Such expansionist tendencies were likely to cause war. Also, by increasing relations with Hitler, this increased the chances for war.
- In 1940, Mussolini, joined Germany, to fight the Allied powers. The Big Three, Japan, Italy and Germany were on one side against the Allied powers.
- Mussolini's foreign policy was aggressive and militaristic which thereafter led to his down fall. Italy faced many defeats in the first two years of the war. Italy was twice invaded by the Allied powers in 1943. In 1943, the Fascist government council forced Mussolini to resign. He was arrested and imprisoned. In November, 1943, the Germans rescued him. When Germany was defeated in 1945, the whole of Italy was in the hands of the Allied powers. On 28, April, 1945, Mussolini, was arrested as he was trying to fly to Switzerland. He was caught by the Italian peasants who publicly hanged him. That was the end of the famous Italian dictator. He lived like a king but died like a dog.

ACTIVITY

Think, discuss, understand and write

1. How did post-war disillusionment contribute to Mussolini's rise?
2. Describe one of Mussolini's social and economic goals and explain the actions he took to achieve it.
3. Discuss Mussolini's foreign policy and how he implemented it.

Summary

After the First World War Italy was not fully rewarded from the spoils of war. After the First World War, the economic situation had also become poor in Italy.. This situation provided an environment for Mussolini and his Fascist Party to rise to power by 1922 which he consolidated between 1924 – 1930. Once in power, Mussolini banned elections. There was also heavy censorship on the press. To offer employment to the youth Mussolini embarked on agriculture and public works.

In foreign policy, Mussolini embarked on making Italy a respected nation abroad. Because of the desire to secure more land, his army invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Together with Hitler, he sided with General Francesco Franco in the Spanish Civil War in 1936. He signed the Anti-Comintern with Japan another Fascist country in 1937. In 1940, he joined Japan and Germany to fight the Allied powers. Mussolini's foreign policy was aggressive and militaristic which led to his downfall.

UNIT 12

THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1939 – 1945.

12.1. Introduction

World War II was a devastating war that lasted from September 1939 to September 1945. The war was fought between the *Axis Powers* and their allies, who were led by *Germany, Italy, and Japan* as well as the *Allied Powers* and their allies (led by *Britain, France, and Russia*). In this unit, we discuss the causes of the Second World War, the Course of the War, and Consequences of the War.

12.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit learners should be able to:

- State the long and short-term causes of the Second World WAR.
- Discuss the course of the War
- Examine the consequences of the Second World War.

12.3. Causes of the Second World War

Although it is often said that the war began when France and Britain declared war on Germany as a result of its invasion of Poland, the causes that led to the war are more intricate. There were a variety of factors leading up to the Second World War which can be divided into short-term causes and long-term causes.

12.3.1. Long Term Causes

- *Reparations on Germany from the Treaty of Versailles* - After the *First World War* ended in 1918, there was a general sentiment that Germany should be held responsible for their involvement in World War 1 and that limitations should be imposed on them so that they cannot seek war again. Major world leaders, including *Woodrow Wilson* from the United States, *Vittorio Emanuele Orlando* from Italy, *Georges Clemenceau* from France, and *Lloyd George* from England, gathered together to determine the ways in which Germany should be punished. Since France wanted revenge on Germany, the *Treaty of Versailles* was made in favour of Georges Clemenceau and was not based on Woodrow's 14-point plan which was deemed to bring peace to the region of Europe.

The treaty of Versailles called for Germany to give back the French territories that they had claimed during the Franco-Prussian War. Germany was also asked to pay an astronomically large sum of money. Some experts, including John Maynard Keynes warned that they thought the Treaty of Versailles to be too harsh. They warned that such fees would cripple

the economy of Germany as the country could not afford to pay for the World War I reparations, which they warned could in turn pose a problem for the rest of Europe. It wouldn't be long before this prophecy would prove to be a reality.

- *Hitler and the Rise of Other Dictators (Fascism)*. Upon learning of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany became angry. It was an anger that was built upon frustration over losing the war, and anger over skyrocketing unemployment rates which were only about to get worse. During this time, Adolf Hitler saw an opportunity to entice the German people with his promises of easy solutions to the problems facing the Weimer Republic (the name of Germany at the time).

During this time, the political climate was ripe for radical affiliations and parties. One such party that was active during this time was the Nazi Party. Between the years of 1933 and 1934, Hitler took control over the party. However, it wasn't long before he turned his reign into a dictatorship. After a failed coup to take over the Weimer government, Hitler decided to instead reach the top through legitimate means and was ultimately successful.

One of Hitler's diplomatic strategies was to make ostensibly unreasonable demands and then threaten war if these demands were not met. When concessions were made, he accepted them and continued to make new demands. Hitler believed in a rightful expansion of the homeland of the Germanic people, and ruled Nazi Germany through a lens of anti-Semitic hatred. Hitler ignored the Treaty of Versailles and greatly expanded the number of German troops.

France, Italy, and Britain tried to convince Hitler to not deploy his military by signing the Munich Agreement with Nazi Germany. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, of Britain, famously tried to avoid another world war with his policies of *appeasement* that involved negotiating with Hitler over the right to land in Czechoslovakia. However, all efforts of diffusion were futile.

It does not help that, at the time, Hitler was not the only Fascist leader in Europe. In Italy, *Benito Mussolini* had been dictator since the 1920s. Mussolini had notably invented *fascist politics*. Though fascism differed from Nazism and was seen as less harsh, the two ideologies still had much in common as they were both heavily fuelled by nationalism. In 1936, Mussolini showed his allegiance by signing a treaty with Hitler.

- *The Great Depression of the 1930s*. From 1929 to 1939, the world was experiencing a devastating economic downturn, known as the *Great Depression*. There is no doubt that the Great Depression played a significant role in causing World War II. Factors such as mass unemployment in Germany and poverty in Japan provoked considerable anger among the citizens, causing them to be swayed by dictatorial governments which made it acceptable to forcefully loot from other countries whenever they wanted. As was hinted at earlier, most leaders, including Hitler, were opportunists who seized power by directing their citizen's anger and hatred towards other countries. Anger was used by governments

as a tool to control the people, who could easily be swayed by promises of jobs and a better quality of life.

12.3.2. Short Term Causes

- *The Japanese invasion of Manchuria (China).* In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria in northeast China. Fearing international backlash, the Japanese government framed the Mukden Incident as a reason for their invasion. However, their real reason was the desire to capture Chinese territory, a project that had started in the late 1800s in the First Sino-Japanese War. The invasion started with the bombing of several cities including Guangzhou, Nanjing, and Shanghai where the Imperial Japanese Army carried out terrible war crimes.
- *The Italian Invasion of Ethiopia.* Between 1935 and 1939, *Ethiopia* and Italy were at war following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia (also known as Abyssinia). Among Italy's reasons for the invasion was the desire to provide more land and resources to hungry and impoverished Italians.
- *The German Invasion of Poland.* Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. Two weeks later, the Soviet Union followed suit. This is seen as the main point at which World War II began. Following the German attack, France and Britain both declared war on Germany.
- *Pearl Harbour Attack.* Although not an event at the beginning of the war, the attack on Pearl Harbour is notable for bringing the United States into the war. On December 7, 1941 Japan surprised the United States by bombing a collection of warships in Pearl Harbour in Hawaii as a declaration of war. Following the bombings, the United States declared war on Japan in retaliation. Shortly after, Italy and Germany also declared war on the United States.

12.4. Course of the Second World War

World War II began with Hitler's attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. As both Britain and France had entered into an alliance with Poland in April 1939, they declared war upon Germany. The Germans occupied Western Poland. The Soviet Union annexed Eastern Poland. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and a part of Rumania, were invaded and annexed by Russia, soon after.

In April 1940, Denmark and Norway were attacked and annexed by Germany. In May 1940, Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland were raided by German bombers. All these three states surrendered within a week. Following this, the Germans invaded France in June 1940. Paris fell to the Nazis on June 14, 1940. Germany soon occupied the whole of northern and western France, while Italy seized Nice and other French districts that were adjacent to Italy.

After the fall of Poland and France, Britain alone was at war with the Axis Powers from June 1940 to June 1941. However, the British forces were victorious over the Axis powers in Africa.

On June 22, 1941, Russia was attacked by Germany. The *Anglo-Russian Alliance* was formed on July 22, 1941, for mutual military aid in the war against Germany. The United States also gave the Soviet Union assurances of military help.

The American fleet in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, was bombed by the Japanese on December 7, 1941. Hence the U.S.A. declared war on Japan, on December 8, 1941. Germany and Italy then declared war against the U.S.A. *Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain, President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the U.S.A. and Premier Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union* mobilised their forces to destroy the *Axis Powers* namely, Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The Nazi and Fascist forces were successful in their conquest of Europe, up to the end of October 1942. However, on November 8, 1942, the Allied forces succeeded against the Axis powers in North Africa. On September 3, 1943, Italy surrendered unconditionally and signed an armistice with the Allies on September 3, 1943.

Forging across the Rhine in March 1945, the Allied forces defeated the German forces. As a result, Hitler lost all hope and committed suicide on April 30, 1945. Hence, the Germans surrendered unconditionally, on May 7, 1945. Japan continued to battle until atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945 respectively, by the United States. Japan finally surrendered unconditionally on August 14, 1945, signing a document of surrender on September 2, 1945.

12.5. Consequences of the Second World War

Pretty much everything changed after WW2. So much so that it's very difficult to name everything but I'll go with the big consequences and a few smaller ones.

12.5.1. The U.S. and USSR both became world superpower

Before the US and USSR became superpowers, it was the European powers like Britain and France that were the heavy hitters in the world. But when Nazi Germany attacked, bombed and conquered most of Europe, it was all left in ruin. Additionally, the death of nearly 60 million people all over the world disillusioned many people and left a population gap in many affected countries. Almost every major country in Europe had its industrial, political and economic centers destroyed or occupied. This crippled many European countries as they lost their centres of power meaning they could no longer effectively rule much. With Europe in tatters, the US and USSR, both of which had massive armies, economic outputs that far surpassed the destroyed Europe, both countries could now effectively flex their military, economic and political power with little competition from any other country except the other. This led to a rivalry known as the *Cold War* in which both powers would flex their muscles all over the world for decades, shaping the world into what we know it to be today.

12.5.2. Dismantling of European Colonialism

With Europe's infrastructure, military and economy in shambles, many European colonies saw an opportunity to gain freedom with their colonizers weakened state. Many movements for independence such as the Indochina war and decolonization of India, all would have been impossible if Europe wasn't destroyed by World War II. However, because of World War II, even the mighty British Empire was struggling to keep its domains together as constant fighting drained the treasury. If World War II didn't happen many European colonies would exist for longer periods of time and afterwards the Europeans would still have a greater degree of control over their former colonies than if World War II didn't happen.

Many of the ethnic conflicts in Asia and Africa can directly be linked to borders drawn by European powers without regard to the cultural and ethnic differences between various groups, the results of which can be seen in the mass migration between India and Pakistan after their separation from Britain and the Rwandan Genocide. Many modern countries we see today also probably wouldn't exist without World War II.

12.5.3. The Fall of Fascism

Fascism before World War II was seen as a legitimate form of government due to Hitler and Mussolini's success in revitalizing their respective countries' economies and populations, regardless of the horrible things they did such as rounding up Jews and claiming themselves to be superior to other races. After the war it could clearly be seen that Fascist governments were responsible for beginning it and this stuck with many people. Additionally, the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany and its political elites also nailed the coffin for Fascism. If World War II didn't happen, Fascism and all its tenants like racial superiority and authoritarianism would still be seen as a legitimate form of government and more fascist countries could have popped up around the world.

12.5.4. The innovation and progression of technologies

War is a catalyst. It forces countries, kingdoms, empires, etc. to come up with edges that will let them gain an upper hand against their enemies. Radar allowed the British to "see" incoming Germany jet fighters. The British poured in money and research to develop such a technology. Today radar is used by modern jets, air traffic control, monitoring weather formations, etc. Without war forcing Britain to develop the radar, it may have come many years later into the future.

Another new technology, the Rocket. The Nazis were the first country to develop a functioning rocket. This was a huge step forward technologically when comparing to the allies. After the war, many of the Nazi scientists who worked on such research were recruited by the Soviets and Americans. Their work was instrumental to allowing the US and USSR to develop rockets that allowed for space travel. Without them, the *Space Age* would have been farther into the future.

The Nazis also created many other innovations such as the STG-44 (first Assault Rifle) on which the AK-47 was based on and Infrared Night vision. All of these probably wouldn't have been created anyway without World War II, but the war sped up their development.

ACTIVITY

1. Discuss the long and short-term causes of the Second World War.
2. Show the major stages in the progression of the Second World War between 1939 and 1945.
3. Give an account of the consequences of the Second World War.

Summary

The Second World War which lasted from 1939 – 1945 had long and short-term causes. Reparations on Germany from the Treaty of Versailles, the rise Hitler and other dictators (Fascism) and the economic crisis of the 1930s were some of the long-term causes of the Second World War. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria (China). Italian invasion Ethiopia of Poland in 1939 and Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour by the Japanese were some of the short-term causes of the war.

The Second World War began with Hitler's attack on Poland on September, 1, 1939. In April, 1940, Denmark and Norway were attacked and annexed by Germany. Russia was attacked by Germany on June 22, 1941. The American fleet in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, was bombed by the Japanese on December, 1941. In March 1945, the allied forces defeated Germany. Japan finally surrendered unconditionally on August, 14, 1945, signing a document of surrender on 2, 1945.

The consequences of the war were that the United States and the USSR both became world superpowers. European colonialism was dismantled. Fascism fell. There were also innovations and progression of technologies.

