

EDEN IAS



WORLD HISTORY

UPSC PREP



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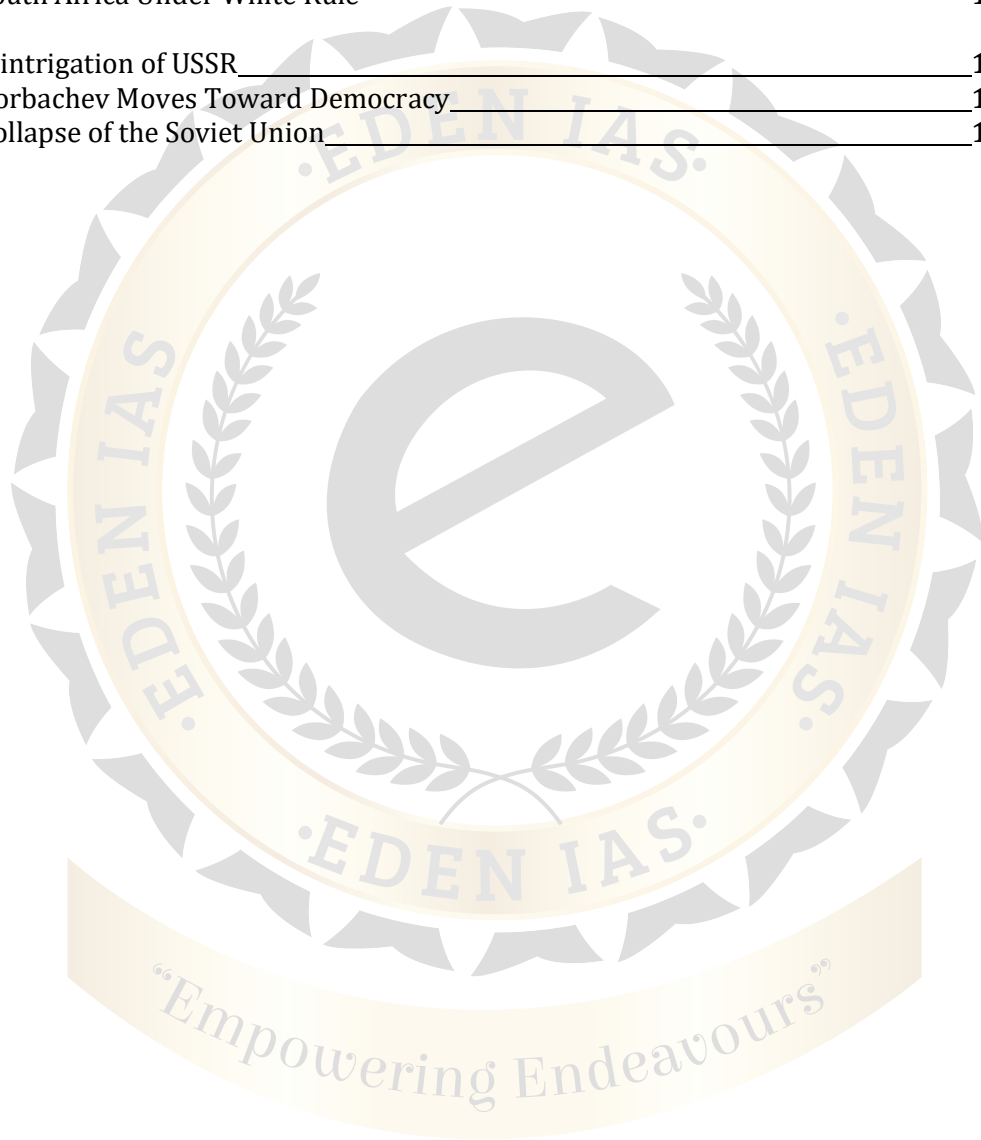
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UNIT A – AGE BEFORE MODERN ERA FEUDALISM

1.1 Introduction

Feudalism was a land based economic system that combined certain social and legal customs in Europe during the Middle Ages. Feudal society was split into strict hierarchies with each group having obligations and expectations from the groups above and below them. At a basic level, the local lord and manor of a local community owned all the land and everything in it. He would provide his peasants with safety in return for their service. The lord of the land, in return, was obliged to provide the king with soldiers or taxes when requested.

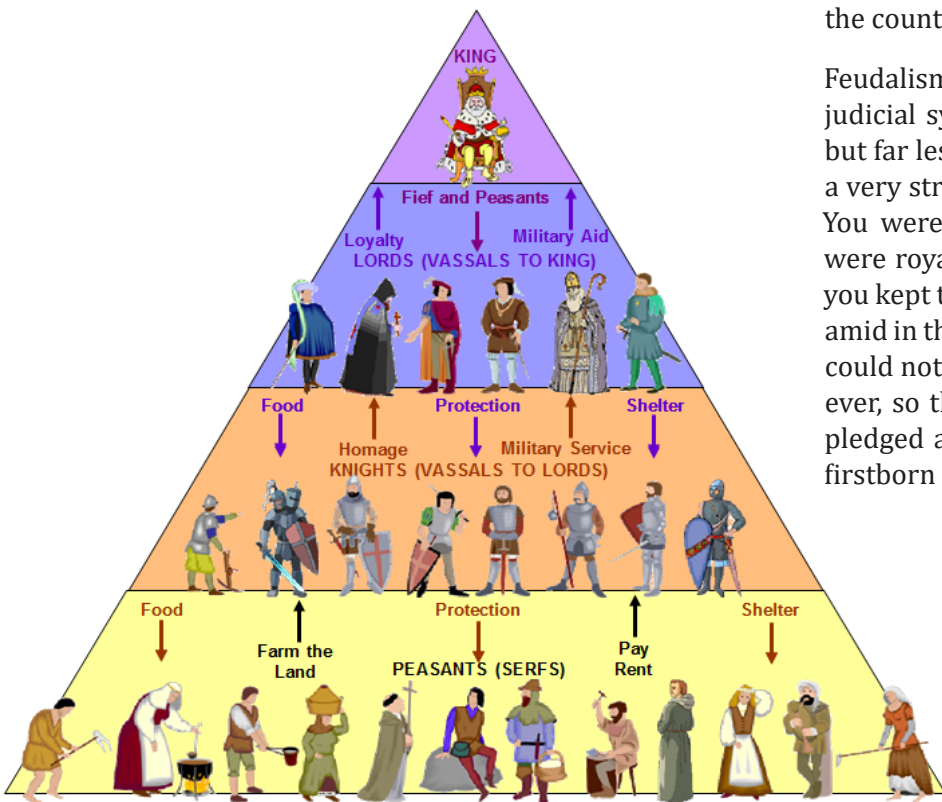
1.2 Why and how Feudalism developed?

The Feudal period began in the 9th century in Western and Central Europe and then spread to other parts of the continent. It ended in the 15th century in Western Europe, but elements of feudalism continued for longer in Eastern Europe.

Feudalism arrived in England in 1066 after the Anglo-Saxon King Harold was defeated by William the Conqueror from Normandy at the battle of Hastings. It led to a full scale invasion, with England being ruled by William and his barons, and a feudal system being imposed upon the country.

Feudalism brought with it a land-based economy, and a judicial system with lots of rights for barons and lords, but far less rights for serfs and peasants. The system had a very strict hierarchy where everyone knew their place. You were born into your social position, whether you were royalty, a baron, lord, knight, serf, or peasant, and you kept that position until you died. At the top of the pyramid in the feudal social hierarchy was the king. The king could not control all his land by himself in practice, however, so the territories were split between barons, who pledged allegiance to the king. When the king died, his firstborn son would inherit the throne.

At times of war, when the king needed an army, there would be a “call to arms” and troops were raised by the Feudal Levy. Men were generally expected to fight for 40 days (although under certain circumstances this could be extended to 90 days). The limited time period was meant to make sure that the land would not be neglected for too long. Medieval kings believed that their right to rule was divine, that’s to say, given to them by God.



The Catholic Church was very powerful in the majority of Medieval Europe and the only real rival to the power of the king. The representatives of the church were the bishops, who each managed an area called a diocese. As well as having political power, the church also received a ten percent tithe from everyone, making some bishops incredibly rich.

1.3 Characteristics of Feudalism

The barons ruled large areas of land known as fiefs and had a lot of power. They split local control of land among lords who ran individual manors. The barons were usually expected to maintain an army that the king could use when required. If they did not have an army, often they would instead pay the king a tax known as shield money.

Knights were allotted land by lords on the understanding that they would undertake military service when requested by the king. They also had a duty to guard the lord and his family, plus the manor, from attack. The knights used as much of the land as they wanted for themselves and gave the rest to serfs. Knights were the lowest level of the feudal elite, they were not as wealthy as lords, but still relatively rich.

Under feudalism, the local manors were run by lords. Lords could be called up for war by their controlling baron. The lords owned everything in their manor, including the peasants, crops, and buildings, as well as the actual land. Most people who lived under the feudal system were peasants or serfs. They owned nothing and worked hard, six days a week, often struggling to get enough food to feed their families. Many died before the age of thirty.

Role of Churches

Initially, the Monasteries were institutes of high learning & monks worked to uplift people's moral life and for welfare of the poor. But soon, corruption crept into the monasteries. In the Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) the Church's evils took the form of money for Church posts, money for every ritual, Church owned & amassed huge property.

Money for removing sins. For example, the Church started selling "Letters of Indulgence" which upon their purchase removed the need for doing pilgrimages for removal of sins. The Church was the only institution for education in the medieval time but becoming a Monk was the only future prospect this education offered. They taught in Latin which was not understood by the common man. Church made "once in a year" confession of sins to the Father compulsory and the breach of this rule mandated punishment. Pope, nuns, bishops etc. became corrupt & lived like princes

Logic, Reason and Science were discouraged. There was wide belief in witches, superstition and magic. Church became violent. It ordered burning of people who opposed its ideas about God, religion and even the physical phenomena. This was done on charges of "Heresy".

Many scientific thinkers became the victims of Church's punishments when they proposed scientific theories which invalidated the principles (like the Earth is Flat, or, the whole universe revolves around the Earth), which the Church propagated to glorify God. Many of them were burnt after being classified as witches & as possessed by evil spirits.

1.4 Decline of Feudalism: Changes with time

Some European feudal peasants ran their own businesses and were considered free, such as carpenters, bakers, and blacksmiths. Others were essentially slaves. All had to pledge themselves to the local lord.

By the year 1500, feudalism had pretty much disappeared in most of Western Europe, but it continued in parts of Eastern Europe right up into the middle of the 19th century with Russia not abolishing serfdom until 1861.

Feudalism as an institution flourished in Europe for many centuries. But with the rise of the middle class, it started to decline. Rise of powerful kingdoms as well as warfare between the feudal lords further led to its decline.

Towns

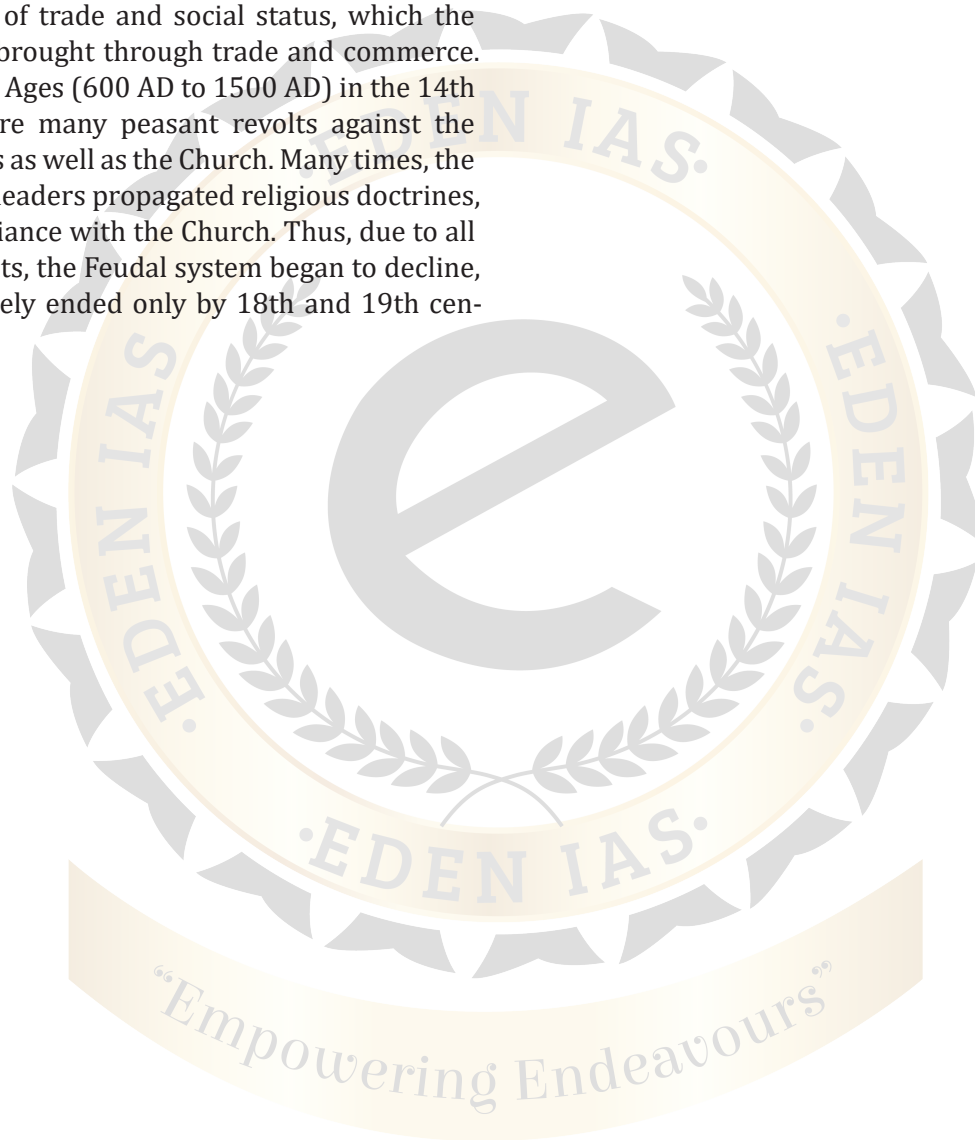
Emergence of new towns and cities and a revival of trade also led to the disintegration of the feudal system. These towns were centers of production and were governed by elected representatives. The atmosphere of the towns was free from feudal restriction and control as people were free to go anywhere and to take up any profession. Towns attracted artisans and peasants from rural areas because they provided better prospects of living and acting as a refuge from feudal exploitation. These towns and cities encouraged the production of many crops such as cotton and sugarcane. Peasants were paid in cash for their product.

Merchants

The manufactured goods were sold in the markets where money was the medium of exchange. The lords began to accept money from their vassals instead of services as they also needed money to buy various luxurious commodities. This led to the rise of a powerful merchant class. They now began to aspire for a higher status in

the social hierarchy. They began to support the powerful monarchs to undermine the position of the feudal lords which weakened the feudal structure and led to the decline of the feudal order. The infusion of new ideas created a new awakening. This gave birth to a new movement called the Renaissance.

A nexus between the King & the Merchants developed as both wanted power - political & economic. While Kings wanted to get rid of dependence on the Lords and desired less interference of the Church, the Merchants wanted to enjoy freedom of trade and social status, which the monetary profits brought through trade and commerce. During the Middle Ages (600 AD to 1500 AD) in the 14th century there were many peasant revolts against the Feudal institutions as well as the Church. Many times, the rebelling peasant leaders propagated religious doctrines, which were at variance with the Church. Thus, due to all these developments, the Feudal system began to decline, though it completely ended only by 18th and 19th century.





UNIT B – MODERN ERA

2.1 Renaissance

The modern period ushered the end of the Age of Faith and the beginning of the Age of Reason. It witnessed movements like the Renaissance and the Reformation. These movements brought many changes in cultural, intellectual, religious, social and political life of the people all over the world. This period is also characterised by urbanisation, faster means of transport and communication, democratic systems and uniform laws based on equality.

The literal meaning of Renaissance is 'rebirth'. It started in Italy around 14th Century AD. Italy was divided into small city states at that time. Many of them were built on the ruins of ancient Roman buildings. The geographical position of Italian cities made them great trading and intellectual centers. Moreover, the position of Italian cities such as Venice made them centers of trade and intellectual crossroads. Many great ideas, along with wealth, were brought by merchants from far corners of the globe. The new form of political and social organization gave political freedom and a suitable atmosphere for academic, artistic and cultural advancement. People had more leisure time for study and other activities.



This was also a period of great economic expansion. Many commercial and financial techniques were developed for trade practices like book keeping, bills of exchange and public debt. This enabled Italy to become the centre of Renaissance. The major developments

of this time were the revival of urban life, commerce based on private capital, banking, formation of nation states, explorations to find new routes and territories and the development of vernacular literature which was popularized by the printing press. This new mercantile society was less hierarchical and more concerned with secular objectives. It was in sharp contrast to the earlier rural, tradition bound society. The adventures and explorers played a significant role in opening a world economic system. Many new commodities were brought from America, Asia and Africa after the discovery of trade routes. These goods enriched the life of Europeans and inspired them to develop new ways of producing them in large numbers to make profit. The result was that merchants, entrepreneurs and bankers joined hands and 'Capital' came to enjoy an important position in the political life as well as in relations with other countries.

The new ideas that were generated in this period like humanism, rationalism and the spirit of inquiry brought a profound change in the thinking pattern of the people. There was a renewed interest in the cultural achievements of the Classical Greek and Roman Civilisations. Human beings became the central concern of the new scholars. They believed in the creative potential of the human beings and their right to seek joy and pleasures in this world itself. This was contrary to the belief of the Medieval Church which opposed worldly pleasures. This respect for human beings encouraged interest in art, history, language, literature, ethics, etc. Do you know that it was at this time that the disciplines grouped under 'humanities' were born?

The spirit of Humanism also found expression in the field of art and literature. The greatest achievements of Renaissance artists were in the field of paintings. Painters studied the anatomy and proportions of the human body.

They wanted the human beings to be painted in realistic form and proportion. Some of the outstanding artists were Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Botticelli and Titian. Even in the field of sculpture, artists began to make free standing statues. These sculptures now stood apart from the building or background and were separate works of art. The first great Renaissance sculptor was Donatello who made the statue 'David'. The Renaissance spirit also marks the rise of Nationalism in Europe. People now began to free themselves of medieval religious restrictions and bonds.

National identities grew stronger and this was reflected in the development of modern European languages such as Italian, Spanish, French, German, English etc. as the languages of literature. Now the writers used local languages in poetry, drama, prose, etc., instead of Latin. The works of Renaissance authors became accessible to a large number of people due to the use of vernacular languages and the introduction of printing press. The Bible was printed and read by a large number of people. Several works that were produced in Modern European languages were Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly*; Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

Two major developments took place in the history of Europe towards the later part of the Renaissance. The first was the Protestant Reformation which resulted in the split in Christianity. The second development concerned reforms within the Roman Catholic Church, generally referred to as Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation. Reformation was a part of the socio-religious and political movement which led to the emergence of the modern world.

2.2 Reformation

The Medieval Catholic Church came to be associated with superstitions, corruption and greed for money. Superstitious peasants were convinced by the Church that it possessed the true Cross. People were used to paying fees for seeing a piece of wood as the true Cross because it



was believed that sacred relics had healing power. The Church laid more emphasis on blind faith than reason as it was the means to extract money from the devotees. All this changed with the coming of the Renaissance. In the new spirit of the Renaissance nothing could be accepted.

Do you know that it was in 1517 AD that a German priest called Martin Luther first challenged the authority of the Roman Catholic Church? According to him, the Bible was the only source of religious authority. He believed that salvation could be attained through faith in Jesus Christ instead of having blind faith on the Church. He protested against some practices of the Church such as the selling of positions in the church, the issuing of the letters of indulgence for works of charity or going on crusades, to the highest bidder. Luther had the protection of the German Princes, primarily because of his desire to seize church property. But on 3 January 1521, he was excommunicated by Pope Leo X after he refused to stop writing against the Church.

Luther's views started the Protestant Reformation in the West and it divided the Christian world into two, the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. According to him, Christians must win salvation by following Christ and not by buying letter of indulgence. Though the Reform Movement in

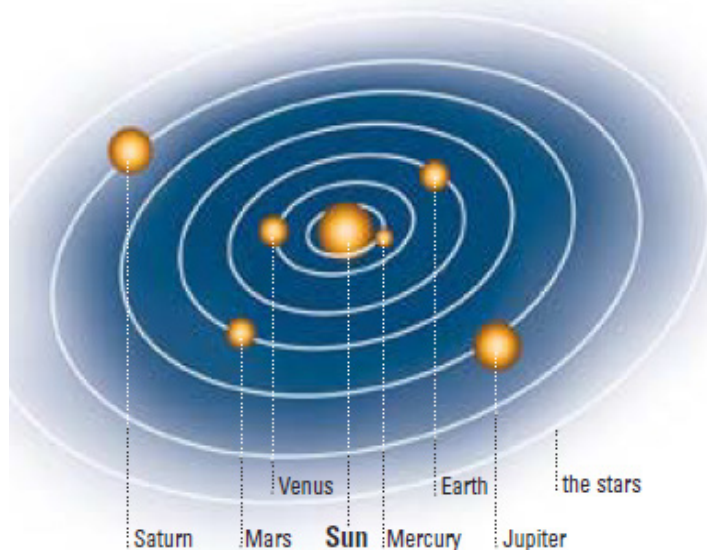


Elizabeth I (1533–1603)

England was influenced by Lutheran ideas, the English Reformation occurred as a direct result of King Henry VIII's efforts to divorce his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. Thomas Cromwell, the King's Chief Minister, helped the Parliament to pass the Act in Restraint of Appeals and the Act of Supremacy. It gave a royal headship to the King over the church. The king was allowed to marry Anne Boleyn, a commoner.

The Reformation proved to be a great upheaval for religious revival. A Reform Movement also took place within the Catholic Church. This is known as the 'Counter Reformation'. It aimed to reduce corruption as well as to improve and strengthen Catholic Church. It began in Spain where Ignatius Loyal founded the 'Society of Jesus' which stressed upon service of God, charity, chastity and missionary work. The movement started by Martin Luther spread to other countries of Europe through the efforts of King Henry VIII of England, Huldreich Zwingli and John Calvin.

2.3 Development of Science



This model shows how Copernicus saw the planets revolving around the sun—in perfect circles.

During the Renaissance, extraordinary accomplishments were made in the field of science. We have already read that the Renaissance thinkers emphasized more on reason than on blind faith and stressed that knowledge could be gained by observation and experimentation. They rejected blind faith in tradition and established beliefs. This resulted in a scientific inquiry that had almost disappeared. Renaissance also brought about a scientific revolution. Artists like Leonardo da Vinci made observational drawings of anatomy and nature which were a unique blend of science and art. The period also saw remarkable achievements in medicine and human anatomy.

M. Servetus, a Spanish doctor, discovered the circulation of blood. William Harvey, an Englishman explained the function of the heart in purifying blood and its circulation through veins. The beginnings that were made by the Renaissance scientists paved the way for observation and experimentation in other fields of knowledge. One of the most remarkable achievements of the Renaissance in science was in the field of astronomy.

Have you heard of Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo? They were great astronomers who formulated and tried to prove that the Earth revolves around the Sun. Before the Renaissance, it was believed that the Sun revolved around the Earth and whoever questioned this was denounced as a heretic. Copernicus in his book *On the Revolution of the Heavenly Sphere* argued that the earth and the planets move around the sun in concentric circles. Even though the theory was imperfect, it aroused thinking and reasoning. Kepler further developed this theory and said that the other planets move

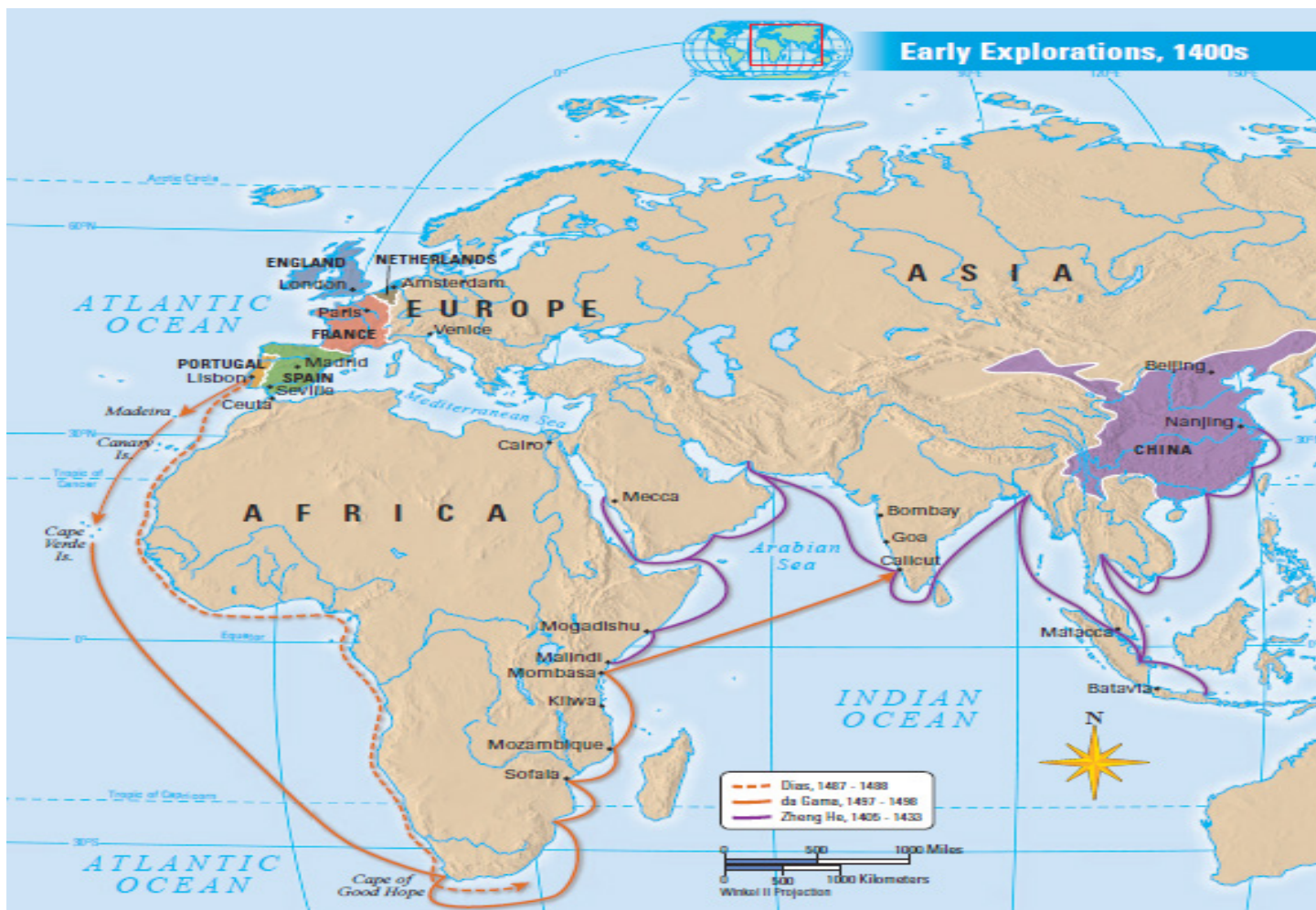
in elliptical paths around the sun. He also argued that magnetic attractions between the Sun and the planets kept the heavenly bodies in an orbital motion. Further on this assumption, Isaac Newton developed his Law of Universal Gravitation. With his self-manufactured telescope, Galileo discovered the moons of Jupiter, the rings of Saturn and spots in the Sun. He also confirmed the findings of Copernicus. Renaissance also developed a curiosity in the minds of Europeans about other lands and other peoples. Let us find out how this happened.

2.4 Discovery of New Lands: Beginning Of International Trade

The spirit of inquiry encouraged many adventurers to discover new lands. The new trade routes that were discovered changed the history of the world. It is said that 'God, Glory and Gold' was the main motive behind these discoveries. But the motive of gold or economic need was the most important. Before the geographical discoveries, Europeans obtained articles like spices, cotton, precious gems, silk, etc. from the Eastern part of the world. They travelled through the Arabic and Islamic territories for the supply of these articles. This was not very convenient and also posed uncertainties. So a direct sea route to South East Asia was discovered as it had a potential of a lucrative trade. The explorers also had another motive, which was to convert the people of the newly found areas to Christianity. It also became a means for them to serve God. In addition, the adventurers also hoped to acquire fame by discovering new lands. Some did indeed become very famous. Have you heard about Vasco da Gama discovering India and Columbus who set out for India but discovered America? Do you know Ferdinand Magellan was the first explorer to lead an expedition around the world? Bartholomew Diaz was another famous explorer.

Why do you think that these great adventures and voyages were sponsored by kings and wealthy people? The tremendous increase in trade and colonization had a great impact on the enhancement of European wealth. One of the most famous kings who sponsored the voyages was the Portuguese King Henry, who is also known as Henry the Navigator.

The technological base for these discoveries came from the invention of the compass, astrolabe, astronomical tables and the art of map making. These voyages led to the establishment of trading outpost and colonial empires in different parts Africa, America and Asia. Now commercial focus shifted from Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. Many new commodities were added to trade such as tobacco, molasses, ostrich feathers, potato, etc. It also started the inhuman slave trade in America. Slaves were



captured from Africa, transported across the Atlantic Ocean and sold to work in plantations in North America.

These trade practices and new sea routes helped the European merchants to accumulate huge wealth which they invested in the development of new machines. This led to the coming of the Industrial Revolution which made them more powerful and wealthy.

The Enlightenment in Europe

The influence of the Scientific Revolution soon spread beyond the world of science. Philosophers admired Newton because he had used reason to explain the laws governing nature. People began to look for laws governing human behavior as well. They hoped to apply reason and the scientific method to all aspects of society—government, religion, economics, and education. In this way, the ideas of the Scientific Revolution paved the way for a new movement called the **Enlightenment**, or the Age of Reason. This movement reached its height in the mid-1700s.

Two Views on Government

The Enlightenment started from some key ideas put forth by two English political thinkers of the 1600s, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Both men experienced the po-

litical turmoil of England early in that century. However, they came to very different conclusions about government and human nature.

Hobbes's Social Contract

Thomas Hobbes expressed his views in a work called *Leviathan* (1651). The horrors of the English Civil War convinced him that all humans were naturally selfish and wicked. Without governments to keep order, Hobbes said, there would be “war of every man against every man.” In this state of nature, as Hobbes called it, life would be “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.”

Hobbes argued that to escape such a bleak life, people gave up their rights to a strong ruler. In exchange, they gained law and order. Hobbes called this agreement, by which people created government, the **social contract**. Because people acted in their own self-interest, Hobbes said, the ruler needed total power to keep citizens under control. The best government was one that had the awesome power of a leviathan (sea monster). In Hobbes's view, such a government was an absolute monarchy, which could impose order and demand obedience.

Locke's Natural Rights

The philosopher **John Locke** held a different, more positive, view of human nature. He believed that people could learn from experience and improve themselves. As reasonable beings, they had the natural ability to govern their own affairs and to look after the welfare of society. Locke criticized absolute monarchy and favored the idea of self-government.

According to Locke, all people are born free and equal, with three **natural rights**— life, liberty, and property. The purpose of government, said Locke, is to protect these rights. If a government fails to do so, citizens have a right to overthrow it. Locke published his ideas in 1690, two years after the Glorious Revolution. His book, *Two Treatises on Government*, served to justify the overthrow of James II.

Locke's theory had a deep influence on modern political thinking. His statement that a government's power comes from the consent of the people is the foundation of modern democracy. The ideas of government by popular consent and the right to rebel against unjust rulers helped inspire struggles for liberty in Europe and the Americas.

The Philosophers Advocate Reason

The Enlightenment reached its height in France in the mid-1700s. Paris became the meeting place for people who wanted to discuss politics and ideas. The social critics of this period in France were known as **philosophers**, the French word for philosophers. The philosophers believed that people could apply reason to all aspects of life—just as Isaac Newton had applied reason to science. Five important concepts formed the core of their philosophy:

1. Reason-Enlightened thinkers believed truth could be discovered through reason or logical thinking. Reason, they said, was the absence of intolerance, bigotry, or prejudice in one's thinking.

2. Nature-The philosophers referred to nature frequently. To them, what was natural was also good and reasonable. They believed that there were natural laws of economics and politics just as there were natural laws of motion.

3. Happiness-A person who lived by nature's laws would find happiness, the philosophers said. They were impatient with the medieval notion that people should accept misery in this world to find joy in the hereafter. The philosophers wanted well-being on earth, and they believed it was possible.

4. Progress-The philosophers were the first Europeans to believe in progress for society. Now that people used a scientific approach, they believed, society and humankind could be perfected.

5. Liberty-The philosophers envied the liberties that the English people had won in their Glorious Revolution and Bill of Rights. In France, there were many restrictions on speech, religion, trade, and personal travel. Through reason, the philosophers believed, society could be set free.

Voltaire Combats Intolerance

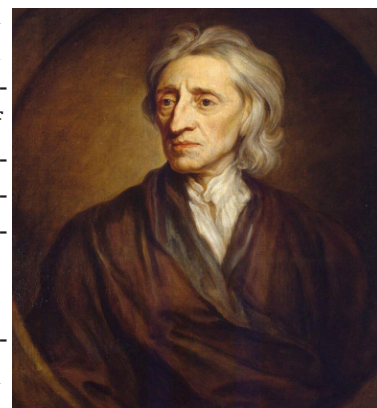
Probably the most brilliant and influential of the philosophers was François Marie Arouet. Using the pen name **Voltaire**, he published more than 70 books of political essays, philosophy, history, fiction, and drama.

Voltaire often used satire against his opponents. He made frequent targets of the clergy, the aristocracy, and the government. His sharp tongue made him enemies at the French court, and twice he was sent to prison. After his second jail term, Voltaire was exiled to England for two years. There, Voltaire came to admire the English government much more than his own. After he returned to Paris, much of his work mocked the laws and customs of France. He even dared to raise doubts about the Christian religion. The French king and France's Catholic bishops were outraged. In 1734, fearing another unpleasant jail term, Voltaire fled Paris.

Although he made powerful enemies, Voltaire never stopped fighting for tolerance, reason, freedom of religious belief, and freedom of speech. He used his quill pen as if it were a deadly weapon in a thinker's war against humanity's worst enemies—intolerance, prejudice, and superstition. Such attitudes were, he said, *l'infâme*—infamous or evil things. He often ended his letters with a fighting slogan, "*Écrasez l'infâme!*" . The phrase meant "Crush the evil thing!"

Montesquieu and the Separation of Powers

Another influential French writer, the Baron de **Montesquieu**, devoted himself to the study of political liberty. An aristocrat and lawyer, Montesquieu studied the history of ancient Rome. He concluded that Rome's collapse was directly related to its loss of political liberties.



"Power should be a check to power."

Baron de Montesquieu

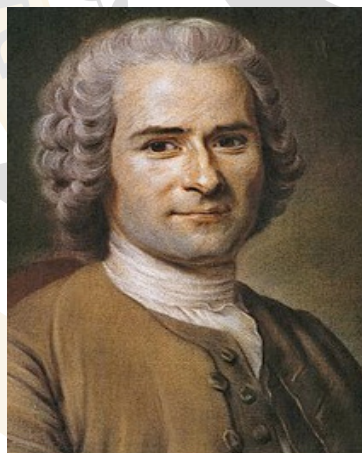
Like Voltaire, Montesquieu believed that Britain was the best-governed country of his own day. Here was a government, he thought, in which power was balanced among three groups of officials. The British king and his ministers held executive power. They carried out the laws of the state. The members of Parliament held legislative, or lawmaking, power. The judges of the English courts held judicial power. They interpreted the laws to see how each applied to a specific case. Montesquieu called this division of power among different branches **separation of powers**.

Montesquieu oversimplified the British system (it did not actually separate powers this way). His idea, however, became a part of his most famous book, *On the Spirit of Laws* (1748). In his book, Montesquieu proposed that separation of powers would keep any individual or group from gaining total control of the government. "Power," he wrote, "should be a check to power." Each branch of government would serve as a check on the other two. This idea later would be called "checks and balances."

Montesquieu's book was admired by political leaders in the British colonies of North America. His ideas about separation of powers and checks and balances became the basis for the United States Constitution.

Rousseau: Champion of Freedom

A third great philosopher, **Jean Jacques Rousseau**, was passionately committed to individual freedom. The son of a poor Swiss watchmaker, Rousseau worked as an engraver, music teacher, tutor, and secretary. Eventually, Rousseau made his way to Paris and won recognition as a writer of essays. There he met and befriended other philosophers, although he felt out of place in the circles of Paris high society in which they traveled.



"Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains."
-Jean Jacques Rousseau

A strange, brilliant, and controversial figure, Rousseau strongly disagreed with other Enlightenment thinkers on many matters. Most philosophers believed that reason, science, and art would improve life for all people. Rousseau, however, argued that civilization corrupted people's natural goodness. "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains," he wrote. In the earliest times, according to Rousseau, people had lived as free and equal individuals in a primitive "state of nature." As people became civilized, however, the strongest among them forced everyone else to obey unjust laws. Thus, freedom and equality were destroyed.

Rousseau believed that the only good government was one that was freely formed by the people and guided by the "general will" of society—a direct democracy. Under such a government, people agree to give up some of their freedom in favor of the common good. In 1762, he explained his political philosophy in a book called *The Social Contract*.

Rousseau's view of the social contract differed greatly from that of Hobbes. For Hobbes, the social contract was an agreement between a society and its government. For Rousseau, it was an agreement among free individuals to create a society and a government.

Like Locke, Rousseau argued that legitimate government came from the consent of the governed. However, Rousseau believed in a much broader democracy than Locke had stood for. He argued that all people were equal and that titles of nobility should be abolished. Rousseau's ideas inspired many of the leaders of the French Revolution who overthrew the monarchy in 1789.

Beccaria Promotes Criminal Justice

An Italian philosopher named Cesare Bonesana Beccaria turned his thoughts to the justice system. He believed that laws existed to preserve social order, not to avenge crimes. In his celebrated book *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), Beccaria railed against common abuses of justice. They included torturing of witnesses and suspects, irregular proceedings in trials, and punishments that were arbitrary or cruel. He argued that a person accused of a crime should receive a speedy trial, and that torture should never be used. Moreover, he said, the degree of punishment should be based on the seriousness of the crime. He also believed that capital punishment should be abolished.

Beccaria based his ideas about justice on the principle that governments should seek the greatest good for the greatest number of people. His ideas influenced criminal law reformers in Europe and North America.

Major Ideas of the Enlightenment

Idea	Thinker	Impact
Natural rights—life, liberty, property	Locke	Fundamental to U.S. Declaration of Independence
Separation of powers	Montesquieu	France, United States, Latin American nations use separation of powers in new constitutions
Freedom of thought and expression	Voltaire	Guaranteed in U.S. Bill of Rights and French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen; European monarchs reduce or eliminate censorship
Abolishment of torture	Beccaria	Guaranteed in U.S. Bill of Rights; torture outlawed or reduced in nations of Europe and the Americas
Religious freedom	Voltaire	Guaranteed in U.S. Bill of Rights and French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen; European monarchs reduce persecution
Women's equality	Wollstonecraft	Women's rights groups form in Europe and North America

2.5 The Glorious Revolution

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 occurred in England much before the Age of Revolutions and proved a source of inspiration for the world. It was called the Glorious Revolution because no blood was shed to achieve its success. The Stuart king James II lost the popular support of his countrymen. This was due to his harsh attitude towards the people. The creation of an expensive standing army and increasing employment of Roman Catholics in the government, army and universities had angered the people. The Parliament removed King James II from the throne in favor of his daughter Mary II and her husband William III, Prince of Orange. The autocratic rule of James II was replaced with a constitutional form of government. It showed that the Parliament had the power to change the monarch.

2.6 Seven Year Global War (1754-63)

The Seven Year Global War was fought from 1754 to 1763, actually a period of nine years, between France and Britain. Other European powers like Spain, Prussia and Austria also got engaged in the war. It is called the Global Warsince it was fought on different battlegrounds including North America, Caribbean, India, West Coast of Africa and in Europe.

The main reason behind the war was the quest for hegemony over colonies between Britain and France. In North America, the British had 13 colonies on the Eastern coast along the Atlantic Ocean. They wanted to expand westwards for want of more raw materials and an increased export market in North America. But the west was under the domination of France. The French were anxious to hold on to Western North America to prevent British hegemony in the world political and economic affairs.

Britain was undergoing the Industrial revolution (1750 onwards) at that time, which was making the British goods much more competitive in the world markets. Also, Britain was emerging as a dominant sea power and its maritime trade profits were soaring. Thus, France feared that a stronger Britain in North America would soon threaten the French colonies in the Caribbean. They were right and **in Caribbean** the British fought against Spain and France who controlled the profiteering sugar plantations in their Caribbean colonies. The West African Senegal had large natural resources, especially of Gum, and the French trading ports here, came under the British attack.

In India the Battle of Plassey in 1757 was fought between the Nawab of Bengal, SirajudDaula and the East India

Company. The East India Company benefited from the war by getting exclusive trading rights in Bengal and the total trade control by the British reduced the influence of the French in India. Further, in 1760-61 the Battle of Wandiwash between the French and the British established the British supremacy in South Asia while the French were restricted to Pondicherry.

Treaty of Paris of 1763

The Treaty of Paris of 1763 signed after the 7 Year War had the following clauses like Britain got Canada from France and Florida from Spain, France was allowed to retain its Caribbean sugar islands, Spain's control over Cuba and Philippines was recognized.

The effect of the Seven Year War on world politics was that it reduced the domination of France, while Britain consolidated its colonial power. Also, it laid the ground for American Revolution (1765-83) and French Revolution (1789).



UNIT C – AGE OF REVOLUTION

3.1 American Revolution (1765-1783)

England's ruler was no despot, not even an enlightened one. His power had been limited by law. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had given England a constitutional monarchy. However, while the English monarch's power was being limited at home, the power of the English nation was spreading overseas.

Britain and Its American Colonies

When George III became king of Great Britain in 1760, his Atlantic coastal colonies were growing by leaps and bounds. Their combined population went from about 250,000 in 1700 to 2,150,000 in 1770, an eightfold increase. Economically, the colonies thrived on trade with the nations of Europe.

Along with increasing population and prosperity, a new sense of identity was growing in the colonists' minds. By the mid-1700s, colonists had been living in America for nearly 150 years. Each of the 13 colonies had its own government, and people were used to a great degree of independence. Colonists saw themselves less as British and more as Virginians or Pennsylvanians. However, they were still British subjects and were expected to obey British law.