UNIT 13

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

13.1. Introduction

The United Nations organisation came into existence during the Second World War as a result of the failure of the League of Nations. The League of Nations had failed in the most important task of maintaining world peace and security. As such, there was a need to establish another world organisation to maintain peace after the defeat of the Axis powers in the Second World War. President F. D. Roosevelt of the USA initiated the idea for a world organisation to maintain world peace and security. The UN came into existence on 26th June, 1945 after 50 countries signed the United Charter at the San Francisco Conference in the USA. However, the UN started its operations on 24th October, 1945 with its headquarters in New York. In this unit we discuss, the steps that led to the formation of the UNO, aims and structure of the UNO, some agencies of the UNO and some achievements and failures of the UNO since its establishment.

13.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit learners are expected to:

- Trace the history of the United Nations Organisations (UNO).
- List the aims of the UNO.
- Mention the organs of the UNO.
- Describe the composition and functions of the organs of the UNO.
- State and give functions of the specialised agencies of the UNO.
- Discuss the successes and failures of the UNO.

13.3. Steps that led to the formation of the UNO

Plans for the formation of the UN were laid before the Second World War ended. This was done through a series of meetings and conferences among the allied powers. These talks were initiated by President Roosevelt of the USA.

- The first leading to the formation of UN was the signing of the Atlantic Charter of August 1941. This agreement was signed between President Roosevelt of the USA the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The meeting took place aboard a British battleship called the Prince of Wales. By this charter, the two leaders agreed to create a more

permanent system of general security that would ensure freedom for the people and international co-operation between all the nations after the defeat of the Axis Powers.

- The signing of the Atlantic Charter was followed by the Washington Declaration of January, 1942. This was the speech by President Roosevelt outlining the terms of the Atlantic Charter which had laid down guidelines for the formation of the United Nations. The Washington declaration was signed by 26 countries who also pledged to aid in the achievement of the Atlantic Charter and the defeat of the Axis Powers.
- In October, 1943, the Moscow Conference was held in the USSR. The Conference was attended by President Roosevelt, Churchill of Britain, Stalin of the USSR and the host and Kai Shek of China. The leaders discussed detailed plans of the work of the UN.
- The Moscow Conference was followed by a series of meetings between August and October 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks Conference near Washington D. C. the aim of this conference was to prepare a ground work for the final formation of the UN. At this conference, the countries represented agreed on the main structure of the UN and paying particular attention to the Security Council.
- In February, 1945, another meeting was held in the USSR which came to be known as the Yalta Conference. Among the issues discussed were the voting procedures and eligibility to join.
- From 26th April to 25th June, 1945, a very important and final conference was held in San Francisco, USA. 50 countries attended this conference and signed the Drafted UN Charter. The signing of the UN charter marked the official formation of the UN, on 26th June, 1945. Unfortunately, President Roosevelt who had initiated the terms of the UN died on 12th April, 1945. The UN started its operations on 24th October, 1945 and its headquarters are based in New York USA

Aims

- Fight ignorance, poverty, hunger and disease.
- To preserve world peace and security.
- To bring about economic co-operation among countries of the world.
- To promote respect for fundamental human rights.
- To improve the social and economic welfare of people.
- To develop friendly relations among nations of the world.
- To promote disarmament.

13.4. Organisation/Structure of the United Nations

The UNO's structure comprises of 6 main organs plus specialised agencies that help in achieving the aims of the UN. These are:

❖ **The General Assembly**

The General assembly is the World Parliament of the UN. It has representatives from all member countries. Each member country sends up to 5 representatives but when it comes to voting, each country has only one vote regardless of the status or size of a country. The general assembly meets annually every September for three months. Decision making in the general assembly is based on a 2/3 majority.

Functions:

- It is the main law-making body of the UN
- Discusses and debates on all matters affecting the UN
- Appoints the secretary based on recommendations from the security council
- Appoint/elects' members of the other organs e.g. non-permanent members of the security council

❖ **The Secretariat**

The secretariat is the civil service or the data base for the UN. It carries out all paper work of the UN. It comprises of the Secretary General who is the Chief Administrative officer of the UN. It also comprises of about 500 other members drawn from member countries. The secretary general was chosen from non-allied country, had to be impartial and to have great experience in international relations. Since 1945 there has been 7 secretary generals the current one being Ban Ki Moon from South Korea.

Functions

- Sends reminders for meetings
- Carries out research on issues and produces documents
- Keeps records for the UN
- Translates documents into main world languages
- Carries out the decisions of the General Assembly
- Supervises the work of specialised agencies
- Is responsible for the everyday running of the UN

❖ **The security council**

The Security Council is the most important organ of the UN whose aim is to keep peace and security in the World. The Security Council comprises of 5 permanent and 10 non-permanent members who are chosen for a 2year rotational term. The 5 permanent members are; Britain, USA, France, China and Russia. The 5 permanent members have powers to veto meaning they can stop any motion before the council or stop any action the security want to take.

Functions

- It recommends the appointment of the secretary general to the general assembly
 - It recommends the admission new members
 - It is responsible for general disarmament
 - It also recommends political and economic sanctions on offending member states
 - It is also responsible for sending peace keeping forces to war torn area.
- ❖ The International Court of Justice

This is the international judiciary. The headquarters are based at The Hague in the Netherlands. The I. C. J. comprises of 15 judges who are elected by the general assembly from member countries.

Functions

- To settle disputes referred to it through legal means instead of resorting to war.
- To give legal advice to the organs of the UN
- To interpret international legal documents and treaties

However, the I.C.J cannot enforce its decisions and a country can choose to accept or refuse its decisions thereby risking diplomatic isolation.

❖ The economic and social council

The economic and social council comprises of 18 member countries who are elected for 3 year term of office by the General Assembly.

Functions

- To initiate studies and produce reports on international social, economic, cultural and political issues in member countries
- To ensure protections of Human Rights and Freedoms in member countries
- To offer recommendations and financial assistance for the improvement of socio-economic situations in member countries

❖ The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship council was created to look after the interests of the people of the former mandated colonies of the League of Nations.

Functions

- To ensure that the administering powers of the mandated colonies did not exploit them
- To ensure that all the mandated colonies attained self-independence.

13.5. Agencies of the United Nations

Linked to the United Nations through special agreements, the separate, autonomous specialized agencies of the UN family set standards and guidelines, help formulate policies, provide technical assistance, and other forms of practical help in virtually all areas of economic and social endeavour.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) formulates policies and programs to improve working conditions and employment opportunities, and defines international labour standards as guidelines for governments.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) works to raise levels of nutrition and standards of living, to improve agricultural productivity and food security, and to better the conditions of rural populations.

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) promotes education for all, cultural development, protection of the world's natural and cultural heritage, press freedom, and communication.

The World Health Organization (WHO) coordinates programs aimed at solving health problems and the attainment by all people of the highest possible level of health; it works in areas such as immunization, health education, and the provision of essential drugs.

The World Bank group provides loans and technical assistance to developing countries to reduce poverty and advance sustainable economic growth.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) facilitates international monetary cooperation and financial stability, and provides a permanent forum for consultation, advice, and assistance on financial issues.

The UN and the World Trade Organization (WTO) the major entity overseeing international trade, cooperate in assisting developing countries' exports through the Geneva-based International Trade Centre.

13.6. Achievements of the UNO

Example of achievements of the UNO since its establishment

(a) Food aid

Food supply is always a significant issue. Especially in the 21st century, when the global population increases exponentially, the food problem becomes more vital and imperative. In that context, UN's World Food Program has removed the pressure burdening the shoulders of many countries. The World Food Program is known as one of the most successful programs UN has ever ratified because of its enormous impacts on global community. Every year, the

UN feeds 104 million people in 80 countries. They feed people in war zones, natural disasters, health emergencies and poor countries.

As most of us remember, in 2010 and 2011, the earthquake disasters that happened in Haiti and Japan respectively, destroyed infrastructures and changed the lives of its residence for the worse. In those circumstances, UN have stepped in and provided the residents in the devastating areas with aid in food supplies and other necessities. But the World Food program is not only helpful when natural disasters happen but it also helps stabilize the food security. Right now, the UN is trying to expand the spectrum of its World Food Program with the support of many countries in the world.

(b) Aid to refugees

UN High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) is another success of the United Nations. Founded in 1949, UNHCR has helped 17 million asylum-seekers and refugees. The officers of UNHCR help the refugees directly, working to ensure governments meet their responsibilities to the expatriates. Two Nobel Peace Prizes in 1954 and 1981 are persuasive evidences for the success of UNHCR. Right now, UNHCR is facing a problematic financial issue, trying to protect and assist 700,000 people who had fled conflict in Syria, Mali, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It is truly the hope of millions of refugees all over the world.

(c) Protecting Children

Perhaps, many of us are too familiar with the phrase “UNICEF” because it is repeated myriad of times on the media. Yes, UNICEF (United Children’s Fund) is an agency belonging to United Nations whose headquarters are based in New York. This organization protects the rights of children everywhere in the world and works to enhance the living standards of children. With the significant contribution of UNICEF, the number of deaths for children under the age of 5 has declined from nearly 12 million in 1990 to 6.9 million in 2011.

(d) Peacekeeping

Currently, the UN has 16 active peacekeeping missions in hotspot like Syria, Kosovo, North Korea... International Peace is always the greatest concern of the UN because its main purpose is encouraging peaceful diplomatic relations between different countries around the world. With the intervention of the UN, many conflicts have been reconciled, saving the lives of many people. The contribution the UN has given to global peace is undeniable and therefore, peacekeeping should be regarded as one of the most successful tasks the UN has undertaken in its 68 years of history.

€ Running Elections

Incontrovertibly, free election is one of the most basic political rights of everybody around the world. But in fact, not everyone gets access to freedom of choice. The UN has fought continuously for the voting right of people in areas where the ideology of dictatorship or monarchy is still dominating. A great example of this is with Iraq. With the external support from an international community, represented by the UN, Iraq successfully overthrew Saddam's government and installed an interim administration in which the government was completely elected by Iraq citizens. The successful election in Iraq did not only create a momentous turning point in Iraq's history but it also marked a new step for the UN in the war against dictatorship and totalitarianism.

(e) Reproductive Health and Population Management

The UN also specializes in mother and childhood health, family planning and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases. The UN's population fund is widely respected, and is credited with helping to drastically reduce infant and maternal mortality in over 100 countries. Besides that, the UN is also deeply concerned about the rapid increase of global population in the recent years. Every year, in UN conferences, many relevant resolutions have been established in order to hold back the population growth of the world to a sustainable level. The significant decline of global population growth rates in the past few years is the eloquent approval for the laudable efforts and contributions of UN in this area.

(f) War Crimes Prosecution

This is a fairly new line of business for the UN. The Tribunals it has set up for former Yugoslavia and Rwanda have had their share of delays and management problems but, all in all, they are respected, have developed an important case law on genocide and human rights and have provided a measure of justice that is taken very seriously by the people of affected regions. War crime, again, is such a controversial issue to be judged by an individual or even a single state. On behalf of the international community, the UN has been in charge of running many different tribunals and sentenced the rational sanctions to the war criminals. The operations of the UN in this area do not only persevere the international equity but also raise awareness about human rights and justice.

(g) Fighting AIDS

The UN is the leader when it comes to the global battle against HIV/AIDS. Between the World Health Organization, UNAIDS, and the Global Fund to fight AIDS, the UN is at the heart of every aspect of dealing with this epidemic, from heightening awareness to raising funds to making sure appropriate programs for prevention and treatment are implemented. The UN has wisely recognized that the organization itself cannot shoulder this one alone, and has set up the Fund

and other mechanisms aimed at drawing governments, other multilaterals, NGOs and corporations into the fight. According to the most recent report of UNAIDS, the number of people who died from AIDS and the opportunistic disease caused by AIDS has decreased from 2.3 million in 2005 to 1.6 million in 2012. There are more and more people who have HIV and who are supported by the UN and its sub-organizations.

(h) Bringing invisible issues to the forefront

Without the efforts of United Nations, we might never get access to the issues such as landmine victims, Marburg fever and Cholera sufferers, child soldiers, modern-day slavery and there are still more and more problematic issues which are less noticed or completely ignored by public. But above all, the lofty contributions of the United Nations for the global issues has inspired us, the global citizens, and motivated us to live more humanely and responsibly. And for the last few words, I just want to say

13.7. Failures of the UNO

Examples of the failures of the UNO

(a) Nuclear Proliferation

At the creation of the UN in 1945, the United States was the only nation in the world to own and test nuclear weapons. In 1970, the nuclear non-proliferation treaty was signed by 190 nations, including five nations that admitted to owning nuclear weapons: France, England, Russia, China, and the US. Despite this treaty, nuclear stockpiles remain high, and numerous nations continue to develop these devastating weapons, including North Korea, Israel, Pakistan, and India. The failure of the non-proliferation treaty details the ineffectiveness of the United Nations, and their inability to enforce crucial rules and regulations on offending nations.

(b) Sri Lanka

The small island nation of Sri Lanka experienced a bloody civil war lasting from 1983 to 2009, pitting the militant, separatist Tamil Tigers against government forces. In the final months of the war, the opposing sides were fighting in the heavily populated northeast coastline, a designated safe zone. The fighting forced 196,000 people to flee, and trapped over 50,000 civilians. Independent experts urged the Human Rights Council of the UN to investigate claims of war crimes, and UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon acknowledged being “appalled” by the situation, but the United Nations made no attempts to intervene on behalf of the civilian population. From January to April of 2009, over 6,500 civilians were killed in this so-called “safe-zone”.