In the 1660s, Parliament had passed trade laws called the Navigation Acts. These laws prevented colonists from selling their most valuable products to any country except Britain. In addition, colonists had to pay high taxes on imported French and Dutch goods. However, colonists found ways to get around these laws. Some merchants smuggled in goods to avoid paying British taxes. Smugglers could sneak in and out of the many small harbors all along the lengthy Atlantic coastline. British customs agents found it difficult to enforce the Navigation Acts.

For many years, Britain felt no need to tighten its hold on the colonies. Despite the smuggling, Britain's mercantilist policies had made colonial trade very profitable. Britain bought American raw materials for low prices and sold manufactured goods to the colonists. And despite British trade restrictions, colonial merchants also thrived. However, after the French and Indian War ended in 1763, Britain toughened its trade laws. These changes sparked growing anger in the colonies.

Americans Win Independence

In 1760, when George III took the throne, most Americans had no thoughts of either revolution or independence. They still thought of themselves as loyal subjects of the British king. Yet by 1776, many Americans were willing to risk their lives to break free of Britain. During the French and Indian War, Great Britain had run up a huge debt in the war against France. Because American colonists benefited from Britain's victory, Britain expected the colonists to help pay the costs of the war.

In 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act. According to this law, colonists had to pay a tax to have an official stamp put on wills, deeds, newspapers, and other printed material. American colonists were outraged. They had never paid taxes directly to the British government before. Colonial lawyers argued that the stamp tax violated colonists' natural rights. In Britain, citizens consented to taxes through their representatives in Parliament. Because the colonists had no such representatives,



Parliament could not tax them. The colonists demonstrated their defiance of this tax with angry protests and a boycott of British manufactured goods. The boycott proved so effective that Parliament gave up and repealed the Stamp Act in 1766.

Growing Hostility Leads to War

Over the next decade, further events steadily led to war. Some colonial leaders, such as Boston's Samuel Adams, favored independence from Britain. They encouraged conflict with British authorities. At the same time, George III and his ministers made enemies of many moderate colonists by their harsh stands. In 1773, to protest an import tax on tea, Adams organized a raid against three British ships in Boston Harbor. The raiders dumped 342 chests of tea into the water. George III, infuriated by the "Boston Tea Party," as it was called, ordered the British navy to close the port of Boston. British troops occupied the city.

In September 1774, representatives from every colony except Georgia gathered in Philadelphia to form the First Continental Congress. This group protested the treatment of Boston. When the king paid little attention to their complaints, all 13 colonies decided to form the Second Continental Congress to debate their next move. On April 19, 1775, British soldiers and American militia-

men exchanged gunfire on the village green in Lexington, Massachusetts.

The fighting spread to nearby Concord. When news of the fighting reached the Second Continental Congress, its members voted to raise an army under the command of a Virginian named George Washington. The American Revolution had begun.

Enlightenment Ideas Influence American Colonists

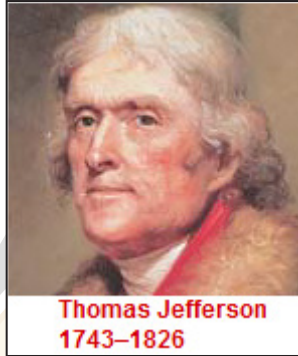
Although a war had begun, the American colonists still debated their attachment to Great Britain. Many colonists wanted to remain part of Britain. A growing number, however, favored independence. They heard the persuasive arguments of colonial leaders such as Patrick Henry, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. These leaders used Enlightenment ideas to justify independence.

The colonists had asked for the same political rights as people in Britain, they said, but the king had stubbornly refused. Therefore, the colonists were justified in rebelling against a tyrant who had broken the social contract. In July 1776, the Second Continental Congress issued the **Declaration of Independence**. This document, written by **Thomas Jefferson**, was firmly based on the ideas of John Locke and the Enlightenment. The Declaration reflected these ideas in its eloquent argument for natural rights.

Since Locke had asserted that people had the right to rebel against an unjust ruler, the Declaration of Independence included a long list of George III's abuses. The document ended by breaking the ties between the colonies and Britain. The colonies, the Declaration said, "are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown."

Success for the Colonists

When war was first declared, the odds seemed heavily weighted against the Americans. Washington's ragtag, poorly trained army faced the well-trained forces of the most powerful country in the world. In the end, however, the Americans won their war for independence. Several rea-



sons explain their success. **First**, the Americans' motivation for fighting was much stronger than that of the British, since their army was defending their homeland. **Second**, the overconfident British generals made several mistakes. **Third**, time itself was on the side of the Americans. The British could win battle after battle, as they did, and still lose the war. Fighting an overseas war, 3,000 miles from London, was terribly expensive. After a few years, tax-weary British citizens clamoured for peace. Finally, the Americans did not fight alone. Louis XVI of France had little sympathy for the ideals of the American Revolution, but he was eager to weaken France's rival, Britain. French entry into the war in 1778 was decisive. In 1781, combined forces of about 9,500 Americans and 7,800 French trapped a British army commanded by Lord Cornwallis near Yorktown, Virginia. Unable to escape, Cornwallis surrendered. The Americans were victorious.

Americans Create a Republic

Shortly after declaring their independence, the 13 individual states recognized the need for a national government. As victory became certain, in 1781 all 13 states ratified a constitution. This plan of government was known as the Articles of Confederation. The Articles established the United States as a republic—a government in which citizens rule through elected representatives.

The Articles Create a Weak National Government

To protect their authority, the 13 states created a loose confederation in which they held most of the power. Thus, the Articles of Confederation deliberately created a weak national government.

There were no executive or judicial branches. Instead, the Articles established only one body of government,

the Congress. Each state, regardless of size, had one vote in Congress. Congress could declare war, enter into treaties, and coin money. It had no power, however, to collect taxes or regulate trade. Passing new laws was difficult because laws needed the approval of 9 of the 13 states. These limits on the national government soon produced many problems. Although the new national government needed money in order to operate, it could only request contributions from the states. Angry Revolutionary War veterans bitterly complained that Congress still owed them back pay. Meanwhile, several states issued their own money. Some states even put tariffs on goods from neighboring states.

The nation's growing financial problems sparked a violent protest in Massachusetts. Debt-ridden farmers, led by a war veteran named Daniel Shays, demanded that the state lower taxes and issue paper money so that they could repay their debts. When the state refused, the rebels attacked several courthouses. Massachusetts authorities quickly crushed Shays's Rebellion.

A New Constitution

Concerned leaders such as George Washington and James Madison believed that Shays's Rebellion underscored the need for a strong national government. In February 1787, Congress approved a Constitutional Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. The Constitutional Convention held its first session on May 25, 1787. The 55 delegates were experienced statesmen who were familiar with the political theories of Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

Although the delegates shared basic ideas on government, they sometimes disagreed on how to put them into practice. For almost four months the delegates argued over important questions. Who should be represented in Congress? How many votes should each state have? The delegates' deliberations produced not only compromises but also new approaches to governing. Using the political ideas of the Enlightenment, the delegates created a new system of government.

The Federal System

Like Montesquieu, the delegates distrusted a powerful central government controlled by one person or group. They therefore established three separate branches legislative, executive, and judicial. This provided a built-in system of checks and balances, with each branch checking the actions of the other two. For example, the president received the power to veto legislation passed by Congress. However, the Congress could override a presidential veto with the approval of two-thirds of its members. Although the Constitution created a strong central government, it did not eliminate local govern-

ments. Instead, the Constitution set up a **federal system** in which power was divided between national and state governments. The delegates agreed with Locke and Rousseau that governments draw their authority from the consent of the governed.

The Bill of Rights

The delegates signed the new Constitution on September 17, 1787. In order to become law, however, the Constitution required approval by conventions in at least 9 of the 13 states. These conventions were marked by sharp debate. Supporters of the Constitution, called the Federalists, argued that the new government would provide a better balance between national and state powers. Their opponents, the Antifederalists, feared that the Constitution gave the central government too much power. They also wanted a bill of rights to protect the rights of individual citizens.


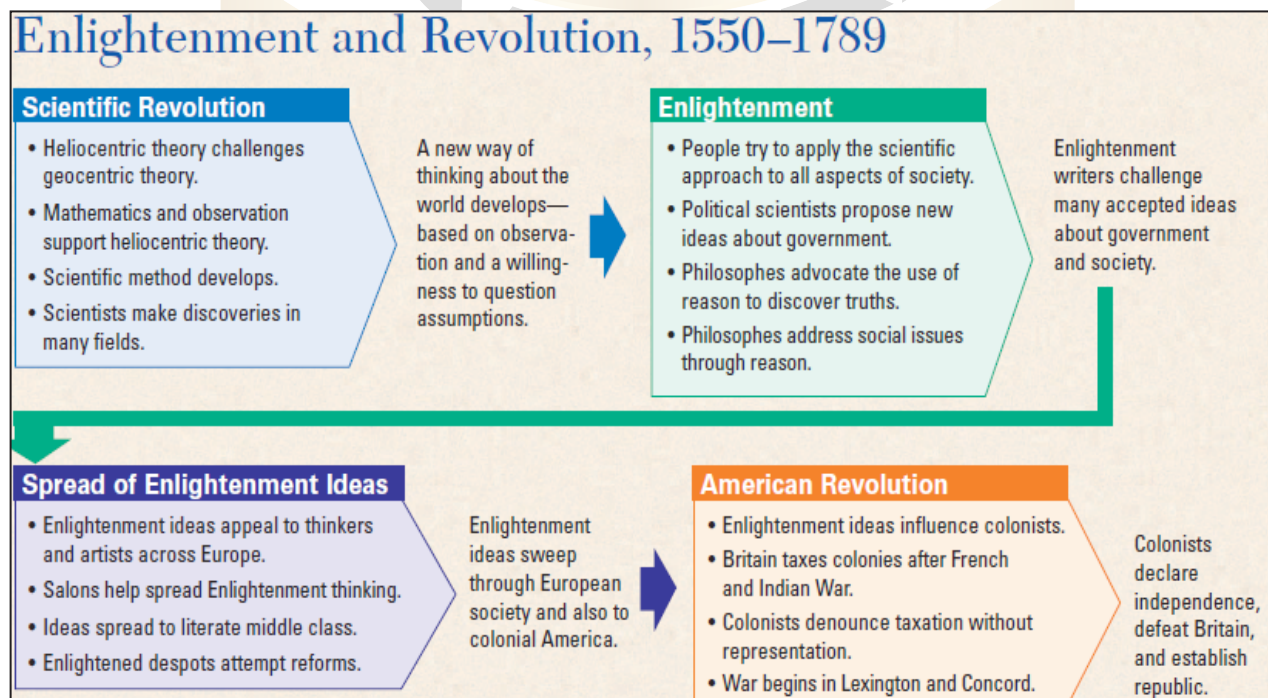
In order to gain support, the Federalists promised to add a bill of rights to the Constitution. This promise cleared the way for approval. Congress formally added to the Constitution the ten amendments known as the **Bill of Rights**. These amendments protected such basic rights as freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion. Many of these rights had been advocated by Voltaire, Rousseau, and Locke.

The Constitution and Bill of Rights marked a turning point in people’s ideas about government. Both documents put Enlightenment ideas into practice. They expressed an optimistic view that reason and reform could prevail and that progress was inevitable. Such optimism swept across the Atlantic. However, the monarchies and the privileged classes didn’t give up power and position easily.

U.S. Constitution: An Enlightenment Document	
Enlightenment Idea	U.S. Constitution
Locke A government’s power comes from the consent of the people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preamble begins “We the people of the United States” to establish legitimacy. • Creates representative government • Limits government powers
Montesquieu Separation of powers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal system of government • Powers divided among three branches • System of checks and balances
Rousseau Direct democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public election of president and Congress
Voltaire Free speech, religious toleration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bill of Rights provides for freedom of speech and religion.
Beccaria Accused have rights, no torture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bill of Rights protects rights of accused and prohibits cruel and unusual punishment.

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

1. From whose idea stems the system of checks and balances?
2. Which of the Enlightenment ideas are reflected in the Bill of Rights?

3.2 French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars

French Society during the Eighteenth Century

During the eighteenth century the French Society was divided into three groups. These groups were called estates. The three types of groups were - First estate, Second estate and Third estate.

First Estate Clergy belonged to 1st estate of then French Society. Clergy were the group of persons who were invested with special functions in the church, e.g. fathers, and other members of church.

Second Estate Nobility belonged to 2nd estate of then French Society. Nobility was hereditary and hence a person could get nobility by birth. However, new members were also awarded nobility by monarchy after paying heavy taxes or outstanding service to the monarchy, i.e. nobility could be purchased also.

Third Estate The 3rd estate of then French society was further divided into three categories. Big businessmen, merchants, court officials, lawyers, etc. belonged to the first category of 3rd estate. Peasants and artisans belonged to the second category. And small peasants, landless labours and servants belonged to third category, and were considered as the lowest class in the society. Members of the third state had to pay all types of taxes including tithes and taille.

Clergy and Nobility were privileged class. They had certain special privileges; in addition to feudal privilege. They were exempted from paying any types of taxes. They paid feudal taxes extracted after the members of the third estate.

Tithes: A type of tax collected by churches which was collected from peasants in the eighteenth century French

Society.

Taille: A type of direct and indirect tax which was paid to the state by members of third estate in French Society in the eighteenth century. Taille was levied on items used for daily consumption, such as tobacco, salt, etc.

Livre: Unit of currency of France. This was discontinued in 1794.

Louis XVI, who belonged to Bourbon family of kings, became the ruler of France in 1774. By that time; long years of war, maintenance of the court of the immense palace of Versailles made the treasury empty. In addition to this; helping during the war to the thirteen American colonies to gain their independence from Britain by Louis XVI raised the debt of treasury to more than 2 billion livres. Lenders to the state also started charging 10 percent of interest on credit to the state; this further worsened the situation of the society. Thus, in order to maintain those expenses, state was forced to increase taxes which increased the anger among the members of the third estate.

On the whole, members belonging to third estate were oppressed class and had to bear all the burden of all types of taxes.

The Struggle to Survive

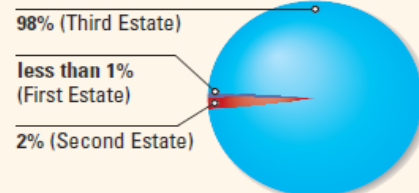
Increase of population from 23 million in 1715 to 28 million in 1789, increased the demand of food grains. Poor production of food grains, frequent draught or hail, diseases, epidemics, further worsened the situation. This resulted in increase in the price of bread which was staple diet of majority. Wages of worker did not keep the pace with price rise. This increased the gap between poor and rich. These things led to subsistence crisis for the majority as poor were not able to meet the required price to purchase even bread.

The Three Estates

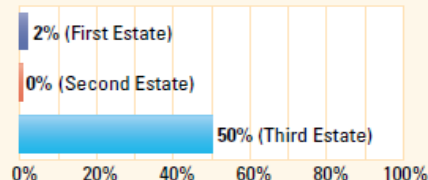


- **First Estate**
 - made up of clergy of Roman Catholic Church
 - scorned Enlightenment ideas
- **Second Estate**
 - made up of rich nobles
 - held highest offices in government
 - disagreed about Enlightenment ideas
- **Third Estate**
 - included bourgeoisie, urban lower class, and peasant farmers
 - had no power to influence government
 - embraced Enlightenment ideas

Population of France, 1787



Percent of Income Paid in Taxes



SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts and Political Cartoons

The Third Estate intensely resented the wealthy First and Second Estates.

1. How do the chart and the graphs help explain the political cartoon?
2. Why might the First and Second Estates be opposed to change?

A Growing Middle Class Envisages an End to Privileges to Certain Class

In the eighteenth century, many persons who belonged to third estate and earned their wealth through overseas trade and manufacturing goods were termed as middle class. It was a new social group, which also comprised of court officials, lawyers and administrative officials.

Peasants, labours, had been participating in revolts against increase in taxes and food scarcity for long time, but because of lack of means and concrete programmes they did not bring any change to the society. Thus bringing the change about the social and economic order in the society was left to the middle class. People of the middle class were also oppressed at that time, as they had to pay taxes and meet the demands of clergy and nobility.

People of Middle class were educated and believed that no privilege should be given by birth, rather position of a person in society should be merit based. Philosophers, such as John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau were envisaging a society based on freedom, equal laws and opportunity for all. The freedom of thirteen colonies in USA from Britain based on such ideas; strengthened the thoughts of then philosophers who mainly belonged to middle class. The ideas of guarantee of individual rights became one of the important examples among the political thinkers and then philosophers of France.

Refuting the doctrine of divine and absolute right of the monarch was the main idea of Locke which was made public in his Two Treaties of Government. Rousseau proposed the idea to form a government based on a social contract between people and their representatives. Montesquieu gave the idea of division of power within the government among the legislative, the executive and the judiciary in his The Spirit of the Laws.

These ideas of then philosophers and political thinkers began to spread far and wide among people. People started discussions to bring the change in society as well as government based on those ideas. Such discussions began to take place in salons, coffee house, etc. Many books were published based on those new ideas. Some persons used to read those books and newspaper aloud among people at public places so that those who could not write or read could also become aware of them.

Spreading of ideas of freedom and news of further plans of Louis XVI to increase the rate of taxes and imposition of some other new taxes increased the anger among people. This resulted protest against the government, its system and privileged class in the form of revolt.

The Outbreak of Revolution

In order to pass the proposal to raise taxes Louis XVI called an assembly of the Estates General. On 5 May 1789, 300 representatives from each of the first and second estate and 600 from the third estate, a total 1200 representatives, gathered in a splendid hall for the assembly. Representatives of first and second estates were seated in two rows while representatives of third estate had to stand at the back. Representatives of third estate were educated and more prosperous and they believed to represent the whole people of France. Peasants and labours were not allowed in that assembly; however about 40000 letters regarding their grievances were carried by representatives of third estate.

According to principle of the monarch each estate had one vote. Louis XVI wanted to apply the same practice this time also. But representatives of third estate did not agree on this, they wanted voting assembly as a whole and wanted each of the representatives to have only one vote. Louis XVI rejected this new proposal. As a result, all the representatives of the third estate walked out of the assembly in protest.

On 20th of the June they gathered in an indoor tennis court in Versailles, where they declared them as National Assembly and took an oath not to disburse till the new drafting of a constitution of France under the leadership of Merabeau and Abbe Sieyes. Merabeau belonged to noble family and Abbe Sieyes was a priest to the church. In spite of that they believed in the need of a privilege free society. There, they delivered powerful speeches regarding the need of new constitution and equal opportunity to all.

That very year harvest was badly affected because of severe winter. This increased the price of bread. Hoarding of supply by bakers made the situation more critical. One day after long hours in queues, anger broken into women and they stormed the bakery. At the same time troops moved to Paris to suppress the turmoil. In retaliation, crowd destroyed the Bastille.

A rumor spread that an order had been given to troops to destroy the crops. Because of fear, peasants attacked the chateaux and looted the hoarded grains. Records of manorial dues were set on fire. Many people were killed in this agitation. Many noblemen and clergy fled to neighbouring countries to save their life.

King Louis XVI finally surrendered against agitation and accepted the recognition of National Assembly and agreed that his power would be checked by constitution. On the 4th of the August 1789 the feudal system of obli-

gations, taxes, privileges to the nobility and clergy were abolished and lands owned by churches were confiscated. This gave an asset of worth about 2 billion livres to the government.

France Became a Constitutional Monarchy

The draft of the constitution was completed in 1791. Powers were spread among legislative, executive and judiciary instead of king. This made France a constitutional monarchy.

There were two types of citizens according to constitution: – active citizen and passive citizen. Persons who paid the tax at least equal to wages of 3 days of a labour were categorized as active citizens and who did not, were categorized as passive citizens. Only active citizens above the age of 25 had right to vote. Women were not given the right to vote. Active citizens had to elect electors. Electors had to elect National Assembly and Judiciary from among them. National Assembly had control over king and group of ministers. But king still had the power of royal veto and the ability to select ministers.

Qualification for member of elector and National Assembly: A person who belonged to bracket of highest taxpayers and above the age of 25 could be chosen as elector and member of National Assembly.

Constitution began with a Declaration of Rights to Man and Citizen.

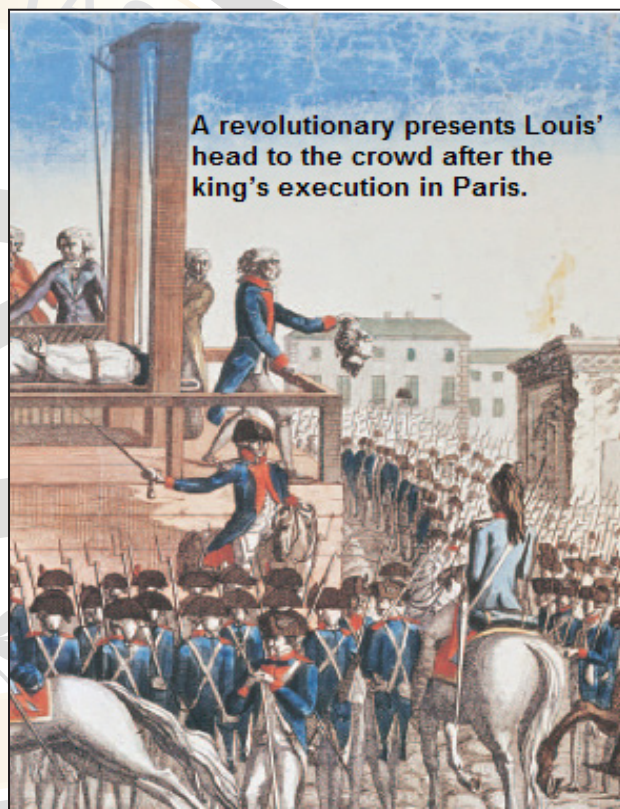
Right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, equality before law, were declared as ‘natural and inalienable’ rights. Every citizen had these rights by birth and no one could be deprived of them. State had duty to protect ‘natural and inalienable’ rights.

Symbols of Rights to Man and Citizen:

There were many person did not know the reading or writing in eighteenth century in France. Thus many symbols were used frequently to explain about the rights to man and citizen, so that illiterate person could understand them easily.

France Abolishes Monarchy and Becomes a Republic

Developments in France set the emperors of neighbouring countries in worry as they got feared of inevitable similar revolution there also. Louis XVI negotiated with the emperors of neighbouring countries in order to put down the events that had been taking place in France. He did that in order to regain power. But, in April 1792 National Assembly voted to declare war against Prussia and Austria. They considered the war as people against monarchy in all over Europe. Thousands of volunteers took part in the war. They sang a patriotic song before going to the war from Marseilles, and the song got the name as ‘Marseillaise’ after that. Marseillaise is now the National Anthem of France.



France had to face heavy loss because of war which brought many types of crisis among the people of France. Many people were thinking that constitution of 1791 gave the power to only richer class and many political clubs started to discuss about government policies and they

started planning of their own form of government. Jacobins was the most successful club among them. It was named after the convent of St Jacob in Paris. Maximilian Robespierre emerged as the leader of Jacobins.

The Legislative Assembly		
Radicals	Moderates	Conservatives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sat on the left side of the hall; were called left-wing and said to be on the left • opposed the king and the idea of a monarchy • wanted sweeping changes in government and proposed that common people have full power in a republic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sat in the center of the hall and were called centrists • wanted some changes in government, but not as many as the radicals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sat on the right side of the hall; were called right-wing and said to be on the right • upheld the idea of a limited monarchy • wanted few changes in government

Jacobins comprised of women, small peasants, labours, artisans, such as shoemaker, pastry cooks, watch makers, etc. They started wearing long striped trousers so that they could look different from those who wore knee breaches (persons belonging to fashionable society). They also wore a red cap also which was the symbol of liberty. They began to be called 'sans-culottes' which means 'those without knee breaches'. However, women were not allowed to do so. In summer of 1792, Jacobins attacked the Palace of Tuileries and captured the king for several hours. In this attack most of the guards of king were killed.

After that election was held, the newly elected assembly was called the Convention. In the election all men above the age of 21 got the right to vote; regardless of wealth. On 21st of the September 1792 monarchy was abolished and France was declared a republic. Later king Louis XVI and the queen Marie Antoinette were sentenced to death. They were executed publicly at the Place de la Concorde.

The Reign of Terror (From 1793 to 1794)

The period from 1793 to 1794 is known as the Reign of Terror. Maximilian Robespierre sentenced to death all those persons who he considered as enemies of the republic, whether they were ex-noble, clergy, and members of any political parties; including Jacobins. The executions were completed after trial by revolutionary tribunal. At that time Robespierre followed a policy of severe control and punishment. Guillotine, a device, named after inventor Dr. Guillotin, was used to behead a person at that time. It consists of two poles and a blade. Guilty persons were beheaded using guillotine.

Government led by Robespierre issued many laws among which ceiling maximum wages and price and rationing were main. Foods, such as meat and bread were rationed. Peasants were forced to sell their grains on fixed price in cities. Citizens were forced to eat equality bread, white flour which was costlier was forbidden. Use of Citoyen and Citoyenne for men and women citizen started instead of the traditional Sir (Monsieur) and Madam (Madame). Churches were shut down and their buildings were converted into offices and barracks. Practice of equality was sought everywhere.

Because of forcible implementation of laws, even supporters of Robespierre started the demand for change. Finally, Robespierre arrested and guillotined in July 1794. Reign of Terror ended with the end of Robespierre.

A Directory Rules France

After the fall of Jacobins a new constitution was introduced and power was again seized by wealthier middle class. According to new constitution; Non propertied sec-

tion of the society had no right to vote, two elected legislative councils would run the government, Two elected legislative councils would appoint an executive committee of five members, called Directory which would finally run the government, Directory could be dismissed by the majority vote of councils.

These new provisions were brought to prevent the concentration of power in one-man executive; as happened in the reign of Jacobins.

The clash between Directory and member of councils led to political instability, which opened the door of military dictator, Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon Bonaparte became the emperor of France in 1804.

Role of Women

In spite of revolution, women did not get right to vote and their position in the society remained unchanged. To get their notable position in society, about 16 women clubs were started in different cities in France. The Society of Revolutionary and Republican Women was the most famous among them. Their main demands were to enjoy the same political rights as men. The constitution of 1791 made them disappointed as they were pushed to the category of passive citizen in that.

Most of the women were deprived of education. Daughters of nobles or wealthier persons of third estate could study in convent. After that they were married by their families even against their will. Women who belonged to third estate had to work hard. They sold flowers, fruits, vegetables and employed as servant in house hold. After work they had to cook and look after for their families. During the Reign of Terror women's clubs were closed and many women were put in jail.

In due course of time, revolutionary government came and introduced laws to improve the lives of women. For example - Many state schools were created, schooling was made compulsory for all girls, marriage against the will of girl was prohibited, divorce was made legal and could be applied for by both women and men, they could train for jobs, could run businesses, could become artists. But to get the voting rights women had to struggle for about next two hundred years in many countries including France. Finally, women got right to vote in the year of 1946 in France.

3.3 Napoleon Rules France

At first, Napoleon pretended to be the constitutionally chosen leader of a free republic. In 1800, a **plebiscite**, or vote of the people, was held to approve a new constitution, the fourth in eight years. Desperate for strong leadership, the people voted overwhelmingly in favor of

Napoleon Brings Order After the Revolution			
	The Economy	Government & Society	Religion
Goals of the Revolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal taxation • Lower inflation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less government corruption • Equal opportunity in government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less powerful Catholic Church • Religious tolerance
Napoleon's Actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set up fairer tax code • Set up national bank • Stabilized currency • Gave state loans to businesses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointed officials by merit • Fired corrupt officials • Created lycées • Created code of laws 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognized Catholicism as "faith of Frenchmen" • Signed concordat with pope • Retained seized church lands
Results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal taxation • Stable economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Honest, competent officials • Equal opportunity in government • Public education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious tolerance • Government control of church lands • Government recognition of church influence

the constitution, which gave all real power to Napoleon as first consul.

Restoring Order at Home

Under Napoleon, France would have order and stability? He did not try to return the nation to the days of Louis XVI; instead, he kept many of the changes that had come with the Revolution. He supported laws that would both strengthen the central government and achieve some of the goals of the Revolution, such as a stable economy and more equality in taxation. The first order of business was to get the economy on a solid footing.



Napoleon set up an efficient tax-collection system and established a national bank. In addition to assuring the government a steady supply of tax money, these actions promoted sound financial management and better control of the economy. Napoleon also needed to reduce government corruption and improve the delivery of government services. He dismissed corrupt officials and, in order to provide his government with trained officials, set up **lycées**, or government-run public schools. The students at the lycées included children of ordinary citizens as well as children of the wealthy. The trained candidates could then be appointed to public office on the basis of merit rather than family connections.

Both the clergy and the peasants wanted to restore the position of the church in France. Napoleon signed a **concordat** (agreement) with Pope Pius VII, spelling out

a new relationship between church and state. The government recognized the influence of the church but rejected church control in national affairs. Specifically the

French government would appoint bishops, but the bishops would appoint parish priests. The concordat gained Napoleon the support of the organized church as well as the majority of the French people. Napoleon thought that his greatest work was his comprehensive system of laws, known as the **Napoleonic Code**. Although the code gave the country a uniform set of laws and eliminated many injustices, it actually limited liberty and promoted order and authority over individual rights. The code took away some rights that women had won during the Revolution, such as the right to sell their property. Freedom of speech and of the press, also established during the Revolution, were restricted rather than expanded. The new laws also restored slavery in the French colonies of the Caribbean, which the revolutionary government had abolished.

Napoleon Crowned as Emperor

In 1804, Napoleon decided to make himself emperor, and the French voters supported him. On December 2, 1804, dressed in a splendid robe of purple velvet, Napoleon walked down the long aisle of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. The pope waited for him with a glittering crown. As thousands watched, the new emperor took the crown from the pope and placed it on his own head. With this arrogant gesture, Napoleon signalled that he was more powerful than the church, which had traditionally crowned the rulers of France.



Napoleon Creates an Empire

Napoleon was not content simply to be master of France. He wanted to control the rest of Europe and to reassert French power in the New World. He envisioned his western empire to include Louisiana, Florida, French Guiana, and the French West Indies. He knew that the key to this area was the sugarproducing French colony of Saint Domingue on the island of Hispaniola.

New World Territories

In 1789, when the ideas of the Revolution had reached the planters in Saint Domingue, they had demanded that the National Assembly give them the same privileges as the people of France. Eventually, the slaves in the colony had demanded their freedom. A civil war had erupted, and slaves under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture had seized control of the productive colony. In 1801, Napoleon decided to regain French control of the war-torn island and restore its productive sugar industry. Although he sent 23,000 soldiers to accomplish the task, the former slaves proved to be difficult to defeat, and thousands of soldiers died of yellow fever.

When the expedition to Saint Domingue was unsuccessful and the U.S. government showed interest in buying the port of New Orleans, Napoleon recognized an op-

portunity to make some money and cut his losses in the Americas. He offered to sell all of the Louisiana Territory to the United States, and in 1803 President Jefferson's administration agreed to purchase the land for \$15 million. Napoleon was delighted. He saw a twofold benefit to the sale: he would gain money to finance operations in Europe, and he would further punish his British enemies. He exulted, "The sale assures forever the power of the United States, and I have given England a rival who, sooner or later, will humble her pride."

Conquering Europe



Napoleon abandoned his imperial ambitions in the New World and turned his attention to Europe. He had already annexed the Austrian Netherlands and parts of Italy to France and set up a puppet government in Switzerland. Now he looked to expand his influence further. Fearful of his ambitions, Britain persuaded Russia, Austria,

and Sweden to join in a third coalition against France. Napoleon met this challenge with his usual boldness. He

rallied the troops and rode out to defeat the Third Coalition, exclaiming, “My army is formidable. . . . Once we had an Army of the Rhine, an Army of Italy, an Army of Holland; there has never been a French Army—but now it exists, and we shall soon see it in action.” In a series of brilliant battles, Napoleon crushed the opposition. The commanders of the enemy armies could never predict his next move and took heavy losses.

Eventually, the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia all signed peace treaties with Napoleon, whose proud and patriotic army had enabled him to build the largest European empire since the Romans’. The only major enemy left undefeated was Britain, whose power lay in its navy. In 1805, Napoleon tried to remove the threat of that navy.

The Battle of Trafalgar

In his war against the Third Coalition, Napoleon lost only one major battle, the **Battle of Trafalgar**—but that naval defeat was more important than all of Napoleon’s victories on land. The battle took place in 1805 off the southern coast of Spain. The commander of the British fleet, Horatio Nelson—the admiral who had defeated Napoleon’s fleet near Egypt in 1798—out maneuvered the larger French-Spanish fleet, showing as much brilliance in warfare at sea as Napoleon had in warfare on land.

During the furious battle, Nelson was mortally wounded by a French sharpshooter. As he lay dying aboard his flagship, Nelson heard the welcome news of British victory. “Now I am satisfied,” murmured the admiral. “Thank God, I have done my duty.” The destruction of the French fleet had two major results. First, it assured the supremacy of the British navy for the next hundred years. Second, it forced Napoleon to give up his plans of invading Britain. He had to look for another way to control his powerful enemy across the English Channel. Eventually, Napoleon’s extravagant efforts to crush Britain would lead to his own undoing.

The French Empire

During the first decade of the 1800s, Napoleon’s victories had given him mastery over most of Europe. By 1812, the only major European countries free from Napoleon’s control were Britain, the Ottoman Empire, Portugal, and Sweden. As the map on page 588 shows, Napoleon controlled numerous supposedly independent lands in addition to those that were formally part of the French Empire. These included Spain, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and a number of German kingdoms in central Europe.

The rulers of these countries were Napoleon’s puppets; some, in fact, were his brothers and in-laws. Furthermore,

the powerful countries of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were loosely attached to Napoleon’s empire through alliances. Not totally under Napoleon’s control, they were easily manipulated by threats of military action. Ironically, Napoleon’s power and military threats actually made the conquered peoples more conscious of their loyalty to their own nations. The French empire was huge but unstable. Napoleon was able to maintain it at its greatest extent for only five years (1807–1812). Then it quickly fell to pieces. Its sudden collapse was caused in part by Napoleon himself.

Setting the Stage

Napoleon worried that his vast empire would fall apart unless he had an heir whose right to succeed him was undisputed, so he decided that he needed a son. Consequently, he divorced Josephine, who had failed to bear him a child, and formed an alliance with the Austrian royal family by marrying Marie Louise, the grand-niece of Marie Antoinette. In 1811, Marie Louise gave birth to a son, Napoleon II, whom his father named king of Rome.

Napoleon’s Three Costly Mistakes

Napoleon’s own personality proved to be the greatest danger to the future of his empire. “I love power,” he once said, “as a musician loves his violin.” It was the drive for power that had raised Napoleon to great heights, and the same love of power led to his doom. In his efforts to extend the French Empire and crush Britain, Napoleon made three disastrous misjudgements.

1-The Continental System

In November 1806, Napoleon signed a decree ordering a **blockade**—a forcible closing of ports—to prevent all trade and communication between Great Britain and other European nations. Napoleon called this policy the **Continental System** because it was supposed to make continental Europe more self-sufficient. It was also intended to destroy Britain’s commercial and industrial economy.

Unfortunately for Napoleon, his blockade was not nearly tight enough. Aided by the British, smugglers managed to bring cargo from Britain into Europe. At times, Napoleon’s allies disregarded his order—in fact, Napoleon’s own brother Louis, whom Napoleon had made king of Holland, defied the policy. For these reasons, the blockade weakened British trade but did not destroy it. In addition, Britain responded with its own blockade. The British navy stopped neutral ships bound for the continent and forced them to sail to a British port to be searched and taxed. Because the British had a stronger navy, they were better able than the French to make their blockade work.

American ships were among those stopped by the British navy. Angered, the U.S. Congress declared war on Britain in 1812. The War of 1812 ended in a draw, however, and was only a minor inconvenience to Britain in its struggle with Napoleon. In effect, the Continental System hurt Napoleon more than it hurt his enemies. It weakened the economies of France and the other lands under Napoleon's control more than it damaged Britain.

2-The Peninsular War

In 1808, Napoleon made a second costly mistake. Because Portugal was ignoring the Continental System, he sent an army through Spain to invade Portugal. When Spanish towns rioted in protest, Napoleon deposed the Spanish king and put his brother Joseph on the throne. This move outraged the Spanish people and enflamed their nationalistic feelings, since they remained fiercely loyal to their former monarch.

In addition, Spain was a devoutly Catholic nation with a long history of persecuting those who deviated from the faith. Because the French Revolution had weakened the Catholic Church in France, many Spanish Catholics feared that their French conquerors would undermine the church in Spain. In fact, the French did attack church power by outlawing the Spanish Inquisition, which was still prosecuting people accused of heresy.

For five years (1808–1813), bands of Spanish peasant fighters, known as **guerrillas**, struck at French armies in Spain. The guerrillas were not an army that Napoleon could defeat in open battle; they were ordinary people who ambushed French troops and then fled into hiding. The British added to the French troubles in Spain by sending troops to aid the rebels. Napoleon lost about 300,000 men during this **Peninsular War** (so called because Spain lies on the Iberian Peninsula). These losses weakened the French Empire. In Spain and elsewhere, nationalism, or loyalty to one's own country, was becoming a powerful weapon against Napoleon. People who had at first welcomed the French as their liberators now felt abused by a foreign conqueror. Like the Spanish guerrillas, Germans and Italians and other conquered peoples turned against the French.

3- The Invasion of Russia

In 1812, Napoleon's thirst for power led to his most disastrous mistake of all. Even though Alexander I had become Napoleon's ally, the Russian czar refused to stop selling grain to Britain. In addition, the French and Russian rulers suspected each other of having competing designs on Poland. Because of this breakdown in their alliance, Napoleon decided to invade Russia. In June 1812, Napo-

leon and his Grand Army marched into Russia. Many of his troops were not French. They had been drafted from all over Europe, and they felt little loyalty to Napoleon. As Napoleon's army entered Russia, Alexander pulled back his troops, refusing to be lured into an unequal battle. As the Russians retreated toward Moscow, they practiced a **scorched-earth policy**, burning grain fields and slaughtering livestock so as to leave nothing that the enemy could eat. Desperate soldiers deserted the French army to search for scraps of food.

On September 7, 1812, the two armies finally clashed in the Battle of Borodino. During the morning, the advantage swung back and forth between the Russians and the French. After several more hours of indecisive fighting, the Russians retreated—giving Napoleon a narrow victory that allowed him to take Moscow. When Napoleon finally entered Moscow on September 14, he soon found it in flames. Rather than surrender Russia's "holy city" to the French, Alexander had set fire to it. Napoleon stayed in the ruined city for five weeks, expecting the czar to make a peace offer, but no offer ever came. By then, it was the middle of October, too late to advance farther and perhaps too late even to retreat. Grimly, Napoleon ordered his starving army to turn back. As the snows began to fall in early November, Russian raiders mercilessly attacked Napoleon's ragged, retreating army. One French sergeant recorded, "Many of the survivors were walking barefoot, using pieces of wood as canes, but their feet were frozen so hard that the sound they made on the road was like that of wooden clogs." As the soldiers staggered through the snow, many dropped in their tracks from wounds, exhaustion, hunger, and cold. The temperature fell to about 30 degrees below zero, so cold that birds fell dead from the sky. Finally, in the middle of December, the last survivors straggled out of Russia. Of his Grand Army, Napoleon had only 10,000 soldiers who were left fit to fight.

Napoleon's Downfall

Napoleon's enemies were quick to take advantage of his weakness. Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden joined forces against him in the Fourth Coalition. Napoleon had hoped that his marriage to Marie Louise would keep at least Austria on his side, but Austria also joined the coalition. All of the main powers of Europe were now at war with France.

The Coalition Defeats Napoleon

In only a few months, Napoleon managed to raise another army. He faced his enemies outside the German city of Leipzig (LYP•sihg) in October 1813. At this crucial point, Napoleon's army no longer consisted of trained

veterans. In the Battle of Leipzig, the allies cut his inexperienced army to pieces. Napoleon's empire crumbled quickly. By January 1814, armies of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians were pushing steadily toward Paris. In March, the Russian czar and the Prussian king led their troops in a triumphant parade through the French capital. Napoleon wanted to fight on, but his generals refused. In April 1814, the defeated emperor gave up his throne and accepted the terms of surrender drawn up by Alexander I. The victors gave Napoleon a small pension and exiled, or banished, him to Elba, a tiny island off the Italian coast. Although the allies expected no further trouble from Napoleon, they were wrong. Napoleon was a man of action who, at age 45, would find it difficult to retire.

A Comeback Fails

As Napoleon arrived on Elba, a Bourbon king arrived in Paris to rule France—Louis XVIII, brother of the guillotined king. (Louis XVI's son and heir had died in prison in 1795.) However, the new king quickly became unpopular among his subjects—especially the peasants, who suspected him of wanting to undo the Revolution's land reforms.

The news that the French king was in trouble was all the incentive Napoleon needed to try to regain power. He escaped from Elba and, on March 1, 1815, landed in France. In a proclamation, he urged the French to rally to his cause. "Victory will march at full speed," he said. "You will be the liberators of your country." Thousands of French people welcomed Napoleon back. The ranks of his army swelled with volunteers as it approached Paris. Within days, Napoleon was again emperor of France. Louis XVIII fled to the border.

In response, the European allies quickly marshalled their armies. The British army, led by the Duke of Wellington, prepared for battle near the village of **Waterloo** in Belgium. On June 18, 1815, Napoleon attacked. The British army defended its ground all day. Late in the afternoon, the Prussian army arrived. Together, the British and the Prussian forces attacked the French. Two days later, Napoleon's exhausted troops gave way, and the British and Prussian forces chased them from the field. This defeat ended Napoleon's last bid for power, called the **Hundred Days**. Taking no chances this time, the British shipped Napoleon to St. Helena, a remote island in the South Atlantic. There, he lived in lonely exile for six years, writing his memoirs. He died in 1821 of a stomach ailment, perhaps cancer.

Without doubt, Napoleon was a military genius and a brilliant administrator. Yet all his victories must be mea-

sured against the millions of lives that were lost in his wars. Of his many achievements, only his law code and some of his reforms in France's government proved lasting—and they were not won on the battlefield. A later French statesman and writer, Alexis de Tocqueville, summed up Napoleon's character by saying, "He was as great as a man can be without virtue." Napoleon's defeat opened the door for the freed European countries to establish a new order.

The Congress of Vienna Convenes

European heads of government were looking to establish long-lasting peace and stability on the continent after the defeat of Napoleon. They had a goal of a new European order—one of collective security and stability for the entire continent. A series of meetings in Vienna, known as the **Congress of Vienna**, were called to set up policies to achieve this goal. Originally, the Congress of Vienna was scheduled to last for four weeks. Instead, it went on for eight months.

Metternich Restores Stability

Most of the decisions made in Vienna during the winter of 1814–1815 were made in secret among representatives of the five "great powers." The rulers of three of these countries—King Frederick William III of Prussia, Czar Alexander I of Russia, and Emperor Francis I of Austria—were themselves in Vienna. Britain and France were represented by their foreign ministers. However, none of these men were as influential as the foreign minister of Austria, Prince

Klemens von Metternich.

Metternich distrusted the democratic ideals of the French Revolution. Like most other European aristocrats, he maintained that Napoleon's expansionist dictatorship had been a natural outcome of experiments with democracy. Metternich wanted to keep things as they were and remarked, "The first and greatest concern



Klemens von Metternich
1773–1859

for the immense majority of every nation is the stability of laws—never their change." Metternich had three goals at the Congress of Vienna. First, he wanted to prevent future French aggression by surrounding France with strong countries. Second, he wanted to restore a **balance of power**, so that no country would be a threat to others. Third, he wanted to restore Europe's royal families to the thrones they had held before Napoleon's conquests.

The Containment of France

The congress made the weaker countries around France stronger:

- The former Austrian Netherlands and Dutch Republic were reunited to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands.
- A group of 39 German states were loosely joined as the newly created German Confederation, dominated by Austria. Switzerland was recognized as an independent nation.
- The Kingdom of Sardinia in Italy was strengthened by the addition of Genoa. These changes allowed the countries of Europe to contain France and prevent it from overpowering weaker nations.

Balance of Power

Although the leaders of Europe wanted to weaken France, they did not want to go too far. If they severely punished France, they might encourage the French to take revenge. If they broke up France, then another country might become so strong that it would threaten them all. Thus, the victorious powers were surprisingly easy on the defeated nation. Although the French were required to give up all the territories Napoleon had taken, France remained intact, with roughly the same boundaries it had had in 1790. France also kept some of its overseas possessions, its army, and an independent government. As a result, France remained a major but diminished European power, and no country in Europe could easily overpower another.

Legitimacy

The great powers affirmed the principle of **legitimacy**—agreeing that as many as possible of the rulers whom Napoleon had driven from their thrones should be restored to power. In France, the brother of Louis XVI returned to power as King Louis XVIII. He wisely adopted a constitution and ruled as a constitutional monarch. The congress also restored the Bourbon rulers of Spain and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Hapsburg princes came back to rule several states in northern Italy. Many (though not all) of the former rulers of the German states of central Europe also regained their thrones. The participants in the Congress of Vienna believed that the return of the former monarchs would stabilize political relations among the nations. The Congress of Vienna was a political triumph in many ways. Because its settlements were fair enough for no country to be left bearing a grudge, it did not sow the seeds of future wars. In that sense, it was more successful than many other peace

meetings in history. For the first time, the nations of an entire continent were cooperating to control political affairs.

Political Changes Beyond Vienna

The Congress of Vienna was a victory for conservatives. Kings and princes were restored in country after country, in keeping with Metternich's goals. Nevertheless, there were important differences from one country to another. Louis XVIII's decision to rule France as a constitutional monarch meant that both Britain and France now had constitutional monarchies. Generally speaking, however, the governments in eastern Europe were more conservative than these. The rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were absolute monarchs.

Conservative Europe

The rulers of Europe were very jittery about the legacy of the French Revolution, especially the threatening revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Late in 1815, Czar Alexander, Emperor Francis I of Austria, and King Frederick William III of Prussia entered a league called the **Holy Alliance**. That agreement loosely bound them together. Finally, a series of alliances devised by Metternich, called the **Concert of Europe**, assured that nations would help one another if any revolutions broke out. Across Europe, conservatives held firm control of the governments, but they could not contain the ideas that had emerged during the French Revolution. France after 1815 was deeply divided politically. Conservatives were happy with the monarchy of Louis XVIII and were determined to make it last. Liberals wanted the king to share more power with the Chamber of Deputies and to grant the middle class the right to vote. Many people in the lower class remained committed to the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity even though women and many poor men could not vote. In other countries as well, like Austria, Prussia, and the small German states, there was an explosive mixture of ideas and factions that would contribute directly to revolutions in 1830 and again in 1848. Despite their efforts to undo the French Revolution, the leaders at the Congress of Vienna could not turn back the clock. The Revolution had given Europe its first experiment in democratic government. Although the experiment had failed, it had set new political ideas in motion. The major political divisions of the early 1800s had their roots in the French Revolution.

Revolution in Latin America

The actions of the Congress of Vienna had consequences beyond Europe. When the congress restored Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne, the reasons for the Spanish colonial revolts against Napoleon's puppet king, Joseph Bonaparte, should have disappeared. However, clashes among conservatives, liberals, and radicals erupted quickly. In the colonies, the royalist *peninsulares* wanted to restore their power and control over the land, and the liberal Creoles saw their chance to retain and expand the powers they had seized. Revolts against the king broke out in many parts of Spanish America, with only Mexico remaining loyal to Ferdinand. In 1820, a liberalist revolt in Spain prompted the Spanish king to tighten control over both Spain and its American colonies. This action angered the Mexicans, who rose in revolt and successfully threw off Spain's control. A liberalist revolt in Portugal at about the same time created an opportunity for Brazilians to declare independence as well.

Long-Term Legacy

The Congress of Vienna left a legacy that would influence world politics for the next 100 years. The continent-wide efforts to establish and maintain a balance of power diminished the size and the power of France, while the power of Britain and Prussia increased. Nationalism began to grow in Italy, Germany, Greece, and other areas that the congress had put under foreign control. Eventually, the nationalistic feelings would explode into revolutions, and new nations would be formed. European colonies also responded to the power shift. Spanish colonies took advantage of the events in Europe to declare their independence and break away from their European rulers. On the other hand, ideas about the basis of power and authority had changed permanently as a result of the French Revolution. Old ideas about who should control governments were discarded. More and more, the principles of democracy were seen as the best way for equity and justice to prevail for all people. Europeans challenged old economic patterns of taxation and property ownership and began to adopt more equal treatment for all. The French Revolution changed the "business as usual" attitude that had dominated Europe for centuries. A new era had begun.



UNIT D – NATIONALISM AND ITS IMPACT

4. Rise of Nationalism

In the mid-eighteenth-century Europe there were no 'nation-states' as we know them today. Modern day Germany, Italy and Switzerland were divided into kingdoms, duchies and cantons. Their rulers had their own autonomous territories. Diverse people lived under autocratic monarchies of Eastern and Central Europe. The people did not share a collective identity. The region was full of people from different ethnic groups who spoke different languages. The only binding factor among the people was their allegiance to a common emperor.

The Aristocracy and the New Middle Class

Socially and politically, a landed aristocracy was the dominant class on the continent. The members of this class were united by a common way of life that cut across regional divisions. They owned estates in the countryside and also town-houses. They spoke French for purposes of diplomacy and in high society. Their families were often connected by ties of marriage. This powerful aristocracy was, however, numerically a small group. The majority of the population was made up of the peasantry. To the west, the bulk of the land was farmed by tenants and small owners, while in Eastern and Central Europe the pattern of landholding was characterised by vast estates which were cultivated by serfs.

In Western and parts of Central Europe industrial production and trade grew. This led to the growth of towns where new commercial classes emerged. The existence of this new class was based on production for the market. New social groups came into existence. A working class population and a middle class (which was composed of industrialists, businessmen and professionals) made the new social groups. It was this class which shaped the ideas of national unity.

What did Liberal Nationalism Stand for?

Ideas of national unity in early-nineteenth-century Europe were closely allied to the ideology of liberalism. For the new middle classes; freedom for the individual and equality of all before the law

were the bases of idea of liberalism. From the political perspective, the idea of liberalism emphasized the concept of government by consent. Liberalism also meant an end of autocracy and clerical privileges. Further, it meant the need of a constitution and a representative government. Inviolability of private property was also emphasized by the nineteenth century liberals.

Suffrage: Universal suffrage was yet to become a reality in France. During the earlier period of revolution, only property-owning men had the right to vote. For a brief period during the Jacobins, all adult males got the voting right. However, Napoleonic Code reverted to the earlier system of limited suffrage. During the rule of Napoleon, women were accorded the status of minor; subject to authority of father and husband. The struggle for voting rights for women and non-propertied men continued throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Liberalisation in Economic Sphere:

Economic liberalization was another hallmark of the Napoleonic Code. The emerging middle class was also in favour of economic liberalization. Let us take example of German-speaking regions in the first half of nineteenth century. There were 39 states in this region which were further divided into many principalities. Each principality had its own currency and its own units of measurement. If a merchant travelled from Hamburg to Nuremberg; he had to pass through 11 customs barriers and pay a custom duty of about 5% at each barrier. Custom

duty had to be paid according to weight and measure. Wide difference in units of weight and measurement created further confusion. The conditions were not at all business friendly and served as obstacles to economic activities. The new commercial class was demanding a unified economic territory so that there could be unhindered movement of goods, people and capital.

In 1834, a customs union or Zollverein was formed; at the initiative of Prussia and was joined by most of the German states. Tariff barriers were abolished and the number of currencies was reduced from thirty to two. Development of a railways network further enhanced mobility. This created some sort of economic nationalism which helped in strengthening the national sentiments which were growing at that time.

A New Conservatism After 1815

Napoleon was defeated in 1815 by the combined power of Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria. After the defeat of Napoleon, European governments wanted to follow conservatism. The conservatives believed that established, traditional institutions of state and society should be preserved. They believed in preserving the monarchy, the Church, social hierarchies, property and the family. But most of them also wanted to retain the modernization which Napoleon carried out in the spheres of administration. The conservatives believed that modernization would strengthen traditional institutions. It was believed that a modern army, an efficient bureaucracy, a dynamic economy, the abolition of feudalism and serfdom could strengthen the monarchies of Europe.

The Treaty of Vienna

The representatives of the European powers (Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria) met at Vienna in 1815 to draw up a settlement of Europe. The Austrian Chancellor Duke Metternich was the host of the Congress. The Treaty of Vienna of 1815 was drawn up at this meeting. Its objective was to undo most of the changes which had come in Europe during the Napoleonic wars. Some of the steps taken according to the Treaty of Vienna are follows:

- The Bourbon dynasty, which had been deposed during the French Revolution, was restored to power.
- A series of states were set up on the boundaries of France to prevent French expansion in future. For example; the kingdom of the Netherlands was set up in the north. Similarly, Genoa was added to Piedmont in the south. Prussia got some important territories on its western frontiers and Austria got control of northern Italy.

- German confederation of 39 states which had been set up by Napoleon was left untouched.
- In the east, Russia was given part of Poland, while Prussia was given a portion of Saxony.

The conservative regimes which were set up in 1815 were autocratic. They were intolerant of criticism and dissent. Most of them imposed censorship laws to control the contents in newspaper, books, plays and songs.

The Revolutionaries

After the events of 1815, many liberal nationalists went underground for the fear of repression.

Giuseppe Mazzini was an Italian revolutionary. He was born in 1807. He became a member of the secret society of the Carbonari. When he was 24 years old, he was sent into exile in 1831 for attempting a revolution in Liguria. After that, he founded two more underground societies; first Young Italy in Marseilles and then Young Europe in Berne. Mazzini believed that God had intended nations to be the natural units of mankind. So Italy had to be forged into a single unified republic instead of being a patchwork of small state kingdoms. Following in the footsteps of Mazzini, many secret societies were set up Germany, France, Switzerland and Poland. The Conservatives feared Mazzini.

The Age Of Revolution: 1830-1848

While the conservative regimes were trying to consolidate their power, the liberals and nationalists continued to spread the idea of revolution. These people belonged to the educated middle-class elite; like professors, school teachers, clerks and members of the commercial middle classes.

The first upheaval took place in France in July 1830. The Bourbon kings were overthrown by liberal revolutionaries. A constitutional monarchy was installed with Louis Philippe at its head. The July Revolution sparked an uprising in Brussels which resulted in Belgium breaking away from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Independence of Greece

The Greek war of independence mobilized the nationalist feelings among the educated elite across Europe. The struggle for independence among the Greeks began in 1821. The nationalists in Greece got support from many Greeks who were living in exile. Moreover, they also got support from many West Europeans who sympathized with the ancient Greek culture. Poets and artists mobilized public opinion to support this struggle against the Muslim empire. It is important to note that Greece had

been a part of the Ottoman Empire. Finally, the Treaty of Constantinople of 1832 recognized Greece as an independent nation.

The Romantic Imagination and National Feeling

Romanticism was a cultural movement which sought to develop a particular form of nationalist sentiment. Romantic artists usually criticized the glorification of reason and science. They focused on emotions, intuition and mystical feelings. They tried to create a sense of collective heritage, a common cultural past, as the basis of a nation.

Other Romantics; like the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744 – 1803); claimed that the true German culture could be discovered among the common people; *das volk*. These Romantics used folk songs, folk poetry and folk dances to popularize the true spirit of the nation (*volksgeist*). The emphasis on vernacular language was also important to take the nationalist message to a large number of people who were mostly illiterate. Karol Kurpinski celebrated the national struggle through his operas and music in Poland. He turned folk dances; like polonaise and mazurka into nationalist symbols.

Language also played an important role in developing nationalist sentiments. After Russian occupation, the Polish language was forced out of schools and the Russian language was imposed everywhere. An armed rebellion took place against Russian rule in 1831 but this was ultimately crushed. But after this, many members of the clergy in Poland began to use language as a weapon of national resistance. In all Church gatherings and in all religious instructions, Polish was used. The Russian authorities put a large number of priests and bishops in jail or sent them to Siberia as punishment for their refusal to preach in Russian. The use of Polish thus became a symbol of the struggle against Russian dominance.

Hunger, Hardship and Popular Revolt

The 1830s were years of great economic hardship in Europe. There was huge growth in population in the first half of the nineteenth century. Number of unemployed had increased manifold. There was large scale migration from rural areas to urban areas. Such migrants lived in overcrowded slums in the cities. At that time, the industrialization in England was more advanced than in other parts of Europe. Hence, cheap machine-made goods from England gave stiff competition to small producers in the towns of the other European countries. In some regions of Europe, aristocracy was still powerful and the peasants were under the burden of feudal dues and obligations. A year of bad harvest; coupled with price rise in food led to pauperism in town and country.

The year 1848 was one such bad year. Because of shortage of food and high level of unemployment, the people of Paris came out on the roads. The protest was at such a large scale that Louis Philippe had to flee. A National Assembly proclaimed a republic. It granted suffrage to all adult males above 21. It guaranteed the right to work. National workshops were set up to provide employment.

The Revolution of the Liberals: Germany

When the revolts of the poor took place in 1848, another revolution was being led by the educated middle classes. In some other parts of Europe, independent nation-states did not yet exist, e.g. Germany, Italy, Poland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Men and women of the liberal middle classes from these parts raised demands for national unification and a constitution. They demanded the creation of a nation-state on parliamentary principles. They wanted a constitution, freedom of press and freedom of association.

Frankfurt Parliament: In German regions, there were a large number of political associations whose members were middle class professionals, businessmen and prosperous artisans. They came together in the city of Frankfurt and decided to vote for an all-German National Assembly. On 18 May 1848, 831 elected representatives took out a festive procession to take part in the Frankfurt parliament which was convened in the Church of St. Paul. They drafted a constitution for a German nation. This German nation was to be headed by a monarchy subject to a parliament. Friedrich Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia was offered the crown on these terms. But he rejected the offer and joined other monarchs to oppose the elected assembly.

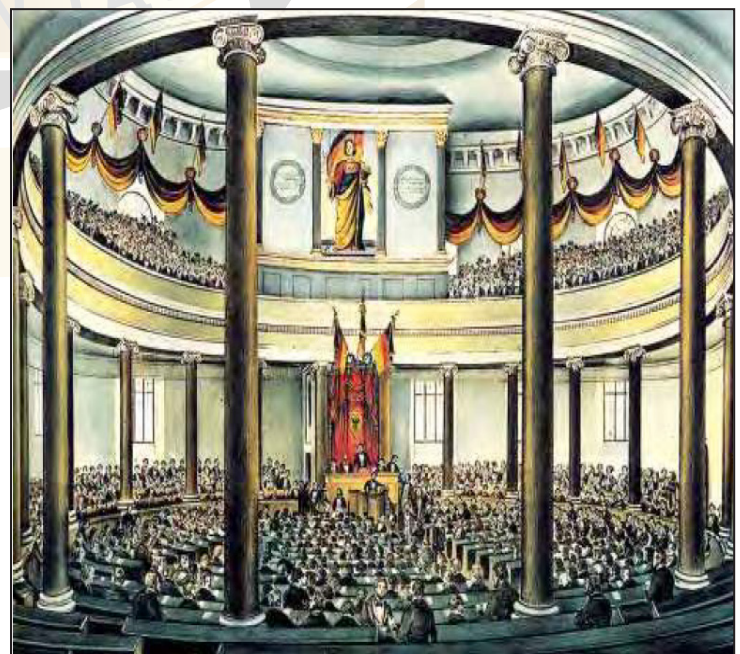


Fig. 10 – The Frankfurt parliament in the Church of St Paul. Contemporary colour print. Notice the women in the upper left gallery.

The opposition of the aristocracy and military to the parliament grew stronger. Meanwhile, the social base of the parliament eroded because it was dominated by the middle classes. The middle class resisted the demands of workers and artisans and thus lost their support. Finally, troops were called in and the assembly was forced to disband.

Women also participated in large numbers in the liberal movement. In spite of that, they were denied the voting rights during the election of the Assembly. When the Frankfurt parliament convened in the Church of St Paul, women were allowed only as observers to stand in the visitors' gallery.

Although the liberal movements were suppressed by the conservative forces but the old order could not be restored. In the years after 1848, the monarchs began to realize that granting concessions to the liberal-nationalist revolutionaries was the only way to end the cycle of revolution and repression. Hence, the monarchies of Central and Eastern Europe began to introduce changes which had already taken place in Western Europe before 1815.

Serfdom and bonded labour was abolished both in the Habsburg dominions and in Russia. The Habsburg rulers granted more autonomy to the Hungarians in 1867.

The liberal movement of the middle-classes in Germany had earlier been repressed by the combined forces of the monarchy and the military. This repression was also supported by the large landowners (called junkers) of Prussia. After that, Prussia took on the leadership of the movement for national unification.

The Strange Case of Britain

The formation of nation state in Britain did not happen because of a sudden upheaval or revolution. It was the result of a long-drawn-out process. Before the eighteenth century, there was no British nation. The British Isles were divided into different ethnicities; like English, Welsh, Scot or Irish. Each ethnic group had its own cultural and political traditions.

The English nation steadily grew in wealth, importance and power. Thus it was able to extend its influence on the other nations of the islands. The English parliament seized power from the monarchy in 1688 after a prolonged conflict. The English parliament was instrumental in forging the nation-state of Britain. The Act of Union (1707) between England and Scotland resulted in the formation of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain'. In this Union, England was the dominant partner and thus the British parliament was dominated by its English members.

The British identity grew at the peril of Scottish culture and political institutions. The Scottish Highlands were inhabited by the Catholic clans. They felt terrible repression whenever they attempted to assert their independence. They were forbidden to speak their Gaelic language or wear their traditional dress. Many of them were forcibly driven out of their homeland.

Ireland suffered a similar fate. It was a country deeply divided between Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants of Ireland established their dominance over the majority Catholics through the English help. There was a failed revolt led by Wolfe Tone and his United Irishmen in 1798. After that, Ireland was forcibly incorporated into the United Kingdom in 1801. The English culture was propagated forcefully to forge a new 'British Nation'. The older nations survived only as subordinate partners in this union.

Expansion and Crisis in the United States

The United States had won its independence from Britain in 1783. At the end of the Revolutionary War, the Mississippi River marked the western boundary of the new republic. As the original United States filled with settlers, land hungry newcomers pushed beyond the Mississippi, looking for opportunity. The government helped them by acquiring new territory for settlement.

Americans Move Westward

Piece by piece, the United States added new territory. In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson bought the Louisiana Territory from France. The Louisiana Purchase nearly doubled the size of the new republic and extended its boundary to the Rocky Mountains. In 1819, Spain gave up Florida to the United States. In 1846, a treaty with Great Britain gave the United States part of the Oregon Territory. In the north, the nation now stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean.

War with Mexico

Meanwhile, the United States had entered a war with Mexico over Texas. When Mexico had gained its independence from Spain in 1821, it included the lands west of the Louisiana Purchase—from Texas to California. Many American settlers moved into these areas, with Mexico's acceptance. Some settlers were unhappy with Mexico's rule. The largest number of American settlers was in the Mexican territory of Texas. In 1836, Texans revolted against Mexican rule. For nine and-a-half years, Texas was an independent country. Then, in 1845, the United States annexed Texas. Mexico responded angrily to what it believed was an act of aggression.

Between May 1846 and September 1847, war flared between the two countries. In bitter fighting, U.S. troops captured Mexico City and forced Mexico to surrender. As part of the settlement of the Mexican-American War, Mexico ceded, or gave up possession of, territory to the United States. The Mexican Cession included California and a huge amount of territory in the Southwest. A few years later, in 1853, the Gadsden Purchase from Mexico brought the lower continental United States to its present boundaries.

Manifest Destiny

Many Americans eagerly supported their country’s westward expansion. These people believed in **manifest destiny**—the idea that the United States had the right and duty to rule North America from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. Government leaders used manifest destiny as a way of justifying any action that helped white settlers occupy new land. This included evicting Native Americans from their tribal lands.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 made such actions official policy. This law enabled the federal government to force Native Americans living in the East to move to the West. Georgia’s Cherokee tribe challenged the law before the Supreme Court. The Court, however, ruled the suit was invalid. Like many other Native American tribes, the Cherokees had to move. They traveled 800 miles to Oklahoma, mostly on foot, on a journey later called the Trail of Tears. About a quarter of the Cherokees died on the trip.

When the Cherokees reached their destination, they ended up on land far inferior to that which they had been forced to leave. Nor did the trail end there. As whites moved west during the second half of the 19th century, the government continued to push Native Americans off their land to make room for the new settlers. Eventually, the government demanded that Native Americans abandon most of their lands and move to reservations.

Civil War Tests Democracy

America’s westward expansion raised questions about what laws and customs should be followed in the West. Ever since the nation’s early days, the northern and southern parts of the United States had followed different ways of life. Each section wanted to extend its own way of life to the new territories and states in the West.

North and South

The North had a diversified economy with both farms and industry. For both its factories and farms, the North depended on free workers. The South’s economy, on the other hand, was based on just a few cash crops, mainly cotton. Southern planters relied on slave labor. The economic differences between the two regions led to a conflict over slavery. Many Northerners considered slavery morally wrong. They wanted to outlaw slavery in the new western states. Some wanted to abolish slavery altogether. Most white Southerners believed slavery was necessary for their economy. They wanted laws to protect slavery in the West so that they could continue to raise cotton on the fertile soil there.



The disagreement over slavery fueled a debate about the rights of the individual states against those of the federal government. Southern politicians argued that the states had freely joined the Union, and so they could freely leave. Most Northerners felt that the Constitution of the United States had established the Union once and for all—it could not be broken.

Civil War Breaks Out

Conflict between the North and South reached a climax in 1860, when **Abraham Lincoln** was elected President. Southerners fiercely opposed Lincoln, who had promised to stop the spread of slavery. One by one, Southern states began to **secede**, or withdraw, from the Union. These states came together as the Confederate States of America.



On April 12, 1861, Confederate forces fired on Fort Sumter, a federal fort in Charleston, South Carolina. Lincoln ordered the army to bring the rebel states back into the Union. The **U.S. Civil War** had begun. Four years of fighting followed, most of it in the South.

Although the South had superior military leadership, the North had a larger population, better transportation, greater resources, and more factories to turn out weapons and supplies. These advantages proved too much for the South to overcome. In April 1865, the South surrendered. The United States had survived the toughest test of its democracy.

Abolition of Slavery

From the beginning of the war, Lincoln declared that it was being fought to save the Union and not to end slavery. Lincoln eventually decided that ending slavery would help to save the Union. Early in 1863, he issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**, declaring that all slaves in the Confederate states were free. At first, the proclamation freed no slaves, because the Confederate states did not accept it as law. As Union armies advanced into the South, however, they freed slaves in the lands they conquered.

The Emancipation Proclamation also showed people in Europe that the war was being fought against slavery. The proclamation made many Europeans, especially the British, less sympathetic to the South. They did not send the money and supplies that the South had hoped they would. In the aftermath of the war, the U.S. Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which forever abolished slavery in all parts of the United

States. Soon after, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments extended the rights of citizenship to all Americans, black or white, and guaranteed former slaves the right to vote.

Reconstruction

From 1865 to 1877, Union troops occupied the South and enforced the constitutional protections. This period is called Reconstruction. After federal troops left the South, white Southerners passed laws that limited African Americans' rights and made it difficult for them to vote. Such laws also encouraged **segregation**, or separation, of blacks and whites in the South. African Americans continued to face discrimination in Northern states as well. Decades passed before African Americans made significant progress towards equality with other citizens.

Visualizing the Nation

Artists used female figures to personify a nation. During French Revolution, artists used the female allegory to portray the ideas such as Liberty, Justice and the Republic. In France, the nation was christened as Marianne, which is a popular Christian name for a woman. Her characteristics were drawn from those of Liberty and Republic; the red cap, the tricolour, the cockade. Her statues were erected in public squares and her images were marked on coins and stamps; to persuade the people to identify with it. Germania became the allegory of the German nation. Germania wears a crown of oak leaves. The German oak stands for heroism.

Nationalism and Imperialism

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, nationalism could not retain its idealistic liberal-democratic sentiment. It became a narrow creed with limited ends. The major European powers manipulated the nationalist aspirations of the subject peoples to further their own imperialist aims.

Conflict in the Balkans: Balkans was a region of geographical and ethnic variation comprising modern-day Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro. The inhabitants of this region were broadly known as the Slavs.

A large part of the Balkans was under the control of the Ottoman Empire. This was the period of disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the spread of the ideas of romantic nationalism in the Balkans. These developments made this region very explosive. All through the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire tried to strengthen itself through modernization and internal reforms. But

it could not achieve much success. Its European subject nationalities broke away from its control one by one and declared independence. The Balkans used history and national identity to claim their right of independence. While the Slavic nationalities struggled to define their identity and independence, the Balkan area became an area of intense conflict. In the process, the Balkans also became the scene of big power rivalry.

During this period, there was intense rivalry among the European powers over trade and colonies as well as naval and military might. Each power; Russia, Germany, England, Austro-Hungary; was keen on countering the hold of other powers over the Balkans, and extending its own control over the area. This led to a series of wars in the region and finally culminated in the First World War.

Meanwhile, many countries in the world which had been colonized by the European powers in the nineteenth century began to oppose imperial domination. People of different colonies developed their own variation of nationalism. The idea of 'nation-states' thus became a universal phenomenon.

5. Unification of Germany and of Italy

A) Unification of Italy

While nationalism destroyed empires, it also built nations. Italy was one of the countries to form from the territory of crumbling empires. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Austria ruled the Italian provinces of Venetia and Lombardy in the north, and several small states. In the south, the Spanish Bourbon family ruled the Kingdom of

the Two Sicilies. Nevertheless, between 1815 and 1848, increasing numbers of Italians were no longer content to live under foreign rulers. Amid growing discontent, two leaders appeared—one was idealistic, the other practical. They had different personalities and pursued different goals. But each contributed to the unification of Italy.

The Movement for Unity Begins

In 1832, an idealistic 26-year-old Italian named Giuseppe Mazzini organized a nationalist group called Young Italy. No one older than 40 was allowed to join. During the violent year of 1848, revolts broke out in eight states on the Italian peninsula. Mazzini briefly headed a republican government at Rome. He believed that nation-states were the best hope for social justice, democracy, and peace in Europe. However, the 1848 rebellions failed in Italy as they did elsewhere in Europe. The former rulers of the Italian states drove Mazzini and other nationalist leaders into exile.

Sardinia Leads Italian Unification

After 1848, Italian nationalists looked to the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia for leadership. Piedmont-Sardinia was the largest and most powerful of the Italian states. The kingdom had also adopted a liberal constitution in 1848. So, to the Italian middle classes, unification under Piedmont-Sardinia seemed a sensible alternative to Mazzini's democratic idealism.



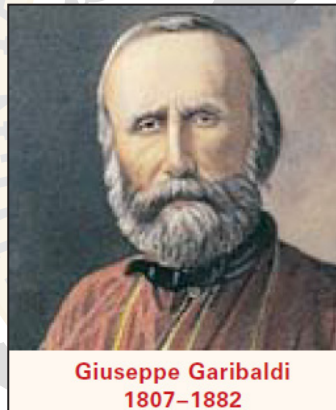
Camillo di Cavour



In 1852, Sardinia's King Victor Emmanuel II named Count **Camillo di Cavour** as his prime minister. Cavour was a wealthy, middle-aged aristocrat, who worked tirelessly to expand Piedmont-Sardinia's power. With careful diplomacy and well-chosen alliances, he achieved that expansion. Almost as a coincidence, he also achieved the unification of Italy. Mazzini distrusted Cavour. He believed correctly that Cavour wanted to strengthen Sardinia's power, not to unite Italy. At first, Cavour's major goal was to get control of northern Italy for Sardinia. He carefully went about achieving this territorial goal through diplomacy and cunning. Cavour realized that the greatest roadblock to annexing northern Italy was Austria. To help him expel the Austrians from the north, Cavour found an ally in France. In 1858, the French emperor Napoleon III agreed to help drive Austria out of the northern provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Cavour soon after provoked a war with Austria. A combined French-Sardinian army won two quick victories against Austria. Sardinia succeeded in taking over all of northern Italy, except Venetia, from the Austrians.

Cavour Looks South

As Cavour was uniting the north of Italy, he began to consider the possibility of controlling the south. He secretly started helping nationalist rebels in southern Italy. In May 1860, a small army of Italian nationalists led by a bold and romantic soldier, **Giuseppe Garibaldi**, captured Sicily. In battle, Garibaldi always wore a bright red shirt, as did his followers. As a result, they became known as the **Red Shirts**.



From Sicily, Garibaldi crossed to the Italian mainland and marched north. Volunteers flocked to his banner. In an election, voters gave Garibaldi permission to unite the southern areas he conquered with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Cavour arranged for King Victor Emmanuel II to meet Garibaldi in Naples. "The Red One" willingly agreed to step aside and let the Sardinian king rule.

Challenges After Unification

In 1866, the Austrian province of Venetia, which included the city of Venice, became part of Italy. In 1870, Italian forces took over the last part of a territory known as the Papal States. The Roman Catholic popes had governed the territory as both its spiritual and earthly rulers. With this victory, the city of Rome came under Italian control. Soon after, Rome became the capital of the united Kingdom of Italy. The pope, however, would continue to govern a section of Rome known as Vatican City.

Despite unification, Italy suffered from many unsolved problems. Centuries of separation had bred fierce rivalries among the different Italian provinces. The greatest tension arose between the industrialized north and the agricultural south. The people of these two regions had very different ways of life, and they scarcely understood each other's versions of the Italian language. In the Italian parliament, disorganized parties with vague policies constantly squabbled.

As a result, prime ministers and cabinets changed frequently. In addition to its political instability, Italy also faced severe economic problems. Bloody peasant revolts broke out in the south. At the same time, strikes and riots troubled the northern cities. Meanwhile, the Italian government could not deal with the country's economic problems. As a result, Italy entered the 20th century as a poor country.

B) Unification of Germany

The Rise of Prussia

Like Italy, Germany also achieved national unity in the mid-1800s. Since 1815, 39 German states had formed a loose grouping called the German Confederation. The two largest states, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Prussia, dominated the confederation. Prussia enjoyed several advantages that would eventually help it forge a strong

German state. First of all, unlike the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Prussia had a mainly German population. As a result, nationalism actually unified Prussia, while ethnic groups in Austria-Hungary tore it apart. Moreover, Prussia's army was by far the most powerful in central Europe. Finally, Prussia industrialized more quickly than other German states.

Prussia Leads German Unification

Like many other European powers, Prussia experienced the disorder of the revolutions of 1848. In that year, Berlin rioters forced the frightened and unstable Prussian king, Frederick William IV, to call a constitutional convention. The convention then drew up a liberal constitution for the kingdom.

In 1861, Wilhelm I succeeded Frederick William to the throne. The strong-minded Wilhelm first moved to reform the army and double the already powerful Prussian military. However, his liberal parliament refused him the money for his reforms.

Wilhelm saw the parliament's refusal as a major challenge to his authority. He was supported in his view by the Junkers), members of Prussia's wealthy landowning

class. The Junkers were strongly conservative and opposed liberal ideas. For that reason, Wilhelm drew all his ministers and army officers from the Junker class. In 1862, to help solve his problem with parliament, Wilhelm chose a conservative Junker named **Otto von Bismarck** as his prime minister. Bismarck was a master of what came to be known as **realpolitik**. This German term means “the politics of reality.” The word described tough power politics with no room for idealism. With realpolitik as his style, Bismarck would become one of the commanding figures of German history.

Unable to persuade parliament to grant Wilhelm’s desires, Bismarck took a dramatic step. With the king’s approval, he declared that he would rule without the consent of parliament and without a legal budget. Those actions were in direct violation of the constitution. In his first speech as prime minister, he defiantly told members of the Prussian parliament, “The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches or by majority decisions—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron.”

Germany Expands

Though he was devoted to country and king, Bismarck was also ambitious. One contemporary described him as a man “who is striving after supreme power, including military power.” By working to expand Prussia, he could satisfy both his patriotism and his desire for power. In 1864, Bismarck took the first step toward moulding an empire. He formed an alliance between Prussia and Austria. They then went to war against Denmark to win two border provinces, Schleswig and Holstein. A quick victory increased national pride among Prussians. It also won new respect from other Germans and lent support for Prussia as head of a unified Germany. After the victory, Prussia governed Schleswig, while Austria controlled Holstein. Bismarck suspected that this arrangement would soon lead to friction between the two powers. And such tensions would suit his plans perfectly.



Bismarck Eliminates Austria

To disable his powerful rival, Bismarck purposely stirred up border conflicts with Austria over Schleswig and Holstein. The tensions provoked Austria into declaring war on Prussia in 1866. This conflict became known as the Seven Weeks' War. As the name suggests, the war was over quickly. The Prussians used their superior train-



ing and equipment to win a smashing victory. They humiliated Austria. The Austrians lost the region of Venetia, which was given to Italy. They also had to accept Prussian annexation of yet more German territory. With its victory in the Seven Weeks' War, Prussia took control of northern Germany. For the first time, the eastern and western parts of the Prussian kingdom were joined. In 1867, the remaining states of the north joined a North German Confederation, which Prussia dominated completely.

The Franco-Prussian War

By 1867, a few southern German states remained independent of Prussia. The majority of southern Germans were Catholics. So, many in the region resisted domination by a Protestant Prussia.

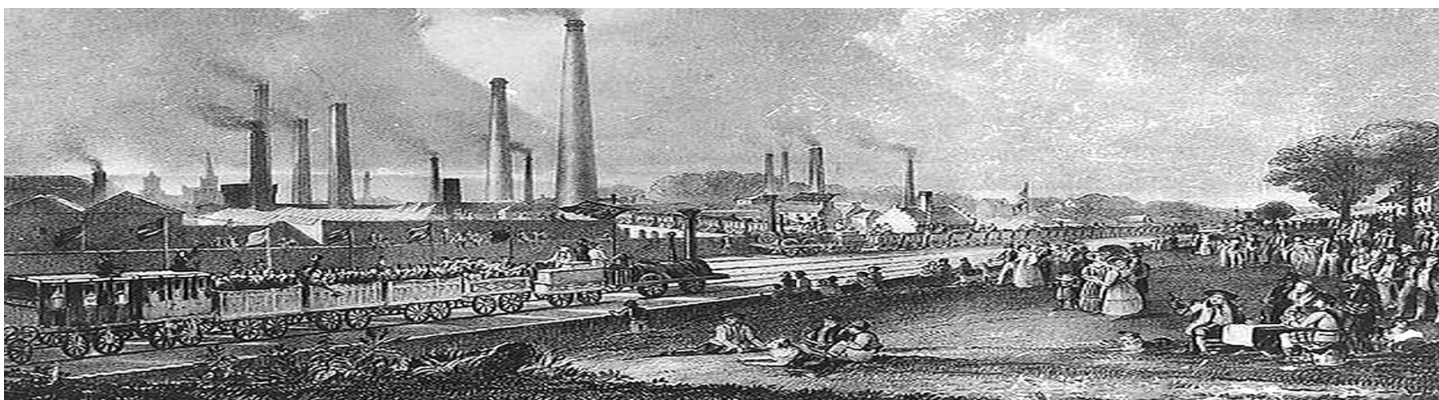
However, Bismarck felt he could win the support of southerners if they faced a threat from outside. He reasoned that a war with France would rally the south. Bismarck was an expert at manufacturing "incidents" to gain his ends. And he was successful with France. He published an altered version of a diplomatic telegram he had received. The telegram gave a false description of a meeting between Wilhelm I and the French ambassador. In the description, Wilhelm seemed to insult the French. Reacting to the insult, France declared war on Prussia on July 19, 1870. At once, the Prussian army poured into northern France. In September 1870, the Prussian army surrounded the main French force at Sedan. Among the 80,000 French prisoners taken was Napoleon III himself—a beaten and broken man. Only Paris held out against the Germans. For four months, Parisians withstood a German siege. Finally, hunger forced them to surrender. The Franco-Prussian War was the final stage in German unification. Now the nationalistic fever also seized people in southern Germany. They finally accepted Prussian leadership. On January 18, 1871, at the captured French palace of Versailles, King Wilhelm

I of Prussia was crowned **kaiser**(KY•zühr), or emperor. Germans called their empire the Second Reich. (The Holy Roman Empire was the first.) Bismarck had achieved Prussian dominance over Germany and Europe "by blood and iron," as he had set out to do.

The Balance of Power Shifts

The 1815 Congress of Vienna established five Great Powers in Europe—Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The wars of the mid-1800s greatly strengthened one of the Great Powers, as Prussia became Germany. In 1815, the Great Powers were nearly equal in strength. By 1871, however, Britain and Germany were clearly the most powerful—both militarily and economically. Austria, Russia, and Italy lagged far behind. France struggled along somewhere in the middle. The European balance of power had broken down. This shift also found expression in the art of the period. In fact, during that century, artists, composers, and writers pointed to paths that European society should follow.

In the United States, France, and Latin America, political revolutions brought in new governments. A different type of revolution now transformed the way people did work. The **Industrial Revolution** refers to the greatly increased output of machine-made goods that began in England during the 18th century. Before the Industrial Revolution, people wove textiles by hand. Beginning in the middle 1700s, machines did this and other jobs as well. The Industrial Revolution started in England and soon spread to Continental Europe and North America.



UNIT E – THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

6. The Industrial Revolution Begins

By 1700, small farms covered England's landscape. Wealthy landowners, however, bought up much of the land that village farmers had once worked. Beginning in the early 1700s, large landowners dramatically improved farming methods. These agricultural changes amounted to an agricultural revolution. They eventually paved the way for the Industrial Revolution.

The Agricultural Revolution

After buying up the land of village farmers, wealthy landowners enclosed their land with fences or hedges. The increase in their landholdings enabled them to cultivate larger fields, using new seeding and harvesting methods. Within these larger fields, called **enclosures**, landowners experimented to discover more productive farming methods to boost crop yields. The enclosure movement had two important results. First, landowners experimented with new agricultural methods. Second, large landowners forced small farmers to become tenant farmers or to give up farming and move to the cities. Jethro Tull was one of the first of these scientific farmers. He saw that the usual way of sowing seed by scattering it across the ground was wasteful. Many of the seeds failed to take root. He solved this problem with an invention called the seed drill in about 1701. The seed drill allowed farmers to sow seeds in well-spaced rows at specific depths. A larger share of the seed germinated, boosting crop yields.

Crop Rotation

The process of **crop rotation** proved to be one of the best developments of the scientific farmers. The process improved upon older methods of crop rotation, such as the medieval three-field system. One year, for example, a farmer might plant a field with wheat, which exhaust-

ed soil nutrients. The next year he planted a root crop, such as turnips, to restore nutrients. This might be followed in turn by barley, then clover. Livestock breeders improved their methods, too. In the 1700s, for example, Robert Bakewell increased his mutton output by allowing only his best sheep to breed. Other farmers followed Bakewell's lead. Between 1700 and 1786 the average weight for lambs climbed from 18 to 50 pounds.

These improvements in farming that began in the early 1700s made up an agricultural revolution. As food supplies increased and living conditions improved, England's population mushroomed. An increasing population boosted the demand for food and goods. As farmers lost their land to large enclosed farms, many became factory workers.

Britain's Advantages Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in England? In addition to a large population of workers, the small island country had extensive natural resources. And **industrialization**—the process of developing machine production of goods—required such resources. These natural resources included 1) water power and coal to fuel the new machines; 2) iron ore to construct machines, tools, and buildings; 3) rivers for inland transportation; 4) harbors from which its merchant ships set sail.

Economic Strength and Political Stability In addition to its natural resources, Britain had an expanding economy to support industrialization. Businesspeople invested in the manufacture of new inventions. Britain's highly developed banking system also contributed to the country's industrialization. People were encouraged by the availability of bank loans to invest in new machinery and expand their operations. Growing overseas trade, economic prosperity, and a climate of progress contributed to the increased demand for goods.

Britain's political stability gave the country a tremendous advantage over its neighbors. Though Britain took part in many wars during the 1700s, none of these struggles occurred on British soil. Furthermore, their military and political successes gave the British a positive attitude. Parliament also passed laws that protected business and helped expansion.

Other countries had some of these advantages. However, Britain had all the **factors of production**. These were the resources needed to produce goods and services that the Industrial Revolution required. They included land, labor, and capital (or wealth).

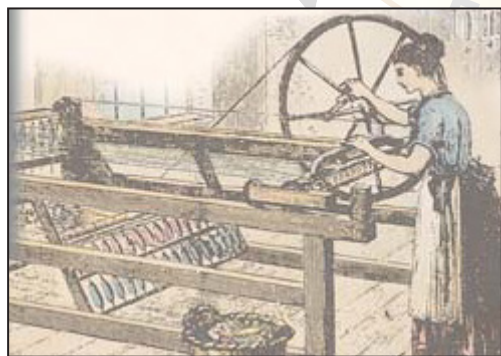
6.1 Role of Technology in the Revolution

The Industrial Revolution that began in Britain was spurred by a revolution in technology. This is most obvious in the textile industry where inventions in the late 1700s transformed the manufacture of cloth. These developments, in turn, had an impact on the rest of the world. For example, England's cotton came from plantations in the American South, where cotton production skyrocketed from 1790 to 1810 in response to demand from the textile mills of England.

Inventions Spur Technological Advances

In an explosion of creativity, inventions now revolutionized industry. Britain's textile industry clothed the world in wool, linen, and cotton. This industry was the first to be transformed. Cloth merchants boosted their profits by speeding up the process by which spinners and weavers made cloth.