© Child Sex Abuse Scandal

Many nations plead for support from the United Nations in times of desperation and war. To the oppressed, the blue helmets of UN peacekeepers represent stability and safety. Unfortunately, this was not the case in numerous countries in the 1990s. Reports from Bosnia, Kosovo, Cambodia, Haiti, and Mozambique revealed a shocking trend; areas with peacekeeping forces saw a rapid rise in child prostitution. Often, soldiers would reward the children with candy or small sums of money, so they could claim the sexual relationship was prostitution rather than rape. Senior officials in the United Nations refused to condemn the peacekeepers, as they feared this public shaming would discourage nations from joining peacekeeping forces.

(c) Veto Power

The United Nations Security Council consists of fifteen nations, five of which are permanent: France, Russia, China, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The other ten nations are elected to serve two-year terms. The five permanent members enjoy the luxury of veto power; when a permanent member vetoes a vote, the Council resolution cannot be adopted, regardless of international support. Even if the other fourteen nations vote yes, a single veto will beat this overwhelming show of support. The most recent use of the veto was by China and Russia, on July 19th, 2012. The Security Council attempted to evoke chapter VII sanctions from the United Nations Charter to intervene and prevent genocide in Syria. But the vetoes by China and Russia halted any international intervention. Since the Syrian Civil War began, an estimated 60,000 civilians have been killed, with thousands more displaced.

(d) Srebrenica Massacre

This 1995 Bosnian War massacre was the single worst act of mass murder on European soil since World War II. After an ethnic cleansing campaign led by the Serbs targeted the Bosnia's, a largely Muslim community, the United Nations designated Srebrenica a safe-zone in 1993. Militarized units in the zone were forced to disarm, and a peacekeeping force was put in place, consisting of six hundred Dutch soldiers. The Serbs then surrounded the safe-zone with tanks, soldiers, and artillery pieces. With the zone surrounded, supply lines were slow-moving at best. The UN forces were running low on ammunition, fuel, and food, as the Serbs continued to build an army around Srebrenica. In July, Serbian forces invaded the area, forcing the small UN team back. As many as 20,000 Bosnian refugees fled to the UN compound in Pod carp, seeking protection from the advancing Serbs. Despite the UN peacekeeping force present, Serbian soldiers entered the camp, raping Bosnian women and murdering freely while the Dutch peacekeepers did nothing. By July 18th, 7,800 Bosnians were dead, due largely to an ill-equipped and unprepared UN force.

€ Khmer Rouge

Ruling Cambodia from 1975 to 1979, the Khmer Rouge practiced an extreme form of Communism, as dictated by their borderline-psychotic leader Pol Pot. Any suspected enemies were executed, including professionals and intellectuals. Ethnic Vietnamese, Ethnic Chinese, and Christians were executed en masse. In 1979, the Vietnamese army invaded Cambodia to oust the Khmer Rouge and end the massacre. Pol Pot was forced in exile, and a new government was put in place in Cambodia. Shockingly, the United Nations refused to recognize this new government because it was backed by Vietnam, which had recently ended a decade-long conflict with the United States. Until 1994, the United Nations recognized the Khmer Rouge as the true government of Cambodia, despite the fact that they had killed 2.5 million Cambodians, amounting to 33% of their total population.

(e) The Cold War

The Cold War exemplifies the failure behind the United Nations Charter. With the atrocities of World War II still fresh in their minds, the original founders aimed to foster human rights for all citizens of the world. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was established, which was binding to all nations, along with the Convention against Genocide. Almost immediately, the USSR disregarded these. Civic rights were virtually non-existent. Stalin continued to rule with an iron fist, silencing all opponents. In numerous Soviet Bloc nations, uprisings demanding the rights established in the UDHR were crushed with force. With the United Nations unwilling to act upon such atrocities, the words in the charter were rendered meaningless for those who needed them the most.

(f) Darfur

In 2003, the unstable nation of Sudan erupted in conflict, as various militia groups criticized and attacked the government for oppressing non-Arabs. Early in the war, rebel forces defeated the Sudanese military in more than thirty battles. Seeing that defeat was imminent, the government funded the Janjaweed, a group of Arab militants. By 2005, the Janjaweed were carrying out attacks on populated villages using artillery and helicopters, prompting condemnation by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. Despite this condemnation, the UN did not enter Sudan, instead urging members of the African Union to intervene. As the African Union attempted an intervention, it became apparent that the Sudanese military was destroying civilian populations. Reports emerged revealing that Sudanese military planes were painted white, to resemble UN humanitarian aircraft, only to drop bombs on villages. It was not until 2006 that 200 UN soldiers were dispatched to the area. Despite their limited presence, fighting continued until 2010. In seven years, an estimated 300,000 Sudanese civilians were killed.

(g) Rwanda

The Rwandan genocide of 1994 details the gross inability of the United Nations to carry out its sworn duty to maintain peace and security. Following the Rwandan Civil War in the early 1990s, tensions between two ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsis, were at a dangerous high. In 1993, UN peacekeeping forces entered the nation, attempted to secure the capital and enable

humanitarian aid. The peacekeeping forces were not authorized to use military manoeuvres to achieve these goals. In January of 1994, a cable was sent from the Canadian Force Commander to the UN headquarters detailing the imminent threat of genocide by Hutu mobs on Tutsi minorities.

ACTIVITY

1. 'The challenge with the UNO is that it has never been united'. Explain why you agree or disagree with this verdict on the UNO in the period 1950 to 1989.
2. 'There can be little doubt that the social, economic and humanitarian work of the UNO has been far more successful and valuable than its peace keeping role'. Assess the validity of this on the work of the UNO.
3. 'The UNO has only been successful in resolving conflict when one of the superpowers has intervened to support it'. How far would you agree with this view?
4. To what extent would it be true to say that the UNO has been more successful in dealing with conflicts since 1990 than it was during the Cold War?

Summary

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) officially came into existence in October 1945 after the Second World War. It was formed to replace the League of Nations which had proved incapable of restraining aggressive dictators like Hitler and Mussolini. In setting up the UNO, the great powers tried to eliminate some of the weaknesses which had handicapped the League. The UN Charter was drawn up in San Francisco in 1945 and was based on proposals made at an earlier meeting between the USSR, the USA, China and Britain, held at Dumbarton Oaks (USA) in 1944. The aims of the UN are: to preserve peace, remove the causes of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world, especially in under-developed countries, to safeguard the rights of all individuals human beings and the rights of people and nations.

In spite of the careful framing of the Charter, the UN was unable to solve many of the problems of international relations, particularly those caused by the Cold War. On the other hand it played an important role in a number of international crises by arranging ceasefires and negotiations and by providing peacekeeping forces. Its successes in non-political work – care for refugees, protection of human rights, economic planning and attempts to deal with problems of world health, population and famine – have been enormous.

UNIT 14

DECOLONISATION

14.1. Introduction

Decolonisation is the undoing of colonialism, where a nation establishes and maintains its domination over dependent territories. At the onset of World War II many of the nations of Europe were still Imperial powers. Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Portugal governed millions of non-European peoples. One of the most striking and significant post-war developments has been the decolonisation of these imperial holdings and the consequent emergence of the so called Third World Political Block. In this unit we discuss why European powers gave up their empires, the course of the decolonisation process and consequences of decolonisation.

15.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this unit, learners should be able to:

- Explain why European powers gave up their empires
- Discuss the course of decolonisation
- State the consequences of decolonisation.

14.3. Why did European powers gave up their empires?

14.3.1. Nationalist Movements

- These had been in existence in many of Europe's overseas colonies, especially those in Asia. For many years before the Second World War, *Nationalists* were people who had a natural desire to get rid of their foreign rulers so that they could have a government run by the people of their own nationality. Although the European powers claimed to have brought the benefits of western civilisation to their colonies, there was a general feeling among the colonial people that they were being exploited by the Europeans, who took most of the profits from their partnership. They claimed that the development and prosperity of the colonies were being held back in the interests of Europe, and that most of the colonial people continued to live in poverty. In India, the *Indian National Congress Party* had been agitating against French rule during the 1920s.
- The nationalist movements in the colonies, were led by gifted persons who had been educated in Europe. The values and ideologies that they had learned in Europe itself helped them to present effective critiques of the colonial situation. Such leadership, as well as the

frequently blatant injustice imposed on colonial peoples, paved the way for effective nationalist movement.

However, Nationalism was not so strong in some areas, and progress towards independence would have been much slower without the boost provided by the Second World War.

14.3.2. Effects of the Second World War

The Second World War gave great stimulus to nationalist movements in a number of ways:

- World War II drew the military forces of the colonial powers back to Europe. The Japanese conquest of Asia helped to turn out the Europeans from that area. After the military and political dislocations of the war came the economic collapse, which meant that the colonial powers would no longer afford to maintain their positions abroad.
- The war aims of the Allies undermined colonialism. It was difficult to fight against tyranny in Europe while maintaining colonial dominance abroad. Moreover, the post-war policy of the United States generally opposed the continuation of European empires.

14.4. Course of the Decolonisation

There was a wide variety in decolonisation. Some cases were relatively systematic; in others the European powers simply beat a hasty retreat.

- In 1947 Britain left India. The result of internal disputes, including religious differences, was the creation of two states, India and Pakistan.
- In 1948, Burma and Sri Lanka (formally Ceylon) became independent.
- During the 1950s the British attempted to prepare colonies for self-government. Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) and Nigeria – which became self-governing in 1957 and 1960, respectively.

The British also introduced new constitutions in Nyasaland (Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) which in effect allowed the Africans their own parliaments (1961 – 62). Both wanted to leave the Federation, which was therefore, terminated in December 1963, signalling defeat for the settlers. The following year Nyasaland (Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) became fully independent taking the names of Malawi and Zambia).

Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) took much longer to deal with, and it was 1980 before the colony achieved independence with black majority rule.

- The smaller attempted to maintain its position in Southeast Asia but met defeat in 1954. It was similarly driven from North Africa. President Charles de Gaulle carried out a policy of referendums on independence within the remaining French colonial possessions.
- The smaller colonial powers had much less choice. The Dutch were forced from Indonesia in 1950.
- In 1960, the Belgian Congo now the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), became independent in the midst of turmoil.
- By the late 1960s, only Portugal remained a traditional colonial power. In 1975, it finally abandoned its African colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

14.5. Consequences of Decolonisation

Although some states, particularly Britain, handled decolonisation better than others, in general it was not a pleasant experience for the colonies and there was no simple happy ending. There some gains for new states which now had more control over what went on inside their frontiers and there were some gains for ordinary people, such as advances in education and social services and a political culture which allowed them to vote. However, it soon became fashionable to dismiss the entire colonial and imperial experience as a disaster in which European nations with supreme arrogance, imposed control over their subject peoples, exploited them ruthlessly and then withdrew unwillingly, leaving them impoverished and facing new challenges.

- *Neo-colonialism* meant that western European countries and the USA still exerted a great deal of control over the new states which continued to need the markets and the investment that the west could provide.
- *Many new states, especially in Africa, had been badly prepared or not prepared at all for independence.* Their frontiers were often artificial ones forced on them by the Europeans and there was little incentive for different ethnic groups to stay together. In Nigeria and the DRC ethnic differences helped to cause civil war.

When the British withdrew from Nyasaland (Malawi) there were only three secondary schools for 3 million Africans and not one single factory.

When the Portuguese were forced to withdraw from Mozambique, they deliberately destroyed installations and machinery in revenge.

- *In most cases, the governments that took over were run by the local elite groups.* There was no social revolution and no guarantee that ordinary people would be any better off. In countries where new governments were prepared to introduce socialist policies (nationalising resources or foreign businesses) or where governments showed any sign of being pro-Communist, the western countries disapproved. They often responded by cutting off aid or helping to destabilise the government. This happened in Indo-China, Indonesia, East Timor, Chad, Angola, Mozambique and DRC.
- *All the Third World states faced intense poverty.* They were economically underdeveloped and often relied on exports of only one or two commodities. A fall in the world price of their product was a major disaster. Loans from abroad left them heavily in debt. As usual, Africa was worst hit. It was the only area of the world where in 1987, incomes were, on average, lower than in 1972.

ACTIVITY

1. Show how the nationalist movements and the Second World War led to the collapse of European Empires.
2. Explain some of the major states in the decolonisation process involving Britain, France, Holland and Portugal.
3. ‘Decolonisation did not bring the benefits for the majority of the African people which they had hoped for’. Explain whether you agree or disagree with this assessment of decolonisation in Africa.

Summary

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, the nations of Europe still claimed ownership of vast areas of the rest of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. Britain’s Empire was the largest. France had the second largest Empire. Other important empires were those of the Netherlands and the Portuguese.

Over the next 30 years, remarkable changes took place. By 1975 most of these colonial territories had gained their independence. Sometimes, as in the Dutch and the French colonies, they had to fight for it against determined European resistance. The challenges involved were complex. In India there were bitter religious differences to resolve. In some areas - Algeria, Kenya and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) – large numbers of whites had settled and they were relentlessly hostile to independence which would place them under

black rule. Britain was ready to grant independence when it was felt that individual territories were ready for it and most of the states retained a link with Britain by remaining in the British Commonwealth (a group of former British-controlled nations which agreed to continue associating together, mainly because there were certain advantages to be gained from doing so).

UNIT 15

THE COLD WAR, 1945 – 1996

15.1. Introduction

Soon after the conclusion of World War II Europe witnessed an advent of the *Cold War* between the communist countries led by Russia and the capitalist west led by the United States of America. By *Cold War* is meant the continued state of tension and psychological warfare between the groups of powers. The continued state of tension expressed itself through threats of war, accusations and spying on each other. All the weapons of psychological warfare were used. In this unit we discuss the causes of the *Cold War*, aspects of the Cold War and the end of the Cold War.