Major Inventions in the Textile Industry



By 1800, several major inventions had modernized the cotton industry. One invention led to another. In 1733, a machinist named John Kay made a shuttle that sped back and forth on wheels. This flying shuttle, a boat-shaped piece of wood to which yarn was attached, doubled the work a weaver could do in a day. Because spinners could not keep up with these speedy weavers, a cash prize attracted contestants to produce a better spinning machine. Around 1764, a textile worker named

James Hargreaves invented a spinning wheel he named after his daughter. Hargreaves's spinning jenny allowed one spinner to work eight threads at a time. At first, textile workers operated the flying shuttle and the spinning jenny by hand. Richard Arkwright invented the water frame in 1769. The machine used the waterpower from rapid streams to drive spinning wheels. In 1779, Samuel Crompton combined features of the spinning jenny and the water frame to produce the spinning mule. The spinning mule made thread that was stronger, finer, and more consistent than earlier spinning machines. Run by waterpower, Edmund Cartwright's power loom sped up weaving after its invention in 1787. The water frame, the spinning mule, and the power loom were bulky and expensive machines. They took the work of spinning and weaving out of the house. Wealthy textile merchants set up the machines in large buildings called **factories**. At first, the new factories needed waterpower, so they were built near sources of water such as rivers and streams.

England's cotton came from plantations in the American South in the 1790s. Removing seeds from the raw cotton by hand was hard work. In 1793, an American inventor named Eli Whitney invented a machine to speed the chore. His cotton gin multiplied the amount of cotton that could be cleaned. American cotton production skyrocketed from 1.5 million pounds in 1790 to 85 million pounds in 1810.

Improvements in Transportation

Progress in the textile industry spurred other industrial improvements. The first such development, the steam engine, stemmed from the search for a cheap, convenient source of power. The earliest steam engine was used in mining as early as 1705. But this early model gobbled great quantities of fuel, making it expensive to run. James Watt, a mathematical instrument maker at the University of Glasgow in Scotland, thought about the problem for two years. In 1765, Watt figured out a way to make the steam engine work faster and more efficiently while burning less fuel. In 1774, Watt joined with a businessman named Matthew Boulton. This **entrepreneur**--a person who organizes, manages, and takes on the risks of a business--paid Watt a salary and encouraged him to build better engines.

Water Transportation

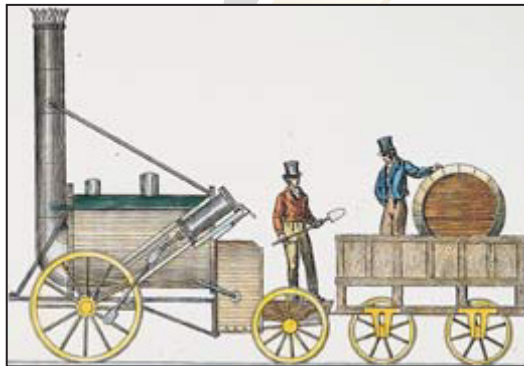
Steam could also be used to propel boats. An American inventor named Robert Fulton ordered a steam engine from Boulton and Watt. After its first successful trip in 1807, Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, ferried passengers up and down New York's Hudson River. In England, water transportation improved with the creation of a

network of canals, or human-made waterways. By the mid-1800s, 4,250 miles of inland channels slashed the cost of transporting raw materials.

Road Transportation

British roads improved, too, thanks largely to the efforts of John McAdam, a Scottish engineer. Working in the early 1800s, McAdam equipped roadbeds with a layer of large stones for drainage. On top, he placed a carefully smoothed layer of crushed rock. Even in rainy weather heavy wagons could travel over the new “macadam” roads without sinking in mud. Private investors formed companies that built roads and then operated them for profit. People called the new roads turnpikes because travelers had to stop at tollgates (turnstiles or turnpikes) to pay a toll before traveling farther.

The Railway Age Begins



Steam-driven machinery propelled English factories in the late 1700s. A steam engine on wheels—the railroad locomotive—drove English industry after 1820. In 1804, an English engineer named Richard Trevithick won a bet of several thousand dollars. He did this by hauling ten tons of iron over nearly ten miles of track in a steam-driven locomotive. Other British engineers soon built improved versions of Trevithick’s locomotive. One of these early railroad engineers was George Stephenson. He had gained a solid reputation by building some 20 engines for mine operators in northern England. In 1821, Stephenson began work on the world’s first railroad line. It was to run 27 miles from the Yorkshire coalfields to the port of Stockton on the North Sea. In 1825, the railroad opened. It used four locomotives that Stephenson had designed and built.

The Liverpool-Manchester Railroad

News of this success quickly spread throughout Britain. The entrepreneurs of northern England wanted a railroad line to connect the port of Liverpool with the inland city of Manchester. The track was laid. In 1829 trials were held to choose the best locomotive for use on the new line. Five engines entered the competition. None

could compare with the *Rocket*, designed by Stephenson and his son. Smoke poured from its tall smokestack and its two pistons pumped to and fro as they drove the front wheels. The *Rocket* hauled a 13-ton load at an unheard-of speed—more than 24 miles per hour. The Liverpool-Manchester Railway opened officially in 1830. It was an immediate success.

Railroads Revolutionize Life in Britain

First, railroads spurred industrial growth by giving manufacturers a cheap way to transport materials and finished products. Second, the railroad boom created hundreds of thousands of new jobs for both railroad workers and miners. These miners provided iron for the tracks and coal for the steam engines. Third, the railroads boosted England’s agricultural and fishing industries, which could transport their products to distant cities. Finally, by making travel easier, railroads encouraged country people to take distant city jobs. Also, railroads lured city dwellers to resorts in the countryside. Like a locomotive racing across the country, the Industrial Revolution brought rapid and unsettling changes to people’s lives.

6.2 Industrial Development in the United States

The United States possessed the same resources that allowed Britain to mechanize its industries and develop large-scale factories. America also had rushing rivers, rich deposits of coal and iron ore, and a supply of immigrant laborers. During the War of 1812, Britain blockaded the United States in an attempt to keep it from engaging in international trade. This blockade forced the young country to use its own resources to develop independent industries. Those industries would manufacture the goods the United States could no longer import.

Industrialization in the United States

As in Britain, industrialization in the United States began in the textile industry. Eager to keep the secrets of industrialization to itself, Britain had forbidden engineers, mechanics, and toolmakers to leave the country. In 1789, however, a young British mill worker named Samuel Slater emigrated to the United States. There Slater built a spinning machine from memory and a partial design. The following year, Moses Brown opened the first factory in the United States to house Slater’s machines in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. But the Pawtucket factory mass-produced only one part of finished cloth, the thread.

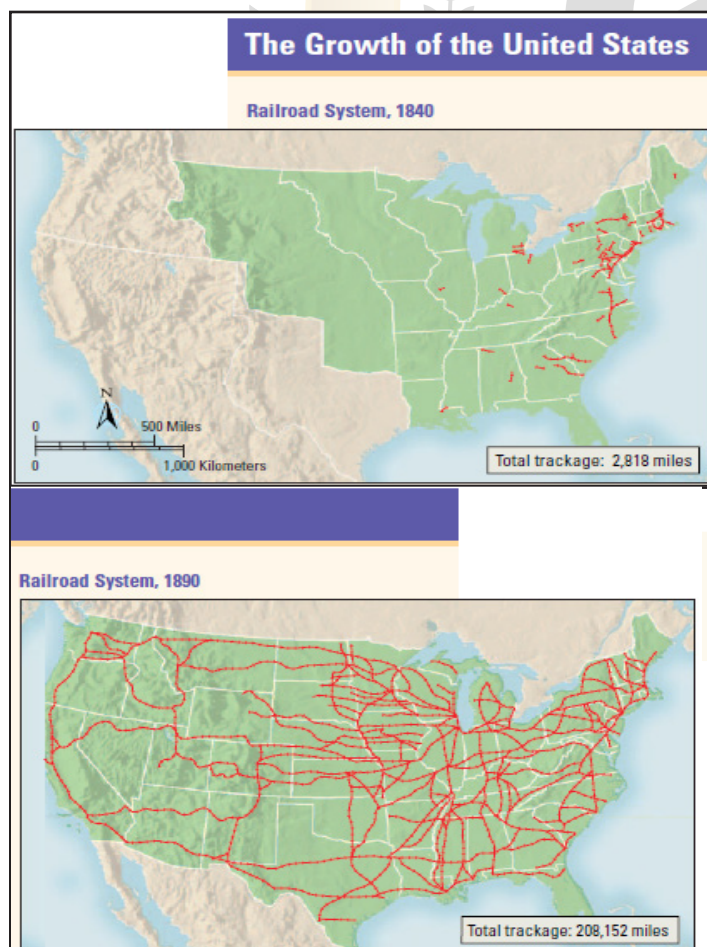
In 1813, Francis Cabot Lowell and four other investors revolutionized the American textile industry. They mechanized every stage in the manufacture of cloth. Their weaving factory in Waltham, Massachusetts, earned the

partners enough money to fund a larger operation in another Massachusetts town. When Francis Lowell died, the remaining partners named the town after him. By the late 1820s, Lowell, Massachusetts, had become a booming manufacturing center and a model for other such towns.

Thousands of workers, mostly young single women, flocked from their rural homes to work as mill girls in factory towns like Lowell. To ensure proper behavior, the young women were watched closely inside and outside the factory. The mill girls toiled over 12 hours a day, six days a week, for decent wages. For some young women, the mill job meant a welcome alternative to becoming a servant, often the only other job open to them.

Textiles led the way, but clothing manufacture and shoe-making also underwent mechanization. Especially in the Northeast, skilled workers and farmers had formerly worked at home. Now they labored in factories in towns and cities such as Waltham, Lowell, and Lawrence, Massachusetts.

Later Expansion of U.S. Industry



There was a great deal of industrial growth in the Northeast in the early 1800s. Nonetheless, the United States remained primarily an agricultural nation until the Civil

War ended in 1865. During the last third of the 1800s, however, the country experienced a technological boom. As in Britain, a number of causes contributed to this boom. These included a wealth of natural resources, among them oil, coal, and iron; a burst of inventions, such as the electric light bulb and the telephone; and a swelling urban population that consumed the new manufactured goods. Also as in Britain, railroads played a major role in America's industrialization. Cities like Chicago and Minneapolis expanded rapidly during the late 1800s. This was due to their location along the nation's expanding railroad lines. Chicago's stockyards and Minneapolis's grain industries prospered by selling their products to the rest of the country. Indeed, the railroads themselves proved to be a profitable business. By the end of the 1800s, a limited number of large, powerful companies controlled over two-thirds of the nation's railroad tracks. Businesses of all kinds began to merge as the railroads had. Smaller companies joined together to form a larger one. Building large businesses like railroads required a great deal of money. To raise the money, entrepreneurs sold shares of stock. People who bought stock became part-owners of these businesses called corporations.

A **corporation** is a business owned by stockholders who share in its profits but are not personally responsible for its debts. In the late 1800s large corporations such as Standard Oil (founded by John D. Rockefeller) and the Carnegie Steel Company (founded by Andrew Carnegie) sprang up. They sought to control every aspect of their own industries in order to make big profits. Big business—the giants that controlled entire industries—also made big profits by cutting the cost of producing goods. While workers earned small wages for long hours at hard labor, stockholders earned high profits and corporate leaders made fortunes.

6.3 Industrialization Reaches Continental Europe

European businesses yearned to adopt the “British miracle,” the result of Britain's profitable new methods of manufacturing goods. Yet the troubles sparked by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars had halted trade, interrupted communication, and caused inflation in some parts of the continent. European countries were absorbed in the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars between 1789 and 1815. They watched the gap widen between themselves and Britain. Nonetheless, industrialization eventually reached continental Europe.

Beginnings in Belgium

Belgium led Europe in adopting Britain's new technology. Belgium had rich deposits of iron and coal as well as fine waterways for transportation. Samuel Slater had smuggled to the United States the design of a spinning machine. Like him, British skilled workers played a key role in carrying industrialization to Belgium. A Lancashire carpenter named William Cockerill made his way to Belgium in 1799. He carried secret plans for building spinning machinery. Cockerill's son John eventually built an enormous industrial enterprise in eastern Belgium. It produced machinery, steam engines, and railway locomotives. Carrying the latest British advances, more British workers came to work with Cockerill. Several then founded their own companies in Europe.

Germany Industrializes

Germany was a politically divided empire. Economic isolation and scattered resources hampered countrywide industrialization in the early 1800s. Instead, pockets of industrialization appeared, as in the coal-rich Ruhr Valley of west-central Germany. Beginning around 1835, Germany began to copy the British model. Germany imported British equipment and engineers. German manufacturers also sent their children to England to learn industrial management. Most important, Germany built railroads that linked its growing manufacturing cities, such as Frankfurt, with the Ruhr Valley's coal and iron deposits. In 1858, a German economist wrote, "Railroads and machine shops, coal mines and iron foundries, spinneries and rolling mills seem to spring up out of the ground, and smokestacks sprout from the earth like mushrooms." Germany's economic strength spurred its ability to develop as a military power. By the late 19th century, Germany had become both an industrial and a military giant.

Expansion throughout Europe

In the rest of Europe, as in Germany, industrialization during the early 1800s proceeded by region rather than by country. Even in countries where agriculture dominated, pockets of industrialization arose. For example, Bohemia developed its spinning industry. Spain's Catalonia processed more cotton than Belgium. Northern Italy mechanized its textile production, specializing in silk spinning. Serf labor ran factories in regions around Moscow and St. Petersburg. In France, continual industrial growth occurred only after 1850, when the central government constructed railroads. These railroads created a thriving national market for new French products.

For a variety of reasons, many European countries did

not industrialize. In some nations, the social structure delayed the adoption of new methods of production. The accidents of geography held back others. In Austria-Hungary and Spain, transportation posed great obstacles. Austria-Hungary's mountains defeated railroad builders. Spain lacked both good roads and waterways for canals.

6.4 Worldwide Impact of Industrialization

The Industrial Revolution shifted the world balance of power. It promoted competition between industrialized nations and increased poverty in less developed nations.

Rise of Global Inequality

Industrialization widened the gap between industrialized and non-industrialized countries, even while it strengthened their economic ties. To keep factories running and workers fed, industrialized countries required a steady supply of raw materials from less developed lands. In turn, industrialized countries viewed poor countries as markets for their manufactured products. A large inequality developed between the industrialized West and the rest of the world. Britain led in exploiting its overseas colonies for resources and markets. Soon other European countries, the United States, Russia, and Japan followed Britain's lead, seizing colonies for their economic resources. Imperialism, the policy of extending one country's rule over many other lands, gave even more power and wealth to these already wealthy nations. Imperialism was born out of the cycle of industrialization, the development of new markets around the world, and the need for resources to supply the factories of Europe. (See Chapter 27.)

Transformation of Society Between 1700 and 1900, revolutions in agriculture, production, transportation, and communication changed the lives of people in Western Europe and the United States. Industrialization gave Europe tremendous economic power. Much of Europe was gaining the capability to produce many goods faster and more cheaply. In contrast, the economies of Asia and Africa were still based on agriculture and small workshops. The industrialization that took place in the 1700s and 1800s revolutionized every aspect of society, from daily life to life expectancy. Despite the hardships early urban workers suffered, population, health, and wealth eventually rose dramatically in all industrialized countries. The development of a middle class created great opportunities for education and democratic participation. Greater democratic participation, in turn, fueled a powerful movement for social reform.

7. Age of reforms

In industrialized countries in the 1800s, many business leaders believed that progress opened a gap between rich and poor. These leaders cautioned governments to stay out of business and economic affairs. Reformers, however, felt that governments should play an active role in bettering conditions for the poor.

The Philosophers of Industrialization

The term **laissez faire** refers to the economic policy of letting owners of industry and business set working conditions without interference. That policy favors a free market unregulated by the government. The term comes from a French phrase that means “let do,” and by extension, “let people do as they please.”

Laissez-faire Economics

Laissez faire stemmed from French economic philosophers of the 18th-century Enlightenment. They criticized the idea that nations grow wealthy by placing heavy tariffs on foreign goods. In fact, they argued, government regulations only interfered with the production of wealth. These philosophers believed that if the government allowed free trade—the flow of commerce in the world market without government regulation—the economy would prosper.

Adam Smith, a professor at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, defended the idea of a free economy, or free markets, in his 1776 book *The Wealth of Nations*. According to Smith, economic liberty guaranteed economic progress. Smith claimed that government need not interfere in the economy.

The Ideas of Malthus and Ricardo

Economists Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo supported Smith’s basic ideas. Like Smith, they believed that natural laws governed economic life. Their important ideas were the foundation of laissez-faire capitalism. **Capitalism** is an economic system in which money is invested in business ventures with the goal of making a profit. These ideas helped bring about the Industrial Revolution.

In *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, written in 1798, Thomas Malthus argued that population tended to increase more rapidly than the food supply. Without

wars and epidemics to kill off the extra people, most were destined to be poor and miserable. The predictions of Malthus seemed to be coming true in the 1840s. David Ricardo, a wealthy stockbroker, took Malthus’s theory one step further in his book, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817). Like Malthus, Ricardo believed that a permanent underclass would always be poor. In a market system, if there are many workers and abundant resources, then labor and resources are cheap. If there are few workers and scarce resources, then they are expensive. Ricardo believed that wages would be forced down as population increased. Laissez-faire thinkers such as Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo opposed government efforts to help poor workers. They thought that creating minimum wage laws and better working conditions would upset the free market system, lower profits, and undermine the production of wealth in society.

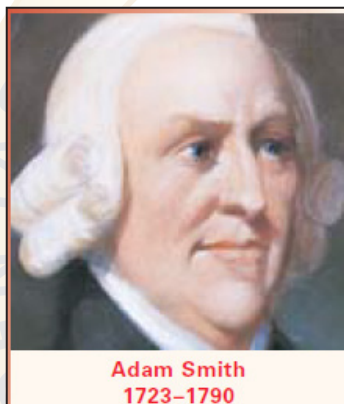
Rise of Socialism

In contrast to laissez-faire philosophy, which advised governments to leave business alone, other theorists believed that governments should intervene. These thinkers believed that wealthy people or the government must take action to improve people’s lives.

Utilitarianism

Modifying the ideas of Adam Smith, an English philosopher named Jeremy Bentham introduced the philosophy of **utilitarianism**. Bentham wrote his most influential works in the late 1700s. He argued that people should judge ideas, institutions, and actions on the basis of their utility, or usefulness. He argued that the government should try to promote the greatest good for the greatest number of people. A government policy was only useful if it promoted this goal. Bentham argued that in general the individual should be free to pursue his or her own advantage without interference from the state.

John Stuart Mill, a philosopher and economist, led the utilitarian movement in the 1800s. Mill came to question unregulated capitalism. He believed it was wrong that workers should lead deprived lives that sometimes bordered on starvation. Mill wished to help ordinary working people with policies that would lead to a more equal division of profits. He also favored a cooperative system of agriculture and women’s rights, including the right to vote. Mill called for the government to do away with great differences in wealth. Utilitarians also pushed for reforms in the legal and prison systems and in education.



Adam Smith
1723–1790



Jeremy Bentham

Utopian Ideas

Other reformers took an even more active approach. Shocked by the misery and poverty of the working class, a British factory owner named Robert Owen improved working conditions for his employees. Near his cotton mill in New Lanark, Scotland, Owen built houses, which he rented at low rates. He prohibited children under ten from working in the mills and provided free schooling. Then, in 1824, he traveled to the United States. He founded a cooperative community in New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. He intended this community to be a utopia, or perfect living place. New Harmony only lasted three years. However, it inspired the founding of other communities.

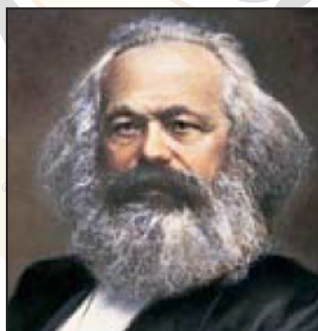
Socialism and Marxism

French reformers such as Charles Fourier, Saint-Simon, and others sought to offset the effects of industrialization with a new kind of economic system called socialism. In **socialism**, the factors of production are owned by the public and operate for the welfare of all. Socialism grew out of an optimistic view of human nature, a belief in progress, and a concern for social justice.

Socialists argued that the government should actively plan the economy rather than depending on free-market capitalism to do the job. They argued that government control of factories, mines, railroads, and other key industries would abolish poverty and promote equality. Public ownership, they believed, would help the workers, who were at the mercy of greedy employers.

The Communist Manifesto

The writings of a German journalist named Karl Marx introduced the world to a radical type of socialism called Marxism. Marx and Friedrich Engels, a German whose father owned a textile mill in Manchester, outlined their ideas in a 23 page pamphlet called *The Communist Manifesto*. In their manifesto, Marx and Engels argued that human societies have always been divided into warring classes. In their own time, these were the middle-class “haves” or employers, called the bourgeoisie, and the “have-nots” or workers, called the proletariat. While the wealthy controlled the means of producing goods, the poor performed backbreaking labor under terrible conditions.



Karl Marx
1818–1883

According to Marx and Engels, the Industrial Revolution had enriched the wealthy and impoverished the poor. The two writers predicted that the workers would overthrow the owners: “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite.”

The Future According to Marx

Marx believed that the capitalist system, which produced the Industrial Revolution, would eventually destroy itself in the following way. Factories would drive small artisans out of business, leaving a small number of manufacturers to control all the wealth. The large proletariat would revolt, seize the factories and mills from the capitalists, and produce what society needed. Workers, sharing in the profits, would bring about economic equality for all people. The workers would control the government in a “dictatorship of the proletariat.” After a period of cooperative living and education, the state or government would wither away as a classless society developed. Marx called this final phase pure communism. Marx described **communism** as a form of complete socialism in which the means of production—all land, mines, factories, railroads, and businesses—would be owned by the people. Private property would in effect cease to exist. All goods and services would be shared equally. Published in 1848, *The Communist Manifesto* produced few short-term results. Though widespread revolts shook Europe during 1848 and 1849, Europe’s leaders eventually put down the uprisings. Only after the turn of the century did the fiery Marxist pamphlet produce explosive results. In the 1900s, Marxism inspired revolutionaries such as Russia’s Lenin, China’s Mao Zedong, Vietnam’s Ho Chi Minh, and Cuba’s Fidel Castro. These revolutionary leaders adapted Marx’s beliefs and arguments to their own specific situations and needs. In their pamphlet, Marx and Engels condemned the inequalities of early industrial economies. Yet several of Marx’s and Engels’s predictions have since proved wrong.

They believed that economic forces alone dominated society. Time has shown, however, that religion, nationalism, ethnic loyalties, and a desire for democratic reforms may be as strong influences on history as economic forces. In addition, the gap between the rich and poor within the industrialized countries failed to widen in the way that Marx and Engels predicted, mostly because of the following types of reform.

Capitalism vs. Marxism

Capitalist Ideas

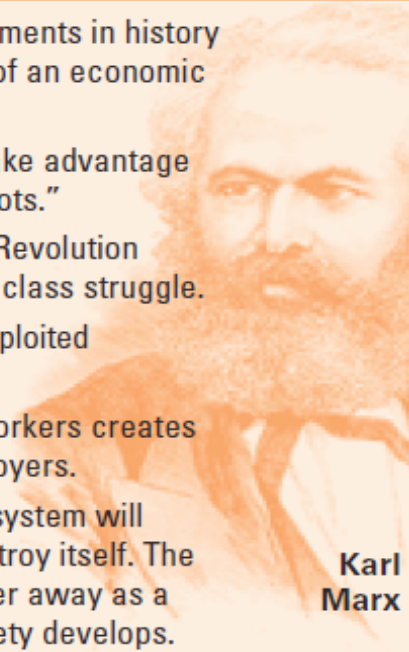


Adam
Smith

- Progress results when individuals follow their own self-interest.
- Businesses follow their own self-interest when they compete with one another for the consumer's money.
- Each producer tries to provide goods and services that are better and less expensive than those of competitors.
- Consumers compete with one another to purchase the best goods at the lowest prices.
- Market economy aims to produce the best products and the lowest prices.
- Government should not interfere in the economy.

Marxist Ideas

- All great movements in history are the result of an economic class struggle.
- The "haves" take advantage of the "have-nots."
- The Industrial Revolution intensified the class struggle.
- Workers are exploited by employers.
- The labor of workers creates profit for employers.
- The capitalist system will eventually destroy itself. The state will wither away as a classless society develops.



Karl
Marx

Unionization and Legislative Reform

Factory workers faced long hours, dirty and dangerous working conditions, and the threat of being laid off. By the 1800s, working people became more active in politics. To press for reforms, workers joined together in voluntary associations called **unions**.

The Union Movement

A union spoke for all the workers in a particular trade. Unions engaged in **collective bargaining**—negotiations between workers and their employers. They bargained for better working conditions and higher pay. If factory owners refused these demands, union members could **strike**, or refuse to work. Skilled workers led the way in forming unions because their special skills gave them extra bargaining power. Management would have trouble replacing such skilled workers as carpenters, printers, and spinners. Thus the earliest unions helped the lower middle class more than they helped the poorest workers. The union movement underwent slow, painful growth in both Great Britain and the United States. For years, the British government denied workers the right to form unions. The government saw unions as a threat to social order and stability. Indeed, the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 outlawed unions and strikes. Bravely ignoring the threat of jail or job loss, factory workers joined unions anyway. Parliament finally repealed the Combination Acts in 1824. After 1825, the British government unhappily tolerated unions.

British unions had shared goals of raising wages and improving working conditions. By 1875, British trade unions had won the right to strike and picket peacefully. They had also built up a membership of about 1 million people.

In the United States, skilled workers had belonged to unions since the early 1800s. In 1886, several unions joined together to form the organization that would become the American Federation of Labor (AFL). A series of successful strikes won AFL members higher wages and shorter hours.

Reform Laws

In both Great Britain and the United States, new laws reformed some of the worst abuses of industrialization. In 1832, for example, Parliament set up a committee to investigate child labor. As a result of this committee's findings, Parliament passed the Factory Act of 1833. The new law made it illegal to hire children under 9 years old. Children from the ages of 9 to 12 could not work more than 8 hours a day. Young people from 13 to 17 could not work more than 12 hours. In 1842 the Mines Act prevented women and children from working underground. In 1847, the Parliament passed a bill that helped working women as well as their children. The Ten Hours Act of 1847 limited the workday to ten hours for women and children who worked in factories. Reformers in the United States also passed legislation to protect child workers. In 1904, a group of progressive reformers orga-

nized the National Child Labor Committee to end child labor. Arguing that child labor lowered wages for all workers, labor union members joined the reformers.

Together these groups pressured national and state politicians to ban child labor and set maximum working hours. The Supreme Court in 1919 had objected to a federal child labor law. However, it did allow individual states to legally limit the working hours of women and, later, of men.

Other Reform Movements

Almost from the beginning, reform movements sprang up in response to the negative impact of industrialization. These reforms included improving the workplace and extending the right to vote to working-class men. The same impulse toward reform, along with the ideals of the French Revolution, also helped to end slavery and promote new rights for women and children.

Abolition of Slavery

William Wilberforce, a highly religious man, was a member of Parliament who led the fight for abolition—the end of the slave trade and slavery in the British Empire. Parliament passed a bill to end the slave trade in the British West Indies in 1807. After he retired from Parliament in 1825, Wilberforce continued his fight to free the slaves. Britain finally abolished slavery in its empire in 1833. British antislavery activists had mixed motives. Some were morally against slavery, such as the abolitionist William Wilberforce. Others viewed slave labor as an economic threat. Furthermore, a new class of industrialists developed who supported cheap labor rather than slave labor. They soon gained power in Parliament. In the United States the movement to fulfill the promise of the Declaration of Independence by ending slavery grew in the early 1800s. The enslavement of African people finally ended in the United States when the Union won the Civil War in 1865. With the end of the U.S. Civil War, enslavement persisted in the Americas only in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Brazil. In Puerto Rico, slavery was ended in 1873. Spain finally abolished slavery in its Cuban colony in 1886. Not until 1888 did Brazil's huge enslaved population win freedom.

Women Fight for Change The Industrial Revolution proved a mixed blessing for women. On the one hand, factory work offered higher wages than work done at home. Women spinners in Manchester, for example, earned much more money than women who stayed home to spin cotton thread. On the other hand, women factory workers usually made only one-third as much money as men. Women led reform movements to ad-

dress this and other pressing social issues. During the mid-1800s, for example, women formed unions in the trades where they dominated. In Britain, some women served as safety inspectors in factories where other women worked. In the United States, college-educated women like Jane Addams ran settlement houses. These community centers served the poor residents of slum neighborhoods.

In both the United States and Britain, women who had rallied for the abolition of slavery began to wonder why their own rights should be denied on the basis of gender. The movement for women's rights began in the United States as early as 1848. Women activists around the world joined to found the International Council for Women in 1888. Delegates and observers from 27 countries attended the council's 1899 meeting.

Reforms Spread to Many Areas of Life In the United States and Western Europe, reformers tried to correct the problems troubling the newly industrialized nations. Public education and prison reform ranked high on the reformers' lists.

One of the most prominent U.S. reformers, Horace Mann of Massachusetts, favored free public education for all children. Mann, who spent his own childhood working at hard labor, warned, "If we do not prepare children to become good citizens . . . if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, then our republic must go down to destruction." By the 1850s many states were starting to establish a system of public schools. In Western Europe, free public schooling became available in the late 1800s.

In 1831, French writer Alexis de Tocqueville had contrasted the brutal conditions in American prisons to the "extended liberty" of American society. Reformers took on the challenge of prison reform, emphasizing the goal of restoring prisoners to useful lives.

During the 1800s, democracy grew in the industrialized countries even as foreign expansion increased. The industrialized western democracies faced new challenges both at home and abroad.

Visual Summary

The Industrial Revolution

Economic Effects

- New inventions and development of factories
- Rapidly growing industry in the 1800s
- Increased production and higher demand for raw materials
- Growth of worldwide trade
- Population explosion and a large labor force
- Exploitation of mineral resources
- Highly developed banking and investment system
- Advances in transportation, agriculture, and communication

Social Effects

- Long hours worked by children in factories
- Increase in population of cities
- Poor city planning
- Loss of family stability
- Expansion of middle class
- Harsh conditions for laborers
- Workers' progress vs. laissez-faire economic attitudes
- Improved standard of living
- Creation of new jobs
- Encouragement of technological progress

Political Effects

- Child labor laws to end abuses
- Reformers urging equal distribution of wealth
- Trade unions
- Social reform movements, such as utilitarianism, utopianism, socialism, and Marxism
- Reform bills in Parliament





UNIT F – COLONIZATION AND IMPERIALISM

8. Colonization and Imperialism

Colonialism is the establishment, exploitation, maintenance, acquisition, and expansion of colonies in one territory by people from another territory. It is a set of unequal relationships between the colonial power and the colony, and often between the colonists and the indigenous population.

The History of Colonialism

Role of Explorations

The explorations or the **Voyages of Discovery at the end of 15th century**, clubbed with the end of Feudalism played an important role in the rise of Colonialism. As early as the 13th century, Marco Polo of Italy discovered China.

The profits from trade increased the attraction of the European ports and the merchants made the ports their center of activity. Soon towns developed in coastal areas of the Mediterranean sea and places like Venice & Genoa increased in prosperity. These coastal towns enjoyed freedom from the rural based system of Feudalism. The serfs were free in these towns and thus migration from the villages to the towns gained pace. The society in these coastal towns was based on money and not land. The Kings, who in the Feudal system were dependent on the subordinate lords for military help and despised the powers of the Feudal Lords and the Church, patronized the merchants by funding their voyages. The merchants in turn aided the King so as to escape the feudal controls where merchants enjoyed little social status and political rights. The monetary profit became the most important reason for explorations, which brought goods that could be sold at home at a much higher margin. E.g. Vasco Da Gama (1498) found the price of pepper in India to be 1/20th of the price in Venice. Spice trade was the most lucrative.

By mid 13th century, Venice emerged as the primary trade port for spices. From Venice, the spices were transported to Western and Northern Europe. Venice became extremely prosperous by charging huge tariffs (*recall Renaissance of 14th century began first in Italy). Geography played an important role. Without direct access to Middle East, the Europeans were forced to pay high prices charged by Venice. Even the wealthy had trouble paying for spices. The routes to the east were known by the name of Silk Routes. Along with Venice, it was the Byzantine Empire with its capital in Constantinople, which acted as a middle man in this trade with the east. These two lay along the trade routes and had power to choke them if they wanted. In 1453, Ottoman Empire defeated the Byzantine Empire and choked/blockaded the sea routes.

The Europeans had to do something about it and this paved the way for Voyages of Discovery at end of 15th century. Thus, before the 16th century it was Italy, which dominated the trade with rest of the world owing to its geographical location and monopoly on the knowledge of sea-routes of commerce. But soon, due to the envy of the prosperous Italian trading cities and the blockade put up by the Ottoman empire, the sailors began journeys with an aim of finding an alternative route to the East. This quest for finding a **North West route** led to the **discovery of Canada** by John Cabot of Britain. With the explorations, gradually the geographical map of the world emerged.

Technical innovations

Technical innovations played an important role in success of explorers in being able to sail to the new lands. By the end of 15th century, innovations in form of **Compass, Astrolabe** (it helps in determining the location of ship), **the Art of Mapping and development of better**

ships that could travel longer, improved the explorer's knowledge of geography of the sea. They were able to develop accurate maps of sea routes and gain knowledge of weather patterns that enabled them to safely reach the new lands. The period around the end of 15th century thus came to be known as the Age of Discovery. Christopher Columbus, funded by Spain, went out in search of India but landed up in Central America in 1492. He had touched the shores of Haiti but mistook it for India. This is why he called the natives as Indians and the islands as Indies.

America was discovered by **Amerigo Vespucci** (& not Columbus) around 1500 AD. The Portuguese also discovered **Philippines** in South East Asia. **These discoveries marked the start of Colonization.** The new found lands were rich in mineral resources and many had very good natural harbours which could be developed into ports that could serve as nodal points of trade. The European merchants sought to establish their setup there i.e. they started to form colonies in these new found lands. Thus came into origin, the word, **Colonization.** The profits from the goods imported from the new found lands of America, Asia and Africa led to a race for exploration. Spain and Portugal were soon joined by the Dutch, France and Britain.

Colonization

The colonization of Asia, Africa and America began with three focuses - **Gold, Glory and God.** While Gold represented the profits from trade, Glory represented the recognition a European power received as a world hegemon. With the flag of the Kingdom came the Missionaries to promote Christianity.

It is to be noted here that the country which dominated in the realm of **sea power** was able to benefit the most out of the Colonial era. A larger fleet of merchant ships was a mark of trade volume and spread across external markets while a strong navy could protect them, attack the vessels of the competitors and block the sea-routes of commerce. The country which was able to have friendly harbors along the trade route in form of Ports of call where the ships could refuel and the crew could rest, had an advantage in the trade competition. Thus, Mercantile capitalism went hand in hand with colonialism, with the latter providing a safe zone for the former to prosper. As mentioned earlier, many new commodities entered the trade basket, and products like potatoes, tobacco, maize and spices, which were hitherto unknown in Europe were traded. The colonies served as sources of raw material to feed the European factories. E.g. Sugar plantations setup in America gave a boost to the sugar industry. Similarly, rice, coffee and cotton resources were also exploited.

The Europeans established trading posts in the coastal areas of the new found lands. The policy of **Mercantile capitalism** involved attacking merchant vessels of other kingdoms, blocking trade routes, setting up colonies, placing trade barriers, monopolizing the trade with the colonies and if unable to colonize, then securing special trading rights with the new found lands so as to have a trade monopoly. The Portuguese had established trade monopoly with Asia after discovery of trade route to India via Cape of Good Hope in 1498 and thus replaced Italian monopoly on trade with the east. Later, the Portuguese were replaced by the Dutch in Indonesia and by the British in India. Afterwards, the military strength and the sea power aided France and Britain to emerge as the major colonial powers.

Impact of Colonialism

On one hand, the European countries saw very rapid increase in trade volume and diversity; while on the other hand, the colonies were ripped off their resources. Europe started importing products like spices, which were new to its market and became very popular. Similar was the case with cotton cloth imported from the east. Spain setup sugar plantations in Central American colonies, while the Portugal put up the plantation system in Brazil. Countries like Holland, which were barren internally made huge profits out of the colonies by providing ships for commerce to Britain and other European countries. On the other hand, the impact of colonialism on the colonies was appalling. South America was colonized by Spain after the Amerigos voyage, which it had funded. The civilization of Aztecs and the Incas were destroyed and their gold and silver plundered. The indigenous Americans were forced to work for the colonists in the mines and farms. The mines of Peru, Bolivia and Mexico were exploited with all the wealth exported out to Spain. Later, the Dutch, the British and the French also came to control parts of America. The objective of Colonialism in Asia was trade profit, while Slave Trade was the main reason in case of Africa. **In Africa**, colonization began early but was limited to the coastal region because the hindrances placed by the geography limited the expansion of colonial empire to the main land Africa.

Slave trade was started by the Portugal as its workers on the plantations were not able to bear the hot and humid climate of Brazil. It hunted down the Black Africans who were physically strong and were used to living in an equatorial climate and brought them to work on plantations. While the Africans worked on the plantations as slaves, the native Americans worked like serfs on the estates of the colonists. Soon the Slave trade was introduced in North America, West Indies and other parts of America by European powers after colonization. Spain introduced

the Slave trade first in Haiti in the Caribbean and then in Florida, Mexico, Chile and other parts of Coastal South America. The Plantation system was mainly put up for production of Sugarcane, tobacco and cotton. The Slave Trade came to be known as the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade and the Triangular Slave Trade as a tripod of America, Africa and Europe was established and the Africans were shipped across the Atlantic to America. The Slave trade continued for 300 years. Initially at the end of 15th century it was the individual merchants, sailors and pirates who conducted the trade but by the end of 16th century the Slave Trading Companies had taken over. The Black Africans were initially hunted from coastal Africa as the interiors were out of bound but after the explorations of the mainland in the 19th century, the slave hunting extended to whole of Africa. The conditions of journey across Atlantic were inhumane and many Africans died during these journeys due to lack of hygiene and crowding. The Industrial Revolution, after 1750, increased the demand for raw materials in England. To increase supply of raw materials from the colonies and with the increasing colonial empire of Britain, the number of Africans traded in the Slave Trade also increased. In the British colony of West Indies nearly 2 million slaves were imported in 100 years. The present demographic profile of America is symptomatic of the extent of slave trade from the 16th to 19th century.

Slavery was ended by France after the French Revolution in 1789 mainly because the revolution was based on ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. The British passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 to end slavery in all of its colonies, while the USA banned it after the civil war (1861-65). The ban on Slavery faced opposition from many quarters. The Dutch settlers of South Africa opposed the ban. Also, the civil war in US was fought between the USA Federal government and the southern states on the issue of slavery. The southern states were opposed to a ban on Slavery and rather desired its extension to the new territories being acquired by USA.

Relation between Colonialism and Mercantile Capitalism

Mercantile Capitalism was the British policy in the 18th century. The idea was that the Government should regulate the economy at home and colonies abroad so as to increase the national power. This amounted to placing trade barriers and monopoly of trade with colonies to British companies, with the aim of having a positive balance of payment. The traders wanted Free Trade Agreements and trade monopolies with countries outside Europe. On opposition from the native chiefs and the rulers, these countries were colonized. In 19th century, there was

a new development. Due to thinkers like Adam Smith, the policy of Laissez Faire was begun to be implemented. It meant less domination of the State in the economic sphere (as during Mercantile Capitalism) and thus a free market economy. It was a free market economy only in the domestic economy. The whole world was not being converted to a free market (as today, in era of MNCs & Globalization). The Imperial powers had special rights in areas of trade and investment over most of their colonies. Companies from other countries did not enjoy equal privileges in these colonies and the contracts of economic projects were secured for companies belonging to the Imperial country. By end of 19th century Laissez Faire declined. British economist Keynes published *The End of Laissez Faire* in 1926. It was due to ills of Laissez Faire-like exploitation of workers and non-intervention of government even when there was a famine (1880 famine in India-government did not intervene)- that it was realized that Laissez Faire cannot be followed blindly and the State has to intervene for ensuring the enjoyment of basic human rights.

Difference between Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism is part of Imperialism and Imperialism is a natural extension of Colonialism in the age of Industrial revolution. Imperialism has the basic feature of political acquisition of a foreign territory. Thus according to some authors, Militarism (which implies invasion of a territory for its annexation) is a must for Imperialism or is a form of Imperialism (because political acquisition can happen without vanquishing or invading a territory but by using it as a threat). In contrast, Colonialism implies domination of people's life and culture. The main goal of colonialism is extraction of economic benefits from the colony while Imperialism includes political control. Thus, colonialism may be done by companies who secure special trading privileges and setup trading posts, while Imperialism is done by the state through government diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates and spheres of influence and to promote industrial trade and investments. Colonialism results in control over life of natives in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. It is more subtle whereas Imperialism is more formal and aggressive. NCERT uses the term Imperialism as distinct from Colonialism. While the nomenclature followed by other authors treat Colonialism equivalent to Imperialism, what the NCERT refers to as Imperialism is called New Imperialism or Neo-Imperialism. The basic dividing line is the era of Industrial Revolution. The events after the Industrial Revolution in the colonial empire building are termed as New Imperialism. Now what was new?

The New in this New-Imperialism, which started after the Industrial Revolution in Europe was the race component. There was also an increase in the degree of every aspect of the Colonial actions. Race signified the economic competition between the European powers to get hands on to as many colonies as possible. It was a race for raw material sources and export markets, both of which would be provided for by the colonies. It was also a race for securing sea-lanes of commerce by either colonizing the ports of call or signing treaties with other nations to provide safe harbours to the merchant vessels. The race component also included a race for naval supremacy and build up of land based military forces. But why this race phenomenon did not occur in as explicit a form before? The answer lies in important factors like Industrial Revolution, which spread to the rest of Europe, USA and Japan in 19th century; the rise of Nationalism which fuelled the national rivalries for quest of economic and military supremacy; and also the decreased geographical space. The last factor is interesting and had important bearing for the world peace. Earlier there was enough territorial space for the European powers to colonize but in the 19th century, except for the interior lands of Africa, nearly the whole world had come under influence of one powerful nation or the other. Thus, now the major powers of the world could only grow at expense of one another. There was brute competition to protect whatever colonies one nation had, and at the same time try to displace the rival colonial power from the other colonies. Here came in the factor of degree. The colonial powers in the New Imperialism had to use greater force to protect their colonial assets and secure own frontiers. This made political control in the colonies much more imperative to ensure an economic control. To secure political control, military was required and thus a peculiar feature of the New Imperialism was the rise of State power. Trading companies like the East India Company were slowly replaced by the their governments.

Definition of New Imperialism

Imperialism is the political and economic domination or exploitation of the non industrialized nations by the industrialized nations. This can be achieved by military conquer or by colonizing the foreign territory i.e. acquiring the foreign territory and then making them dependent. The foreign rulers are a minority and they impose superiority of their race and culture on natives. Next is the question of the features that characterize this phenomenon of Imperialism. The major components of Imperialism can be grouped as Raw Material and Export Markets, Protective Tariffs, Imposition of Free Trade, Drain Theory, Political control of the colonies, Capturing Ports of Call.

The search for raw material and export markets for the surplus produce from factories in the industrialized nations led to a race among the European powers, Japan and USA to have control over colonies. This led to rise of New Imperialism that had feature of race for colonies and spheres of influence. Great Britain was the first to industrialize, post 1750. Other European nations could only industrialize in the latter half of 19th century and thus they could not compete with British exports in the external markets. They introduced protective tariffs to prevent British exports from entering the domestic and foreign markets to protect their own indigenous industry. Even before Industrial Revolution could spread to the rest of Europe, the British as part of Mercantile Capitalism had placed trade and tariff barriers on American colonies to check influence of France, Spain, Portugal and Holland. Thus, the trade with colonies was monopolized by the colonial power. At the same time, the colony was not allowed to implement any protective tariffs for protection of its own indigenous industry and free trade was imposed, whereby no import duties could be levied on the imports from the Colonist nation. The colonies provided for high rate of return for the foreign investment in various sectors like railways and the colonists promoted foreign investment and dissuaded indigenous investment. Above phenomena was very well explained in the Drain Theory deployed by the Indian nationalists like Dadabhai Naoroji. The British had made India into an exporter of raw material and importer of finished goods. The foreign investment ensured that the profits from these investments went into the pockets of foreign investors. The colonies were brought under political control either by direct rule, like in India, or by ruling through intermediaries, like in the princely states of India. Another strategy during Imperialism was of capturing the ports of call i.e. Capture those places where ships could replenish supply of coal and water. The colonists tried conquering islands that were along the sea routes and near the coasts of trading nations.

History of New Imperialism

New Imperialism or 'Neo-Imperialism' as such can be identified as the second wave of imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as distinct from the earlier wave of European colonization from 15th to early 19th centuries. This was a result of Industrial Capitalism. Struggle for independence in some colonies started as the world was moving towards New Imperialism. America had declared independence in 1776, during the American Revolution. The French Revolution inspired independence movements worldwide. Napoleonic wars during the initial years of 19th century weakened Spain and Portugal, and consequently, some of their colonies

in South and Central America declared independence. Mexico became independent in 1821 from Spain. Simon Bolivar freed Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Bolivia from Spain. Brazil became independent from Portugal by 1824. Thus, **there was a temporary period of decline in Imperialism after the French Revolution of 1789, before its rise again in 1870s.** It is pertinent here to provide a summary of factors that led to rise of New Imperialism.

a) **Role of Political Factors:** There was a plurality of political factors behind the emergence of New Imperialism. One of these was the rise of Absolute Monarchies in Italy and Germany, post-unification in 1870s. This absolutism increased the aggression on part of the state. However, New Imperialism cannot be attributed solely to the Absolute Monarchies. In fact, Britain which had democracy had the largest colonial empire. Thus, all industrialized regimes, whether democratic or absolute, engaged in Imperialism. Industrialization increased their hunger, as well as potential, to build their colonial empire. The rulers also saw Imperialism as a tool to maintain political control at home. Military victory over colonies and empire building was not only improving the economy of the colonial power, but raising the prestige of the rulers as well. These two factors, viz. a sound economy and national glory provided legitimacy to their rule. It was due to such reasons, for instance, that Italy and Czarist Russia joined the race for colonies.

b) **Role of Nationalism:** Nationalism rose after the French Revolution (1789). In the era of Industrial Revolution, it soon manifested in form of economic rivalry among the nation states. National rivalries were further fuelled by nationalist ideas propounded by the nationalist thinkers. In Britain, France, Germany and Italy, **nationalism resulted in demands for expansion of colonial empires** during 1868-72. Also, the Absolute Monarchies relied on both Imperialism and Nationalism to divert attention of the public, which was getting exposed to ideas of democracy.

c) **Role of Industrial Revolution/Industrial Capitalism:** Industrial Revolution was one of the major factors in rise of New Imperialism. There was surplus money from trade as well as profits from mass production, after Industrial Revolution. This money was further reinvested for capital formation. The development of transport and communication infrastructure allowed faster movement of goods and people, and development of steam ships reduced the time taken for trading goods around the world. The demand for goods in the domestic markets was also increasing due to rapid increase in European population

in the 19th century. The factories' demand for raw material increased, which led to a search for raw material outside national boundaries. Population pressure in Europe led to search for more colonies where Europeans could settle. Soon, the factories were producing much more than the domestic and existing external markets could absorb. This further increased the attraction of new colonies. Thus, a cycle of more demand for manufactured goods, profits, capital formation, demand for raw material, surplus production and demand for export markets got established and it can be said that the Industrial Capitalism (Capitalism after Industrial Revolution when production of goods was done in factories with machines) gave a thrust to Imperialism.

d) **Increased number of players:** Industrial revolution in rest of Europe, USA and Japan happened after 1870s. The industrialized nations desperately started looking for sources of raw material and export markets.

e) **Decreased Geographical space:** The world was relatively more peaceful till 19th century when there was enough unoccupied space to be colonized and the empires could expand easily. But in 19th century, any further expansion could only occur at expense of another colonial power. Also, the number of players in the 'race' had increased. Thus, colonialism changed into Imperialism as now State's military power and tighter control over colonies was needed to maintain and expand the colonial empire. In the next four decades (from 1870 onward), there was a race for colonies and the only untouched areas, China and Africa, were scrambled among European nations.

f) **Religion and Cultural Factors:** Other factors like aspirations of **Christian Missionaries** to spread Christianity and the notion of **White Man's burden** to spread superior civilization in the backward colonies also played a role. Belgium's King Leopold II used the latter as a garb for exploiting Congo and so was the case with other Imperial powers. However, some good Samaritans actually tried to uplift the life of the people by working for social reforms. Theosophical Society even led the anti-Imperial Home Rule movement in India (1916). Other issues that they dealt with included rights of women and spread of modern education.

9. Colonialism in Africa

Industrialization stirred ambitions in many European nations. They wanted more resources to fuel their industrial production. They competed for new markets for their goods. They looked to Africa and Asia as sources of the raw materials and as markets for cloth, plows, guns, and other industrial products.

Africa Before Imperialism

In the mid-1800s, on the eve of the European domination of Africa, African peoples were divided into hundreds of ethnic and linguistic groups. Most continued to follow traditional beliefs, while others converted to Islam or Christianity. These groups spoke more than 1,000 different languages. Politically, they ranged from large empires that united many ethnic groups to independent villages. The largest empire in West Africa at its peak had a population of about 10 million people.

Although Europeans had established contacts with Africans as early as the 1450s, they actually controlled very little land. Powerful African armies were able to keep the Europeans out of most of Africa for 400 years. As late as 1880, Europeans controlled only 10 percent of the continent's land, mainly on the coast. Furthermore, European travel into the interior on a large-scale basis was virtually impossible. Europeans could not navigate African rivers that had so many rapids and cataracts and drastically changing flows. Until the introduction of steam-powered riverboats, Europeans would not be able to conduct major expeditions into the interior of Africa.

Finally, large networks of Africans conducted trade. These trade networks kept Europeans from controlling the sources of trade items such as gold and ivory. These trade networks were specialized. The Chokwe, for example, devoted themselves to collecting ivory and beeswax in the Angola highlands. Others such as the Yao carried their goods to merchants on the coast.

Nations Compete for Overseas Empires

Those Europeans who did penetrate the interior of Africa tended to be explorers, missionaries, or humanitarians who opposed the slave trade. Europeans and Americans learned about Africa through travel books and newspapers. These publications competed for readers by hiring reporters to search the globe for stories of adventure, mystery, or excitement.

The Congo Sparks Interest

In the late 1860s, David Livingstone, a minister from Scotland, traveled with a group of Africans deep into central Africa. They were searching for the source of the Nile. When several years passed with no word from him or his party, many people feared he was dead. An American newspaper hired reporter Henry Stanley to find Livingstone. In 1871, he found Dr. Livingstone on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. Stanley's account of the meeting made headlines around the world.

In 1879, Stanley returned to Africa, and in 1882 he signed treaties with local chiefs of the Congo River val-

ley. The treaties gave King Leopold II of Belgium personal control of these lands. Leopold claimed that his primary motive in establishing the colony was to abolish the slave trade. However, he licensed companies that brutally exploited Africans, by forcing them to collect sap from rubber plants. The time required to do this interfered with the care of their own food crops. So severe were the forced labor, excessive taxation, and abuses of the native Congolese that humanitarians from around the world demanded changes. In 1908, the Belgian government took over the colony. The Belgian Congo, as the colony later became known, was 80 times larger than Belgium. Leopold's seizure of the Congo alarmed France. Earlier, in 1882, the French had approved a treaty that gave France the north bank of the Congo River. Soon Britain, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were also claiming parts of Africa. **Motives Driving Imperialism** Economic, political, and social forces accelerated the drive to take over land in all parts of the globe. The takeover of a country or territory by a stronger nation with the intent of dominating the political, economic, and social life of the people of that nation is called **imperialism**. The Industrial Revolution provided European countries with a need to add lands to their control. As European nations industrialized, they searched for new markets and raw materials to improve their economies. The race for colonies grew out of a strong sense of national pride as well as from economic competition. Europeans viewed an empire as a measure of national greatness. "All great nations in the fullness of their strength have desired to set their mark upon barbarian lands," wrote the German historian Heinrich von Treitschke, "and those who fail to participate in this great rivalry will play a pitiable role in time to come." As the competition for colonies intensified, each country was determined to plant its flag on as much of the world as possible. Because of their advanced technology, many Europeans basically believed that they were better than other peoples. This belief was **racism**, the idea that one race is superior to others. The attitude was a reflection of a social theory of the time, called **Social Darwinism**. In this theory, Charles Darwin's ideas about evolution and "survival of the fittest" were applied to social change. Those who were fittest for survival enjoyed wealth and success and were considered superior to others. According to the theory, non-Europeans were considered to be on a lower scale of cultural and physical development because they did not have the technology that Europeans had. The push for expansion also came from missionaries who worked to Christianize the peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands. Many missionaries believed that European rule was the best way to end evil practices such as the slave trade. They also wanted to "civilize," that is, to "westernize," the peoples of the foreign land.

Forces Enabling Imperialism

External and internal forces contributed to the Europeans' conquest of Africa. The overwhelming advantage was the Europeans' technological superiority. The Maxim gun, invented in 1889, was the world's first automatic machine gun. European countries quickly acquired the Maxim, while the resisting Africans were forced to rely on outdated weapons. European countries also had the means to control their empire. The invention of the steam engine allowed Europeans to easily travel upstream to establish bases of control deep in the African continent. Railroads, cables, and steamers allowed close communications within a colony and between the colony and its controlling nation. All these made control easier. Even with superior arms and steam engines to transport them, Europeans might still have stayed confined to the coast. Europeans were highly susceptible to malaria. One discovery changed that—the drug quinine. Regular doses of quinine protected Europeans from attacks of this disease caused by mosquitoes. Internal factors also made the European sweep through Africa easier. Africans' huge variety of languages and cultures discouraged unity among

them. Wars fought between ethnic groups over land, water, and trade rights also prevented a unified stand. Europeans soon learned to play rival groups against each other.

Finally, Africans fought at a tremendous disadvantage because they did not have the weapons and technology the Europeans had.

African Lands Become European Colonies

The scramble for African territory began in earnest about 1880. At that time, the French began to expand from the West African coast toward western Sudan. The discoveries of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 in South Africa increased European interest in colonizing the land. No European power wanted to be left out of the race.

Berlin Conference Divides Africa

The competition was so fierce that European countries feared war among themselves. To prevent fighting, 14 European nations met at the **Berlin Conference in 1884–85** to lay down rules for the division of Africa.



They agreed that any European country could claim land in Africa by notifying other nations of their claims and showing they could control the area. The European nations divided the rest of the continent with little thought to how African ethnic or linguistic groups were distributed. No African ruler attended these meetings, yet the conference sealed Africa's fate. By 1914, only Liberia and Ethiopia remained free from European control.

Demand for Product Shapes Colonies

When European countries began colonizing, many believed that Africans would soon be buying European goods in great quantities. They were wrong; European goods were not bought. However, European businesses still needed raw materials from Africa. Businesses eventually developed cash-crop plantations to grow peanuts, palm oil, cocoa, and rubber. These products displaced the food crops grown by farmers to feed their families. The major source of great wealth in Africa proved to be the continent's rich mineral resources. The Belgian Congo contained untold wealth in copper and tin. Even these riches seemed small compared to the gold and diamonds in South Africa.

Three Groups Clash over South Africa

The history of South Africa is a history of Africans, Dutch, and British clashing over land and resources. Although the African lands seemed empty to the Europeans, there were huge areas claimed by various ethnic groups. The local control of these lands, especially in the east, had been in dispute for about 100 years.

Zulu Expansion

From the late 1700s to the late 1800s, a series of local wars shook southern Africa. Around 1816, a Zulu chief, **Shaka**, used highly disciplined warriors and good military organization to create a large centralized state. Shaka's successors, however, were unable to keep the kingdom intact against the superior arms of the British invaders. The Zulu land became a part of British-controlled land in 1887.

Boers and British Settle in the Cape

The Dutch first came to the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 to establish a way station for their ships sailing between the Dutch East Indies and home. Dutch settlers known as **Boers** (Dutch for "farmers") gradually took over native Africans' land and established large farms. When the British took over the Cape Colony in the 1800s, the two groups of settlers clashed over British policy regarding land and slaves. In the 1830s, to escape the British, several thousand Boers began to move north. This movement

has become known as the **Great Trek**. The Boers soon found themselves fighting fiercely with Zulu and other African groups whose land they were taking.

The Boer War Diamonds and gold were discovered in southern Africa in the 1860s and 1880s. Suddenly, "outsiders" from all parts of the world rushed in to make their fortunes. The Boers tried to keep the outsiders from gaining political rights. An attempt to start a rebellion against the Boers failed. The Boers blamed the British. In 1899, the Boers took up arms against the British. In many ways the **Boer War** between the British and the Boers was the first modern "total" war. The Boers launched commando raids and used guerrilla tactics against the British. The British countered by burning Boer farms and imprisoning women and children in disease-ridden concentration camps. Britain won the war. In 1902, the Boer republics were joined into a self-governing Union of South Africa, controlled by the British. The establishing of colonies signaled a change in the way of life of the Africans. The Europeans made efforts to change the political, social, and economic lives of the peoples they conquered.

Colonial Control Takes Many Forms

The imperialism of the 18th and 19th centuries was conducted differently than the empire-building of the 15th and 16th centuries. In the earlier period, imperial powers often did not penetrate far into the conquered areas in Asia and Africa. Nor did they always have a substantial influence on the lives of the people. During this new period of imperialism, the Europeans demanded more influence over the economic, political, and social lives of the people. They were determined to shape the economies of the lands to benefit European economies. They also wanted the people to adopt European customs.

Forms of Colonial Control

Each European nation had certain policies and goals for establishing colonies. To establish control of an area, Europeans used different techniques. Over time, four forms of colonial control emerged: colony, protectorate, sphere of influence, and economic imperialism. In practice, gaining control of an area might involve the use of several of these forms.

Patterns of Imperialist Management

In addition to the external form of control preferred by the colonizing country, European rulers also needed to develop methods of day-to-day management of the colony. Two basic methods of internal management emerged. Britain and other nations such as the United

States in its Pacific Island colonies preferred indirect control. France and most other European nations wielded a more direct control. Later, when colonies gained independence, the management method used had an influence on the type of government chosen in the new nation.

Indirect Control

Indirect control relied on existing political rulers. In some areas, the British asked a local ruler to accept British authority to rule. These local officials handled much of the daily management of the colony. In addition, each colony had a legislative council that included colonial officials as well as local merchants and professionals nominated by the colonial governor. The assumption was that the councils would train local leaders in the British method of government and that a time would come when the local population would govern itself. This happened earlier in the British colonies of South Africa and Canada. In the 1890s, the United States began to colonize. It chose the indirect method of control for its colonies.

Direct Control

The French and other European powers preferred a more direct control of their colonies. They viewed the Africans as children unable to handle the complex business of running a country. Based on this attitude, the Europeans developed a policy called **paternalism**. Using that policy, Europeans governed people in a fatherly way by providing for their needs but not giving them rights. To accomplish this, the Europeans brought in their own bureaucrats and did not train local people in European methods of governing.

The French also supported a policy of **assimilation**. That policy was based on the idea that in time, the local populations would become absorbed into French culture. To aid in the transition, all local schools, courts, and businesses were patterned after French institutions. In practice, the French abandoned the ideal of assimilation for all but a few places and settled for a policy of “association.” They recognized African institutions and culture but regarded them as inferior to French culture. Other European nations used this style of rule but made changes to suit their European culture.

Impact of Colonial Rule

European colonial rule forever altered Africans’ lives. For the most part, the effects were negative, but in some cases the Europeans brought benefits.

On the positive side, colonialism reduced local warfare. Now, under the control of the European military, raids between rival tribes were reduced. Humanitarian efforts

in some colonies improved sanitation and brought hospitals and schools. As a result, life spans increased and literacy rates improved. Also positive was the economic expansion. African products came to be valued on the international market. To aid the economic growth, African colonies gained railroads, dams, and telephone and telegraph lines. But for the most part, these only benefited European business interests, not Africans’ lives.

On the negative side, Africans lost control of their land and their independence. Many died of new diseases such as smallpox. They also lost thousands of their people in resisting the Europeans. Famines resulted from the change to cash crops in place of subsistence agriculture.

Africans also suffered from a breakdown of their traditional cultures. Traditional authority figures were replaced. Homes and property were transferred with little regard to their importance to the people. Men were forced to leave villages to find ways to support themselves and their families. They had to work in mines, on European-owned farms, or on government projects such as railroad building. Contempt for the traditional culture and admiration of European life undermined stable societies and caused identity problems for Africans.

The most troublesome political legacy from the colonial period was the dividing of the African continent. Long-term rival chiefdoms were sometimes united, while at other times, kinship groups were split between colonies. The artificial boundaries that combined or unnaturally divided groups created problems that plagued African colonies during European occupation. These boundaries continue to create problems for the nations that evolved from the former colonies.

The patterns of behavior of imperialist powers were similar, no matter where their colonies were located. Dealing with local traditions and peoples continued to cause problems in other areas of the world dominated by Europeans.

10. Muslim Lands Fall to Imperialist Demands

The European powers who carved up Africa among themselves also looked elsewhere to see what other lands they could control. The Muslim lands that rimmed the Mediterranean had largely been claimed as a result of Arab and Ottoman conquests. Now the Muslim power in those areas was weakening. Europeans competed with each other to gain control of this strategically important area.

Ottoman Empire Loses Power

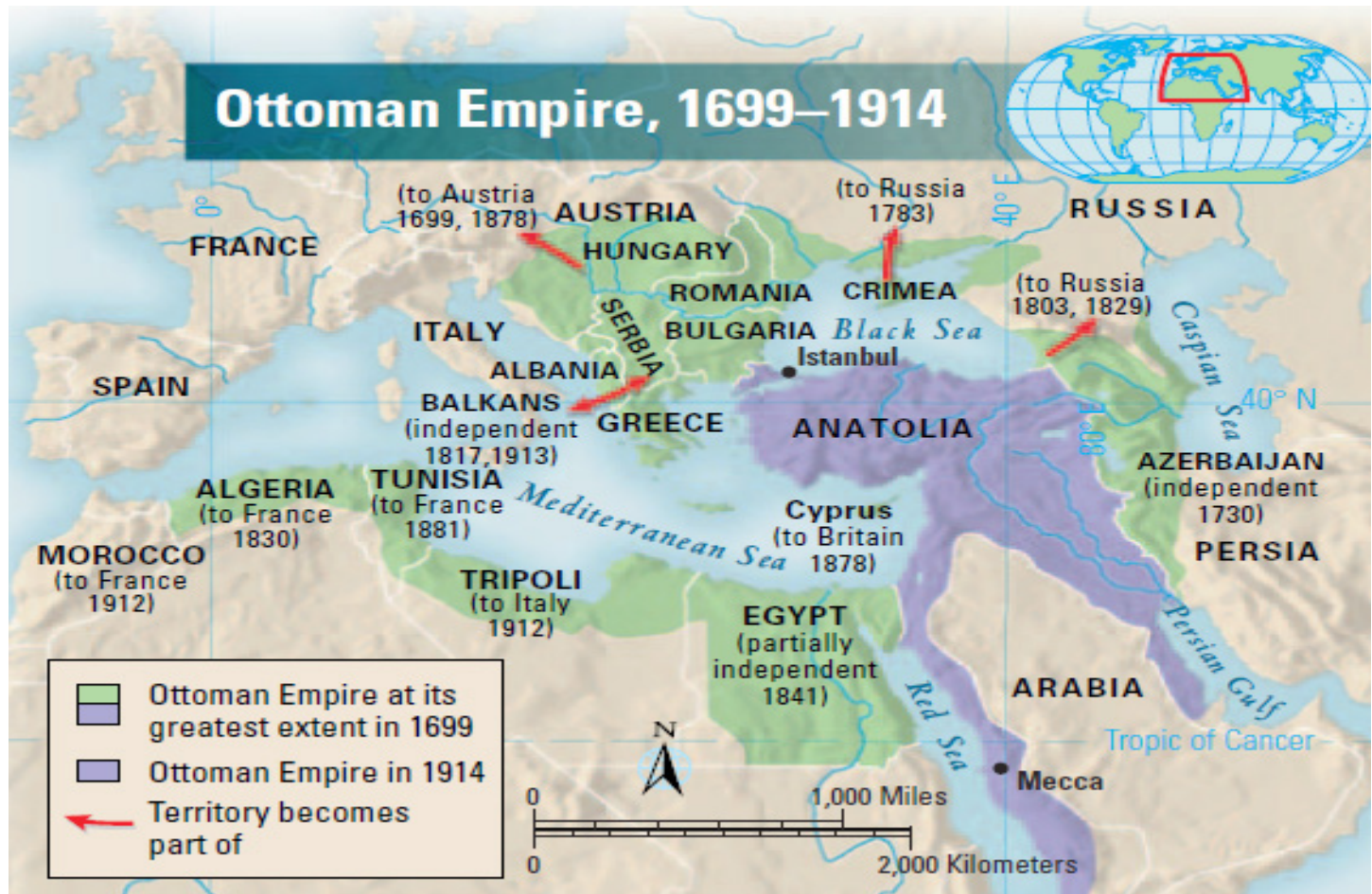
The Ottoman Empire at its peak stretched from Hunga-

ry in the north, through Greece, around the Black Sea, south through Syria, and across Egypt all the way west to the borders of Morocco. But during the empire's last 300 years, it steadily declined in power. The declining empire had difficulties trying to fit into the modern world. However, the Ottomans made attempts to change before they finally were unable to hold back the European imperialist powers.

coming apparent to European powers, who were expanding their territories. They began to look for ways to take the lands away from the Ottomans.

Europeans Grab Territory Geopolitics

an interest in or taking of land for its strategic location or products—played an important role in the fate of the Ottoman Empire. World powers were attracted to its



Reforms Fail

When Suleiman I, the last great Ottoman sultan, died in 1566, he was followed by a succession of weak sultans. The ruling party broke up into a number of quarreling, often corrupt factions. Along with weakening power came other problems. Corruption and theft had caused financial losses. Coinage was devalued, causing inflation. Unemployed ex-soldiers and students caused trouble. Once a leader in scientific, mechanical, and administrative achievements, the Ottoman Empire fell further and further behind Europe.

When Selim III came into power in 1789, he attempted to modernize the army. The older janissary corps resisted his efforts. Selim III was overthrown and reform movements were temporarily abandoned. Meanwhile, nationalist feelings began to stir among the Ottoman's subject peoples. In 1830, Greece gained its independence, and Serbia gained self-rule. The Ottomans' weakness was be-

coming apparent to European powers, who were expanding their territories. They began to look for ways to take the lands away from the Ottomans. Russia, for example, desperately wanted passage for its grain exports across the Black Sea and into the Mediterranean Sea. This desire strongly influenced Russia's relations with the Ottoman Empire. Russia attempted to win Ottoman favor, formed alliances with Ottoman enemies, and finally waged war against the Ottomans. Discovery of oil in Persia and the Arabian Peninsula around 1900 focused even more attention on the area.

Russia and the Crimean War

Each generation of Russian czars launched a war on the Ottomans to try to gain land on the Black Sea. In 1853, war broke out between the Russians and the Ottomans. The war was called the **Crimean War**, after a peninsula in the Black Sea where most of the war was fought.

Britain and France wanted to prevent the Russians from gaining control of additional Ottoman lands. So they entered the war on the side of the Ottoman Empire. The combined forces of the Ottomans, Britain, and France defeated Russia.

The Crimean War was the first war in which women, led by Florence Nightingale, established their position as army nurses. It was also the first war to be covered by newspaper correspondents. The Crimean War revealed the Ottoman Empire's military weakness. Despite the help of Britain and France, the Ottoman Empire continued to lose lands. The Russians came to the aid of Slavic people in the Balkans who rebelled against the Ottomans. The Ottomans lost control of Romania, Montenegro, Cyprus, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and an area that became Bulgaria. The Ottomans lost land in Africa, too. By the beginning of World War I, the Ottoman Empire was reduced to a small portion of its former size.

Observing the slow decline of the Ottoman Empire, some Muslim leaders decided that their countries would either have to adjust to the modern world or be consumed by it. Egypt and Persia both initiated political and social reforms, in part to block European domination of their lands.

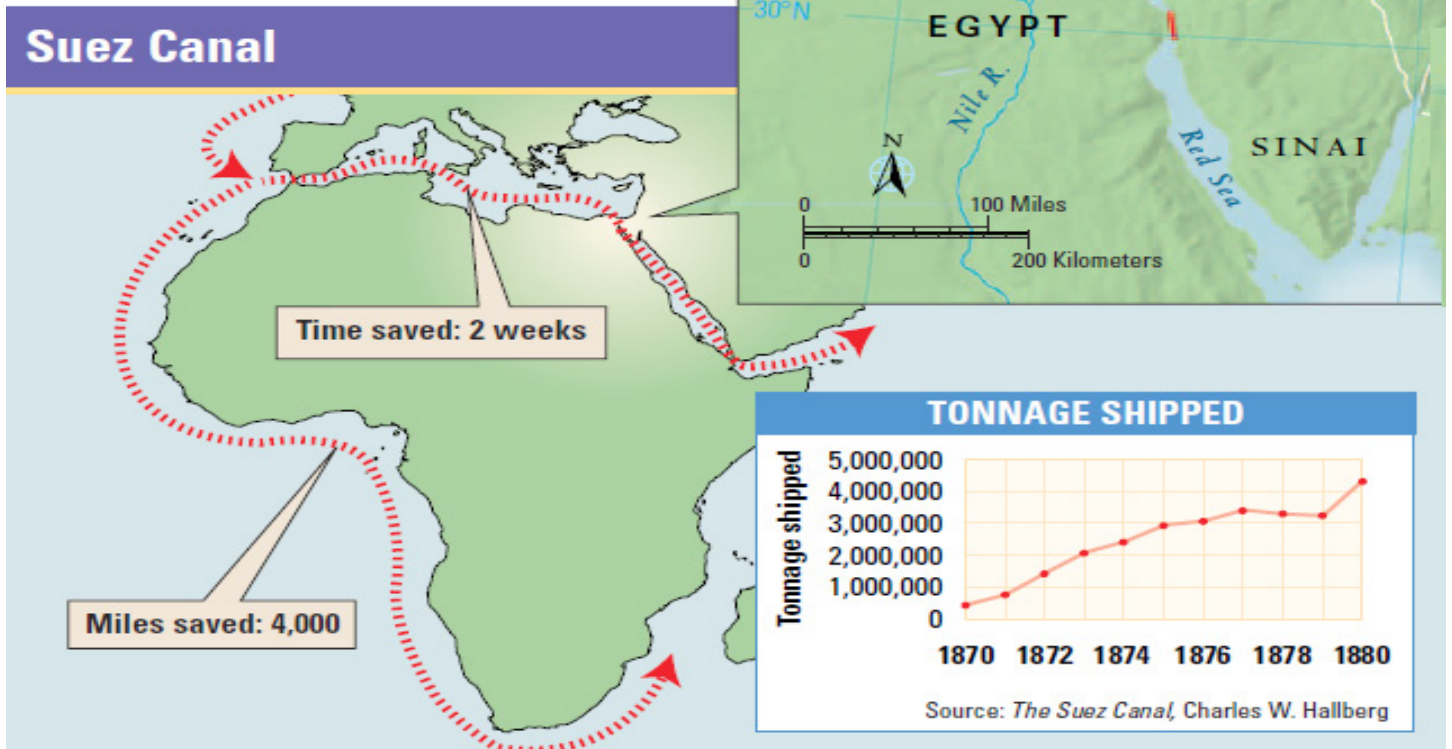
Egypt Tries Reform

Modernization came to Egypt as a result of the interest in the area created by the French Revolution. Egypt's strategic location at the head of the Red Sea appeared valuable to France and Britain. After Napoleon failed to win Egypt, a new leader emerged: Muhammad Ali. The Ottomans

sent him to govern Egypt, but he soon broke away from Ottoman control. In 1841, he fought a series of battles in which he gained control of Syria and Arabia. Through the combined efforts of European powers, he and his heirs were recognized as hereditary rulers of Egypt.

Muhammad Ali began a series of reforms in the military and in the economy. He personally directed a shift of Egyptian agriculture to a plantation cash crop—cotton. This brought Egypt into the international marketplace, but at a cost to the peasants. They lost the use of lands they traditionally farmed. They were forced to grow cash crops in place of food crops.

Muhammad Ali's efforts to modernize Egypt were continued by his grandson, Isma'il. Isma'il supported the construction of the **Suez Canal**. The canal was a man-made waterway that cut through the Isthmus of Suez. It connected the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. It was built mainly with French money and Egyptian labor. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 with a huge international celebration. However, Isma'il's modernization efforts, such as irrigation projects and communication networks, were enormously expensive. Egypt soon found that it could not pay its European banker even the interest on its \$450 million debt. The British insisted on overseeing financial control of the canal, and in 1882 the British occupied Egypt. British control of the Suez Canal remained an



important part of British imperial policy. The canal was viewed as the “Lifeline of the Empire” because it allowed the British quicker access to its colonies in Asia and Africa. A British imperialist, Joseph Chamberlain, presented a speech to Parliament. In it he supported the continued control of the canal.

Persia Pressured to Change

Elsewhere in southwest Asia, Russia and Britain competed to exploit Persia commercially and to bring that country under their own spheres of influence. Russia was especially interested in gaining access to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Twice Persia gave up territories to Russia after military defeats in 1813 and 1828. Britain was interested in using Afghanistan as a buffer between India and Russia.

In 1857, Persia resisted British demands but was forced to give up all claims to Afghanistan. Britain’s interest in Persia increased greatly after the discovery of oil there in 1908.

Persia lacked the capital to develop its own resources. To raise money and to gain economic prestige, the Persian ruler began granting concessions to Western businesses. Businesses bought the right to operate in a certain area or develop a certain product. For example, a British corporation, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, began to develop Persia’s rich oil fields in the early 1900s. Tension arose between the often corrupt rulers, who wanted to sell concessions to Europeans, and the people. The people were often backed by religious leaders who feared change or disliked Western influence in their nation. In 1891, Nasir al-Din attempted to sell the rights to export and distribute Persian tobacco to a British company. This action outraged Sayyid Jamal al-Din al Afghani, a modernist leader, who helped set up a tobacco boycott by the heavy-smoking Persians. In the following quote, he expresses his contempt for the Persian ruler.

The tobacco boycott worked. Riots broke out and the ruler was compelled to cancel the concession. As unrest continued in Persia, the government was unable to control the situation. In 1906, a group of revolutionaries forced the ruler to establish a constitution. In 1907, Russia and Britain took over the country and divided it into spheres of influence. In the Muslim lands, the European imperialists gained control by using economic imperialism and creating spheres of influence. Although some governments made attempts at modernization, in most cases it was too little too late. In other areas of the globe, imperialists provided the modernization. India, for example, became a colony that experienced massive change as a result of the occupation of the imperialist British.

11. Western Powers Rule Southeast Asia

Just as the European powers rushed to divide Africa, they also competed to carve up the lands of Southeast Asia. These lands form part of the **Pacific Rim**, the countries that border the Pacific Ocean. Western nations desired the Pacific Rim lands for their strategic location along the sea route to China. Westerners also recognized the value of the Pacific colonies as sources of tropical agriculture, minerals, and oil.

Western Rivalries for Pacific Rim Lands

Early in the 19th century, the Dutch East India Company established control over most of the 3,000-mile-long chain of Indonesian islands. As the European powers began to appreciate the value of the area, they challenged each other for their own parts of the prize. The British established a major trading port at Singapore. The French took over Indochina on the Southeast Asian mainland. The Germans claimed New Guinea and the Marshall and Solomon islands.

Plantation Products Spur Competition

The lands of Southeast Asia were perfect for plantation agriculture. The major focus was on sugar cane, coffee, cocoa, rubber, coconuts, bananas, and pineapple. As these products became more important in the world trade markets, European powers raced each other to claim lands.

Dutch Expand Control

The Dutch East India Company, chartered in 1602, actively sought lands in Southeast Asia. It seized Melaka from the Portuguese and fought the British and Javanese for control of Java. The discovery of oil and tin on the islands and the desire for more rubber plantations prompted the Dutch to gradually expand their control over Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, and Bali. Finally the company ruled the whole island chain of Indonesia, then called the Dutch East Indies. Management of plantations and trade brought a large Dutch population to the islands. In contrast to the British, who lived temporarily in India but retired in Britain, the Dutch thought of Indonesia as their home. They created a rigid social class system. The Dutch were on top, wealthy and educated Indonesians came next, and plantation workers resided at the bottom. The Dutch also forced farmers to plant one-fifth of their land in specified export crops.

British Take the Malay Peninsula

To compete with the Dutch, the British sought a trading base that would serve as a stop for its ships that traveled the India-China sea routes. They found the ideal

location—a large, sheltered harbor—on Singapore, an island just off the tip of the Malay Peninsula. The opening of the Suez Canal and the increased demand for tin and rubber combined to make Singapore one of the world's busiest ports. Britain also gained colonies in Malaysia and in Burma (modern Myanmar). Malaysia had large deposits of tin and became the world's leading rubber exporter. Upper Burma provided teak, while central Burma exported oil. Needing workers to mine the tin and tap the rubber trees, Britain encouraged Chinese to immigrate to Malaysia. Chinese flocked to the area, and some of them became highly successful in business. As a result of such immigration, the Malays soon became a minority in their own country. Conflict between the resident Chinese and the native Malays remains unresolved today.

French Control Indochina

The French had been active in Southeast Asia since the turn of the century. They even helped the Nguyendynasty rise to power in Vietnam. In the 1840s, during the rule of an anti-Christian Vietnamese emperor, seven French missionaries were killed. Church leaders and capitalists who wanted a larger share of the overseas market demanded military intervention. Emperor Napoleon III ordered the French army to invade southern Vietnam. Later, the French added Laos, Cambodia, and northern Vietnam to the territory. The combined states would eventually be called French Indochina.

The French colonists tried to impose their culture on the Indochinese. Using direct colonial management, the French themselves filled all important positions in the government bureaucracy. They did not encourage local industry. Rice became a major export crop. Four times as much land was devoted to rice production. However, the peasants' consumption of rice decreased because rice was shipped out of the region. Anger over this reduction set the stage for Vietnamese resistance against the French.

Colonial Impact

In Southeast Asia, colonization brought mixed results. Economies grew based on cash crops or goods such as tin and rubber that could be sold on the world market. Roads, harbors, and rail systems linked areas and improved communication and transportation. These improvements were more for the benefit of European business than the local population. However, education, health, and sanitation did improve. Political changes included unification of areas at the cost of weaker local leaders and governments.

Unlike other colonial areas, millions of people from other areas of Asia and the world migrated to work on plantations and in the mines in Southeast Asia. This migration changed the cultural and racial makeup of the area. Southeast Asia became a melting pot of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and Buddhists. The resulting cultural changes often led to racial and religious clashes that are still seen today.

Siam Maintains Independence

While its neighbors on all sides fell under the control of imperialists, Siam (present-day Thailand) maintained its independence throughout the colonial period. Siam lay between British-controlled Burma and French Indochina. France and Britain both aimed to prevent the other from gaining control of Siam. Knowing this, Siamese kings skillfully promoted Siam as a neutral zone between the two powers.



The progressive Siamese King Mongkut ruled from 1851 to 1868. During his reign he modernized his land and prevented the British and French from taking over.

Siam modernized itself under the guidance of **King Mongkut** and his son Chulalongkorn. In a royal proclamation, King Chulalongkorn showed his understanding of the importance of progress.

To accomplish the changes, Siam started schools, reformed the legal system, and reorganized the government. The government built its own railroads and telegraph systems and ended slavery because the changes came from their own government, the Siamese people escaped the social turmoil, racist treatment, and economic exploitation that occurred in other countries controlled by foreigners.

U.S. Acquires Pacific Islands

Because they fought for their independence from Britain, most Americans disliked the idea of colonizing other nations. However, two groups of Americans were outspoken in their support of imperialism. One group of ambitious empire-builders felt the United States should fulfill its destiny as a world power, colonizing like the Europeans. The other group, business interests, welcomed the opening of new markets and trade possibilities. Beginning in 1898, the United States began to acquire territory and to establish trading posts in the Pacific.

The Philippines Change Hands

The United States acquired the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, and Guam as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Gaining the Philippines touched off a debate in the United States over imperialism. President McKinley's views swayed many to his side. He told a group of Methodist ministers that he had concluded "that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all [the Philippine Islands], and to educate Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them."

Filipino nationalists who had already been fighting with the Spanish were not happy to trade one colonizer for another. **Emilio Aguinaldo**, leader of the Filipino nationalists, claimed that the United States had promised immediate independence after the Spanish-American War ended. The nationalists declared independence and the establishment of the Philippine Republic. The United States immediately plunged into a fierce struggle with the Filipino nationalists and defeated them in 1902. The United States promised the Philippine people that it would prepare them for self-rule. To achieve this goal, the United States provided many benefits to the islands. It built roads, railroads, and hospitals, and set up school systems. However, American businesses exploited the Philippines economically. As with other Southeast Asian areas, businessmen encouraged growing cash crops such as sugar at the expense of basic food crops.

Hawaii Becomes a Republic

U.S. interest in Hawaii began around the 1790s when Hawaii was a port on the way to China and East India. Beginning about the 1820s, sugar trade began to change the Hawaiian economy. Americans established sugar-cane plantations and became so successful that they imported laborers from China, Japan, and Portugal. By the mid-19th century, American sugar plantations accounted for 75 percent of Hawaii's wealth. At the same time, American sugar planters also gained great political power in Hawaii.

Then in 1890, the McKinley Tariff Act passed by the U.S. government set off a crisis in the islands. The act eliminated the tariffs on all sugar entering the United States. Now, sugar from Hawaii was no longer cheaper than sugar produced elsewhere. That change cut into the sugar producers' profits. Some U.S. business leaders pushed for **annexation** of Hawaii, or the adding of the territory to the United States. Making Hawaii a part of the United States meant that Hawaiian sugar could be sold for greater profits because American producers got an extra two cents a pound from the U.S. government.

About the same time, the new Hawaiian ruler, **Queen Liliuokalani**, took the throne. In 1893, she called for a new constitution that would increase her power. It would also restore the political power of Hawaiians at the expense of wealthy planters. To prevent this from happening, a group of American businessmen hatched a plot to overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy. In 1893, Queen Liliuokalani was removed from power.

In 1894, Sanford B. Dole, a wealthy plantation owner, was named president of the new Republic of Hawaii. The president of the new republic asked the United States to annex it. Acting on the findings of a commission sent to the islands, President Cleveland refused. However, about five years later, in 1898, the Republic of Hawaii was annexed by the United States.

The period of imperialism was a time of great power and domination of others by mostly European powers. As the 19th century closed, the lands of the world were all claimed. The European powers now faced each other with competing claims. Their battles with each other would become the focus of the 20th century.

12. Colonialism in China

In the late 18th century, China had more people than any other empire in the world. Under the Manchus of the Qing Dynasty, the empire was stable and secure. The people lived by traditions that were thousands of years old.

China Resists Foreign Influence

Out of pride in their ancient culture, the Chinese looked down on all foreigners. In 1793, however, the Qing emperor agreed to receive an ambassador from England. The Englishman brought gifts of the West's most advanced technology—clocks, globes, musical instruments, and even a hot-air balloon. The emperor was not impressed. In a letter to England's King George III, he stated that the Chinese already had everything they needed. They were not interested in the "strange objects" and gadgets that the West was offering them.

China Remains Self-Sufficient

The basis of Qing China's wealth was its healthy agricultural economy. During the 11th century, China had acquired a quick-growing strain of rice from Southeast Asia. By the time of the Qing Dynasty, the rice was being grown throughout the southern part of the country. Around the same time—the 17th and 18th centuries—Spanish and Portuguese traders brought maize, sweet potatoes, and peanuts from the Americas. These crops helped China increase the productivity of its land and more effectively feed its 300 million people. Better nutrition, in turn, led to a population boom.

China also had extensive mining and manufacturing industries. Rich salt, tin, silver, and iron mines produced great quantities of ore. The mines provided work for tens of thousands of people. The Chinese also produced beautiful silks, high-quality cottons, and fine porcelain. The Chinese people were essentially self-sufficient.

The Tea-Opium Connection

Because of their self-sufficiency, the Chinese had little interest in trading with the West. For decades, the only place they would allow foreigners to do business was at the southern port of Guangzhou. And the balance of trade at Guangzhou was clearly in China's favor. This means that China earned much more for its exports than it spent on imports. The British imported millions of pounds of tea from China every year and exported goods worth much less. They made up for the difference in silver. This imbalance drained Britain's silver supply. European merchants were determined to find a product the Chinese would buy in large quantities. Eventually they found one—opium. Opium is a habit-forming narcotic made from the poppy plant. Chinese doctors had been using it to relieve pain for hundreds of years. In the late 18th century, however, British merchants smuggled opium into China for nonmedical use. It took a few decades for opium smoking to catch on, but by 1835, as many as 12 million Chinese people were addicted to the drug.