15.2. Learning Outcomes

15.3. Reasons for the Cold War

- The principal cause of the Cold War was the attempt made by the Soviet Union to dominate the whole world through the spread of ideology. She made open and secret attempts to foster communist rule in countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The strategy of the communists included extending support to the cause of national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. The Soviet Union condemned the imperialist countries of Europe and America for enslaving many countries of Asia and Africa. Communist Russia denounced the ways of capitalist countries for exploiting the resources of their colonies for their benefit and thereby leaving the colonies poor.

Russia carried on propaganda of explaining the evils of capitalism. Communist parties grew up in all the countries which received moral support from the Soviet.

- Against this strategy of Soviet Union, the western allies adopted a mild attitude. They did not like countries to come under communist domination. The Western allies led by the United States of America tried to contain the spread of communism by rendering military and economic aid to several nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For example, she gave economic to war-torn countries of Europe through a plan called the *Marshall Plan*.

15.4. Aspects of the Cold War

(a) Socialism and Communism

Socialism and **communism** are economic systems based on the writings of Karl Marx. Under socialism (**and communism**) the government owns or controls the basic industries that produce goods and services such as communications, heavy industry, transportations, and banks. **Socialism** allows room for private industry or business. **Communism** on the other hand does not allow private industry/business. In a communist state, the government has total control of the economic, political and social life of the country through a dominant/strong party organization. Russia (later USSR) was the first country to establish a communist system in 1917. Examples of other countries that were communists include Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Cuba and North Korea among others.

a. Capitalism

Capitalism is a system of government that favour free enterprise (private businesses). In a capitalist state, the government does not have control over private businesses. Therefore, businesses are encouraged to compete and determine their own prices without government interference. The government's role is to regulate the market and come up with policies or rules for people involved in business and to direct the overall economy. However, this varies from country to country. In a capitalist state, people have the right to own industries, land for economic purposes and hire labour. The United States is the best example of a capitalist state. Most western European countries' economies were guided by the principles of capitalism.

b. The Iron Curtain

The term Iron Curtain referred to the complete division between west European capitalist states and east European communist states after the Second World War. The term was first used by British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill in a speech delivered in 1946 at **Fulton, Missouri** in the USA. In the speech, Churchill stated that, "...from Stettin in Baltic Sea to Trieste in the Adriatic an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent". However, not all east European States were under the USSR. Some like Turkey and Greece refused communist control and received support from the western allies. Yugoslavia was a communist country but was not under the control of USSR. It was ruled by **Marshal Tito** (real names **Josip Broz**). Most countries under the USSR were subjected to soviet dictatorship. Many people were killed and sent to labour camps.

c. Truman Doctrine

This was a plan or belief initiated by Harry Truman who was the President of the United States. The aim of this plan was to stop the spread of communism in Europe. Truman believed that it was the duty of the USA to use her technological and financial superiority to help stop the

spread of communism in Europe. Therefore, in March 1947, the USA Congress approved his plan allowing 400 million dollars to be given to Greece and Turkey.

(e) The Policy of Containment

The term containment was coined by a U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan to describe the American strategy used to prevent the influence of USSR after the Second World War. This was during the Cold War. The term came to the attention of the American public in July 1947. The Policy of Containment was basically the Truman Doctrine translated into the American's foreign policy. In other words, the Policy of Containment was the intellectual justification of the Truman Doctrine.

(g) The Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan was formulated in June 1947 to implement the Policy of Containment or the Truman Doctrine. The aim of this plan was to rebuild western European economies using American funds. The Plan was named after the American Secretary of State, General George Marshall. The Plan was announced by General Marshall in a speech delivered at Harvard University on 5th June 1947. The European Recovery Programme or Marshall Plan was the largest and most successful programme of foreign assistance ever undertaken by the US Government. About 12 billion dollars was approved by the US Congress to help western European countries and also prevent the spread of communism.

(h) The Cominform

The Cominform was set up by Stalin, the leader of the USSR. All communist countries were supposed to be members. The aim of this organisation was to draw all communist countries together. It was also an economic organisation that encouraged industrial development and trade among communist countries.

15.5. The End of the Cold War

15.5.1. The Collapse of Soviet Union/USSR/Communist and the Role Played by Mikhail Gorbachev

The collapse of the communist bloc contributed to the end of the Cold War. From 1953 onwards, the Soviet Union started facing discontents and challenges from its satellite states (countries it controlled). These discontents and challenges were mostly as result of economic policies and operations of the Warsaw Pact. By 1990 the Berlin Wall was breached and in summer of 1990 Germany was reunited. In 1991, the USSR experienced a series of revolutions and the establishment of democratic governments in Albania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Gorbachev succeeded Konstantin Chernenko as General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985. In 1988 Mikhail Gorbachev replaced Gromyko as President of the Soviet Union. In 1990, he became the first Executive President of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev was a leader of vision for his country. His aim was to change the Soviet society. As early as 1986, he talked of the need to change the Soviet society so as to be on the same level with the Western European capitalist countries. Changes in the Soviet Union and the whole Eastern Europe were as a result of two reforming policies introduced by Gorbachev. These were **Perestroika** and **Glasnost**. **Perestroika** was introduced in October 1985. It was a series of transforming economic reforms aimed at reducing central planning and restructuring the economy. Perestroika introduced a capitalist type of economy which brought a market economy with limited free enterprise. The new system allowed the citizens to run small family businesses. From August 1986 foreign investments were allowed in the Soviet Union. According to Gorbachev political and social reforms in the USSR could only take place if the economy was restructured.

Glasnost was introduced in 1985. This policy encouraged open and public discussion of issues affecting the country. This was accompanied by open flow of information in newspapers, on national radio and national television. Through Glasnost, Gorbachev wanted the people to discuss national issues openly without fear. For the first time, people in the Soviet Union began criticizing the government in many areas. The citizens also wrote to the Communist Party newspaper, Pravda to criticize the government on many issues. They even exposed corruption in the government. As a result of this reform, people's anger, tensions and frustrations resurfaced for the first time since the 1920s. Externally, Glasnost contributed to the independence of east European countries under the influence of the USSR as they began to demand to break away from the Soviet Union.

In the 1990 May Day celebrations, the Russians marched the streets and demanded for the end of communism. The USSR had fifteen Republics and Russia was the biggest with 75 per cent of the total land in the USSR. On 25th December 1991, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR) ceased to exist when Gorbachev resigned as President of the country. This marked the end 74 years of communist rule and the end of the Cold War.

15.5.2. The Revolutions of 1989

In this lesson we will learn about the 1989 European Revolutions in Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. We will also learn how these revolutions relate to each other and to the Soviet Union. Revolutionary Change

Imagine it is December 1989. You live in Prague, Czechoslovakia. There are large-scale protests and work strikes. Some of your neighbouring governments have already fallen. It seems likely that the communist government will lose power, the only question is how smooth the transfer of power will be. How do you feel? Are you excited that the government is going to end? Hopeful for the future? Or do you fear the instability and change the future could bring? What do you think it is like to live through a revolution?

A revolution is more than just a change of power. It is a dramatic break with the past. In the 1989 Eastern European Revolutions, it was a break from communist ideology, in favor of democracy and market economies. These were both political revolutions--ending the one-party dominance of the communist party in favour of multi-party democracies-- and economic revolutions--ending planned economies in favour of more market-driven capitalist economies. Not all of the revolutionaries necessarily preferred capitalism as an economic system to communism, but they did mostly all agree that democracy and free elections were preferable to having insiders of one party in control of everything.

The End of the Brezhnev Doctrine and the Warsaw Pact

The **Brezhnev Doctrine** was a significant feature of Soviet foreign policy that dated to 1968. The doctrine said that the Soviet Union would intervene in communist countries in Eastern Europe if the Soviet Union believed they were turning away from communism. In practice, this meant that even if countries like Czechoslovakia simply wanted to reform some of their policies, the Soviet Union would intervene.

The governments that would intervene in the Brezhnev Doctrine were **Warsaw Pact** countries. In the 1955 Warsaw Pact, countries like the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia agreed to intervene if necessary, to protect one of the other governments. The Warsaw Pact helped to assure Soviet control and influence over Eastern Europe.

In the late-1980s, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev decided that the Soviet Union would no longer enforce the Brezhnev Doctrine. This was largely the result of both reform and unrest in the Soviet Union. Just as the other Warsaw Pact countries were rocked by protests in favor of democracy, so was the Soviet Union. Gorbachev believed that the Soviet Union needed to reform, and his decision to end the Brezhnev Doctrine was a part of that reform. This decision not to intervene in Eastern Europe allowed the 1989 Revolutions to occur relatively peacefully.

Solidarity and Poland

Revolution first rocked Poland, in part because of the strength of the **Solidarity** movement. Solidarity was the name of a Polish trade union that was not controlled by the communist party. Formed in 1980, Solidarity used non-violent resistance in order to resist the communist government, improve workers' rights, and work for social change peacefully. After widespread workers' strikes in 1988, the Polish government decided to talk with Solidarity leaders. These talks led to the 1989 parliamentary elections, in which Solidarity won nearly all of the contested seats. In the presidential elections the following year, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was elected, and Walesa oversaw Poland's transition from communism to capitalism.

Hungary

While Hungary's transition to democracy was driven by public dissatisfaction, it was also supported by many reformers inside the communist party, making Hungary's transition to democracy much smoother than some of its neighbour's (most notably Romania). The Hungarian Parliament introduced a 'democracy package' which included freedom of the press and significantly changed the constitution.

East Germany

In East Germany, the Communist government faced public resentment because of voting fraud in local elections. Many citizens left the country while other citizens participated in demonstrations. Many East Germans demonstrated in front of the Berlin Wall, demanding to be let through. None of the East German leaders wanted to be held responsible for any shootings of East Germans who were trying to cross the wall, so the East German soldiers began letting people move across the wall. Many East Germans flooded the border into West Germany. Beginning November 9, 1989, the wall began to be torn down spontaneously by West and East Germans alike as they took chips out of the wall with tools. The communist leader resigned and elections were held in March of 1990, resulting in a victory by the moderately right-wing Christian Democratic Party and reunification with capitalist West Germany. The military soon began tearing down the remaining sections of the wall and the East Germany Mayor of Berlin announced that 'the wall is history.' The wall that had symbolized the separation between east and west.

ACTIVITY

1. In what ways did the Marshal Plan, the dividing of Berlin, the communist takeover of power in Czechoslovakia and the formation of NATO contribute to development of the Cold War?
2. What kinds of conflicts resulted from the global confrontation between the two superpowers?
3. Identify similarities and differences between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War.
4. Show how Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of Perestroika and Glasnost led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
5. Explain how revolutions of 1989 in Poland, Hungary and East Germany signified the end of the Cold War.

Summary

Towards the end of the Second World War, the harmony which had existed between the USSR, the United States and the British Empire began to wear thin and all the old suspicions came to the fore again. Relations between Soviet Russia and the West soon became so difficult that, although no actual fighting took place directly between the two opposing camps, the decade after 1945 saw the first phase of what came to be called the *Cold War*. This continued until the collapse of communism in 1989 – 91. What happened was that instead of allowing their mutual hostility to express itself in open fighting, the rival powers attacked each other with propaganda and economic measures and with a general policy of non-cooperation.

Both superpowers, the USA and the USSR, gathered allies around them. Between 1945 and 1948 the USSR drew into its orbit most of the states of Eastern Europe, as communist governments came to power in Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. A communist government was established in North Korea (1948) and the communist block seemed to be further strengthened in 1949 when Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) was at last victorious in long drawn out war in China. On the other hand, the USA hastened the recovery of Japan and fostered her as an ally and worked closely with Britain and 14 other European countries providing them with vast economic aid in order to build up an anti-communist bloc. Whatever one bloc suggested was viewed by the other as having ulterior and aggressive motives.

UNIT 16

THE EUROPEAN UNION

16.1. Introduction

European Union (EU), international organization comprising 28 European countries and governing common economic, social, and security policies. In this unit we discuss origins of the European Union, from Common Market to EU, its expansion Eastern Europe and Brexit.

16.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit learners should be able to:

- Discuss the origins of the European union
- Explain the transition of the EU from common market to European Union.
- Describe the expansion of the EU into Eastern Europe
- Explain what ‘Brexit’ is.

16.3. Origins of the European Union

The EU represents one in a series of efforts to integrate Europe since World War II. At the end of the war, several western European countries sought closer economic, social, and political ties to achieve economic growth and military security and to promote a lasting reconciliation between France and Germany. To this end, in 1951 the leaders of six countries—Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Germany—signed the Treaty of Paris, thereby, when it took effect in 1952, founding the *European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)*. (The United Kingdom had been invited to join the ECSC and in 1955 sent a representative to observe discussions about its ongoing development, but the Labour government of Clement Attlee declined membership, owing perhaps to a variety of factors, including the illness of key ministers, a desire to maintain economic independence, and a failure to grasp the community’s impending significance.) The ECSC created a free-trade area for several key economic and military resources: coal, coke, steel, scrap, and iron ore. To manage the ECSC, the treaty established several supranational institutions: a High Authority to administrate, a Council of Ministers to legislate, a Common Assembly to formulate policy, and a Court of Justice to interpret the treaty and to resolve related disputes. A series of further international treaties and treaty revisions based largely on this model led eventually to the creation of the EU.

16.4. Expansion into Easter Europe

Originally confined to Western Europe, the EU undertook a robust expansion into central and Eastern Europe in the early 21st century. The EU’s members are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria,

Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The EU was created by the Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force on November 1, 1993. The treaty was designed to enhance European political and economic integration by creating a single currency (the euro), a unified foreign and security policy, and common citizenship rights and by advancing cooperation in the areas of immigration, asylum, and judicial affairs. The EU was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2012, in recognition of the organization's efforts to promote peace and democracy in Europe.



European Union Composition of the European.

16.5. "British exit," (Brexit)

Brexit is an abbreviation for "British exit," referring to the U.K.'s decision in a June 23, 2016 referendum to leave the European Union (EU). The vote's result defied expectations and roiled global markets, causing the British pound to fall to its lowest level against the dollar in 30 years. Former Prime Minister David Cameron, who called the referendum and campaigned for Britain to remain in the EU, announced his resignation the following day.

Theresa May, who replaced Cameron as leader of the Conservative party and prime minister, stepped down as party leader voluntarily on June 7, 2019, after facing severe pressure to resign. On July 23rd, 2019, Boris Johnson, the Conservative Party leader, former Mayor of London, British Foreign Minister, and editor of The Spectator newspaper, was elected Prime Minister. Johnson campaigned on a platform to leave the EU by the October 31st, 2019 deadline "do or die". Britain has to ratify a withdrawal agreement with the EU before leaving if it wants to avoid a chaotic "no-deal" exit. The deal May negotiated with the EU was rejected by the House of Commons three times, and she shelved plans to put it to a vote a fourth time after the changes and compromises she was willing to make angered many senior members of her party.

What Happens Next

Britain has managed to avoid crashing out of the EU without a deal by extending the negotiating period twice. This did mean it was forced to participate in the EU Parliament elections held on May 23. Britain can leave the EU before October 31 if it chooses to, either with a deal or without.

Johnson, a hard-line Brexit supporter, is prepared to leave the EU without a deal. If Britain leaves the EU without the ratification of a deal in what is known as 'Hard Brexit', there will be no two-year transition period. The U.K and the EU are meant to negotiate a new, long-term trade agreement during the transition period. In the absence of a deal, WTO rules will come into effect.

Johnson may choose to hold talks with the opposition party to reach a compromise and win approval for May's deal, but his campaign rhetoric indicates that he won't take that path. He could also propose another round of votes on Brexit alternatives. MPs have voted twice on several options, but none were able to receive majority support.

ACTIVITY

1. Explain the origin and development of the European Union
2. Critically analyse different treaties that were signed during the formation of the EU
3. Discuss why Britain was reluctant to join the EU
4. Itemize and discuss the objective and aims of the EU
5. Analyse the successes and failures of the EU
6. Why Did Britain hold a referendum to determine whether it should remain a member of the European Union?

Summary

The European Union (EU) is a group of 28 countries that operates as a cohesive economic and political block. Nineteen of the countries use the *euro* as their official currency. The EU began as the European Coal and Steel Community, which was founded in 1950 and had just six members: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. It became the European Economic Community in 1957 under the Treaty of Rome and, subsequently, became the *European Community (EC)*.

The EU grew out of a desire to form a single European political entity to end the centuries of warfare among European countries that culminated with World War II and decimated much of the continent. The European Single Market was established by 12 countries in 1993 to ensure the so-called four freedoms: the movement of goods, services, people, and money.

The early focus of the EC was a common agricultural policy as well as the elimination of *customs barriers*. The EC initially expanded in 1973 when Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Greece, and Spain became members. A directly elected European Parliament took office in 1979.

In 1986, the Single European Act solidified the principles of foreign policy cooperation and extended the powers of the community over the members. The act also formalized the idea of a single European market.

The *Maastricht Treaty* took effect on November 1, 1993, and the European Union (EU) replaced the EC. The treaty created the euro, which is intended to be the single currency for the EU. The euro debuted on January 1, 1999. Denmark and the United Kingdom negotiated "opt out" provisions that permitted them to retain their own currencies.

The EU and *the European Central Bank* have struggled with high sovereign debt and collapsing growth in Portugal, Ireland, Greece, and Spain since the global financial market *collapse of 2008*. Greece and Ireland received financial bailouts from the community in 2009, which were accompanied by fiscal *austerity*. Portugal followed in 2011, along with a second Greek bailout.

Multiple rounds of interest rate cuts and *economic stimulus* failed to resolve the problem. Northern countries such as Germany, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands increasingly resent the financial drain from the south. Repeated rumours that Greece would be forced to withdraw from the euro failed to materialize amid disagreement as to whether the move was legally possible as it was not covered in the Maastricht Treaty.

As the situation moved from crisis to *stagnation*, the U.K. government announced it would hold a referendum to determine whether it would remain a part of the EU on June 23, 2016. The nation voted to leave the EU under what's now called *Brexit*. While officially scheduled for March 29, 2019, the Brexit plan has been challenged repeatedly by various coalitions of the U.K. Parliament. On January 15, 2019, the U.K. Parliament soundly rejected Prime Minister Theresa May's "Withdrawal Plan" forcing her to come up with an alternative by January 21. On March 27, when the most recent Brexit vote was held, none of the eight Brexit alternatives voted on by Members of Parliament received a majority. May's deal was rejected again on March 29 by a margin of 58 votes, despite her vow to resign before the next stage of negotiations if it was passed.

Currently, the EU and UK have agreed to delay Brexit until Oct. 31, 2019, while they revisit what might be done. Among the possible next developments: the U.K. withdrawing without an agreement, a further delay of Brexit, and a second referendum.

UNIT 17

REGIONAL CONFLICTS (1945 – PRESENT)

17.1. Introduction

Many wars and conflicts in recent decades have arisen over ethnic or religious differences. Regional rivalries have also resulted in wars between nations. In this unit we discuss some of the major conflicts that have broken out in Southeast Asia, Europe and Africa.

17.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit learners should be able to:

- Discuss conflicts in the world which are as a result of ethnic and religious differences
- Describe regional conflicts which are as a result of the struggle for freedom
- Explain conflicts in Africa which are as a result of Cold War rivalry.

17.3. Ethnic and religious Conflicts

Ethnic and religious conflicts have often had more than one cause. The root of the conflicts is often cultural differences between two groups based on ethnicity, religion or both. However, it takes more than cultural differences to create conflict. Malaysia and Singapore, for example, have great ethnic and religious diversity, but little internal conflict. Both countries enjoy peace because they tried to distribute economic resources and political power fairly among their ethnic and religious groups.

- ***The Sri Lankan Civil War.*** Conflict occurs when members of one ethnic or religious group feel that they face unfair treatment or discrimination by members of another group. For example, in Sri Lanka, where Sinhalese Buddhists are the majority, Sinhalese nationalists made Sinhalese the only official language. They ended the use of Tamil language. They also created government support for the Buddhist religion. Sinhalese nationalists excluded the Hindu Tamils from power. This led to a bloody civil war. The Tamil rebels agreed to a ceasefire in 2002 only when the government agreed to negotiations over a separate Tamil government.
- ***Northern Ireland Troubles.*** Northern Ireland's difficulties began when Ireland won independence in 1922. Six northern counties, which had a Protestant majority, voted to remain part of Britain as *Northern Ireland*. Minority Catholics in Northern Ireland faced economic and political discrimination. Many Catholics demanded civil rights and unification with the rest of Ireland, which had a Catholic majority.

Beginning in the 1960s, extremists on both sides turned to violence and terrorism. The *Irish Republican Army (IRA)* attacked Protestants and armed Protestant militias targeted Catholics.

Peace talks dragged on for years. Finally, in 1998, Protestants and Catholics signed a peace accord, known as the *Good Friday Agreement*. However, lasting peace was threatened by distrust on both sides, occasional acts of violence and the IRA's reluctance to turn over weapons.

- ***The War in Chechnya.*** Ethnic and religious minorities in most of the former Soviet republics fought for freedom from domination by the republic's majorities. In Azerbaijan, ethnic Armenians declared independence for the region of Nagorno-Karabakh, where they are the majority. Fighting between Azerbaijan forces and Armenians left thousands of dead.

Probably the fiercest conflict in the former Soviet Union has been the struggle of Muslim Chechen nationalists to free their homeland *Chechnya*, from the control of Russia. Russia brutally crushed a Chechen revolt in the mid-1990s, killing huge numbers of civilians. Both sides committed war crimes such as torture. A 1997 peace treaty failed and embittered Chechen separatists took their battle into other parts of Russia.

In 1999, new fighting erupted. Russian troops took control of Grozny, the capital of Chechnya, in 2000. However, rebels fought on in Chechnya's southern mountains. Some Chechens turned to terrorist attacks elsewhere in Russia. Russia charged that Chechen rebels were linked to Muslim terrorists in other parts of the world.

- ***Yugoslavia Breaks Apart.*** Ethnic, nationalist and religious tensions tore Yugoslavia apart during the 1990s. Before 1991, Yugoslavia was *multi-ethnic* or made up of several ethnic groups. These groups included Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians who were Orthodox Christians. Croats and Slovenes who were Roman Catholics and the mostly Muslims Bosnians and Albanians. A majority of Yugoslavians – including the Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats and Bosnians – all spoke the same language, Serbo-Croatian, but these groups had different religions. Albanians, Slovenes and Macedonians spoke minority languages.

Yugoslavia was made up of six republics, similar to states in the United States. These were Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. Each republic had a dominant ethnic group but also was home to ethnic minorities. Serbs formed the majority in Serbia but were an important ethnic minority in several of the other republics. Serbs dominated Yugoslavia which was held together and controlled by its Community Party.

Republics Break Away. The fall of communism led to nationalist unrest. The Serbs tried in vain to keep control over Yugoslavia. Slovenia and Croatia were the first to declare independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. When Croatia declared independence, however, fighting broke out between ethnic Croats and Serbs who formed a minority with Croatia. Macedonia and Bosnia soon declared independence from Yugoslavia as well. By 1992,

Yugoslavia was left with the republics of Montenegro and Serbia. Finally, in 2003, what remained of Yugoslavia was renamed *Serbia and Montenegro*.

Civil War Devastates Bosnia. Fighting between Serbs and Croats in Croatia spread to neighbouring Bosnia when Bosnia declared independence in 1992. Bosnia Serbs fought to set up their own separate government in Bosnia. They received money and arms from Yugoslavia, then dominated by Serbia. Muslim Bosnians the largest group in Bosnia, lived scattered throughout the country. They did not want Bosnia divided into ethnic regions.

During the war, all sides committed atrocities. Serbs in Bosnia conducted a vicious campaign of what they called *ethnic cleansing*. This meant killing people from other ethnic groups or forcibly removing them from their homes to create ethnically “pure” areas, in this case for Serbs. Thousands of Bosnians and Croats were killed, sometimes in mass executions. Croatian and Bosnian fighters took revenge. Croats launched an ethnic cleansing campaign to drive ethnic Serbs from parts of Croatia. To many, ethnic cleansing recalled the horrors of the Holocaust during World War II.

Finally, NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serb military forced the warring parties to negotiate. Guided by the United States, they signed the *Dayton Accords*, ending the war in 1995. An international force helped maintain a fragile peace in Bosnia.

The Fight for Kosovo. As Bosnia reached a tense peace, a crisis broke out in the Serbian province of *Kosovo*. Ethnic Albanians made up about 90 percent of Kosovo’s population. The rest of the population was mostly Serbian.

In 1989, Serbian president *Slobodan Milosevic*, an extreme Serbian nationalist, had begun oppressing Kosovar Albanians. Peaceful protests led to more repression. In the mid- 1990s, a small guerrilla army of ethnic Albanians began to respond with armed attacks on Serbian targets. Milosevic, however, rejected international peace efforts. In 1999, NATO launched air strikes against Serbia. Yugoslav forces attempted ethnic cleansing of Albanian civilians.

However, NATO air strikes eventually forced Yugoslavia to withdraw its forces from Kosovo. UN and NATO forces restored peace. As Kosovo rebuilt, tension remained high between ethnic Albanians and Serbs living in there. Although Kosovo remained part of Serbia in theory, the region was under UN control after 1999. The majority ethnic Albanians sought independence, while ethnic Serbs wanted to remain part of Serbia.

- ***Rwanda and Burundi Face Deadly Divisions.*** After independence, ethnic conflicts plagued several African nations. The causes were complex. Historic resentments divided ethnically diverse nations. Unjust governments and regional rivalries fed ethnic violence. The small nation of Rwanda in Central Africa, faced one of Africa’s deadliest civil wars. The Rwandan people included two main groups. *Hutus* were the majority group, but the minority *Tutsis* had long dominated Rwanda. Both groups spoke the same language, but they had different traditions. After independence, tensions between these two groups arose.

Tensions worsened in the early 1990s. In 1994, extremist Hutu officials urged civilians to kill their Tutsi and moderate Hutu neighbours. Around 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were slaughtered. Another 3 million of Rwanda's 8 million lost their homes to destructive mobs. As the death toll rose, the international community failed to act. After several months, France sent its troops to stop the killing.

With UN assistance, Rwanda set about rebuilding and recovering from the horrors of genocide. Those accused of genocide faced trials in an international court. Hutus and Tutsis had to find ways to live peacefully. World leaders pledged to stop any future genocide wherever it might occur. Their readiness to do this, however, was limited.

The neighbouring nation of Burundi has a similar population and history. As in Rwanda, tensions between Tutsis and Hutus led to civil war during the 1990s. While the fighting did not lead to genocide like that in Rwanda, guerrilla groups fought for much longer in Burundi. Although several guerrilla groups signed a peace treaty in 2000, fighting continued in the years that followed.

- ***Sudan's ethnic strife.*** After independence, Sudan's Arab Muslim north dominated the non-Muslim, non-Arab south. Arab-led governments enacted laws and policies that discriminated against non-Muslims and against other ethnic groups. For example, the government tried to impose Islamic law even in non-Muslim areas. For decades, rebel groups, in the south battled northern domination. War, drought, and famine caused millions of deaths and forced many more to flee their homes.

However, in 2004, southern rebels signed a peace agreement with Sudan's government. The southern rebels agreed to stop fighting and the government agreed to give the south limited self-government, power in Sudan's national government and freedom from Islamic law.