War Breaks Out

This growing supply of opium caused great social, moral, and monetary problems for the country. The Qing emperor was angry. In 1839, one of the emperor's highest advisers wrote a letter to England's Queen Victoria about the problem.

The pleas went unanswered, and Britain refused to stop trading opium. The result was an open clash between the British and the Chinese—the **Opium War** of 1839. The battles took place mostly at sea. China's outdated ships were no match for Britain's steampowered gunboats and sophisticated cannons. As a result, the Chinese suffered a humiliating defeat. In 1842, they signed a peace treaty, the Treaty of Nanjing. This treaty gave Britain the island of Hong Kong. After signing another treaty in 1844, U.S. and other foreign citizens also gained **extraterritorial rights**. These rights provided exemption from Chinese law at four Chinese ports besides Guangzhou. Many Chinese greatly resented these privileges and the foreigners among them. And a bustling trade in opium continued.

Internal Problems Increase

Foreigners were not the greatest of China's problems in the mid-19th century, however. Its own population provided an overwhelming challenge. That population had grown to 430 million by 1850—a 30-percent gain in only 60 years. Yet food production had barely increased. As a result, hunger was widespread, even in good years. In the frequent bad years, the Huang He (Yellow River) broke through its dikes and flooded vast farming areas. Millions starved.

The Chinese government itself was riddled with corruption and could do little to ease its people's suffering. Dikes that might have held back the river had fallen into disrepair. Public granaries were empty. Talented people who were unable or unwilling to bribe state examiners often were denied government jobs. The people became discouraged, and opium addiction rose steadily. As their problems mounted, the Chinese actively began to rebel against the Qing Dynasty.

The Taiping Rebellion

The rebellion that was to become China's largest was led by Hong Xiuquan (hung shee•oo•choo•ahn). The Treaty of Nanjing had granted Christian missionaries increased privileges in China. The missionaries greatly influenced this sensitive young man. Hong had mystical visions and wanted to save the world, beginning with China. He dreamed of a "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace." In this kingdom, all Chinese people would share China's vast wealth and no one would live in poverty. Hong's revolt was called the **Taiping Rebellion**, from the Chinese expression *taiping*, meaning "great peace."

Beginning in the late 1840s, Hong organized an army made up mainly of peasants—both men and women—from southern China. By 1853, 1 million people had joined his rebel forces. That year, Hong captured the city of Nanjing and declared it his capital. The Taiping government controlled large areas of southeastern China. Over the next ten years, however, the Qing regained control of the country. Imperial troops, local militias, and British and French forces all fought against the Taiping. By 1864, they crushed the 14-year rebellion. But China paid a terrible price. Huge, hungry armies had destroyed fertile farmland in their search for food. At least 20 million—and possibly twice that many—people died.

China Wrestles with Reform

The Taiping Rebellion and other smaller uprisings put tremendous internal pressure on the Chinese government. And, despite the Treaty of Nanjing, external pressure from foreign powers was increasing. At the Qing

court, stormy debates raged about how best to deal with these pressures. Some government leaders called for reforms patterned on Western ways. Others insisted on honoring Chinese traditions. The Chinese Empire was conservative overall, though. Clinging to traditional ways and resisting change started at the top.

the Chinese hired foreigners to run many of its arsenals. These outsiders often didn't feel comfortable working with Chinese resources. So they imported both raw materials and factory machinery from abroad. This practice contributed to both an imbalance in trade for China and a lack of quality control. In addition, the movement lacked support from the Chinese people as a whole.



Other Nations Step In

China's weak military technology and its economic and political problems were not a secret from the rest of the world. Throughout the late 19th century, many foreign nations took advantage of this weakness and attacked China. Treaty negotiations after each conflict gave the West increasing control over China's economy. As shown in the map, many of Europe's main political powers and Japan gained a strong foothold in China. This foothold, or **sphere of influence**, was a region in which the foreign nation controlled trade and investment. The United States was a long-time trading partner with China. Americans worried that other nations would soon divide China into formal colonies and shut out American traders. To prevent this occurrence, in 1899 the United States declared the **Open Door Policy**. This policy proposed that China's "doors" be open to merchants of all nations. Britain and the other

The Dowager Empress Cixi Resists Change

During the last half of the 19th century, there was only one person at the top in the Qing imperial palace. The Dowager Empress Cixi ruled China, with only one brief gap, from 1861 until 1908. Although she was committed to traditional values, the Dowager Empress did support certain reforms. In the 1860s, for example, she backed the self-strengthening movement. That program aimed to update China's educational system, diplomatic service, and military. Under this program, China set up arsenals to manufacture steam-powered gunboats, rifles, and ammunition. By 1875, these ammunition supply and storage facilities were among the largest in the world. The self-strengthening movement had mixed results, however. The ability to produce its own warships and ammunition was undoubtedly good for China's morale. But

European nations agreed. The policy thus protected both American trading rights in China and China's freedom from colonization. But the country was still at the mercy of foreign powers.

Chinese Nationalism Grows

Humiliated by their loss of power, many Chinese pressed for strong reforms. Among them was China's young emperor, Guangxu. In June 1898, Guangxu's aunt, the Dowager Empress Cixi, was relaxing at the summer palace. Assuming that he had her support, Guangxu introduced measures to modernize China. These measures called for overhauling China's educational system, strengthening the economy, modernizing the military, and streamlining the government. Guangxu asked progressive, creative advisers to help carry out his programs. Most Qing officials

saw these innovations as threats to their power. They reacted with alarm. In September 1899, they called the Dowager Empress back to the imperial court. Guangxu realized too late that he had misjudged her. Striking with the same speed as her nephew, the Dowager Empress Cixi placed him under arrest at the palace. She then took back her own power. She reversed his reforms and executed a number of the movement's leaders. Guangxu's Hundred Days of Reform ended without a single long-term change. The Chinese people's frustration with their situation did change, however. It grew.

The Boxer Rebellion

This widespread frustration finally erupted. Poor peasants and workers particularly resented the special privileges granted to foreigners. They also resented Chinese Christians, who were protected by foreign missionaries. To demonstrate their discontent, they formed a secret organization called the Society of Harmonious Fists. They soon came to be known as the Boxers. Their campaign against the Dowager Empress's rule and foreigner privilege was called the **Boxer Rebellion**. In the spring of 1900, the Boxers descended on Beijing. Shouting "Death to the foreign devils," the Boxers surrounded the European section of the city. They kept it under siege for several months. The Dowager Empress expressed support for the Boxers but did not back her words with military aid. In August, a multinational force of 20,000 troops marched toward Beijing. Soldiers from Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the United States quickly defeated the Boxers. Despite the failure of the Boxer Rebellion, a strong sense of nationalism had emerged in China. The Chinese people realized that their country must resist more foreign intervention. Most important, however, the government must become responsive to their needs.

The Beginnings of Reform

At this point, even the Qing court realized that China needed to make profound changes to survive. In 1905, the Dowager Empress sent a select group of Chinese officials on a world tour to study the operation of different governments. The group traveled to Japan, the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy. On its return in the spring of 1906, the officials recommended that China restructure its government. They based their suggestions on the constitutional monarchy of Japan. The empress accepted this recommendation and began making reforms. Although she convened a national assembly within a year, change was slow. In 1908, the court announced that it would establish a full constitutional government by 1917. Unfortunately, however, the turmoil in China did not end with these progressive

steps. Unrest would continue for the next four decades as the Chinese faced internal and external threats. But as wholeheartedly as China had struggled to remain isolated from the outside world, its neighbor Japan responded to Western influence in a much different way.

13. Changing Japan

In the early 17th century, Japan had shut itself off from almost all contact with other nations. Under the rule of the Tokugawa shoguns, the society was tightly ordered. The shogun parceled out land to the lords. The peasants worked for and lived under the protection of their lord and his samurai. This rigid system kept Japan free of civil war. Peace and relative prosperity reigned for two centuries.

Japan Ends Its Isolation

The Japanese had almost no contact with the industrialized world during this time of isolation. They continued, however, to trade with China and with Dutch traders from Indonesia. They also had diplomatic contact with Korea. However, trade was growing in importance, both inside and outside Japan.

Facing the Demand for Foreign Trade

In the early 19th century, Westerners began trying to convince the Japanese to open their ports to trade. British, French, Russian, and American officials occasionally anchored off the Japanese coast. Like China, however, Japan repeatedly refused to receive them. Then, in 1853, U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry took four ships into what is now Tokyo Harbor. The Japanese were astounded by these massive black wooden ships that were powered by steam. They were also shocked by the cannons and rifles. These weapons could have wiped out hundreds of the fiercest samurai in a matter of seconds.

The Tokugawa shogun realized he had no choice but to receive the letter Perry had brought from U.S. President Millard Fillmore. Polite as President Fillmore's letter was, Perry delivered it with a threat.

He would come back with a larger fleet in a year to receive Japan's reply. That reply was the **Treaty of Kanagawa**, which was signed in 1854. Under the terms of the treaty, Japan opened two ports at which American ships could take on supplies. The treaty also allowed the United States to set up an embassy in Japan. Once the United States had a foot in Japan's door, other Western powers soon followed. By 1860, Japan, like China, had granted foreigners permission to trade at treaty ports. It had also extended extraterritorial rights to many foreign nations.

Reform and Modernization Under the Meiji Reign

The Japanese, however, were angry that the shogun had given in to the foreigners' demands. They feared that he was losing control over the country. The people rallied around Japan's young emperor, Mutsuhito (moot•soo•HEE•toh), who appealed to Japan's strong sense of pride and nationalism. In 1867, the Tokugawa shogun stepped down. He thus ended the military dictatorships that had lasted since the 12th century. Mutsuhito established a new government. He chose the name *Meiji* for his reign, which means "enlightened rule." Only 15 when he took over, Mutsuhito reigned for 45 years. This period of Japanese history—from 1867 to 1912—is called the **Meiji era**.

As part of this new enlightenment, the Meiji emperor realized that the best way to oppose Western imperialism was to adopt new ways. The feudal lords, for example, realized that private ownership of land prevented the entire country from benefiting from it. In one of the first acts of the Meiji era, they gave their land to the emperor.



The Meiji Emperor Mutsuhito
(1867–1912)

Another way the Meiji government attempted to modernize Japan was by sending its statesmen to Europe and North America to study foreign ways. The Japanese chose what they believed to be the best Western civilization had to offer and adapted it to their own country. They admired Germany's strong centralized government, for example. And they used its constitution as a model for their own. As in Germany, a small group of men held political power in Japan. They were determined to build a mighty nation. The Japanese also admired the discipline of the German army and the skill of the British navy. They attempted to imitate these European powers as they modernized their military. Japan adopted the American system of universal public education and required that all Japanese children attend school. Their teachers often included foreign experts. Students could go abroad to study as well.

The emperor also energetically supported following the Western path of industrialization. By the early 20th century, the Japanese economy had become as modern as any in the world. The country built its first railroad line in 1872. The track connected Tokyo, the nation's capital, with the port of Yokohama, 20 miles to the south. By 1914,

Japan had more than 7,000 miles of rails. Coal production grew from half a million tons in 1875 to more than 21 million tons in 1913. Meanwhile, large, state-supported companies built thousands of factories. Traditional Japanese industries, such as tea processing and silk production, expanded to give the country unique products to trade. Developing modern industries, such as shipbuilding and weapons production, made Japan competitive with the West.

Japanese Imperialism Grows

Japan's race to modernize paid off. By 1890, the country had several dozen warships and 500,000 well-trained, well-armed soldiers. It had become the strongest military power in Asia. Japan had gained military, political, and economic strength. It then sought to eliminate the extraterritorial rights of foreigners. The Japanese foreign minister assured foreigners that they could rely on fair treatment in Japan. This was because its constitution and legal codes were similar to those of European nations, he explained. His reasoning was convincing, and in 1894, Britain and the other foreign powers abolished the extraterritorial rights of their citizens living in Japan. Japan's feeling of strength and equality with the Western nations rose. As Japan's sense of power grew, the nation also became more imperialistic. Like many European nations, Japan saw empire building as a way of protecting its security and meeting economic needs. As in Europe, national pride also played a large part in this policy. The Japanese were determined to show the world that they were a powerful nation.

Japan Attacks China

The Japanese first turned their sights to their Asian neighbors. Japan's neighbor, Korea, is not far from southern Japan (see the map on page 718). In 1876, Japan forced Korea to open three ports to Japanese trade. But China also considered Korea to be important as both a trading partner and a military outpost. Recognizing their similar interests in Korea, Japan and China signed a hands-off agreement. In 1885, both countries pledged that they would not send their armies into Korea. In June 1894, however, China broke that agreement. Rebellions had broken out against Korea's king. He asked China for military help in putting them down. Chinese troops marched into Korea. Japan protested and sent its troops to Korea to fight the Chinese. The Sino-Japanese War had begun. Within a few months, Japan had driven the Chinese out of Korea, had destroyed the Chinese navy, and had begun taking over Manchuria. In 1895, China and Japan signed a peace treaty. This treaty gave Japan its first colonies—Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands.

Russo-Japanese War

Most Western nations had expected China to win the showdown with Japan fairly easily. The Japanese victory surprised them. It also changed the world's balance of power. Russia and Japan emerged as the major powers—and enemies—in East Asia. Russia and Japan soon went to war over Manchuria. This was a region north of Korea that was under Chinese rule. In 1903, Japan offered to recognize Russia's rights in Manchuria if the Russians would agree to stay out of Korea. But the Russians refused. So, in February 1904, Japan launched a surprise attack. It struck at the Russian navy, which was anchored off the coast of Manchuria. In the resulting **Russo-Japanese War**, Japan drove Russian troops out of Korea. Japan won brutal land battles and captured most of Russia's Pacific fleet. It also destroyed Russia's Baltic fleet, which had sailed all the way around Africa to participate in the war.

In 1905, Japan and Russia began peace negotiations. U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt helped draft the treaty, which the two nations signed on a ship off Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This agreement, the Treaty of Portsmouth, gave Japan the captured territories. It also forced Russia to withdraw from Manchuria and to stay out of Korea.

Korea Under Japanese Occupation

After defeating Russia, Japan attacked Korea with a vengeance. In 1905, it made Korea a protectorate. Japan sent in “advisers,” who grabbed more and more power from the Korean government. The Korean king was unable to rally international support for his regime. In 1907, he gave up control of the country. Within two years the Korean Imperial Army was disbanded. In 1910, Japan officially imposed **annexation** in Korea, or brought that country under Japan's control.

The Japanese were harsh rulers. For the next 35 years, they forbade public protest. They shut down Korean newspapers and took over Korean schools. There they replaced the study of Korean language and history with that of Japan. They took land away from Korean farmers and gave it to Japanese settlers. They encouraged Japanese businessmen to start industries in Korea, but forbade Koreans from going into business in their own country. Resentment of the Japanese led to nonviolent protests and to a growing Korean nationalist movement. The Japanese did modernize Korean factories and transportation and communications systems, however. Despite this technological progress, Japan's repressive rule in Korea was an example of imperialism at its worst. The rest of the world clearly saw the brutal results of Japan's imperialism in

Korea. Nevertheless, the United States and other European countries moved ahead with their own imperialistic aims.

14. Imperialist US

Latin America's long struggle to gain independence from colonial domination between the late 18th and the mid-19th centuries left the new nations in shambles. Weeds choked off farm fields. Cities and towns collapsed. The new nations faced a struggle for recovery as difficult as their struggle for independence had been.

Latin America After Independence

Political independence meant little for most citizens of the new Latin American nations. The majority remained poor, illiterate laborers caught up in a cycle of poverty.

Colonial Legacy

During colonial times, most Latin Americans worked for large landowners. The employers paid their workers with vouchers that could be used only at their own supply stores. Since wages were low and prices were high, workers went into debt. Their debt accumulated and passed from one generation to the next. These “free” workers were almost like slaves in a system known as peonage. The landowners, on the other hand, only got wealthier after independence. Many new Latin American governments took over the lands owned by native peoples and by the Catholic Church. They then put those lands up for sale. Wealthy landowners were the only people able to afford to buy them, and they snapped them up. But as one Argentinean newspaper reported, “Their greed for land does not equal their ability to use it intelligently.” The unequal distribution of land and its poor use combined to prevent social and economic development in Latin America.

Political Instability

Political instability also was a widespread problem in 19th-century Latin America. Many Latin American army leaders had gained fame and power during their long struggle for independence. They often continued to assert their power. They controlled the new nations as dictators, or **caudillos**. By 1830, nearly all the countries of Latin America were ruled by caudillos. One typical caudillo was Juan Vicente Gómez. He was a ruthless man who ruled Venezuela for nearly 30 years after seizing power in 1908. “All Venezuela is my cattle ranch,” he once boasted. There were some exceptions, however. Reform-minded presidents, such as Argentina's Domingo Sarmiento, made strong commitments to improving education. During Sarmiento's presidency, between 1868 and 1874,

the number of students in Argentina doubled. But such reformers usually didn't stay in office long. Eventually a caudillo would return to power, forcing the reformer out at the point of a bayonet or gun. The caudillos found little opposition. The upper classes usually supported them because they opposed giving power to the lower classes. In addition, Latin Americans had gained little experience with democracy under European colonial rule. So the dictatorship of a caudillo did not seem unusual to them. But even when caudillos weren't in power, most Latin Americans still lacked a voice in the government. Voting rights—and so, political power—were restricted to the relatively few members of the upper and middle classes who owned property or could read.

Economies Grow Under Foreign Influence

When colonial rule ended in Latin America in the early 1800s, the new nations were no longer restricted to trading with colonial powers. Britain and, later, the United States became Latin America's main trading partners.

Old Products and New Markets

No matter with whom the new Latin American nations were trading, their economies continued to depend on exports. As during the colonial era, each country concentrated on one or two products. With advances in technology, however, Latin America's exports grew. The development of the steamship and the building of railroads in the 19th century, for example, greatly increased Latin American trade. Toward the end of the century, the invention of refrigeration helped increase Latin America's exports. The sale of beef, fruits and vegetables, and other perishable goods soared.

But foreign nations benefited far more from the increased trade than Latin America did. In exchange for their exports, Latin Americans imported European and North American manufactured goods. They therefore had little reason to develop their own manufacturing industries. And as long as Latin America remained unindustrialized, it could not play a leading role on the world stage.

Outside Investment and Interference Furthermore, Latin American countries used little of their export income to build roads, schools, or hospitals. Nor did they fund programs that would help them be self-sufficient. Instead, they often borrowed money—at high interest rates—to develop facilities for their export industries. Countries such as Britain, France, the United States, and Germany were willing lenders. The Latin American countries often were unable to pay back their loans, however. In response, foreign lenders either threatened to collect the debt by force or to take over the facility it

had funded. Foreigners thus gained control of many industries in Latin America. Thus began a new age of economic colonialism.

The United States and Latin America

Long before the United States had a real economic interest in Latin America, it was aware that its security depended on that of its southern neighbors.

The Monroe Doctrine

Most of the Latin American colonies had gained their independence by the early 1800s. But their position was not secure. Many Latin Americans feared that European countries would try to reconquer the new republics. The United States, a young nation itself, feared this too. In 1823, therefore, President James Monroe issued what came to be called the **Monroe Doctrine**. This document stated that “the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.” Britain was Latin America's largest trading partner. It agreed to back the Monroe Doctrine with its powerful navy. Until 1898, though, the United States did little to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. Cuba provided a real testing ground.

Cuba Declares Independence

Cuba was one of Spain's last colonies in the Americas. In 1868, Cuba declared its independence and fought a ten-year war against Spain. In 1878, with the island in ruins, the Cubans gave up the fight.

But some Cubans continued to seek independence. In 1895, **José Martí**, a writer who had been exiled, returned to fight for Cuban independence. Martí was killed early in the war, but the Cubans battled on. By that time, the United States had developed substantial business holdings in Cuba. Therefore it had an economic stake in the fate of the country. In addition, the Spanish had forced many Cuban civilians into concentration camps. Americans objected to the Spanish brutality. In 1898, the United States joined the Cuban war for independence. This conflict, which came to be known as the **Spanish-American War**, lasted about four months. Years of fighting had exhausted the Spanish soldiers, and they gave up easily.

In 1901, Cuba became an independent nation, at least in name. But the Cubans resented U.S. intervention, the military government the United States had installed, and its preventing Cuba from becoming truly independent. The split that began to develop between the United States and Cuba continues to keep those close neighbors miles apart a century later.

After its defeat in the Spanish-American War, Spain turned over the last of its colonies. Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines became U.S. territories. Having become the dominant imperial power in Latin America, the United States next set its sights on Panama.

The Panama Canal Connects the Oceans

Latin Americans were beginning to regard the United States as the political and economic “Colossus of the North.” It was also a huge country geographically. By the 1870s, the transcontinental railroad connected its east and west coasts. Land travel was long and difficult, however. And sea travel involved a trip around the tip of South America. This was a journey of about 13,000 miles. If a canal could be dug across a narrow section of Central America, the coast-to-coast journey would be cut in half. The United States had been thinking about such a project since the early 19th century. In the 1880s, a French company tried—but failed—to build a canal across Panama.

Despite the French failure, Americans remained enthusiastic about the canal. And no one was more enthusiastic than President Theodore Roosevelt, who led the nation from 1901 to 1909. In 1903, Panama was a province of Colombia. Roosevelt offered that country \$10 million plus a yearly payment for the right to build a canal. When

the Colombian government demanded more money, the United States responded by encouraging a revolution in Panama. The Panamanians had been trying to break away from Colombia for almost a century. In 1903, with help from the U.S. navy, they won their country’s independence. In gratitude, Panama gave the United States a ten-mile wide zone in which to build a canal.

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For the next ten years, American engineers battled floods, heat, and disease-carrying insects to build the massive waterway. The United States began a campaign to destroy the mosquitoes that carried yellow fever and malaria, and the rats that carried bubonic plague. The effort to control

these diseases was eventually successful. But thousands of workers died during construction of the canal. The **Panama Canal** finally opened in 1914. Ships from both hemispheres soon began to use it. Latin America had become a crossroads of world trade. And the United States controlled the tollgate.

Roosevelt Corollary

The building of the Panama Canal was only one way that the United States expanded its influence in Latin America in the early 20th century. Its presence in Cuba and large investments in many Central and South American countries strengthened its foothold. To protect those economic interests, in 1904, President Roosevelt issued a corollary, or extension, to the Monroe Doctrine. The **Roosevelt Corollary** gave the United States the right to be “an international police power” in the Western Hemisphere. The United States used the Roosevelt Corollary many times in the following years to justify American intervention in Latin America. The troops occupied some countries for decades. Many Latin Americans protested this intervention by the United States. But they were powerless to stop their giant neighbor to the north. The U.S. government turned a deaf ear to these protests. It could not ignore the rumblings of revolution just over its border with Mexico, however.





UNIT 6 – THE GREAT WAR PERIOD

15. World War I: 1914 -1918

Background

At the turn of the 20th century, the nations of Europe had been at peace with one another for nearly 30 years. An entire generation had grown up ignorant of the horrors of war. Some Europeans believed that progress had made war a thing of the past. Yet in little more than a decade, a massive war would engulf Europe and spread across the globe.

15.1 An Uneasy Peace Grips Europe

Efforts to outlaw war and achieve a permanent peace had been gaining momentum in Europe since the middle of the 19th century. By 1900, hundreds of peace organizations were active. In addition, peace congresses convened regularly between 1843 and 1907. However, below this surface of peace and goodwill, several forces were at work that would help propel Europe into war.

The Steady Rise of Nationalism

One such force was nationalism, or a deep devotion to one's nation. Nationalism can serve as a unifying force within a country. However, it also can cause intense competition between nations, with each seeking to overpower the other. By the turn of the 20th century, a fierce rivalry indeed had developed among Europe's Great Powers. Those nations were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, and France. This increasing rivalry among European nations stemmed from several sources. Competition for materials and markets was one. Great Britain, home of the Industrial Revolution, had long been Europe's leader in industry, finance, and shipping. After 1850, however, other nations began to challenge Britain's power. One such nation was Germany. Germany's many new industries

made its economy the fastest growing one on the continent. As a result, Germany competed with Great Britain for industrial dominance. Nationalistic rivalries also grew out of territorial disputes. France, for example, had never gotten over the loss of Alsace Lorraine to Germany in the Franco-Prussian War (1870). Austria-Hungary and Russia both tried to dominate in the Balkans, a region in southeast Europe. Within the Balkans, the intense nationalism of Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, and other ethnic groups led to demands for independence.

Imperialism

Another force that helped set the stage for war in Europe was imperialism. As Chapter 27 explained, the nations of Europe competed fiercely for colonies in Africa and Asia. The quest for colonies sometimes pushed European nations to the brink of war. In 1905 and again in 1911, Germany and France nearly fought over who would control Morocco, in northern Africa. With most of Europe supporting France, Germany eventually backed down. As European countries continued to compete for overseas empires, their sense of rivalry and mistrust of one another deepened.

The Growth of Militarism

Beginning in the 1890s, increasing nationalism led to a dangerous European arms race. The nations of Europe believed that to be truly great, they needed to have a powerful military. By 1914, all the Great Powers except Britain had large standing armies. In addition, military experts stressed the importance of being able to quickly mobilize, or organize and move troops in case of a war. Generals in each country developed highly detailed plans for such a mobilization. The policy of glorifying military power and keeping an army prepared for war was known as **militarism**. Having a large and strong standing army made citizens feel patriotic. However, it also frightened

some people. As early as 1895, Frédéric Passy, a peace-activist and future Nobel Peace Prize winner, expressed a concern that many shared.

15.2 Tangled Alliances

The growing international rivalries had led to the creation of several military alliances among the Great Powers as early as the 1870s. This alliance system had been designed to keep peace in Europe. But it would instead help push the continent into war.

Bismarck Forges Early Pacts

Between 1864 and 1871, Prussia's blood-and-iron chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, freely used war to unify Germany. After 1871, however, Bismarck declared Germany to be a "satisfied power." He then turned his energies to maintaining peace in Europe.

Bismarck saw France as the greatest threat to peace. He believed that France still wanted revenge for its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Bismarck's first goal, therefore, was to isolate France. "As long as it is without allies," Bismarck stressed, "France poses no danger to us." In 1879, Bismarck formed the Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Three years later, Italy joined the two countries, forming the **Triple Alliance**. In 1887, Bismarck took yet another possible ally away from France by making a treaty with Russia. Bismarck knew that his network of alliances was unstable. Two of Germany's allies, Russia and Austria, were themselves bitter rivals for the Balkans. The slightest shift in diplomatic winds could blow apart the fragile web of treaties.

Shifting Alliances Threaten Peace

In 1890, Germany's foreign policy changed dramatically. That year, **Kaiser Wilhelm II**—who two years earlier had become ruler of Germany—forced Bismarck to resign. A proud and stubborn man, Wilhelm II did not wish to share power with anyone. Besides wanting to assert his own power, the new Kaiser was eager to show the world just how mighty Germany had become. The army was his greatest pride. "I and the army were born for one another," Wilhelm declared shortly after taking power.

Wilhelm set Germany on a new course. He let his nation's treaty with Russia lapse in 1890. Russia responded by forming a defensive military alliance with France in 1892 and 1894. Such an alliance had been Bismarck's fear. War with either Russia or France would make Germany the enemy of both.



Kaiser Wilhelm II
1859–1941

Germany would then be forced to fight a two-front war, or a war on both its eastern and western borders.

Next, the impulsive Kaiser, envious of Britain's large empire and mighty navy, decided to challenge Britain. During the 1890s, Germany built its own small colonial empire. At the same time, Wilhelm started a tremendous shipbuilding program in an effort to make the German navy equal to Britain's.

Alarmed, Great Britain began to enlarge its own fleet. In 1904, Britain formed an entente, or alliance, with France. In 1907, Britain made another entente, this time with both France and Russia. The **Triple Entente**, as it was called, did not bind Britain to fight with France and Russia. However, it did almost certainly ensure that Britain would not fight against them.

By 1907, two rival camps existed in Europe. On one side was the Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. On the other side was the Triple Entente—Great Britain, France, and Russia. A dispute between two rival powers could draw the entire continent into war.



15.3 Crisis in the Balkans

Nowhere was that dispute more likely to occur than on the Balkan Peninsula. This mountainous peninsula in the south eastern corner of Europe was home to an assortment of ethnic groups. With a long history of nationalist uprisings and ethnic clashes, the Balkans were known as the “powder keg” of Europe.

Europe’s Powder Keg

By the early 1900s, the Ottoman Empire—which included the Balkan region—was in rapid decline. While some Balkan groups struggled to free themselves from Ottoman rule, others already had succeeded in breaking away from their Turkish rulers. These peoples had formed new nations, including Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia.

Nationalism was a powerful force in these countries. Each group longed to extend its borders. Serbia, for example, had a large Slavic population. Serbia hoped to absorb all the Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula. On this issue of Serbian nationalism, Russia and Austria-Hungary were in direct conflict. Russia, itself a mostly Slavic nation, supported Serbian nationalism. Austria, which feared rebellion among its small Slavic population, felt threatened by Serbia’s growth. In addition, both Russia and Austria-Hungary had hoped to fill the power vacuum created by the Ottoman decline in the Balkans.

In 1908, Austria annexed, or took over, Bosnia and Herzegovina. These were two Balkan areas with large Slavic populations. Serbian leaders, who had sought to rule these provinces, were outraged. The possibility of war arose. Russia offered Serbia full support, but the offer meant little. Russia was totally unprepared for war. When Germany stood firmly behind Austria, Russia and Serbia had to back down. By 1914, tensions in the Balkan region were once again on the rise. Serbia had emerged victorious from several local conflicts. As a result, the nation had gained additional territory and a new confidence. It was more eager than ever to take Bosnia and Herzegovina away from Austria. In response, Austria-Hungary vowed to crush any Serbian effort to undermine its authority in the Balkans.

A Shot Rings throughout Europe

Into this poisoned atmosphere of mutual dislike and mistrust stepped the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, Sophie. On June 28, 1914, the couple paid a state visit to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. It was to be their last. The royal pair were shot at pointblank range as they rode through the streets of Sarajevo in an open car. The killer was Gavrilo Princip, a 19-year-old member of the Black

Hand. The Black Hand was a secret society committed to ridding Bosnia of Austrian rule. Because the assassin was a Serbian, Austria decided to use the murders as an excuse to punish Serbia. An angry Kaiser Wilhelm II urged Austria to be aggressive, and he offered Germany’s unconditional support. In effect this gave Austria license to do what it wanted with Serbia. On July 23, Austria presented Serbia with an ultimatum. An ultimatum is a list of demands that if not met, will lead to serious consequences. The ultimatum was deliberately harsh. Demands included an end to all anti-Austrian activity. In addition, Serbian leaders would have had to allow Austrian officials into their country to conduct an investigation into the assassinations. Serbia knew that refusing the ultimatum would lead to war against the more powerful Austria. Therefore, Serbian leaders agreed to most of Austria’s demands. They offered to have several others settled by an international conference. Austria, however, was in no mood to negotiate. The nation’s leaders, it seemed, had already settled on war. On July 28, Austria rejected Serbia’s offer and declared war. That same day, Serbia’s ally, Russia, took action. Russian leaders ordered the mobilization of troops toward the Austrian border. Leaders all over Europe suddenly took alarm. The fragile European stability seemed about to collapse. The British foreign minister, the Italian government, and even Kaiser Wilhelm himself urged Austria and Russia to negotiate. But it was too late. The machinery of war had been set in motion.

How War Consumes Europe

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, was the spark that ignited a giant blaze. This single terrorist act set off a chain reaction within the alliance system that would result in the largest war Europe—and the world—had ever seen.

15.4 The Alliance System Collapses

By 1914, Europe was divided into two rival camps. One alliance, the Triple Entente, included Great Britain, France, and Russia. The other, known as the Triple Alliance, included Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Austria-Hungary’s declaration of war against Serbia set off a chain reaction within the alliance system. The countries of Europe followed through on their numerous and complex pledges to support one another. As a result, nearly all the nations of Europe soon were drawn into the war.



A Chain Reaction

In response to Austria's declaration of war, Russia, Serbia's ally, began moving its army toward the Russian-Austrian border. Expecting Germany to join Austria, Russia also mobilized along the German border. Czar Nicholas II of Russia told the Kaiser that the maneuvers were just a precaution. Yet to Germany, Russia's mobilization amounted to a declaration of war. On August 1, the German government declared war on Russia. Russia looked to its ally France for help. Germany, however, did not even wait for France to react. Two days after declaring war on Russia, Germany also declared war on France. Much of Europe was now locked in battle.

The Schlieffen Plan

Germany quickly put its military plan into effect. The plan was named after its designer, General Alfred Graf von Schlieffen. In the event of a two-front war, Schlieffen had called for attacking France and then Russia. The general had reasoned that Russia—with its lack of railroads—would have difficulty mobilizing its troops. Under the **Schlieffen Plan**, a large part of the German army would race west, to defeat France, and then return to fight Russia in the east.

Speed was vital to the German plan. The French had troops all along their border with Germany. Thus, the

Germans knew that breaking through would be slow work. There was another route, however: France's northern border with Belgium was unprotected.

Germany demanded that its troops be allowed to pass through Belgium on their way to France. Belgium, a neutral country, refused. Germany then invaded Belgium. This brought Great Britain into the conflict. The British had close ties with Belgium, one of their nearest neighbors on the continent. Outraged over the violation of Belgian neutrality, Britain declared war on Germany on August 4.

European Nations Take Sides

By mid-August 1914, the battle lines were clearly drawn. On one side were Germany and Austria-Hungary. They were known as the **Central Powers**, because of their location in the heart of Europe. Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire would later join the Central Powers in the hopes of regaining lost territories.

On the other side were Great Britain, France, and Russia. Together, they were known as the Allied Powers or the **Allies**. Japan joined the Allies within weeks. Italy, which at first was neutral, joined the Allies nine months into the war. Italy claimed that its membership in the Triple Alliance had been a defensive strategy. The Italians felt that the Germans had made an unprovoked attack on

Belgium. Therefore, the Italians argued, they were not obligated to stand by their old ally.

In the late summer of 1914, millions of soldiers marched happily off to battle, convinced that the war would be short. Only a few people foresaw the horror ahead. One of them was Britain's foreign minister, Sir Edward Grey. Staring out over London at nightfall, Grey said sadly to a friend, "The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our lifetime."

15.5 A Bloody Stalemate along the Western Front

It did not take long for Sir Edward Grey's prediction to ring true. As the summer of 1914 turned to fall, Germany's lightning-quick strike instead turned into a long and bloody stalemate, or deadlock, along the battlefields of France. This deadlocked region in northern France became known as the **Western Front**.

The Conflict Grinds to a Halt

Early on, Germany's Schlieffen Plan worked brilliantly. By the end of August, the Germans had overrun Belgium and swept into France. By September 3, German units were on the edge of Paris. A major German victory appeared just days away. The French military then came into possession of intelligence that told them the exact direction the German army was about to take.

On September 5, the Allies attacked the Germans northeast of Paris, in the valley of the Marne River. Every available soldier was hurled into the struggle. When reinforcements were needed, more than 600 taxicabs rushed soldiers from Paris to the front. After four days of fighting, the German generals gave the order to retreat. "It was an inspiring thought," a British officer later wrote, "that the time had now come to chase the German." By September 13, the Germans had been driven back nearly 60 miles.

Although it was only the first major clash on the Western Front, the First Battle of the Marne was perhaps the single most important event of the war. The defeat of the Germans left the Schlieffen Plan in ruins. A quick victory in the west no longer seemed possible. In the east, Russian forces had already invaded Germany. Germany was going to have to fight a long war on two fronts. Realizing this, the German high command sent thousands of troops from France to aid its forces in the east. Meanwhile, the war on the Western Front settled into a stalemate.

War in the Trenches

By early 1915, opposing armies on the Western Front had dug miles of parallel trenches to protect themselves from enemy fire. This set the stage for what became known as **trench warfare**. In this type of warfare, soldiers fought

each other from trenches. And armies traded huge losses for pitifully small land gains.

Life in the trenches was pure misery. "The men slept in mud, washed in mud, ate mud, and dreamed mud," wrote one soldier. The trenches swarmed with rats. Fresh food was non-existent. Sleep was nearly impossible.

The space between the opposing trenches won the grim name "no man's land." When the officers ordered an attack, their men went "over the top" of their trenches into this bombed-out landscape. There, they usually met murderous rounds of machine-gun fire. Staying put in the trench, however, did not ensure one's safety.

Military strategists were at a loss. New tools of war—machine guns, poison gas, armored tanks, larger artillery—had not delivered the fast-moving war they had expected. All this new technology did was kill huge numbers of people more effectively.

The slaughter reached a peak in 1916. In February, the Germans launched a massive attack against the French near Verdun. Each side lost more than 300,000 men. In July of 1916, the British army tried to relieve the pressure on the French. British forces attacked the Germans northwest of Verdun, in the valley of the Somme River. In the first day of battle alone, more than 20,000 British soldiers were killed. By the time the Battle of the Somme ended in November, each side had suffered over half a million casualties. What did the warring sides gain? Near Verdun, the Germans advanced about four miles. In the Somme valley, the British gained about five miles.

15.6 The Battle on the Eastern Front

Even as the war on the Western Front claimed thousands of lives, both sides were sending millions more men to fight on the **Eastern Front**. This area was a stretch of battlefield along the German and Russian border. Here, Russians and Serbs battled Germans, Austrians, and Turks. The war in the east was a more mobile war than that in the west. Here too, however, slaughter and stalemate were common.

Central Powers Gain the Advantage

At the very beginning of the war, Russian forces had launched an attack into both Austria and Germany. At the end of August 1914, Germany counterattacked near the town of Tannenberg. During the four-day battle that followed, the Germans crushed the invading Russian army and drove it into full retreat. Germany regained East Prussia and seized numerous guns and horses from the enemy. More than 30,000 Russian soldiers were killed.

Russia fared somewhat better against the Austrians. Russian forces defeated the Austrians twice in September

1914, driving them deep into Austria. Not until December of that year did the Austrian army—with German assistance—manage to turn the tide. In a 17-day battle near Limanowa, Austria defeated the Russians and drove them eastward. Two weeks later, the Austrian army pushed the Russians out of Austria-Hungary.

Russia's War Effort Weakens

By 1916, Russia's war effort was near collapse. Unlike the nations of western Europe, Russia had yet to become industrialized. As a result, the Russian army was continually short on food, guns, ammunition, clothes, boots, and blankets. Moreover, the Allies were unable to ship supplies to Russia's ports. In the north, a German naval fleet blocked the Baltic Sea. In the south, the Ottomans still controlled the straits leading from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. The Russian army had only one asset—its numbers. Throughout the war the Russian army suffered enormous battlefield losses. More than 2 million Russian soldiers were killed, wounded, or captured in 1915 alone. And yet the army continually rebuilt its ranks from the country's enormous population. For more than three years, the battered Russian army managed to tie up hundreds of thousands of German troops in the east. Thus, Germany could not hurl its full fighting force at the west. Germany and her allies, however, were concerned with more than just the Eastern or Western Fronts. As the war raged on, fighting spread beyond Europe to Africa, as well as to Southwest and Southeast Asia. In the years after it began, the massive European conflict indeed became a world war.

By early 1915, it was apparent to all the warring nations that swift victory had eluded them. As war on both European fronts promised to be a grim, drawn-out affair, all the Great Powers looked for new allies to tip the balance. They also sought new war fronts on which to achieve victory.

15.7 A Truly Global Conflict

Geographical widening of the war actually had begun soon after the conflict started. Japan entered the war on the Allies' side. The Ottoman Turks and later Bulgaria allied themselves with Germany and the Central Powers. That widened the conflict further. By early 1915, the only major neutral power left besides the United States was Italy. And Italy joined the Allies in April. None of these alliances gave an advantage to either side. But they did give military leaders more war zones in which to try to secure victory.

Fighting Rages Beyond Europe

As the war dragged on, the Allies desperately searched for a way to end the stalemate. A promising strategy seemed to be to attack a region in the Ottoman Empire

known as the Dardanelles. This narrow sea strait was the gateway to the Ottoman capital, Constantinople. By securing the Dardanelles, the Allies believed that they could take Constantinople, defeat the Turks, and establish a supply line to Russia. They might even be able to mount an offensive into the Austrian heartland by way of the Danube River.

The effort to take the Dardanelles strait began in February 1915. It was known as the Gallipoli campaign. British, Australian, New Zealand, and French troops made repeated assaults on the Gallipoli Peninsula on the western side of the strait. Turkish troops, some commanded by German officers, vigorously defended the region. By May, Gallipoli had turned into another bloody stalemate. Both sides dug trenches, from which they battled for the rest of the year. In December, the Allies gave up the campaign and began to evacuate. They had suffered about 250,000 casualties.

Despite the Allies' failure at Gallipoli, they remained determined to topple the Ottoman Empire. In Southwest Asia, the British helped Arab nationalists rise up against their Turkish rulers. Particularly devoted to the Arab cause was a British soldier named T. E. Lawrence. Better known as Lawrence of Arabia, he helped lead daring guerrilla raids against the Turks. With the help of the Arabs, Allied armies took control of Baghdad, Jerusalem, and Damascus. In various parts of Asia and Africa, Germany's colonial possessions came under assault. The Japanese quickly overran German outposts in China. They also captured Germany's Pacific island colonies.

English and French troops attacked Germany's four African possessions. They seized control of three.

Elsewhere in Asia and Africa, the British and French recruited subjects in their colonies for the struggle. Fighting troops as well as laborers came from India, South Africa, Senegal, Egypt, Algeria, and Indochina. Many fought and died on the battlefield. Others worked to keep the frontlines supplied. Some colonial subjects wanted nothing to do with their European rulers' conflicts. Others volunteered in the hope that service would lead to their independence. This was the view of Indian political leader Mohandas Gandhi, who supported Indian participation in the war. "If we would improve our status through the help and cooperation of the British," he wrote, "it was our duty to win their help by standing by them in their hour of need."

The United States Enters the War

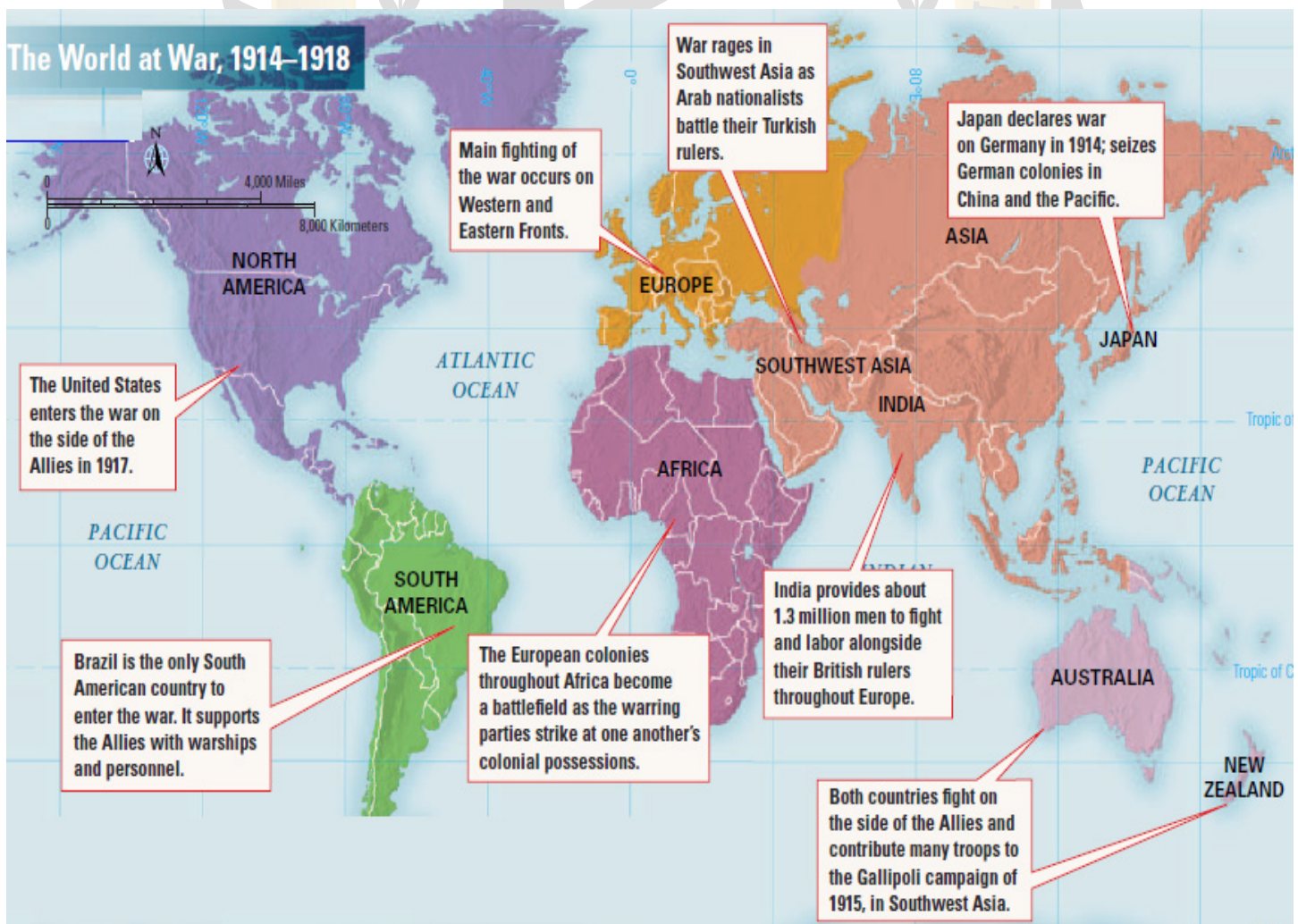
In 1917, the focus of the war shifted to the high seas. That year, the Germans intensified the submarine warfare that had raged in the Atlantic Ocean since shortly after the war began. By 1917, failed crops, as well as a British naval blockade, caused severe food shortages in Germany.

Desperate to strike back, Germany decided to establish its own naval blockade around Britain. In January 1917, the Germans announced that their submarines would sink without warning any ship in the waters around Britain. This policy was called **unrestricted submarine warfare**.

The Germans had tried this policy before. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine, or U-boat, had sunk the British passenger ship *Lusitania*. The attack left 1,198 people dead, including 128 U.S. citizens. Germany claimed that the ship had been carrying ammunition—which turned out to be true. Nevertheless, the American public was outraged. President Woodrow Wilson sent a strong protest to Germany. After two further attacks, the Germans finally agreed to stop attacking neutral and passenger ships.

However, the Germans returned to unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917. They knew it might lead to war with the United States. They gambled that their naval blockade would starve Britain into defeat before the United States could mobilize. Ignoring warnings by President Wilson, German U-boats sank three American ships. In February 1917, another German action pushed

the United States closer to war. The British intercepted a telegram from Germany's foreign secretary, Arthur Zimmermann, to the German ambassador in Mexico. The message said that Germany would help Mexico "reconquer" the land it had lost to the United States if Mexico would ally itself with Germany. The British decoded the message and gave it to the U.S. government. When the Zimmermann note was made public, Americans called for war against Germany. Even before news of the note, many Americans had sided with the Allies. A large part of the American population felt a bond with England. The two nations shared a common ancestry and language, as well as similar democratic institutions and legal systems. In addition, reports—some true and others not—of German war atrocities stirred anti-German sentiment in the United States. More important, America's economic ties with the Allies were far stronger than those with the Central Powers. America traded with Great Britain and France more than twice as much as with Germany. The Zimmermann note simply proved to be the last straw. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress to declare war. The United States entered the war on the side of the Allies.



15.8 War Affects the Home Front

By the time the United States joined the Allies, the war had been going on for nearly three years. In those three years, Europe had lost more men in battle than in all the wars of the previous three centuries. The war had claimed the lives of millions and had changed countless lives forever. The Great War, as the conflict came to be known, affected everyone. It touched not only the soldiers in the trenches, but civilians as well. It affected not just military institutions, but also political, economic, and social institutions.

Governments Wage Total War

World War I soon became a **total war**. This meant that countries devoted all their resources to the war effort. In Britain, Germany, Austria, Russia, and France, the entire force of government was dedicated to winning the conflict.

In each country, the wartime government took control of the economy. Governments told factories what to produce and how much. Numerous facilities were converted to munitions factories. Nearly every able-bodied civilian was put to work. Unemployment in many European countries nearly disappeared. European governments even enlisted the help of foreign workers. For example, thousands of civilians were deported from German-occupied Belgium and France to work in Germany as farm and factory laborers. Britain and France recruited Chinese, West Indian, Algerian, and Egyptian laborers to work behind their lines at the front.

So many goods were in short supply that governments turned to **rationing**. Under this system, people could buy only small amounts of those items that were also needed for the war effort. Eventually, rationing covered a wide range of goods, from butter to shoe leather. Governments also suppressed antiwar activity—sometimes forcibly. In addition, they censored news about the war. Many leaders feared that honest reporting of the war would turn people against it. Governments also used **propaganda**—one-sided information designed to persuade—to keep up morale and support for the war. One of the main instruments of propaganda was the war poster. In nations throughout Europe, striking, colorful posters urged support for the war by painting the enemy as monsters and allies as heroes.

The War's Impact on Women

Total war meant that governments turned to help from women as never before. Thousands of women replaced men in factories, offices, and shops. Women built tanks and munitions, plowed fields, paved streets, and ran hospitals. They also kept troops supplied with food, clothing,

and weapons. Although most women left the work force when the war ended, they changed many people's views of what women were capable of doing.

15.9 The Allies Win the War

With the United States finally in the war, the balance, it seemed, was about to tip in the Allies' favor. Before that happened, however, events in Russia gave Germany a victory on the Eastern Front.

Russia Withdraws from the War

By March 1917, civil unrest in Russia—due in part to war-related shortages of food and fuel—had brought the czar's government to the brink of collapse. Czar Nicholas, faced with the prospect of revolution, abdicated his throne on March 15. In his place a provisional government was established. The new government pledged to continue fighting the war. However, by 1917, nearly 5.5 million Russian soldiers had been wounded, killed, or taken prisoner. The war-weary Russian army refused to fight any longer. Eight months later, a second revolution shook Russia (see Chapter 30). In November 1917, Communist leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin seized power. Lenin insisted on ending his country's involvement in the war. One of his first acts was to offer Germany a truce. In March 1918, Germany and Russia signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which ended the war between them.

The treaty was extremely hard on Russia. It required the Russian government to surrender lands to Germany that now include Finland, Poland, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. (See map on page 762.) Even though the treaty became invalid after the war, these nations still gained their independence.

A Failed Final Push

Russia's withdrawal from the war at last allowed Germany to send nearly all its forces to the Western Front. In March 1918, the Germans mounted one final, massive attack on the Allies in France. More than 6,000 German cannons opened the offensive with the largest artillery attack of the entire war. As in the opening weeks of the war, the German forces crushed everything in their path. By late May 1918, the Germans had again reached the Marne River. Paris was less than 40 miles away. Victory seemed within reach. By this time, however, the German military had weakened. The effort to reach the Marne had exhausted men and supplies alike. Sensing this weakness, the Allies—with the aid of nearly 140,000 fresh American troops—launched a counterattack. Marshal Ferdinand Foch, the French commander of the Allied forces, used Americans to fill the gaps in his ranks. The U.S. soldiers were inexperienced but courageous and ea-

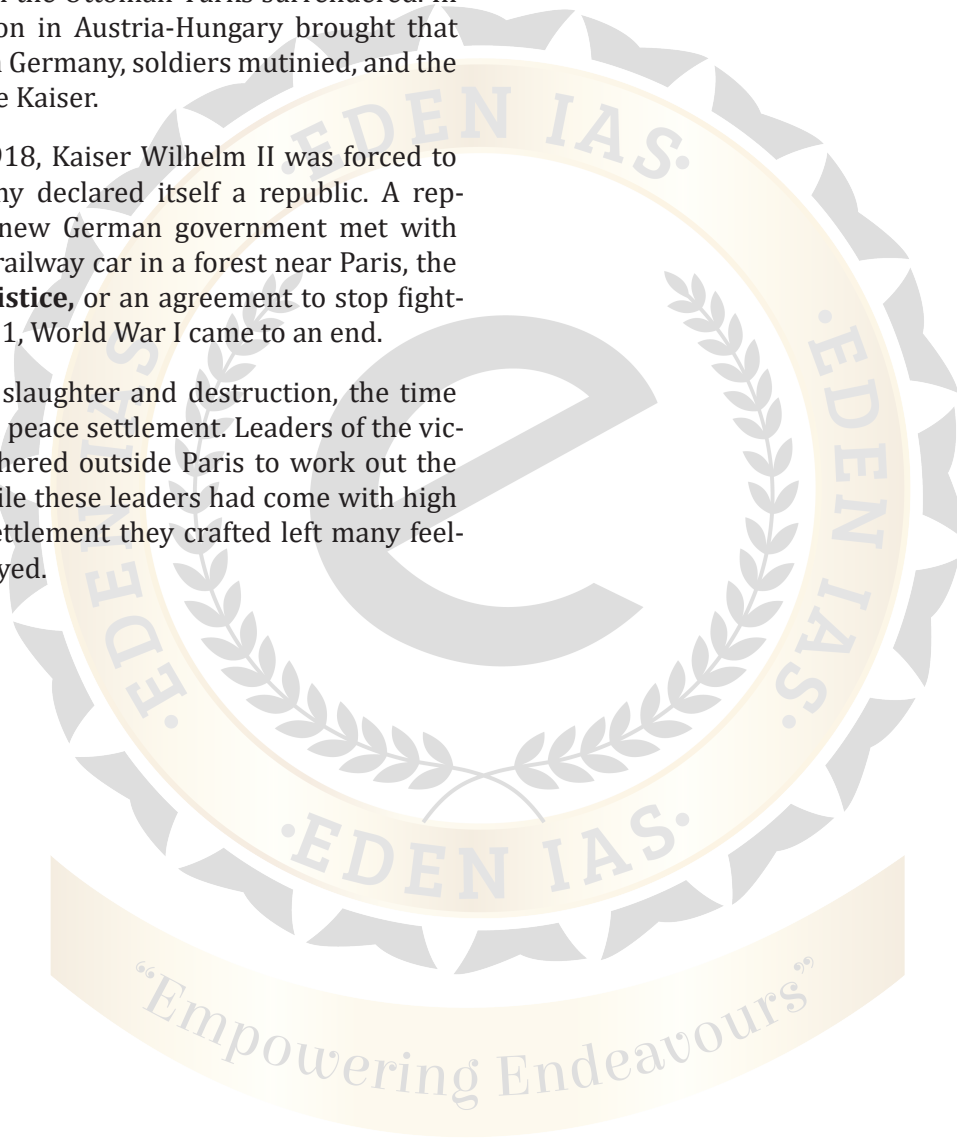
ger to fight. A British nurse, Vera Brittain, later recalled her joy in seeing the American reinforcements.

In July 1918, the Allies and Germans clashed at the Second Battle of the Marne. Leading the Allied attack were some 350 tanks that rumbled slowly forward, smashing through the German lines. With the arrival of 2 million more American troops, the Allied forces began to advance steadily toward Germany.

Soon, the Central Powers began to crumble. First the Bulgarians and then the Ottoman Turks surrendered. In October, a revolution in Austria-Hungary brought that empire to an end. In Germany, soldiers mutinied, and the public turned on the Kaiser.

On November 9, 1918, Kaiser Wilhelm II was forced to step down. Germany declared itself a republic. A representative of the new German government met with Marshal Foch. In a railway car in a forest near Paris, the two signed an **armistice**, or an agreement to stop fighting. On November 11, World War I came to an end.

After four years of slaughter and destruction, the time had come to forge a peace settlement. Leaders of the victorious nations gathered outside Paris to work out the terms of peace. While these leaders had come with high hopes, the peace settlement they crafted left many feeling bitter and betrayed.





UNIT H – POLITICAL CHANGES AFTER WAR

16. Flawed Peace and After war

World War I was over. The killing had stopped. The terms of peace, however, still had to be worked out. On January 18, 1919, a conference to establish those terms began at the Palace of Versailles, outside Paris. For one year this conference would be the scene of vigorous, often bitter debate. The Allied powers struggled to solve their conflicting aims in various peace treaties.

The Allies Meet at Versailles

Attending the talks, known as the Paris Peace Conference, were delegates representing 32 countries. However, the meeting's major decisions were hammered out by a group known as the Big Four: **Woodrow Wilson** of the United States, **Georges Clemenceau** of France, **David Lloyd George** of Great Britain, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Russia, in the grip of civil war, was not represented. Neither were Germany and its allies.

Wilson's Plan for Peace



Georges Clemenceau
1841–1929

Woodrow Wilson
1856–1924

In January 1918, while the war was still raging, President Wilson had drawn up a series of proposals. Known as the **Fourteen Points**, they outlined a plan for achieving a just and lasting peace. The first five points included an end to

secret treaties, freedom of the seas, free trade, and reduced national armies and navies. The fifth goal was the adjustment of colonial claims with fairness toward colonial peoples. The sixth through thirteenth points were specific suggestions for changing borders and creating new nations. The guiding idea behind these points was **self-determination**. This meant allowing people to decide for themselves under what government they wished to live. Finally, the fourteenth point proposed a “general association of nations” that would protect “great and small states alike.” This reflected Wilson’s hope for an organization that could peacefully negotiate solutions to world conflicts.

The Allies Dictate a Harsh Peace

As the Paris Peace Conference opened, Britain and France showed little sign of agreeing to Wilson’s vision of peace. Both nations were concerned with national security. They also wanted to strip Germany of its war-making power. The French, in particular, were determined to punish Germany. France was where much of the fighting had occurred. The nation had lost more than a million soldiers and had seen large amounts of its land destroyed. Clemenceau wanted Germany to pay for the suffering the war had caused.

The differences between French, British, and U.S. aims led to heated arguments among the nations’ leaders. Finally a compromise was reached. The **Treaty of Versailles** between Germany and the Allied powers was signed on June 28, 1919—five years to the day after Franz Ferdinand’s assassination in Sarajevo.

Adopting Wilson’s fourteenth point, the treaty created a **League of Nations**. The league was to be an international association whose goal would be to keep peace among nations. The five Allied powers—the United

States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—were to be permanent members of the league’s Executive Council. Its General Assembly would consist of representatives of 32 Allied and neutral nations. Germany was deliberately excluded. Also left out was Russia. Russia’s early withdrawal from the war and its revolutionary leadership had made it an outcast in the eyes of the other Allies. The treaty also punished Germany. The defeated nation lost substantial territory and had severe restrictions placed on its military operations. As punishing as these provisions were, the harshest was Article 231. It was also known as the “war guilt” clause. It placed sole responsibility for the war on Germany’s shoulders. As a result, Germany had to pay reparations to the Allies. All of Germany’s territories in Africa and the Pacific were declared mandates, or territories to be administered by the League of Nations. Under the peace agreement, the Allies would govern the mandates until they were judged ready for independence.

The Treaty of Versailles: Major Provisions			
League of Nations	Territorial Losses	Military Restrictions	War Guilt
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International peace organization; membership to include Allied war powers and 32 Allied and neutral nations Germany and Russia excluded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Germany returns Alsace-Lorraine to France; French border extended to the west bank of the Rhine River Germany surrenders all of its overseas colonies in Africa and the Pacific 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limits set on the size of the German army Germany prohibited from importing or manufacturing weapons or war materiel Germany forbidden to build or buy submarines or have an air force 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sole responsibility for the war placed on Germany’s shoulders Germany forced to pay the Allies \$33 billion in reparations over 30 years

The Creation of New Nations

The Versailles treaty with Germany was just one of the treaties negotiated by the Allies. The Western powers signed separate peace treaties in 1919 and 1920 with each of the other defeated nations: Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire. These treaties, too, led to huge land losses for the Central Powers. Several new countries were created out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were all recognized as independent nations.

The Ottoman Turks were forced to give up almost all of their former empire. They retained only the territory that is today the country of Turkey. The Allies carved up the lands that the Ottomans lost in Southwest Asia into mandates rather than independent nations. Palestine, Iraq, and Transjordan came under British control; Syria and Lebanon went to France. Russia, alienated by the Allies, suffered land losses as well. Romania and Poland both gained Russian territory. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, formerly part of Russia, became independent nations.



“A Peace Built on Quicksand”

In the end, the Treaty of Versailles did little to build a lasting peace. For one thing, the United States—considered after the war to be the dominant nation in the world—ultimately rejected the treaty. Many Americans objected to the settlement and especially to President Wilson’s League of Nations. Americans believed that the United States’ best hope for peace was to stay out of European affairs. The United States worked out a separate treaty with Germany and its allies several years later.

In addition, the treaty with Germany—in particular the war-guilt clause—left a legacy of bitterness and hatred in the hearts of the German people. Other countries felt cheated and betrayed as well by the peace settlements. Throughout Africa and Asia, people in the mandated territories were angry at the way the Allies disregarded their desire for independence. The European powers, it seemed to them, merely talked about the principle of national self-determination. European colonialism, disguised as the mandate system, continued in Asia and Africa.

Some Allied powers, too, were embittered by the outcome. Both Japan and Italy, which had entered the war to gain territory, had gained less than they wanted. Lacking the support of the United States, and later other world powers, the League of Nations was in no position to take action on these complaints. The settlements at Versailles represented, as one observer noted, “a peace built on quicksand.” Indeed, that quicksand eventually would give way. In a little more than two decades, the treaties’ legacy of bitterness would help plunge the world into another catastrophic war.

The Legacy of the War

World War I was, in many ways, a new kind of war. It involved the use of new technologies. It ushered in the notion of war on a grand and global scale. It also left behind a landscape of death and destruction such as was never before seen.

The War’s Extreme Cost

Both sides in World War I paid a tremendous price in terms of human life. About 8.5 million soldiers died as a result of the war. Another 21 million more were wounded. In addition, the war led to the death of countless civilians by way of starvation, disease, and slaughter. Taken together, these figures spelled tragedy—an entire generation of Europeans wiped out.

The war also had a devastating economic impact on Europe. The great conflict drained the treasuries of Europe. One account put the total cost of the war at \$338

billion—a staggering amount for that time. The war also destroyed acres of farmland, as well as homes, villages, and towns.

A Lost Generation

The enormous suffering and apparent pointlessness of the Great War left a deep mark on Western society as well. A sense of disillusionment settled over the survivors. The insecurity and despair that many people experienced are reflected in the art and literature of the time. In a poem written in 1919, the Russian poet Anna Akhmatova captured these feelings.

The Great War shook European society to its foundations. While the war would continue to haunt future generations, its more immediate impact was to help ignite one of the most significant events of the 20th century. In Chapter 30, you will learn about that event: the Russian Revolution.

Impact of the World War I (1914-19)

1) The Peace Treaties: They weakened Germany only temporarily because some of clauses like Disarmament and huge War Reparations were impossible to implement. Germany soon began rearming itself with help of Russians and defaulted on the payments towards reparations.

- a) The treaties only served to sow seeds of resentment and extreme national rivalries which were to harvest in form of the World War II.
- b) Treaties divided Europe into two groups of states. While one group wanted to revise the peace settlements, the other group wanted to defend/preserve the peace settlements.
- c) US did not ratify the peace settlements and never joined the League of Nations as the public soon denounced Wilson and US reverted back to the Policy of Isolation to prevent any military engagement in future.
- d) Italy felt cheated as it did not get all the territory that was promised to it in lieu of entering the war in 1915.

2) League of Nations was created to ensure world peace and for social work.

3) Russia became Communist: World War I led to rise of revolting Bolsheviks who were against the Russian participation in the war due to the economic burden it brought upon the Russian population. There were two phases of Russian Revolution of 1917. In the February Revolution (1917) the Czar was overthrown due to army mutinies and the civil unrest. A provisional government

was setup but it failed to hold the promised elections. Helped by the Germans, Lenin returned from exile to Russia and this paved way for the October Revolution (1917) that led to overthrow of the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, came to power and a separate peace treaty (Treaty of Brest Litovsk) was signed with Germany in 1917. This treaty was very harsh upon the Russians and was used against the Germans when they complained about the Treaty of Versailles being immoral and excessively harsh.

4) Rise of US as a hegemonic power: US entered the war in 1917 when the German blockade of ships (1917) started targeting all the merchant vessels in Atlantic, including of the US. The Zimmerman Plan was another factor which changed the public opinion in US in favor of entering the war. This plan was a product of German diplomat Zimmerman and entailed persuading Mexico to attack US. Also, earlier US did not want to enter the war on side of the autocratic Czar. The spirit of American Revolution was behind the US reluctance. But the fall of the Czarist regime in Russia removed this barrier as well. The following factors helped US emerge as the true winner from the World War I:

- a) The war was not fought on the US soil. Thus US escaped the usual damage to infrastructure and the consequent economic costs of reconstruction a war brings.
- b) US intervened militarily only during the last phase of the World War I and thus it lost minimal soldiers in the warfare unlike the Europeans who had to deal with the shelling and the trench warfare.
- c) US gave loans to the Allied Powers during the war and to the Germans after the end of the war to meet the reparation costs imposed on them under the Treaty of Versailles. Thus, US made a lot of money through World War I. Its war machine i.e. the military industries gained the most by selling weapons during and after the war. The decade after the war, till 1929 when the economic crisis hit US, was one of the most prosperous for US.
- d) The leading role played by President Woodrow Wilson in the negotiations in Versailles is a symbolic proof of the stature of US during and after the World War I. Thus, although even on the eve of World War I, US was the leading industrial economy, the World War I catalyzed its arrival on the world stage as a truly global power.

5) European economy suffered due to the war and European nations became dependent on loans from US for reconstruction.

6) Dismemberment of Ottoman Empire: The Ottoman empire disintegrated after its loss in the World War I and the new nation state of Turkey came into being.

7) Disintegration of Habsburg Empire: Austria-Hungary separated on their own just before the end of the World War I and the Habsburg empire came to an end.

8) Rise of new nations states: Turkey, Austria and Hungary were created as mentioned above. Further, Czechoslovakia and Poland were created. Serbia fulfilled its dream of uniting the Slav people under Yugoslavia which was formed by merging Serbia and Montenegro. Also Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made independent nations. Germany had ceased them from Russia after the Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1917).

9) Imperialism continued: The German colonies were converted into Mandates. Mandates were handed over to the victors for preparing them for independence at a suitable future date. The British got the German colonies in Africa. Ottoman Empire's territories of Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and Palestine were distributed as Mandates among France and Britain.

10) Introduction of new Weapons: Many new weapons were used for the first time in World War I. Barbed Wires, Machine Guns, Tanks, Poison Gas and Shelling were put to great use. This pushed the world away from peace and ensured that the future wars were more dangerous.

11) World War I did change the people's outlook towards war: War was now condemned by many thinkers due to the high civilian casualties. Before the World War I, war was cited as glorious and there was a dominating flavor of romanticism in the literature being published. This changed after the World War I and writers like Hemingway began denouncing the war as inhuman. Most viewed the World War I as a tragedy because it didn't need to happen, it didn't accomplish much and it only created socio-economic conditions that made World War II more likely.

17. League of Nations

League of Nations had its origin in the war aims of Allied Powers. Woodrow Wilson's 14 points had envisaged creation of an international agency that would work for maintenance of world peace. Similarly, Britain had also listed creation of such an organization as one of its war aims during World War I. This clause took the form of League of Nations, which was formed in January 1920, with its headquarters in Geneva, on the same day as the Treaty of Versailles came into effect.

Aims of the League of Nation

Following were the aims of the League of Nation:

1. Settle international disputes to prevent war in future. This was to be achieved through the principle of collective security. All the member nations were to collectively act against a nation who tried to wage a war. This action against the aggressor nation would take form of economic sanctions and military action, if required. Thus, maintenance of international peace and security was the primary goal of the League.
2. Economic and Social work: The League of Nations was to seek international cooperation for socio-economic development across the world. For this purpose various organizations within the League of Nations were created.

League Covenant

It was the list of rules through which the League was to operate. These rules were drawn up by an International Committee that comprised of the leaders of important world powers.

Organizational Structure of the League of Nations

1) Membership: There were 42 member nations to begin with. By 1926, when Germany was granted membership, the total number of member nations had reached the tally of 55.

2) Security Council: The League of Nations had a United Nations Security Council, like Security Council with eight members to begin with, four permanent members and four non-permanent members. The non-permanent members were elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years. By 1926, the council had thirteen members with the seats for non-permanent members now increasing to nine. The four permanent members were France, Italy, Japan and Britain. The decisions in the council had to be unanimous. The mandate of the League of Nations Security Council was to deal with political issues.

3) Peacekeeping Function: All disputes that could boil down to a war were to be referred to the League and any member that resorted to war was to face collective action by the rest of the members. The Security Council would have the authority to recommend the amount of resources - naval, air, military - that each member of the League should contribute for collective action against the aggressor.

4) General Assembly: Members of the League of Nations constituted the General Assembly. The Assembly met annually and the decisions were to be taken unanimously. All members of the Assembly had one vote. The Assembly was a policy making body of the League and thus its mandate was to decide on the general policy issues. It also controlled the finances of the League of Nations and had powers to change a peace treaty. The special functions of the Assembly included the admission of new members, the periodical election of non-permanent members to the Council, the election with the Council of the Judges of the Permanent Court, and control of the budget. In practice, the Assembly was the general directing force of League activities.

5) Permanent Court of International Justice: It was setup in Hague (Netherlands). Its mandate was to deal only with the legal disputes between states and not the political disputes. It had fifteen judges from different nationalities. It continues to function today as part of the United Nations and is known as the International Court of Justice.

6) Secretariat: It was setup as a support unit and handled the paperwork, formulation of reports and preparing the agenda.

7) Commissions & Committees: Commissions were setup, with each commission dealing with specific problems. Examples of important commissions included commission for handling issues regarding 'Mandates', Disarmament, Military Affairs etc. On the other hand, important committees were those dealing with areas of Health, Labor, Women Rights, Drugs, Child Welfare etc.

Evaluation of Performance of League of Nations

To determine the success or failure of the League of Nations, we can analyze its performance with respect to two major aims of the League as mentioned earlier. If the performance of the League of Nations is to be summarized, then it can be said that it failed with respect to its aim of being a leading forum for resolution of international disputes and ensuring a peaceful world. But, it did important work for the socio-economic development across the world, specially, the work by International Labor Organization towards welfare of the workers and the contribution of League of Nations for rehabilitation of the refugees of the World War I was commendable.

Success of the League of Nations

The League was successful in two areas:

1) Economic and Social work through its Commissions and Committees:

- a) **ILO:** The International Labor Organization was the most successful. The goals of ILO included – fixing maximum working days and minimum wages, ensuring that member nations provided for unemployment benefits and old age pensions. Its work included information dissemination with respect to performance of different member nations and to push the governments for actions in the area of welfare of the workers.
- b) **The Refugee Organization:** It helped the Prisoners of War in Russia to their homes outside Russia. In 1933, it helped the Jews, who were fleeing to escape Nazi persecution, to resettle in different countries where they would be safe.
- c) **Health Organization:** It did good work in finding causes of different epidemics. It was especially successful in combating Typhus epidemic in Russia which had the potential to spread to the rest of Europe.
- d) **Mandates Commission:** It had the responsibility of monitoring the governance of territories given to member nations as Mandates (former colonies of Ottoman Empire and Germany). A separate commission, which was setup for supervising the governance in SAAR, was very efficient and successfully held a plebiscite there in 1935. After the plebiscite, SAAR was returned to Germany. Although the Mandates Commission functioned well, it can be argued that it did not do much against colonialism in former African colonies that were converted to Mandates. The Mandates were to be prepared for independence but the commission failed to ensure that the colonial powers provide for participation of the locals in the governance of Mandates.

2) **Resolution of minor International disputes:** Here the League had partial success. It forced Greece to pay compensation to Bulgaria, when the former invaded the latter. The League decided in favour of Britain when Turkey started claiming the Mosul province, which was a mandate of Britain. The League solved a territorial dispute between Peru and Columbia. Also in 1921, when there was a dispute regarding Upper Silesia (an industrial region) between Germany and Poland, the League successfully made both the parties reach a settlement and Upper Silesia was partitioned between the two.

Failures / Causes of Ineffectiveness of the League of Nations

1) An Allies Organization: League of Nations came to be viewed as an organization of the Allied Powers especially of France and Britain, setup for implementation of unjust peace treaties, which failed to satisfy all nations.

- a) Turkey and Italy were both dissatisfied with the peace treaties. While Turkey was aggrieved at territories it considered as inalienable being handed over to Greece, Italy was dissatisfied for not getting the territorial gains it was promised in 1915 in lieu of entering the war in favor of the Allies.
- b) The Peace treaties signed were against principle of Self Determination. For instance, millions of Germans, after the peace treaties, resided outside Germany in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Similarly, many Turks were now residents of Greece.

2) Conference of Ambassadors: This body was setup as a temporary body to resolve disputes regarding peace treaties until the League of Nations was setup and made fully functional. But, it continued to exist even after the formation of the League. This hurt the legitimacy and the authority of the League of Nations. At times, the Conference of Ambassadors overruled the League's decisions, for example, in case of the Corfu incident (1923) involving Mussolini's Italy and Greece.

3) Failure of Disarmament: It was only Germany, which was made to disarm under the Treaty of Versailles. The League failed to convince other major powers to disarm. Britain and France did not want self disarmament. When the World Disarmament Conference was held in 1932-33, Hitler demanded equality of armament with France. But, France refused as it feared that Germany would become an equal military power and soon emerge as a threat to its frontiers. Hitler used this as an excuse to quit the World Disarmament Conference. Soon, he would denounce the League of Nations and make Germany quit it as well.

4) Mockery of Collective Security: The League of Nations failed to check any violations of the frontiers established after the WWI through the peace treaties.

- a) **1923 resolution:** It allowed each member the freedom to decide if it wanted to contribute any military resources during activation of the collective security clause. This literally nullified the responsibility that all the member nations had in their duty of checking any act of war by another member nation.
- b) **Failure of Geneva Protocol (1924):** The British and French governments had proposed a Geneva Protocol. It provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes. It committed the League of Nations members to come

to immediate military aid of a victim of aggression and also aimed at general disarmament. In the Geneva Protocol the member states would declare themselves "ready to consent to important limitations of their sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations". But, USA condemned the proposal (due to its Policy of Isolation) and the next Conservative government in Britain withdrew the British support to the protocol. Thus, the protocol was never ratified.

- c) Economic Crisis of 1929** led to poverty and unemployment and consequently, right wing governments came to power across the world. These governments were more aggressive and violated the League Covenant. For example, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, Abyssinia was invaded by Italy in 1935, the Spanish Civil War of 1936 saw military intervention by Mussolini and Hitler in favor of France, Japan invaded China in 1937 and Hitler annexed Austria in 1938. In all these cases, the League proved powerless and failed to check the military aggression. In case of **Japanese invasion of Manchuria** in 1931, the decision of the League was that the Japanese should evacuate Manchuria. Japan rejected this decision and consequently withdrew from the League in 1933. Military or economic sanctions against Japan were not even discussed as Britain and France were under economic stress due to the Great Depression. Similarly, when **Abyssinia** appealed to the League against the Italian aggression of 1935, the League applied sanctions but only half-heartedly. Italy was still allowed to import important goods like coal, oil and steel, and thus, the sanctions failed to coerce Italy to withdraw from Abyssinia.

Three things are clear from the above discussion and following was the impact of the Economic Crisis of 1929 on world politics :

- i. The right wing governments, especially the Fascist regimes in Japan, Italy and Germany took benefit of the World Economic Crisis as they knew that due to economic concerns the important League members like Britain and France would not act.
- ii. Britain, France and USA were following a policy of appeasement towards the Fascist regimes to prevent war. This was to prove disastrous and was the major reason for Fascist regimes becoming gradually powerful enough to challenge the world peace.
- iii. Also, it is clear that every nation, including the proponents of the League, were concerned with their own economic interests. Be it the US Policy of Isolation or the British abandonment of the Geneva Protocol, the major powers did not want a responsibility that

would not bring any direct territorial or economic gains. Even Britain and France, who were at the helm of the affairs of the League, did not act when they did not find support of other important economic and military powers like USA, USSR etc. The national economic concerns and political benefits became more important than the world peace.

- 5) The League of Nations was not a truly representative organization:** It had limited membership. This also resulted in lack of funds for the League's work. The three main world powers, namely, USA, USSR and Germany were not its members when the League was formed in 1920. Thus, it became an organization of the French and the British and lacked the legitimacy of being called a truly representative world body. Germany was admitted only by 1926, while USSR gained membership in 1934. USA never joined the League of Nations and neither did it ratify the peace treaties. After the World War I, the US public rejected Woodrow Wilson and his fourteen points and US reverted back to its Policy of Isolation. The Republicans viewed LoN as a world government, which would threaten US national sovereignty and freedom. It did not want to be involved in any future military conflict or to be involved in the European affairs. By 1933, Japan had quit the League of Nations and soon after that the Hitler's Germany also left the League. Thus, on the eve of the World War II, the League of Nations was in ruins and a failure.

The League failed to implement its decisions in disputes, where the verdict of the League was against a major power. Aggressive regimes like Japan, Italy and Germany defied the League. Britain and France did not do much to give teeth to the League. The Economic Crisis of 1929 was also responsible in its own way. The Conference of Ambassadors undermined League's authority. Important powers like Germany, US, USSR were not its members. The League Covenant was weak and it failed to provide a real collective security.

Impact of the failure of the League of Nations

- a) Gradually, small states lost all faith in the League of Nations due to its inaction against
- b) Aggression in Manchuria and Abyssinia. Fascist regimes got encouraged. Hitler became confident of violating the Treaty of Versailles.
- c) World War II could not be prevented.

18. Revolutions in Russia

The Russian Revolution was like a firecracker with a very long fuse. The explosion came in 1917. Yet the fuse had been burning for nearly a century. The cruel, oppressive rule of most 19th-century czars caused widespread social unrest for decades. Anger over social inequalities and the ruthless treatment of peasants grew. The czars' unfair governing sparked many violent reactions. Army officers revolted in 1825. Hundreds of peasants rioted. Secret revolutionary groups formed and plotted to overthrow the government. In 1881, student revolutionaries were angry over the slow pace of political change. They assassinated the reform-minded czar, Alexander II. Russia was heading toward a full-scale revolution.

Alexander III Upholds the Autocracy

In 1881, Alexander III succeeded his father, Alexander II, to the throne and halted all reforms in Russia. Like his grandfather, Nicholas I, Alexander III clung to the principles of autocracy, a government in which he had total power. Alexander III was determined to strengthen "autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality." Anyone who questioned the absolute authority of the czar, worshiped outside the Russian Orthodox Church, or spoke a language other than Russian was tagged as dangerous.

To wipe out revolutionaries, Alexander III used harsh measures. He imposed strict censorship codes on published materials and written documents, including private letters. His secret police carefully watched both secondary schools and universities. Teachers had to send detailed reports on every student. Political prisoners were exiled to Siberia, a region of eastern and central Russia.

To establish a uniform Russian culture, Alexander III oppressed other national groups within Russia. He made Russian the official language of the empire and forbade the use of minority languages, such as Polish, in schools. Alexander made Jews the target of persecution. He subjected them to new laws that encouraged prejudice. Jews could not buy land or live among other Russians. Universities set strict quotas for Jewish students. A wave of **pogroms**—organized violence against Jews—broke out in many parts of Russia. Police and soldiers stood by and watched Russian citizens loot and destroy Jewish homes, stores, and synagogues.

Nicholas II Resists Change

When Nicholas II became czar in 1894, he announced, "The principle of autocracy will be maintained by me as firmly and unswervingly as by my lamented father [Alexander III]." Nicholas stubbornly refused to surrender any of his power. His trust in the tradition of Russian

autocracy blinded him to the changing conditions of his times. Yet the sweeping forces of change would override his pledge to preserve the czarist rule of Russia's past.

Economic Growth and Its Impact

The number of factories more than doubled between 1863 and 1900. In spite of this, at the beginning of Nicholas II's reign, Russia lagged behind the industrial nations of western Europe. In the 1890s, Sergey Witte, the czar's most capable minister, launched a program to move the country forward. Through higher taxes and foreign investments, Witte helped finance the build up of Russian industries. Witte's steps also boosted the growth of heavy industry, particularly steel. By around 1900, Russia had become the world's fourth-ranking producer of steel. Only the United States, Germany, and Great Britain produced more steel.

Witte also pushed for the building of the great **Trans-Siberian Railway**—the world's longest continuous rail line. With the help of British and French investors, work began in 1891. The Trans Siberian Railway was completed in 1904. It connected European Russia in the west with Russian ports on the Pacific Ocean in the east.

The Revolutionary Movement Grows

Rapid industrialization also stirred discontent among the people of Russia. The growth of factories brought new problems. Among these problems were grueling working conditions, miserably low wages, and child labor. Trade unions were outlawed. Still, exploited laborers who worked in factories and built the railway lines organized strikes. Workers were unhappy with their low standard of living and lack of political power. The gap between rich and poor was enormous.

Amid the widespread unrest of workers and other members of Russian society, various revolutionary movements began to grow. They also competed for power. The group that would eventually succeed in establishing a new government in Russia followed the views of Karl Marx. These revolutionaries believed that the industrial class of workers would overthrow the czar. The industrial class would then form "a dictatorship of the proletariat." In such a state, the workers would rule.

In 1903, Russian Marxists split into two groups over revolutionary tactics. The Mensheviks (MEHN•shuh•vihks) wanted a broad base of popular support for the revolution. The **Bolsheviks** (BOHL•shuh•vihks) supported a small number of committed revolutionaries willing to sacrifice everything for radical change. The major leader of the Bolsheviks was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (ool•YAH•nuhf). He adopted the name of **Lenin**. He had an engaging personality and was an excellent organizer. He was also ruthless. These traits would ulti-

mately help him gain command of the Bolsheviks. In the early 1900s, Lenin fled to western Europe to avoid arrest by the czarist regime. He maintained contact with other Bolsheviks. Lenin then waited until he could safely return to Russia.

Crises at Home and Abroad

The revolutionaries would not have to wait long to realize their visions. Between 1904 and 1917, Russia faced a series of crises. These events showed the czar's weakness and paved the way for revolution.

The Russo-Japanese War

In the late 1800s, Russia and Japan were imperialist powers. They both competed for control of Korea and Manchuria. The two nations signed a series of agreements over the territories, but Russia broke them. In retaliation, Japan attacked the Russians at Port Arthur, Manchuria, in February 1904. Though Russian soldiers and sailors went confidently to war, the Japanese defeated them. News of repeated losses sparked unrest at home and led to revolt in the midst of the war.

Bloody Sunday: The Revolution of 1905

On January 22, 1905, about 200,000 workers and their families approached the czar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. They carried a petition asking for better working conditions, more personal freedom, and an elected national legislature. Nicholas II was not at the palace. His generals and police chiefs were. They ordered the soldiers to fire on the crowd. Between 500 and 1,000 unarmed people were killed. Russians quickly named the event "Bloody Sunday." Lenin called the incident a "dress rehearsal" for the later revolution that would usher in a Communist regime.

Bloody Sunday provoked a wave of strikes and violence that spread across the country. Though Nicholas still opposed reform, in October 1905 he reluctantly promised more freedom. He approved the creation of the **Duma**—Russia's first parliament. The first Duma met in May 1906. Its leaders were moderates who wanted Russia to become a constitutional monarchy similar to Britain. Hesitant to share his power, the czar dissolved the Duma after ten weeks. Other Dumas would meet later. Yet none would have real power to make sweeping reforms.

World War I: The Final Blow

In 1914, Nicholas II made the fateful decision to drag Russia into World War I. Russia, though, was unprepared to handle the military and economic costs. Russia's weak generals and poorly equipped troops were no match for the German army. Before a year had passed, more than 4 million Russian soldiers had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner.

German machine guns mowed down advancing Russians by the thousands. Defeat followed defeat. As in the Russo-Japanese War, Russia's involvement in World War I revealed the weaknesses of czarist rule and military leadership.

In 1915, Nicholas moved his headquarters to the war front. From there, he hoped to rally his discouraged troops to victory. His wife, Czarina Alexandra, ran the government while he was away. She ignored the czar's chief advisers. Instead, she continued to fall under the influence of the mysterious **Rasputin**—a self-described "holy man." He claimed to have magical healing powers.

Alexis, Nicholas and Alexandra's son, suffered from hemophilia, a life-threatening disease. Rasputin seemed to ease the boy's symptoms. To show her gratitude, Alexandra allowed Rasputin to make key political decisions. He opposed reform measures and obtained powerful positions for his friends. He spread corruption throughout the royal court. In 1916, a group of nobles murdered Rasputin. They feared his increasing role in government affairs.

Meanwhile, the war was destroying the morale of Russian troops. Soldiers mutinied, deserted, or ignored orders. On the homefront, food and fuel supplies were dwindling. Prices were wildly inflated. People from all classes were clamoring for change and an end to the war. Neither Nicholas nor Alexandra proved capable of tackling these enormous problems.

The March Revolution

In March 1917, women textile workers in Petrograd led a citywide strike. Soon afterward, riots flared up over shortages of bread and fuel. Nearly 200,000 workers swarmed the streets. At first the soldiers obeyed orders to shoot the rioters but later sided with them. The soldiers fired at their commanding officers and joined the rebellion. Large crowds gathered, shouting "Down with the autocracy!" and "Down with the war!"