However, by 2004, ethnic conflict had also spread to Sudan's western region of *Darfur*. This conflict raised fears of a new genocide. Arab militias, backed by the government, unleashed terror on the non-Arab-Muslim people of Darfur. They burned villages and drove hundreds of thousands of farmers off the land that fed them and into refugee camps, where they faced the threat of starvation. The UN, the United States and other nations organised a huge aid effort to help refugees.

In the meantime, South Sudan seceded from the republic of Sudan and became an independent state on 9 July 2011, following 99% support for independence in January 2011. But in December 2013, the violence returned. Pitted against each other were South Sudan's two predominant and most populous tribes, the *Dinka and Nuer*.

17.4. South Africa Struggles for Freedom.

In South Africa, the struggle for freedom was different from that elsewhere in Africa. In 1910, South Africa achieved self-rule from Britain. Freedom however, was limited to white settlers. The black majority was denied the right to vote. Whites made up of less than 20 percent of the population but controlled the government and the economy. The white minority-government passed racial laws that severely restricted the black majority.

- ***Apartheid Divided South Africa.*** After 1948, the government expanded the existing system of racial segregation, creating what was known as *apartheid* or the separation of the races. Under apartheid, all South African were registered by race; Black, White, Coloured (people of mixed ancestry) and Asian. Apartheid's supporters claimed that it would allow each race to develop its own culture. It was designed to protect white over South Africa.

Under apartheid, non-whites faced many restrictions. Blacks were treated like foreigners in their own land. Under the pass laws, they had to get permission to travel. Other laws banned marriages between the races and stipulated segregated restaurants, beaches and schools. Black workers were paid less than whites for the same job. Blacks could not own land in most areas. Low wages and inferior schooling condemned most blacks to poverty.

- ***Fighting for Majority Rule.*** The African National Congress (ANC) was the main organisation that opposed apartheid and led the struggle for majority rule. In the 1950s, as the government established apartheid, the ANC organised marches, boycotts and strikes. In 1960, police gunned down 69 men, women and children during a peaceful demonstration in *Sharpeville*, a black township. The government then outlawed the ANC and cracked down on groups that opposed apartheid.

The Sharpeville massacre and crackdown pushed the ANC to shift from non-violent protest to armed struggle. Some like *Nelson Mandela* went underground. As an ANC leader, Mandela had first mobilised young South Africans to peacefully resist apartheid laws. As government violence grew, Mandela joined ANC militants who called for armed struggle against the white-minority government. In the early 1960s, Mandela was arrested, tried and condemned to life in prison for treason against apartheid. Even while Mandela was in prison, he remained a popular leader and powerful symbol of the struggle for freedom.

In the 1980s, demands for an end to apartheid and for Mandela's release increased. Many countries, including the United States of America, imposed economic sanctions on South Africa. In 1984, black South African bishop *Desmond Tutu* won the *Nobel Peace Prize* for his non-violent opposition to apartheid.

- ***Overcoming Apartheid.*** Outside pressure and protests at home finally convinced South African President F.W. De Klerk to end apartheid. In 1990, he lifted the ban of ANC and

freed Mandela. In 1994, South Africans of every race were allowed to vote for the first time.

They elected Nelson Mandela the first president of a truly democratic South Africa. Mandela helped to heal the country's wounds when he welcomed old political foes into his government including whites who had supported apartheid. "Let us build together," he declared.

After 1994, South Africans faced huge challenges. With majority rule, black South Africans expected a better life. Although South Africa was a rich, industrial country, it could afford only a limited amount of spending for housing, education and other programmes. The gap between blacks and whites remained large. Whites owned more than two thirds of the land. Black poverty and unemployment remained high. The crime rate soared in the cities and nearby shantytowns. South Africa's government struggled to these challenges.

17.5. South Africa's neighbours faced Long Conflicts.

Most African nations achieved independence through peaceful means during the 1950s and 1960s. In Southern Africa, however, the road to freedom was longer and more violent. For many years, the apartheid government of South Africa supported white minority rule in neighbouring Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, as Britain and France, gave up their African possessions, Portugal clung fiercely to its colonies in Angola and Mozambique. In response, nationalist movements turned to guerrilla warfare. Fighting dragged on for fifteen years, until Portugal agreed to withdraw from Africa. In 1975, Angola and Mozambique celebrated independence.

Independence did not end the fighting, however. Bitter civil wars, fuelled by Cold War rivalries, raged for years. South Africa and the United States saw the new nations as threats because some liberation leaders had ties to the Soviet Union or the ANC. The United States and South Africa aided a rebel group fighting the new government of Angola. South Africa aided a rebel group in Mozambique.

The fighting did not stop until 1992 in Mozambique and 2002 in Angola, were tensions remained even after a ceasefire. Decades of war had ravaged both countries. Slowly, however, they have begun to rebuild the country.

17.6. The Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Why the creation of state of Israel led to war?

- The origin of the problem went back almost 2000 years to the AD 71, when most of the Jews were driven out of Palestine, which was their homeland, by the Romans. In fact, small communities of Jews stayed behind in Palestine and over the following 1700 years there

was a gradual trickle of Jews returning from exile. Until the end of the nineteenth century though, there were never enough Jews to make the Arabs, who now looked at Palestine as their homeland, feel threatened.

- In 1897, some Jews living in Europe founded the *World Zionist Organisation* at Basle in Switzerland. Zionists were people who believed that Jews ought to be able to go back to Palestine and have what they called a “*national homeland*”. In other words, a Jewish state. Jews had recently suffered persecution in Russia, France, and Germany and a Jewish state would provide a safe refuge for Jews from all over the world. The problem was that, *Palestine was inhabited by the Arabs* who were understandably alarmed at the prospect of losing their land to the Jews.
- Britain became involved in 1917, when the Foreign Minister, *Arthur Balfour* announced that *Britain supported the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine*. After 1919, when Palestine became a British mandate, large numbers of Jews began to arrive in Palestine and the Arabs protested bitterly that they wanted an independent Palestine for Arabs and an end to Jewish immigration.

The British government stated (1922) that there was no intention of the Jews occupying the whole of Palestine and that there would be no interference with the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. Balfour himself, in his *Declaration*: ‘nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.’ The British hoped to persuade the Jews and Arabs to live together peacefully in the same state. They failed to understand the deep religious gulf between the two and they failed to keep Balfour’s promise.

- Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany after 1933 caused a flood of refugees and by 1940 about half the population of Palestine was Jewish. From 1936 onwards there were violent protests by Arabs and an uprising, which the British suppressed with some brutality, killing over 3000 Arabs. In 1937, the *British Peel Commission proposed dividing Palestine into two separate states* one Arab and one Jewish but the Arabs rejected the proposal.
- *The Second World War made the situation much worse*. There were thousands of Jewish refugees from Hitler’s Europe desperately looking for somewhere to go. In 1945, the USA pressed Britain to allow 100, 000 Jews into Palestine. This demand was echoed by *David Ben Gurion*, one of the Jewish leaders., but the British not wanting to offend the Arabs, refused.
- The Jews, after all that their race had suffered at the hands of the Nazis were determined to fight for their ‘national home’. They began a terrorist campaign against both Arabs and British. One of the most spectacular incidents was the blowing up of the *King David Hotel* in Jerusalem, which the British were using as their headquarters; 91 people were killed and

many more injured. The British responded by arresting Jewish leaders and by turning back ships such as the *Exodus*, crammed with Jews to enter Palestine.

1948–49: Israel’s War of Independence and the Palestinian Nakbah. *The British, weakened by the strain of the Second World War, felt unable to cope.* Ernest Bevin, the Labour Foreign Secretary, asked the United Nations to deal with the problem and in *November, 1947, the United Nations voted to divide Palestine (United Nations Resolution 181)*, setting aside, roughly half of it to form an independent Jewish state. Early in 1948, the British decided to come out altogether and let the United Nations carry out its own plan. Although fighting was already going on between the Jews and Arabs (who bitterly resented the loss of half of Palestine) the British withdrew all their troops. In May 1948, Ben Gurion declared the independence of the new state of Israel. It was immediately attacked by Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon who occupied the areas in southern and eastern Palestine not apportioned to the Jews by the UN partition of Palestine and then captured east Jerusalem, including the small Jewish quarter of the Old City. The stated purpose of the invasion was to restore law and order in light of British withdrawal. The Israelis, meanwhile, won control of the main road to Jerusalem through the Yehuda Mountains (“Hills of Judaea”) and successfully repulsed repeated Arab attacks. By early 1949 the Israelis had managed to occupy all of the Negev up to the former Egypt-Palestine frontier, except for the Gaza Strip.



UN partition plan for Palestine adopted in 1947

Between February and July 1949, as a result of separate armistice agreements between Israel and each of the Arab states, a temporary frontier was fixed between Israel and its neighbours. In Israel, the war is remembered as its War of Independence. In the Arab world, it came to be known as the Nakbah (“Catastrophe”) because of the large number of refugees and displaced persons resulting from the war.

1956: Suez Crisis. Tensions mounted again with the rise to power of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, a staunch Pan-Arab nationalist. Nasser took a hostile stance toward Israel. In 1956 Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, a vital waterway connecting Europe and Asia that was largely owned by French and British concerns. France and Britain responded by striking a deal with Israel—whose ships were barred from using the canal and whose southern port of Elat had been blockaded by Egypt—wherein Israel would invade Egypt; France and Britain would then intervene, ostensibly as peacemakers, and take control of the canal.

In October 1956 Israel invaded Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula. In five days, the Israeli army captured Gaza, Rafah, and Al-Arish—taking thousands of prisoners—and occupied most of the peninsula east of the Suez Canal. The Israelis were then in a position to open sea communications through the Gulf of Aqaba. In December, after the joint Anglo-French intervention, a UN Emergency Force was stationed in the area, and Israeli forces withdrew in March 1957. Though Egyptian forces had been defeated on all fronts, the Suez Crisis, as it is sometimes known, was seen by Arabs as an Egyptian victory. Egypt dropped the blockade of Elat. A UN buffer force was placed in the Sinai Peninsula.

1967: Six-Day War. Arab and Israeli forces clashed for the third time June 5–10, 1967, in what came to be called the Six-Day War (or June War). In early 1967 Syria intensified its bombardment of Israeli villages from positions in the Golan Heights. When the Israeli Air Force shot down six Syrian MiG fighter jets in reprisal, Nasser mobilized his forces near the Sinai border, dismissing the UN force there, and he again sought to blockade Elat. In May 1967 Egypt signed a mutual defence pact with Jordan.

Israel answered this apparent Arab rush to war by staging a sudden air assault, destroying Egypt’s air force on the ground. The Israeli victory on the ground was also overwhelming. Israeli units drove back Syrian forces from the Golan Heights, took control of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, and drove Jordanian forces from the West Bank. Importantly, the Israelis were left in sole control of Jerusalem.

1973: Yom Kippur War. The sporadic fighting that followed the Six-Day War again developed into full-scale war in 1973. On October 6, the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur (thus “Yom Kippur War”), Israel was attacked by Egypt across the Suez Canal and by Syria on the Golan Heights. The Arab armies showed greater aggressiveness and fighting ability than in the previous wars, and the Israeli forces suffered heavy casualties. The Israeli army, however,

reversed early losses and pushed its way into Syrian territory and encircled the Egyptian Third Army by crossing the Suez Canal and establishing forces on its west bank.

Israel and Egypt signed a cease-fire agreement in November and peace agreements on January 18, 1974. The accords provided for Israeli withdrawal into the Sinai west of the Mitla and Gidi passes, while Egypt was to reduce the size of its forces on the east bank of the canal. A UN peacekeeping force was established between the two armies. This agreement was supplemented by another, signed on September 4, 1975. On May 31, 1974, Israel and Syria signed a cease-fire agreement that also covered separation of their forces by a UN buffer zone and exchange of prisoners of war.

On March 26, 1979, Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty formally ending the state of war that had existed between the two countries for 30 years. Under the terms of the Camp David Accords, as the treaty was called, Israel returned the entire Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, and, in return, Egypt recognized Israel's right to exist. The two countries subsequently established normal diplomatic relations.

1982: Lebanon War. On June 5, 1982, less than six weeks after Israel's complete withdrawal from the Sinai, increased tensions between Israelis and Palestinians resulted in the Israeli bombing of Beirut and southern Lebanon, where the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had a number of strongholds. The following day Israel invaded Lebanon, and by June 14 its land forces reached as far as the outskirts of Beirut, which was encircled, but the Israeli government agreed to halt its advance and begin negotiations with the PLO. After much delay and massive Israeli shelling of west Beirut, the PLO evacuated the city under the supervision of a multinational force. Eventually, Israeli troops withdrew from west Beirut, and the Israeli army had withdrawn entirely from Lebanon by June 1985.

2006: Second Lebanon War. In July 2006 Hezbollah launched an operation against Israel in an attempt to pressure the country into releasing Lebanese prisoners, killing a number of Israeli soldiers in the process and capturing two. Israel launched an offensive into southern Lebanon to recover the captured soldiers. The war lasted 34 days but left more than one thousand Lebanese dead and about one million others displaced. Several Arab leaders criticized Hezbollah for inciting the conflict. Nevertheless, Hezbollah's ability to fight the Israel Defence Forces to a standstill won it praise throughout much of the Arab world.

ACTIVITY

1. Why did conflict break up in Northern Ireland?
2. How did the breakup of Yugoslavia lead to ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
3. What factors finally brought apartheid to an end?
4. Why did fighting continue after Angola and Mozambique

5. What is the major cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict? Discuss the major wars that have been fought between Israel and the Arabs since 1948.

Summary

Many wars and conflicts in recent decades have arisen over ethnic or religious differences. Some of the conflicts that have arisen because of ethnic or religious differences in the world are; the Sri Lankan Civil War, Northern Ireland troubles, the war in Chechnya, the breakup of Yugoslavia, the conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi and Sudan and South Sudan conflicts.

Some conflicts are as a result of struggle for freedom as the case was in South Africa during the struggle against apartheid. Other conflicts were fuelled by Cold War rivalries especially the conflicts that occurred in Angola and Mozambique after the two countries attained independence in 1975. The creation of the state of Israel also led to a conflict that is ongoing in the Middle East.

UNIT 18

THE WORD TODAY

18.1. Introduction

The end of the Cold War saw enormous empires crumble and new nations emerge. It also marked the beginning of a new global economy – an economy in which economic ties among nations and international trade would become driving forces in shaping global patterns. In this unit we discuss, the world after the Cold War, globalisation and its aspects.

18.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit the learners should be able to:

- Discuss the major issues in the Post-Cold War Era
- Define globalisation
- Discuss aspects of globalisation

18.3. World in Post-Cold War Era

The term Post-Cold War era refers to the period of time following the Cold War. Because the Cold War was not an active war but rather a period of geopolitical tensions punctuated by proxy wars, there is disagreement on the official ending of this conflict and subsequent existence of the *post-Cold War era*. Some scholars claim the Cold War ended when the world's first treaty on nuclear disarmament was signed in 1987, or when the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991. Despite this ambiguity, the end of the Cold War symbolized:

- A victory of democracy and capitalism giving a boost to the rising world powers of the United States and China. Democracy became a manner of collective self-validation for countries hoping to gain international respect: when democracy was seen as an important value, political structures began adopting the value.
- The era has mostly been dominated by the rise of globalization enabled by the commercialization of the Internet and the growth of the mobile phone system.
- The Post-Cold War era has enabled renewed attention to be paid to matters that were ignored during the Cold War. It has paved the way for nationalist movements and internationalism. Following the nuclear crises of the Cold War, many nations found it necessary to discuss a new form of *international order and internationalism*, where countries cooperated with one another instead of using nuclear scare tactics.

- The period has seen the United States become by far the most powerful country in the world and the rise of China from a relatively weak developing country to a fledgling potential superpower. Reacting on the rise of China, the United States has strategically sought to "rebalance" the Asia-Pacific region.
- It has also seen the merger of most of Europe into one economy and a shift of power from the G7 to the larger G20. Accompanying the NATO expansion, Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) systems were installed in East Europe. These marked important steps in military globalization.
- The end of the Cold War intensified hopes for increasing international cooperation and strengthened international organizations focused on approaching global issues. This has paved way for the establishment of international agreements such as the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Paris Climate Agreement.
- Environmentalism has also become a mainstream concern in the post-Cold War era following the circulation of widely accepted evidence for human activity's effects on Earth's climate. The same heightened consciousness is true of terrorism, owing largely to the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States and their global fallout.

18.4. Globalisation

Globalisation defines the world of the Post-Cold War. *Globalisation* refers to the process by which national economies, politics, cultures and societies become integrated with those of other nations around the world. Globalisation began on a small scale 500 years ago, with the European Age of Exploration. By the 1990s, globalisation was occurring at a dramatic, unprecedented pace.

18.4.1. An Interdependent World

One major effect of globalisation is economic interdependence. *Interdependence* is the dependence of countries on each other for goods, resources, knowledge and labour from other parts of the world. Improvements in transportation and communication, the spread of democratic systems and the rise of free trade – the buying and selling of goods by private individuals and corporations in a free market – have made the world increasingly interdependent. The spread of goods and ideas has even led to the development of a global culture. All of these links, from economic to cultural, have created both challenges and opportunities.

- ***Doing the World's Work.*** The world's rich and poor nations are linked. The nations of the developed world control much of the world's capital, trade and technology. Yet the increasingly depend on largely low-paid workers in developing countries to produce manufactured goods cheaply. Companies in industrial NATIONS also choose to outsource jobs. *Outsourcing* is the practice of sending work to the developing world in order to save money or increase efficiency. Many technological jobs have been outsourced to India, Russia, China and the Philippines.
- ***Multinational Corporations Grow.*** Globalisation has encouraged the rise of huge *multinational corporations*. These corporations have branches and assets in many countries and sell their goods and services throughout the world. Proponents of multinational corporations point out that they invest in the developing world, bring new technology to industries, provide jobs and technical assistance and improve infrastructure. Critics feel that multinational corporations have too large an influence on the prices of goods, take large profits out of the developing countries and pay workers low wages, thus lowering their standard of living.
- ***Financial Crises Affect Everyone.*** One aspect of economic interdependence is financial interdependence in the world's markets. This means that an economic crisis in a country or a region can have a global impact. An example of this is the *Asian Financial Crisis* the *Asian Tigers* in the 1990s. In 1997, a financial crisis struck Thailand and quickly spread to other Asian countries from Singapore to South Korea. The Asian financial crisis worsened Russia's economic woes and contributed to a recession in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse. The fallout continued to spread around the globe as affected countries were unable to repay loans.
- ***Oil: A Volatile Natural Resource.*** In an interdependent world, natural resources – especially – energy resources – play a huge role. All nations for example, need oil for transportation and for products ranging from plastics, to fertilisers. Any change to the global oil supply can have a major impact on economies and lives around the world.

For example, in 1973, OPEC limited oil exports and raised oil prices, sending economic shock waves around the world. Since then, whenever oil prices have risen sharply, people have faced economic uncertainties. Although people have invested in developing alternative fuels or conservative energy, the world has remained largely dependent on oil.

- ***The Far-Reaching Effects of Debt.*** In the 1980s, bank interest rates rose while the world economy slowed. Developing nations that had borrowed capital to modernise were hard hit. As demand for their goods fell, poor nations could not repay their debts or even the interest on their loans. Their economies stalled as they spent their income from exports on payments to foreign creditors.

The debt crisis hit rich nations, too, as banks were stuck with billions of dollars of bad debts. To ease the crisis, lenders lowered interest rates, gave some nations more time to repay loans or even cancelled debts. In return, they required debtor nations to adopt reforms such as privatising state-run industries. They argued that more efficient private enterprises would bring prosperity in the long run.

18.4.2. Global Trade Organisations and Treaties

Many international organisations and treaties link people and nations around the world. They have various goals, including encouraging development, settling economic issues and promoting free trade. Free trade is a key part global trade today.

- ***International Organisations Expand.*** The United Nations is an international organisation whose responsibilities, along with its membership, have expanded greatly since 1945. The UN has acted in peace-keeping role from Cambodia to Congo to the Balkans. In addition, it deals with political, social, economic and cultural issues. Other international organisations deal specifically with economic issues. The World Bank for example, offers loans and advice to developing nations. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established after World War II. Its goal is to promote international monetary cooperation and encourage global economic growth. It also monitors economic development and provides advice to developing nations. Other organisations include non-governmental organisations (NGOs). NGOs, which are usually not affiliated with governments, perform a variety of functions including monitoring human rights, disaster relief and economic development.
- ***Treaties Guide Global Trade.*** *The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)* was signed in 1947 to expand world trade and reduce tariffs. In 1995, more than 100 nations joined to form the *World Trade Organisation (WTO)* to strengthen GATT. Its goal was to set up global rules to ensure that trade flows as smoothly and freely as possible. One of the WTO basic policies is its opposition to *protectionism* or the use of tariffs and other restrictions that protects a country's home industries against competition. The Group of Eight (G-8) is an international organisation of industrialised nations that meet yearly to discuss a wide range of economic and other issues. The G-8 consist of Great Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United States and Russia. Many nations have formed regional *blocs* or groups to promote trade or meet common needs.

18.4.3. Costs and Benefits of Global Trade

With advanced communications and increased economic ties, globalisation is expected only to increase in the years ahead. Yet people still debate the effects of globalisation on people around the world.

- ***Benefits of Trade.*** Global trade has many benefits. Most obviously, it brings consumers great variety in the types of goods and services that are available to them. And because many people compete to provide those goods and services, it ensures that prices are generally kept low. Globalisation exposes people to new ideas, technology and communications

Global trade also encourages growth in technology and communications, benefitting people's daily lives. Success in trade earns money that can be used to improve infrastructure, raise standards of living and provide better services. Nations involved in free trade have often become more democratic. And most economists believe that trade works best when nations have an informed citizenry that is free to participate in economic processes.

- ***Anti-Globalisation Movement.*** A vocal movement opposes globalisation. Generally, anti-globalisation focus attention on property. Many claim that rich countries exploit poor countries by raising their debt and lowering their standard of living. They also argue that nations that try to meet the demands of international trade are put at risk by specialisation, or focusing their economies on one or two high-value commodities.

The anti-globalisation movement often target the World Bank and the IMF. Both of these organisations work to ease economic problems, but critics oppose the tough changes they often require nations to make. Anti-Globalisation also often target the United States, which as the world's superpower is seen as the force behind policies they oppose.

Some people believe that globalisation hurts indigenous peoples by taking their lands and disrupting their culture. Others say its emphasis on profits encourages too-rapid development, endangering sustainability. Sustainability is the ability to meet the demands of the present – for food, resources, shelter and so on – without harming future generations.

ACTIVITY

1. How did the collapse of the Soviet Union affect the United States?
2. What effect can a reduction in oil production in one country have on other countries around the world?
3. Which countries benefit more from economic interdependence – developed or developing countries? Explain.

Summary

The term Post-Cold War era refers to the period of time following the Cold War. The end of the Cold War symbolized a victory of democracy and capitalism giving a boost to the rising world powers of the United States and China. The era has mostly been dominated by the rise of globalization whose major effect has been economic interdependence. The Post-Cold War era has enabled renewed attention to be paid to matters that were ignored during the Cold War such a new form of *international order and internationalism*.

UNIT 19

SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES IN THE WORLD TODAY

19.1. Introduction

Globalisation involves much more than economic links and the spread of technology. It has brought all kinds of social and environmental issues to the world's attention. Poverty, disease, environmental threats and human rights may originate in countries or regions. But they have global dimensions that often require global solutions. In this unit we discuss Global Poverty, Disasters and disease, development and the environment.

19.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit learners should be able to:

- Discuss issues related to global poverty, natural disasters, diseases, global migrations, hunger and poverty.
- Analyse issues of development and the environment.

19.3. Global Poverty, Disasters and disease.

Half of the world's population, or almost 3 billion people live on less than \$2 a day. Almost a billion people cannot read or write. About 790 million people in the developing world suffer from hunger – many from extreme hunger. Millions of people suffer from life threatening diseases. Although these are challenges mainly faced mainly of the developing world, they affect the nations of the developed world as well.

- **Causes of poverty.** Experts cannot agree on the exact number of people living in poverty worldwide, in part because there are many ways in which to measure poverty. Experts do agree about some trends, however. First, the gap between rich and poor nations is huge and growing. Second, some progress has been made toward reducing poverty, but it has been uneven. India and China, for example, have enjoyed economic growth, which has meant fewer people overall living in poverty there, but extreme poverty still persists.

Poverty is a complex issue with many causes. Many poor nations owe billions in debt and have no extra money to spend to improve living conditions. Political upheavals, civil wars, corruption and poor planning also inhibit efforts to reduce poverty worldwide. Rapid population growth - especially in India, China and the nations of Africa and Latin America – has made it harder for countries to provide basic services.

Organisations like the World Bank believe that erasing poverty is essential to global security and peace. In this spirit, they call on poor nations to limit population growth. They

also encourage rich nations to forgive the debt of poor nations, making more funds available for education, healthcare and other services.

- ***Natural Disasters affect Millions.*** In 2004, a huge underwater earthquake in the Indian Ocean triggered a massive tidal wave or *tsunami*. It swept over islands and the coasts of 11 countries ringing the Indian Ocean. More than 160, 000 people were killed, mainly in Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka and India. Millions were left homeless or lost their livelihood.

Natural disasters range from earthquakes, floods, droughts, fires, hurricanes and volcanic eruptions. They strike all over the world all the time. They cause death, destruction and unsanitary conditions that often lead to disease. They can destroy local economies, which can have a ripple effect on the global economy. One benefit of globalisation is that news of natural disasters spreads instantly. In the past, the world only learned of such disasters after days, weeks or months had passed. Today the news triggers instant efforts to bring aid.

- ***Global Diseases Spreads Rapidly.*** With millions of people on the move every day, disease can spread rapidly. In 2002 and 2003, plane travellers spread *Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS)*, a respiratory disease, from China to more than two dozen countries around the world. Other diseases such as *Avian Flu (Bird Flu)*, *Mad Cow*, *West Nile Fever*, and *Influenza* have also raised concern about the global spread of disease. Often diseases spread before health officials know they exist. Still globalisation has meant that health experts around the world, working together, can quickly identify and contain outbreak of disease.

Some diseases have proved difficult to stop. When a disease spreads rapidly, it is called an *epidemic*. HIV/AIDS is an epidemic that began in 1980s. HIV/AIDS has taken a huge economic and human toll around the world, especially in Africa and Southeast Asia. An estimated 20 million people have died of HIV/AIDS and today nearly 40 million people are infected with it. By the early 2000s, treatment and prevention of AIDS had become a global priority. Some African nations like Uganda managed to lower rates of infection. Government and medical officials focused on educating people about how the HIV virus is transmitted and how people can prevent its transmission. Yet HIV/AIDS continues to spread, especially in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe.

- ***Hunger and Famine Threaten.*** For tens of millions of people, hunger poses a daily threat. A major problem is that food does not get distributed to the people who need it most – especially in countries racked by poverty and civil strife. Hunger escalates into *famine* when large numbers of people in a country or region face death by starvation.

Natural disaster can cause famine. Human activity can also cause famine. War disrupts food distribution. During the 1970s and 1980s, civil wars raging in Ethiopia and Sudan intensified the effects of drought, leading to famine. Each side in the conflict tried to keep

relief supplies from reaching the other. In many instances, only the efforts of international aid groups have saved millions of people from starvation.

- **Millions migrate.** Globalisation has led to a vast movement of people around the world. Some people chose migrate because they see a chance for better opportunities. But others are *refugees*, people who are forced to move because of poverty, war, natural disaster or persecution.

Many migrants do create better lives, but many others fail to find jobs or homes and sometimes meet hostility and discrimination. Many people in developed countries do not welcome immigrants, who they claim take away jobs and services from the natural-born citizens.

Millions of migrants, both legal and illegal, continually head to Europe, Asia and North America. Each year, the United States of America alone receives about a million legal immigrants and 300, 000 more illegal immigrants. By the early 2000s, people from Latin America made up the largest immigrant group in the United States. Europe has been a destination for immigration since World War II.

19.4. Development and the Environment

Since earliest times, people have taken what they want from the environment. In the past damage was limited because the world's population was small and technology was simple. Industrialisation and the world population explosion have increased the damage done to the environment. Development improves lives and strengthens economies - but at a price. One of the great challenges of the twenty-first century is how to achieve necessary development without causing permanent damage to the environment.

- **Pollution Threaten the Environment.** Since the 1970s, environmentalists have warned about threats to the environment. Strip mining provides ores for industry but destroys land. Chemical pesticides and fertilisers produce larger food crops but harm the soil and water may cause certain cancers. OIL spills pollute waterways and kill marine life. Gases from power plants and factories produce *acid rain*, a form of pollution in which toxic chemicals in the air fall back to Earth as rain or snow. Acid rain has damaged forests, lakes and farmland

Pollution from nuclear plants is another concern. In 1986, an accident at the *Chernobyl Nuclear Plant* in the Soviet Union exposed people, crops and animals to deadly radiation over a wide area. Such accidents have caused industries and governments to develop better safety measures.

- **Growing Deserts, Shrinking Forests.** Desertification is a major problem especially in the Sahel Region of Africa. Another threat – especially in Africa, Latin America and Asia – is *deforestation* or the cutting of trees without replacing them. People cut

trees for fire wood shelter or to sell in the market abroad Some burn down forests to make way for farms and cattle ranches or for industry. In the Amazon basin region of Brazil, the world's largest rain forest, forests are also cleared to tap into rich mineral resources.

Once forests are cleared, rains wash nutrients from the soil, destroying its fertility. Deforestation also causes *erosion* or the wearing away of land, which encourages flooding. The deforestation of rain forests is particularly worrisome. Rain forests like the Amazon play a key role in absorbing poisonous carbon dioxide from the air and releasing essential oxygen. They are also home to millions of animal and plant species, many of which have become extinct because of deforestation.

- **Global warming.** Another environmental challenge – one that is hotly debated – is *global warming*. Global warming refers to the rise of Earth's surface temperature over time. A rise in Earth's temperature could bring about changes such as: a rise in sea level, changes in weather patterns, increased desertification in some areas, and an increase in precipitation in others. Because climate in areas could become colder, many scientists prefer to call the trend climate change.

Scientists agree that Earth's temperature has risen slightly over the past century. Many scientists think that, this warming comes from gases released into the atmosphere by human activity such as the burning of fossil fuels. These "greenhouse" gases trap warmth in the Earth's atmosphere. Some scientists however, and many policy makers, argue that global warming is due to natural fluctuations in earth's climate.

The debate over a treaty called the *Kyoto Protocol* points to a central challenge facing the world leaders. Does economic development have to conflict with protecting the environment? The treaty signed by 140 countries, with the major exceptions of the United States and Australia, went into effect in 2005. Its purpose is to lower the emissions carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse" gases that contribute to global warming. Many developing countries refuse to sign because they say they must exploit their resources in order to develop fully. The United States has not signed the *Kyoto Protocol* because it believes the treaty could strain economic growth. Nations that have signed the treaty, however, argue that developed nations must lead the way in slowing emissions.

ACTIVITY

1. How are poverty, disease, disasters and migration linked to each other? How might they be linked to globalisation?
2. Discuss the kind of environmental issues that people face today.

Summary

Globalisation involves much more than economic links and the spread of technology. It has brought all kinds of social and environmental issues to the world's attention. Issues such as poverty, natural disasters, global diseases, hunger and famine global migrations. The is also Pollution threatening the environment, growing deserts, shrinking forests and global warming. Therefore, one of the great challenges of the twenty-first century is how to achieve necessary development without causing permanent damage to the environment.

UNIT 20

SECURITY IN A DANGEROUS WORLD

20.1. Introduction

The end of the Cold War had promised an end to global conflict and the threat of nuclear war. Just a decade later, people and nations around the world once again worried about attack – from, different unpredictable sources. In this unit we discuss, the power of modern weapons, terrorism as a threat to global security and the war on terrorism.

20.2. Learning Outcomes

By the end of the unit learners should be able to:

- Discuss power of modern weapons
- Analyse how global terrorism is a threat to global security
- Show how the war against global terrorism is being waged.

20.3. The Power of Modern Weapons

In the latter half of the twentieth century, Russia and the United States built up arsenals of nuclear weapons. When the Cold War ended, those weapons still existed. At the same time, chemical and biological weapons threatened global security.

- ***The Nuclear non-proliferation Treaty.*** In 1968, the *Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT)* was signed by Russia, the United States and 60 other countries. The purpose of the treaty was to ensure that nuclear weapons did not *proliferate* or rapidly spread to nations that did not have nuclear weapons. By 2000, 187 nations in total had signed the treaty

Today the (NPT) is the most globally accepted arms control agreement. Yet it does not in itself guarantee that nuclear weapons won't be used Four nations have not signed the treaty – India, Pakistan, Israel and Cuba. Some nations that have signed it get around it by buying or selling nuclear technology or materials rather than actual nuclear weapons. And some nations - including Iran and North Korea – are suspected of buying or selling nuclear weapons even though they are treaty members. The *International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)* monitors nations regularly to check that they comply with the treaty.

- ***Weapons of Mass Destruction.*** Weapons of Mass destruction (WMDs) include nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Nuclear weapons include the atom bomb, first used by the United States in World War II. Biological weapons refer to disease-carrying organisms, such as small pox or toxins that can be released into the air or

into water supplies. Chemical weapons refer to chemical toxins, such as nerve gas and mustard gas, which was first used in World War I.

WMDs were used in warfare for much of the 1990s. However, in the 2000s they took on a new danger. Terrorist groups began to use them for their own purposes. And “rogue states” – nations that ignore international law and are seen as a threat to their neighbours and the world – saw them as a way to both defend themselves and increase their power. Often, rogue states are dictatorships that brutally mistreat their own citizens or attack their neighbours.

20.4. Terrorism Threatens Global Security

The use of use of violence, especially against civilians, by groups of extremists – sometimes sponsored by governments that protect and fund them – to achieve political goals is called *terrorism*. Terrorists’ goals range from releasing political prisoners to gaining territory. In the last two centuries, terrorists have launched repeated assaults on society. They have bombed buildings, slaughtered civilians, police and soldiers and assassinated political leaders. Terrorists generally, have not been able to achieve their greater goals with violence. However, they have succeeded in inflicting terrible damage and generating widespread fear.

Terrorists use headline-grabbing tactics to draw attention to their demands. They might attack railway stations in Italy, release nerve gas in Tokyo or blow themselves up as “suicide bombers” to kill Israeli civilians. Despite government efforts to prevent attacks, terrorists successfully set off a number of bombs in London in July, 2005.

- *Regional Terrorist Groups*. Particular regional terrorist groups have operated for decades. Several of them are located in the developed world for example, in Europe. From the 1970s to the 1990s, the *Irish Republican Army (IRA)* used terrorist tactics to force Britain to give up Northern Ireland. The ETA, a Basque terrorist Group, seeks to compel the Spanish government, to allow the Basque region to secede. These and other groups committed bombings, shootings and kidnappings to force their governments to change their policies.

Terrorist groups operate in many other regions. The *Tamil Tigers* in the island republic of Sri Lanka combine guerrilla warfare with terrorist bombings to achieve their goal of founding a separate state. In Latin America, groups like the Shining Path in Peru have used violence and killings to overthrow the government and set up their own regimes.

- *Terrorism and the Middle East*. Increasingly, the Middle East has become a training ground source of terrorism. One historical reason for this has been Western colonial domination in the region. In addition, the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 sparked anger among the Arabs. In 1964, a group of Arabs founded the *Palestine*

Liberation Organisation (PLO), with a goal of creating an independent Palestinian state. Although the PLO officially renounced terrorism in 1988, other Palestinian groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad practice terror to achieve their ends.

The Lebanese group Hezbollah formed after Israel invaded Lebanon. Originally, its goal was ousting Israel from Lebanon. Another stated goal is the destruction of Israel. Although it is a strong political party in Lebanon today, Hezbollah has been designated a terrorist organisation by the United States and other countries.

- ***Islamic Fundamentalism.*** *Islamic fundamentalism* refers to the religious belief that society should be governed by *Islamic Law*. A historical precedent for it was the Arab nationalism that helped nations in the Middle East come together after the history of European colonialism. This nationalism was strengthened by the creation of Israel as well by the backlash against the presence of foreign powers in the oil-rich region. Socially, Islamic Fundamentalism was encouraged by a lack of basic resources in many Arab nations. Islamic fundamentalists made Israel or Western nations as scapegoats for their problems. In the past few decades, terrorist attacks have increased against these scapegoats. Many governments have been heavily influenced by *Islamic Fundamentalism*, including Iran and Saudi Arabia. Both of these nations have provided financial support for terrorist organisations. In other nations such as Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Turkey, *Islamic Fundamentalist* groups have used violence in an attempt to gain power and take over government.
- ***The Rise of al Qaeda.*** One powerful *Islamic Fundamentalist* group is called *al Qaeda* which means “the Base” in Arabic. The leader of al Qaeda was *Osama Bin Laden*, the son of a rich Saudi Arabian family. Bin Laden had helped the lords of Afghanistan drive the Soviets out of their country in the 1980s. In the 1990s, he mobilised al Qaeda to expel American business interests, political influence and military power from Saudi Arabia. By the new millennium, he was providing aid and money to scattered terrorist groups from Morocco to Indonesia. His goals had expanded to include aid for Palestinian terrorists fighting Israel and the expulsion of American power from the entire Middle East.

Early, al Qaeda attacks on American interests occurred in Asia and Africa. Terrorists blew up two American embassies in EAST Africa in 1998 and damaged an American naval vessel in a port on the Arabian Peninsula in 2000. But the major blow came when al Qaeda terrorists struck inside the United States itself.

On the morning of September 11, 2001, teams of terrorists hijacked four planes on the East Coast. Passengers challenged the hijackers on one flight, which crashed on

the way to its target. But one plane plunged into the Pentagon in Virginia and two others slammed into the twin tower of the World Trade Centre in New York. More than 2, 500 people were killed in the attacks.

20.5. The War on Terrorism

Al Qaeda's attack on the United States triggered a startling global shake up. Governments around the world questioned their allies, their enemies and even their own abilities to keep their citizens safe. Fighting terrorism became a central focus of national policies and international relations. In the United States, President George W. Bush declared war against terrorism in general and against al Qaeda in particular.

- ***Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.*** Osama Bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders were living in *Afghanistan* in 2001. The government of that country, an Islamic Fundamentalist group called the *Taliban*, refused to surrender the terrorists. The United States responded by attacking Afghanistan. With the help of Afghan warlords who opposed the *Taliban* and the use of military bases in neighbouring Pakistan, American forces quickly overthrew the Taliban and drove al Qaeda operatives into hiding or flight. Bin Laden remained at large for some time. Osama bin Laden, was killed in Pakistan on May 2, 2011.

Two years after the war in Afghanistan, President Bush asked Congress to declare war on Iraq, arguing that Saddam Hussein was secretly producing *Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Because no *Weapons of Mass Destruction* were found, the war was bitterly debated among Americans and around the world. However, most in the global community welcomed the holding of free democratic elections in Iraq in early 2005, hoping a democratic Iraq might positively influence the largely authoritarian Middle East.

- ***New Security Measures take Shape.*** Over the years that followed September 11, the United States made increasing security a top priority. It strengthened and reorganised its intelligence services. The government created a new Department of Homeland Security and instituted more rigorous security measures at airports and public buildings. A long-term effort was launched to find out how terrorist groups were funded, with the goal of cutting off terrorists' supply and thus limiting terrorist activity.

The United States also stepped up pressure on other countries not to develop *Weapons of Mass Destruction* that might fall into terrorist hands. American diplomats worked with European colleagues to dissuade Iran and North Korea from developing nuclear weapons. At the same time the United States of America urged the spread of democracy, which the United States declared was the best deterrent to terrorism and regional unrest.

ACTIVITY

1. What are Weapons of Mass Destruction? Explain why there was an increase in the use of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the 1990s.
2. Giving specific reasons, show why there has been an increase in Islamic Fundamentalism in the Middle East.
3. Why did the United States invade Afghanistan?

Summary

The end of the Cold War had promised an end to global conflict and the threat of nuclear war. Just a decade later, people and nations around the world once again worried about attack – from, different unpredictable sources. Russia and the United States built up arsenals of nuclear weapons. When the Cold War ended, those weapons still existed. At the same time, chemical and biological weapons threatened global security. The post-cold war era has also seen an increase of the use of violence, especially against civilians, by groups of extremists – sometimes sponsored by governments that protect and fund them – to achieve political goals is called *terrorism*. Fighting terrorism became a central focus of national policies and international relations.

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