The Czar Steps Down

The local protest exploded into a general uprising—the March Revolution. It forced Czar Nicholas II to abdicate his throne. A year later revolutionaries executed Nicholas and his family. The czarist rule of the Romanovs, which spanned over three centuries, had finally collapsed. The March Revolution succeeded in bringing down the czar. Yet it failed to set up a strong government to replace his regime.

Leaders of the Duma established a **provisional government**, or temporary government. It was eventually headed by Alexander Kerensky. His decision to continue fight-

ing the war cost him the support of both soldiers and civilians. As the war dragged on, conditions inside Russia worsened. Angry peasants demanded land. City workers grew more radical. Social revolutionaries, competing for power, formed soviets. **Soviets** were local councils consisting of workers, peasants, and soldiers. In many cities, especially Petrograd, the soviets had more influence than the provisional government.

Lenin Returns to Russia

The Germans launched their own “secret weapon” that would erode the provisional government’s authority. They arranged Lenin’s return to Russia after many years of exile. The Germans believed that Lenin and his Bolshevik supporters would stir unrest in Russia and hurt the Russian war effort. Traveling in a sealed railway boxcar, Lenin reached Petrograd in April 1917.

The Bolshevik Revolution

Lenin and the Bolsheviks recognized their opportunity to seize power. They soon gained control of the Petrograd soviet, as well as the soviets in other major Russian cities. By the fall of 1917, people in the cities were rallying to the call, “All power to the soviets.” Lenin’s slogan—“Peace, Land, and Bread”—was gaining widespread appeal. Lenin decided to take action.

The Provisional Government Topples

In November 1917, without warning, Bolshevik Red Guards made up of armed factory workers stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd. They took over government offices and arrested the leaders of the provisional government. The Bolshevik Revolution was over in a matter of hours. Kerensky and his colleagues disappeared almost as quickly as the czarist regime they had replaced.

Bolsheviks in Power

Lenin’s next step was tackling the problems he inherited from czarist rule. Within days after the Bolshevik takeover, Lenin ordered that all farmland be distributed among the peasants. Lenin and the Bolsheviks gave control of factories to the workers. The Bolshevik government also signed a truce with Germany to stop all fighting on the eastern war front and began peace talks. In March 1918, Russia and Germany signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The price of peace was costly. Russia surrendered a large chunk of its territory to Germany and its allies. The humiliating terms of this treaty triggered widespread anger among many Russians. They objected to the Bolsheviks and their policies.



Civil War Rages in Russia

Still recovering from their painful losses of land to Germany, the Bolsheviks now faced a new challenge—stamping out their enemies at home. Their opponents formed the White Army. The revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, who helped negotiate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, expertly commanded the Bolshevik Red Army. From 1918 to 1920, civil war raged in Russia. Several Western nations, including the United States, sent military aid and forces to Russia to help the White Army. Russia’s civil war proved far more deadly than the earlier revolutions. Around 15 million Russians died in the three-year struggle and in the famine that followed. The destruction and loss of life from fighting, hunger, and a worldwide flu epidemic left Russia in chaos. In the end the Red Army triumphed and finally crushed all opposition to Bolshevik rule. The victory showed that the Bolsheviks were able both to seize power and to maintain it. Yet in the aftermath of the civil war, Lenin and the Bolsheviks faced overwhelming problems.

Causes and Effects of Two Russian Revolutions

Causes	Russian Revolutions of 1917	Effects
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Widespread discontent among all classes of Russian society Agitation from revolutionaries Weak leadership of Czar Nicholas II Defeat in Russo-Japanese War (1905) Bloody Sunday (1905) Losses in World War I Strikes and riots 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abdication of Czar Nicholas Failure of provisional government Growing power of soviets Lenin’s return to Russia Bolshevik takeover under Lenin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil war (1918–1920) Czar and his family killed—end of czarist rule Peace with Germany under Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) Bolshevik control of government Russian economy in ruins

Lenin Restores Order

War and revolution destroyed the Russian economy. Trade was at a standstill. Industrial production dropped and many skilled workers fled to other countries. Lenin, who helped mastermind the Bolshevik Revolution, shifted his role. He turned to reviving the economy and restructuring the government.

New Economic Policy

In March 1921, Lenin launched the New Economic Policy (NEP) by temporarily putting aside his plan for a state-controlled economy. Instead, he resorted to a small-scale version of capitalism. The reforms under the NEP allowed peasants to sell their surplus crops instead of turning them over to the government.



Vladimir Lenin

Individuals could buy and sell goods for profit. The government kept control of major industries, banks, and means of communication, but it let some small factories, businesses, and farms operate under private ownership. Lenin also tried to encourage foreign investment.

Political Reforms

The many different nationalities within Russia had always posed an obstacle to national unity. Communist leaders also saw nationalism as a threat to unity and party loyalty. To keep nationalism in check, Lenin organized Russia into several self-governing republics under the central government. In 1922, the country was named the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), in honor of the councils that helped launch the Bolshevik Revolution. Each republic was controlled from the new capital—Moscow.

The Bolsheviks also renamed their party the Communist Party. The name came from the writings of Karl Marx. He had used the word *communism* to describe the classless society that would exist after workers had seized power. In 1924, the Communists created a constitution based on socialist and democratic principles. In reality, the Communist Party held all the power. Lenin had established a dictatorship of the Communist Party, not “a dictatorship of the proletariat,” as Marx had promoted.

Thanks partly to the new policies and to the peace that followed the civil war, the USSR slowly recovered. By 1928, the country’s farms and factories were produc-

ing as much as they had before World War I. Lenin did not live to see this recovery. He had several strokes and spent the last 18 months of his life as a semi-invalid. His death in 1924 opened a power struggle for control of the party and the country. Lenin did not live to see this recovery. He had several strokes and spent the last 18 months of his life as a semi-invalid. His death in 1924 opened a power struggle for control of the party and the country.

19. Totalitarianism: Stalinist Russia

Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin were among Lenin’s revolutionary supporters. They both helped create the Soviet state. After Lenin died, these two men became bitter rivals for control of the Communist Party. The outcome of this struggle would determine the future course of the Soviet Union. Stalin, Lenin’s successor, would aim at dramatically transforming the government and controlling every aspect of citizens’ lives.

Stalin Becomes Dictator

Joseph Stalin was a quiet man who rarely received much public notice. During his early days as a Bolshevik, he changed his name from Dzhugashvili to Stalin, which means “man of steel” in Russian. The name fit well. Stalin was cold, hard, and impersonal. Lenin, unsure of his successor, began to distrust Stalin.



Joseph Stalin
1879–1953

Lenin believed that Stalin was a dangerous man. Shortly before Lenin died, he wrote, “Comrade Stalin has concentrated enormous power in his hands, and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution.”

From 1922 to 1927, Stalin began his ruthless climb to the head of the government. In 1922, as general secretary of the Communist Party, he worked behind the scenes. He shrewdly moved his followers into strategic government offices. By 1924, he had placed many of his supporters in key positions. By 1928, Stalin was in total command of the Communist Party. Trotsky, forced into exile in 1929, was no longer a threat. Stalin now stood poised to wield absolute power as a dictator.

Stalin Builds a Totalitarian State

Lenin and Trotsky promoted a worldwide Communist revolution. Stalin, however, focused on Russian development. He coined the phrase “socialism in one country” to describe his aims of perfecting a Communist state in Russia. To realize his vision, Stalin would transform

the Soviet Union into a totalitarian state. The term **totalitarianism** describes a government that takes total, centralized state control over every aspect of public and private life. Totalitarian leaders, such as Stalin, appear to provide a sense of security and to give a direction for the future.

Totalitarianism challenges the highest values prized by Western democracies—reason, freedom, human dignity, and the worth of the individual. As the chart on the next page shows, all totalitarian states share basic characteristics. Other totalitarian governments besides the Soviet Union emerged in the twentieth century. In the 1920s and 1930s, two other European dictators—Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy—were shaping their visions of a totalitarian state. After Communists formed the People’s Republic of China in 1949, Mao Zedong used tactics similar to Stalin’s to establish totalitarian control. The North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung ruled over a totalitarian Communist state from 1948 to 1994. By 1928 Stalin began taking great strides to build a totalitarian state. He had achieved personal power and was ready to begin overhauling the economy.

An Industrial Revolution

In 1928, Stalin outlined the first of several Five-Year Plans for the development of the Soviet Union’s economy. The government would take drastic steps to promote rapid industrial growth and to strengthen national defense. Stalin announced, “We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it or we shall be crushed.”

The Five-Year Plans set impossibly high quotas, or numerical goals, to increase the output of steel, coal, oil, and electricity. To reach these targets, the government limited production of consumer goods. As a result, people faced severe shortages of housing, food, clothing, and other necessary goods.

Under Stalin’s totalitarian regime, the government controlled every aspect of the worker’s life. Officials chose the workers, assigned them jobs, and determined their working hours. Workers needed the police’s permission to move. The secret police were ready to imprison or ex-

PATTERNS OF CHANGE: Totalitarianism

Key Traits	Description
Dictatorship and One-Party Rule	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exercises absolute authority • Dominates the government
Dynamic Leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps unite people toward meeting shared goals or realizing a common vision • Encourages people to devote their unconditional loyalty and uncritical support to the regime • Becomes a symbol of the government
Ideology (set of beliefs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Justifies government actions • Glorifies the aims of the state
State Control Over All Sectors of Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • business • family life • labor • youth groups • housing • religion • education • the arts
State Control Over the Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demands total obedience to authority and personal sacrifice for the good of the state • Denies basic liberties
Dependence on Modern Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relies on mass communication, such as radios, newsreels, and loudspeakers, to spread propaganda • Builds up advanced military weapons
Organized Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses force, such as police terror, to crush all opposition • Targets certain groups, such as national minorities and political opponents, as enemies

Stalin Seizes Control of the Economy

While Lenin’s New Economic Policy (NEP) was a mixture of free enterprise and state control, Stalin’s economic policies involved total state control. His plans called for a **command economy**—a system in which the government made all economic decisions. Under this system, political leaders identify the country’s economic needs and determine how to fulfill them. To modernize the Soviet state, Stalin ushered in revolutions in industry and agriculture.

ecute those who did not contribute to the Soviet economy. These forceful means of making the Soviet Union a modern industrial nation took a great toll on people’s personal lives. Many families and marriages broke up. Stalin’s grim methods, however, also produced fantastic economic results. Although most of the targets of the first Five-Year Plan fell short, the Soviets made impressive gains. A second plan, launched in 1933, proved equally successful. From 1928 to 1937, industrial production increased more than 25%.

An Agricultural Revolution

Stalin's agricultural revolution was also successful—and far more brutal—than his industrial revolution. In 1928, the government began to seize over 25 million privately owned farms in the USSR. It combined them into large, government-owned farms, called **collective farms**. Hundreds of families worked on these farms, producing food for the state. The government expected that the modern machinery on the collective farms would boost food production and reduce the number of workers.

Peasants resisted fiercely. Many killed livestock and destroyed crops in protest. Stalin used terror and violence to force peasants to work on collective farms. Soviet secret police herded them onto collective farms at the point of a bayonet. Between 5 million and 10 million peasants died as a direct result of Stalin's agricultural revolution. Millions more were shipped to Siberia.

Resistance was especially strong among **kulaks**, a class of wealthy peasants. The Soviet government decided to eliminate them. Thousands were executed or sent to work camps. By 1938, more than 90 percent of all peasants lived on collective farms. Agricultural production was on the upswing. That year the country produced almost twice the wheat than it had in 1928 before collective farming.

Weapons of Totalitarianism

To dominate an entire nation, Stalin, like other totalitarian leaders, devised methods of control and persuasion.

Police Terror

Dictators of totalitarian states use terror and violence to force obedience and to crush opposition. Stalin began building his totalitarian state by destroying his enemies—real and imagined. Stalin's secret police used tanks and armored cars to stop riots. They monitored telephone lines, read mail, and planted informers everywhere. Even children told authorities about disloyal remarks they heard at home. The secret police arrested and executed millions of so-called traitors.

In 1934, Stalin turned against members of the Communist Party. He launched the **Great Purge**—a campaign of terror. It was directed at eliminating anyone who threatened his power. Thousands of old Bolsheviks who helped stage the Revolution in 1917 stood trial. They were executed for “crimes against the Soviet state.” The state had the authority to punish even the most minor acts. The police arrested the director of the Moscow Zoo because his monkeys got tuberculosis. The police themselves were not above suspicion, especially if they did not arrest their quotas of “criminals.” Every family came to fear

the knock on the door in the early morning hours, which usually meant the arrest of a family member. When the Great Purge ended in 1939, Stalin had gained total control of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. Historians estimate that he was responsible for 8 million to 13 million deaths.

Indoctrination and Propaganda

Totalitarian states rely on indoctrination—instruction in the government's beliefs—to mold people's minds. Party leaders in the Soviet Union lectured workers and peasants on the ideals of communism. They also stressed the importance of sacrifice and hard work to build the Communist state. State-supported youth groups trained future party members. Totalitarian states also spread propaganda—biased or incomplete information used to sway people to accept certain beliefs or actions. Soviet newspapers and radio broadcasts glorified the achievements of communism, Stalin, and his economic programs. Under Stalin, art also was used for propaganda. In 1930, an editorial in the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* explained the purpose of art: “Literature, the cinema, the arts are levers in the hands of the proletariat which must be used to show the masses positive models of initiative and heroic labor.” **Socialist realism** was an artistic style that praised Soviet life and Communist values.

Censorship

Many Soviet writers, composers, and other artists also fell victim to official censorship. Stalin would not tolerate individual creativity that threatened the conformity and obedience required of citizens in a totalitarian state. The government also controlled all newspapers, motion pictures, radio, and other sources of information.

Religious Persecution

Communists aimed to replace religious teachings with the ideals of communism. Under Stalin, the government and the League of the Militant Godless, an officially sponsored group of atheists, spread propaganda attacking religion. “Museums of atheism” displayed exhibits to show that religious beliefs were mere superstitions. Yet many people in the Soviet Union still clung to their faiths. The Russian Orthodox Church was the main target of persecution. Other religious groups also suffered greatly. The police destroyed magnificent churches and synagogues; and many religious leaders were killed or sent to labor camps.

Comparing Revolutions

In its immediate and long-term effects, the Russian Revolution was more like the French Revolution than the American Revolution. The American Revolution expand-

ed English political ideas into a constitutional government that built on many existing structures. In contrast, both the French and Russian revolutions attempted to destroy existing social and political structures. Revolutionaries in France and Russia used violence and terror to control people. France eventually became a constitutional monarchy, but the Russian Revolution established a totalitarian state that lasted for decades.

Propaganda through Art

Low-cost printing techniques made socialist realism posters an important form of propaganda in the Soviet Union. People might not listen to the radio or go to propaganda films. However, if they left their houses, they could not avoid viewing the posters plastered on buildings and walls in every town. Images of energetic laborers, such as the special groups called “shock brigades,” urged Soviets to work harder. Portraits glorifying Stalin were also popular subjects of Soviet posters.

Daily Life Under Stalin

Stalin’s totalitarian rule revolutionized Soviet society. Women’s roles greatly expanded. People became better educated and mastered new technical skills. The dramatic changes in people’s lives had a downside, though. As servants of a totalitarian state, they would make great sacrifices in exchange for progress.

Soviet Women

With the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, women won equal rights. After Stalin became dictator, women helped the state-controlled economy prosper. Under his Five-Year Plans, they had no choice but to join the labor force in increasing numbers. Young women performed the same jobs as men. Millions of women worked in factories and built dams and roads. Given new educational opportunities, women prepared for careers in engineering and science. Medicine, in particular, attracted many women. By 1950, they made up 75 percent of Soviet doctors. Soviet women paid a heavy price for their rising status in society. Besides their full-time jobs, they were responsible for housework and child care. Motherhood was also considered a patriotic duty in totalitarian regimes. Soviet women were expected to provide the state with future generations of loyal, obedient citizens.

Education

Under Stalin, the government controlled all education—from nursery schools through the universities. Schoolchildren learned the virtues of the Communist Party. College professors and students who questioned the Communist Party’s interpretations of history or science risked losing their jobs or faced imprisonment. Educa-

tion was not merely indoctrination. Stalin’s economic plans created a high demand for many skilled workers. University and technical training became the key to a better life. As one young man explained, “If a person does not want to become a collective farmer or just a cleaning woman, the only means you have to get something is through education.”

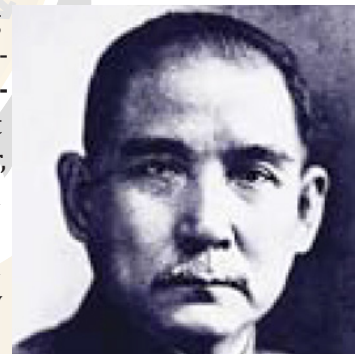
By the mid-1930s, Stalin had forcibly transformed the Soviet Union into a totalitarian regime and an industrial and political power. He stood unopposed as dictator and maintained his authority over the Communist Party. He also ushered in a period of total social control and rule by terror, rather than constitutional government. His network of laws and regulations guided every aspect of individual behaviour.

20. China and collapse of Imperial Rule

In the early 1900s, China was ripe for revolution. China had faced years of humiliation at the hands of outsiders. Foreign countries controlled China’s trade and economic resources. Many Chinese believed that modernization and nationalism held the country’s keys for survival. They wanted to build up the army and navy, to construct modern factories, and to reform education. Yet others feared change. They believed that China’s greatness lay in its traditional ways.

Nationalists Overthrow Qing Dynasty

Among the groups pushing for modernization and nationalization was the **Kuomintang**, or the Nationalist Party. Its first great leader, **Sun Yixian**, was a physician who had spent many years in the United States. In 1912, Sun’s Revolutionary Alliance, a forerunner of the Kuomintang, succeeded in overthrowing the last emperor of the Qing dynasty. The Qing had ruled China since 1644.



Sun Yixian
1866–1925

Shaky Start for the New Republic

In 1912, Sun became president of the new Republic of China. He held the post for just six weeks. Sun hoped to establish a modern government based on the “Three Principles of the People”: (1) nationalism—an end to foreign control, (2) people’s rights—democracy, and (3) people’s livelihood—economic security for all Chinese. Sun Yixian considered nationalism vital. He said, “The Chinese people . . . do not have national spirit. Therefore even though we have four hundred million people gath-

ered together in one China, in reality, they are just a heap of loose sand." Despite his lasting influence as a revolutionary leader, Sun lacked the authority and the military support to secure national unity.

Sun turned over the presidency to Yuan Shikai, a powerful general. Yuan quickly betrayed the democratic ideals of the revolution. By 1913, he was ruling as a military dictator. His actions sparked local revolts. Even Yuan's own generals refused to fight the rebels. After Yuan died in 1916, chaos reigned. China remained divided and Sun's Kuomintang powerless. Civil war broke out as one rival group battled another. Sun tried to reorganize his Kuomintang. Real authority, though, fell into the hands of provincial warlords. They ruled territories as large as their armies could conquer.

As always during times of unrest, the Chinese peasants suffered most. Warlord armies terrorized the countryside. They pillaged and looted everywhere. Roads and bridges fell into disrepair, and crops were destroyed. Famine took the lives of millions. This was the situation in China as World War I was being waged in Europe.

World War I Spells More Problems

In 1917, the government in Beijing, hoping for an Allied victory, declared war against Germany. For China's participation, some leaders mistakenly believed that the thankful Allies would return control of China to the Chinese. Under the Treaty of Versailles, however, the Allied leaders gave Japan the territories and privileges that had previously belonged to Germany.

The May Fourth Movement

When news of the Treaty of Versailles reached China, outrage swept the country. On May 4, 1919, over 3,000 angry students gathered in the center of Beijing. "Down with the European imperialists!" they shouted. "Boycott Japan!" **Mao Zedong**, a young schoolteacher who had studied at Beijing University, supported the student protesters. He would later become China's greatest revolutionary leader, sometimes called "The Great Helmsman."



Mao Zedong (1893-1976)

The demonstrations spread to other cities and exploded into a national movement. It was called the **May Fourth Movement**. Workers, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and professionals joined the cause. Though not officially a revolution, these demonstrations showed the Chinese people's commitment to the goal of establishing a strong,

modern nation. Sun Yixian and members of the Kuomintang also shared the aims of the movement. But they could not strengthen central rule on their own. Many young Chinese intellectuals turned against Sun Yixian's beliefs in Western democracy in favor of Lenin's brand of Soviet communism.

The Communist Party in China

In 1920, small groups of young intellectuals were meeting in Shanghai and Beijing University to discuss Marx's revolutionary beliefs. They viewed the Soviet Union under Lenin as a model for political and economic change. In 1921, a group met in Shanghai to organize the Chinese Communist Party. Mao Zedong was among its founders.

Lenin Befriends China

While the Communist Party was forming, Sun Yixian and his Nationalist Party set up a government in south China. Like the Communists, Sun became disillusioned with the Western democracies that refused to support this struggling government. Sun decided to ally the Kuomintang with the newly formed Communist Party. Sun used Lenin's blueprint for organizing his party along Bolshevik lines. Sun hoped to unite all the revolutionary groups for common action.

After Western governments failed to aid Sun, he accepted an offer from the Soviets. Lenin preached worldwide revolution. He seized the opportunity to help China's Nationalist government. In 1923, Lenin began sending military advisers and equipment to the Nationalists in return for allowing the Chinese Communists to join the Kuomintang. Several Chinese Nationalist leaders traveled to Moscow for military training.

Nationalists and Communists Clash

After Sun Yixian died in 1925, Jiang Jieshi, formerly called Chiang Kai-shek, headed the Kuomintang. Jiang was the son of a middle-class merchant. Many of Jiang's followers were bankers and businesspeople. Like Jiang, they feared the Communists' goal of creating a socialist economy modelled after the Soviet Union's.

At first, Jiang put aside his differences with the Communists. Together Jiang's Nationalist forces and the Communists successfully fought the warlords. Soon afterward, though, he turned against the Communists.

In April 1927, Nationalist troops and armed gangs moved into Shanghai. They killed many Communist leaders and trade union members in the city streets. Similar killings took place in other cities. The Nationalists nearly wiped out the Chinese Communist Party. Its few survivors went into hiding.

In 1928, Jiang became president of the Nationalist Republic of China. Great Britain and the United States both formally recognized the new government. The Soviet Union, as a result of the Shanghai massacre, did not. Jiang's treachery also had long-term effects. The Communists' deep-seated rage over the massacre erupted in a civil war that would last until 1949.

Peasants Align Themselves with the Communists

Jiang had promised democracy and political rights to all Chinese. Yet his government became steadily less democratic and more corrupt. It launched programs to modernize and develop the cities. However, Jiang did nothing to improve the life of China's rural peasants. As a result, many peasants threw their support to the Chinese Communist Party. To enlist the support of the peasants, Mao divided land that the Communists won among the local farmers. Communist leader Mao Zedong had survived Jiang's bloody rampage by fleeing to the countryside. He had already begun to develop his own brand of communism. Lenin had shown that a Marxist revolution could take place in a largely rural country, but he had based his organization in Russia's cities. Mao envisioned a different setting. He believed he could bring revolution to a rural country where the peasants could be the true revolutionaries.

Civil War Rages in China

By 1930, Nationalists and Communists were fighting a bloody civil war. Mao and other Communist leaders established themselves in the hills of south-central China. Mao referred to this tactic of taking his revolution to the countryside as "swimming in the peasant sea." Here he recruited the peasants to join his Red Army. He then trained them in guerrilla warfare. Nationalists attacked the Communists repeatedly but failed to drive them out.

The Long March

In 1933, Jiang gathered an army of at least 700,000 men. Jiang's army then surrounded the Communists' mountain stronghold. Outnumbered nearly six to one, Communist Party leaders realized that they faced defeat. In 1934, the Communist forces fled. They began a hazardous, 6,000-mile-long journey called the **Long March**. Over the next year, the Communists kept only a step ahead of Jiang's forces. Mao's Red Army crossed many rivers and climbed over mountain ranges. They fought several major battles and faced minor skirmishes almost every day. They also crossed miles of swampland. They had to sleep sitting up, leaning back-to-back in pairs, to keep from sinking into the mud and drowning. The chase lasted more than a year. About 100,000 people began the march. From 10,000 to 30,000 reached safety in north

western China, beyond the reach of Jiang's forces. Mao and the other Communist survivors settled in caves in north western China. Despite the discouraging turn of events, they quickly gained new followers. Meanwhile, as civil war between Nationalists and Communists raged, Japan invaded China.



Japan's Invasion Suspends the Civil War

In 1931, as Chinese fought Chinese, the Japanese watched the power struggles with rising interest. Japanese forces took advantage of China's weakening situation. They invaded Manchuria, an industrialized province in the northeast part of China. This attack signaled the onset of World War II in Asia.

In 1937, the Japanese launched an all-out invasion of China. Massive bombings of villages and cities killed thousands of Chinese. The destruction of farms caused many more to die of starvation. By 1938, Japan held control of a large part of China. The Japanese threat forced an uneasy truce between Jiang's and Mao's forces. The civil war gradually ground to a halt as Nationalists and Communists temporarily united to fight the Japanese. Jiang further agreed to promote changes outlined in Sun Yixian's "Three Principles of the People"—nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood.

21. Nationalism Spreads to Southwest Asia

Just as the people of India fought to have their own nation after World War I, the people of Southwest Asia also launched independence movements during this time. Each group in Southwest Asia chose a different path toward nation building. The breakup of the Ottoman Empire and growing Western interest in Southwest Asia spurred the rise of nationalism in this region.

Turkey Becomes a Republic

By the end of World War I, Turkey was all that remained of the Ottoman Empire. It included the old Turkish homeland of Anatolia and a small strip of land around Istanbul.

In 1919, Greek soldiers dealt a death blow to the Ottoman Empire. They invaded Turkey and threatened to conquer it. The Turkish sultan, weak and corrupt,

was powerless to stop them. In 1922, a brilliant commander, **Mustafa Kemal**, led Turkish nationalists in overthrowing the last Ottoman sultan. A young woman who played a major role in the revolution described her strong nationalistic feelings: "I suddenly ceased to exist as an individual. I worked, wrote and lived as a unit of that magnificent national madness."

In 1923, Kemal became the president of the new Republic of Turkey, the first republic in Southwest Asia. He ushered in many sweeping reforms to achieve his goal of transforming Turkey into a modern nation. Kemal separated the laws of Islam from the laws of the nation. He abolished religious courts and created a new legal system based on European law. Under Kemal, women gained more freedom. He granted women the right to vote and to hold public office. Kemal also launched government-funded programs to industrialize Turkey and to spur economic growth.

Persia Becomes Iran

Before World War I, both Great Britain and Russia had established spheres of influence in the ancient country of Persia. After the war, when Russia was still reeling from the Bolshevik Revolution, the British tried to take over all of Persia. This maneuver triggered a nationalist revolt in Persia. In 1921, a Persian army officer seized power. In 1925 he deposed the ruling shah. Persia's new leader, Reza Shah Pahlavi (PAL •uh•vee), like Kemal in Turkey, set out to modernize his country. He estab-

lished public schools, built roads and railroads, promoted industrial growth, and extended women's rights. Unlike Kemal, Reza Shah kept all power in his own hands. In 1935, he changed the name of his country from Persia to Iran.

Saudi Arabia Keeps Islamic Traditions

While Turkey broke with many Islamic traditions, another new country held strictly to Islamic law. In 1902, Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud (sah•OOD), a member of a once-powerful Arabian family, began a successful campaign to unify Arabia. In 1932, he renamed the new kingdom Saudi Arabia after his family. Ibn Saud carried on Arab and Islamic traditions. Loyalty to the Saudi government was based on custom, religion, and family ties. Alcoholic drinks were illegal. Like Kemal and Reza Shah, Ibn Saud brought some modern technology, such as telephones and radios, to his country. However, modernization in Saudi Arabia was limited to religiously acceptable areas.

Oil Resources Spur Economic Development

While nationalism steadily emerged as a major force in Southwest Asia, the region's economy was also taking a new direction. The rising demand for petroleum products in industrialized countries brought new oil explorations to Southwest Asia. During the 1920s and 1930s, European and American companies discovered huge oil deposits in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. Foreign businesses invested huge sums of money to develop these oil fields.

Geologists later learned that the land around the Persian Gulf has nearly two-thirds of the world's known supply of oil. This important resource led to rapid and dramatic economic changes and development. Saudi Arabia, for example, would soon become a nation of wealthy oil exporters. Yet oil proved to be a mixed blessing for Southwest Asia. Though oil brought huge profits, it also encouraged Western nations to try to dominate this region. Meanwhile, Western nations were about to face a more immediate crisis as power-hungry leaders seized control in Italy and Germany.



Mustafa Kemal
1881-1938

Revolutionary Leaders: 1900–1939



	Lenin	Stalin	Sun Yixian	Mao Zedong	Gandhi	Kemal
Country	Russia	Russia	China	China	India	Turkey
Political Career	late 1890s–1924	early 1900s–1953	late 1890s–1925	early 1900s–1976	late 1800s–1948	early 1900s–1938
Key Role	Bolshevik revolutionary and first ruler of Communist Russia	Dictator	First president of the new Republic of China	Leader of the Chinese Communist Party	Leader of the Indian independence movement	First president of the new Republic of Turkey
Popular Name	“Father of the Revolution”	“Man of Steel”	“Father of Modern China”	“The Great Helmsman”	“Great Soul”	“Father of the Turks”
Goal	To promote a worldwide Communist revolution led by workers	To perfect a Communist state in Russia through totalitarian rule	To establish a modern government based on nationalism, democracy, and economic security	To stage a Communist revolution in China led by peasants	To achieve Indian self-rule through campaigns of civil disobedience	To transform Turkey into a modern nation





UNIT I – PATH TO WORLD WAR-2

22. An Age of Uncertainty

The horrors of World War I shattered the Enlightenment belief that progress would continue and reason would prevail. New ideas and patterns of life developed in the 1920s that changed the way people looked at the world.



1927 Lindbergh crosses Atlantic in *Spirit of St. Louis*.

1929 U.S. stock market crashes; Great Depression begins.

1931 Japan seizes Manchuria.

1933 Hitler named German chancellor.

1936 Spanish Civil War begins.

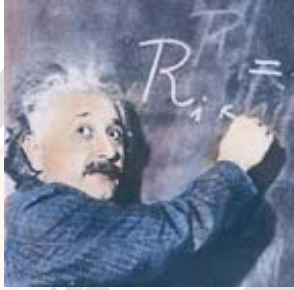
1939 Germany and Soviet Union sign nonaggression pact.

Science Challenges Old Ideas

The ideas of two remarkable thinkers became widely known during this “age of uncertainty.” They were Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud. Both had an enormous impact on the 20th century. Einstein and Freud challenged some of the most deeply rooted ideas that people held about themselves and their world. They were part of a scientific revolution as important as that brought about centuries earlier by Copernicus and Galileo.

Impact of Einstein’s Theory of Relativity

A German-born physicist, **Albert Einstein**, offered startling new ideas on space, time, energy, and matter. He began by tackling a problem that baffled physicists. Scientists had found that light travels at exactly the same speed no matter what direction it moves in relation to earth. Earth moves through space, yet its movement did not affect the speed at which light seemed to travel. This finding seemed to break the laws of motion and gravity discovered by Isaac Newton. In 1905, Einstein theorized that while the speed of light is constant, other things that seem constant, such as space and time, are not. Space and time can change when measured relative to an object moving near the speed of light—about 186,000 miles per second. Since relative motion is the key to Einstein’s idea, it is called the **theory of relativity**. Einstein’s ideas had implications not only for science but for how people viewed the world. Now uncertainty and relativity replaced Newton’s comforting belief of a world operating according to absolute laws of motion and gravity.



Influence of Freudian Psychology

The ideas of **Sigmund Freud**, an Austrian physician, were as revolutionary as Einstein’s. Freud treated patients with psychological problems. From his experiences, he constructed a theory about the human mind. He believed that much of human behaviour is irrational, or beyond reason. He called the irrational part of the mind the unconscious. In the unconscious, a number of drives existed, especially pleasure-seeking drives, of which the conscious mind was unaware. Freud’s theories, first published in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), met with opposition, especially his ideas about the unconscious. His ideas weakened faith in reason. All the same, by the 1920s, Freud’s theories had developed widespread influence.

Literature in an Age of Doubt

The brutality of World War I caused philosophers and writers to question accepted ideas about reason and progress. Disillusioned by the war, many people also feared the future and expressed doubts about traditional religious beliefs. Some artists and writers expressed their anxieties by creating unsettling visions of the present and the future.

In 1922, T. S. Eliot, an American poet living in England, wrote that Western society had lost its spiritual values. He described the postwar world as a barren “waste land,” drained of hope and faith. In 1924, the Irish poet William Butler Yeats conveyed a sense of dark times ahead in the poem “The Second Coming:” “Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world . . .”

Thinkers React to Uncertainties

In their search for meaning in an uncertain world, some thinkers turned to the philosophy known as **existentialism**. Leaders of this movement included the philosophers Jean Paul Sartre of France and Karl Jaspers of Germany. Existentialists believed that there is no universal meaning to life. Each person gives his or her own meaning to life through choices made and actions taken. The existentialists would have their greatest influence after World War II.

The existentialists had been influenced by the German philosopher **Friedrich Nietzsche**. In the 1880s, Nietzsche wrote that Western society had put too much stress on such ideas as reason, democracy, and progress. This stifled actions based on emotion and instinct. As a result, individuality and creativity suffered. Nietzsche urged a return to the ancient heroic values of pride, assertiveness, and strength. He wrote that through willpower and courage, some humans could become supermen. They could rise above and control the common herd. His ideas attracted growing attention in the 20th century and had a great impact on politics in Italy and Germany in the 1920s and 1930s.

Writers Reflect Society’s Concerns

New attitudes also appeared in literature. The French poet Paul Valéry spoke for many writers of the 1920s when he described how he felt restless and uneasy.

The horror of war made a deep impression on many writers. The Czech-born author Franz Kafka wrote eerie novels like *The Trial* (1925) and *The Castle* (1926). His books featured people crushed in threatening situations they could neither understand nor escape. He started writing before the war, but much of his work was published after his death in 1924. It struck a chord among readers in the uneasy postwar years.

Many novels showed the influence of Freud's theories on the unconscious. The Irish-born author James Joyce caused a stir with his stream-of-consciousness novel *Ulysses* (1922). This lengthy book focused on a single day in the lives of three Dubliners. Joyce broke with normal sentence structure and vocabulary, trying to mirror the workings of the human mind.

Rebellion in the Arts

Although many of the new directions in painting, architecture, and music began in the pre war period, they evolved after the war.

Painters Break Away from Tradition

Artists rebelled against earlier realistic styles of painting. They wanted to depict the inner world of emotion and imagination rather than show realistic representations of objects. Expressionist painters like Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky used bold colors and distorted or exaggerated shapes and forms. Inspired by traditional African art, Georges Braque of France and Pablo Picasso of Spain founded Cubism in 1907. Cubism transformed natural shapes into geometric forms. Objects were broken down into different parts with sharp angles and edges. Often several views were depicted at the same time.

The Dada movement (1916–1924) was as much a protest as an art movement. Its message was that established values had been made meaningless by the savagery of World War I. The term *Dada*, French for “hobbyhorse,” was reportedly picked at random. Sounding like a nonsense word, it fit the spirit of the movement. Dadaist works were meant to be absurd, nonsensical, and meaningless. Surrealism followed Dada. Inspired by Freud's ideas, **surrealism** was an art movement that sought to link the world of dreams with real life. The term *surreal* means “beyond or above reality.” Surrealists tried to call on the unconscious part of their minds. Their paintings frequently had a dream-like quality and depicted objects in unrealistic ways.

Architects Move in New Directions

An architectural revolution occurred when architects rejected traditional building styles for completely new forms. Instead of highly ornamented structures, they constructed buildings in which the design reflected the building's function or use. The American architect Frank Lloyd Wright pioneered this new style, known as functionalism. He designed houses featuring clean, low lines and open interiors that blended with the surrounding landscape. Walter Gropius led the functionalist movement in Germany. After the war, he started an art and design school in Weimar called the Bauhaus.

Composers Try New Styles

In both classical and popular music, composers moved away from traditional styles. In his ballet masterpiece, *The Rite of Spring*, the Russian composer Igor Stravinsky used irregular rhythms and dissonances, or harsh combinations of sound. The audience booed and walked out of its opening performance. The Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg rejected traditional harmonies and musical scales. He created his own 12-tone scale in which the notes were unrelated except as mathematical patterns. A new popular musical style called **jazz** came out of the United States. It was developed by musicians, mainly African Americans, in New Orleans, Memphis, and Chicago. It swept the United States and Europe. The lively, loose beat of jazz seemed to capture the new freedom of the age. Uninhibited, energetic jazz dances, such as the Charleston and the Black Bottom, at first shocked respectable society before becoming widely accepted.

Society Becomes More Open

World War I had disrupted traditional social patterns. New ideas and ways of life led to a new kind of individual freedom during the 1920s. Young people especially were willing to break with the past and experiment with values that often differed from those of their parents. Their pleasure-seeking defiance of accepted conventions was the first “youth rebellion” of the 20th century. The independent spirit of the times showed clearly in the changes women were making in their lives. The war had allowed women to take on new roles. Their work in the war effort was decisive in helping them win the right to vote. After the war, women's suffrage became law in many countries, including the United States, Britain, Germany, Sweden, and Austria. Women abandoned restrictive clothing and hairstyles. They wore shorter, looser garments and had their hair “bobbed,” or cut short. They also wore makeup, drove cars, and drank and smoked in public. Although most women still followed traditional paths of marriage and family, a growing number spoke out for greater freedom in their lives. Wives should not be second-class members of the family, feminists argued, but equal partners with their husbands. Margaret Sanger and Emma Goldman risked arrest by speaking in favor of birth control. As women sought new careers, the numbers of women in medicine, education, journalism, and other professions increased.

Technology Changes Life

World War I quickened the pace of invention. During the war, scientists developed new drugs and medical treatments that helped millions of people in the postwar years. The war's technological advances were put to use to improve transportation and communication after the war.

The Automobile Alters Society

The automobile benefited from a host of wartime innovations and improvements—electric starters, air-filled tires, and more powerful engines. Cars no longer looked like boxes on wheels. They were sleek and brightly polished, complete with headlights and chrome-plated bumpers. In prewar Britain, autos were owned exclusively by the rich. British factories produced 34,000 autos in 1913. After the war, prices dropped, and the middle class could afford cars. In 1923 the number of autos built in Britain had almost tripled. By 1937, the British were producing 511,000 autos a year.

Increased auto use by the average family led to lifestyle changes. More people traveled for pleasure. In Europe and the United States, new businesses, from motor hotels to vacation campgrounds, opened to serve the mobile tourist. The auto also affected where people lived and worked. People moved to suburbs and commuted to work.

Airplanes Transform Travel

The war also brought spectacular improvements in aircraft. By 1918, planes could fly hundreds of miles. In the postwar era, daring fliers carried the first airmail letters. Wartime aviators became stunt pilots, flying to country fairs to perform aerial acrobatics and take people for their first plane rides.

International air travel became an objective after the war. In 1919, two British pilots made the first successful flight across the Atlantic, from Newfoundland to Ireland. The next major crossing came in 1927, when an American pilot named **Charles Lindbergh** captured world attention with a 33-hour solo flight from New York to Paris. Most of the world's major passenger airlines were established during the 1920s. At first only the rich were able to afford air travel. Still, everyone enjoyed the exploits of the aviation pioneers, including Amelia Earhart. She was an American who, in 1932, became the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic.

Radio Reaches Millions

Guglielmo Marconi conducted his first successful experiments with radio in 1895. However, the real push for radio development came during World War I. The advantages of wireless communication in battle were so great that all countries gave radio research a high priority. Armies developed a wide range of radio equipment that would also have uses in peacetime. In 1920, the world's first commercial radio station—KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—began broadcasting. Almost overnight, radio mania swept the United States. Soon every major city had stations broadcasting news, plays, and even live sporting events. In many European nations, unlike the

United States, radio broadcasting was controlled by the government. In Great Britain, radio was a public monopoly run solely by the British Broadcasting Company, or BBC. Like Americans, however, Europeans eagerly listened to a variety of radio broadcasts. Soon most families owned a radio.

Movies Revolutionize Popular Entertainment

In the 1920s, motion pictures were a major industry. Many countries, from Cuba to Japan, produced movies. In Europe, film was a serious art form. Directors like Sergei Eisenstein in Russia and Fritz Lang in Germany created films that explored psychological or political themes. However, in the Los Angeles suburb of Hollywood, where 90 percent of all films were made, movies were entertainment. From Hollywood in the 1920s came the zany, slapstick comedies of Mack Sennett and his Keystone Kops, and dramas that starred Mary Pickford or Rudolph Valentino. But the king of the silent screen was the English-born Charlie Chaplin, a comic genius best known for his portrayal of the lonely little tramp bewildered by life. In the late 1920s, the addition of sound transformed movies. By the mid-1930s, nearly 90 million Americans escaped from the hardships of life by attending movies each week.

The advances in transportation and communication that followed the war had brought the world in closer touch. Countries had become more interdependent economically. Global prosperity came to depend on the economic well-being of all major nations, especially the United States.

23. A Global Depression

By the late 1920s, European nations were rebuilding war-torn economies. They were aided by loans from the more prosperous United States. In the United States, Americans seemed confident that the country would continue on the road to even greater economic prosperity. One sign of this was the booming stock market. Yet the American economy had serious weaknesses that were soon to bring about the most severe economic downturn the world had yet known.

Europe After the War

In both human suffering and economic terms, the cost of World War I was immense. The Great War left every major European country nearly bankrupt. Only the United States and Japan came out of the war in better financial shape than before. Neither had been a wartime battlefield. In fact, both had expanded their trade during the war. In addition, Europe's domination in world affairs had declined since the war. The long and brutal fight had drained the continent's resources.

New Democracies Are Unstable

War's end saw the sudden rise of new democracies. From 1914 to 1918, Europe's last absolute rulers had been overthrown. The dynasties of the Hohenzollerns in Germany, the Hapsburgs in Austria-Hungary, the Romanovs in Russia, and the Ottomans in Turkey all ended. The first of the new governments was formed in Russia in 1917. The Provisional Government, as it was called, hoped to establish constitutional and democratic rule. However, within months it had fallen to a Communist dictatorship. Even so, for the first time, most European nations had democratic governments.

Many citizens of the new democracies had little experience with representative government. For generations, kings and emperors had ruled Germany and the new nations formed from Austria-Hungary. Even in France and Italy, whose parliaments had existed before World War I, the large number of political parties made effective government difficult. Some countries had a dozen or more political groups. In these countries, it was almost impossible for one party to win enough support to govern effectively. When no single party won a majority, a **coalition government**, or temporary alliance of several parties, was needed to form a parliamentary majority. Because the parties disagreed on so many policies, coalitions seldom lasted very long. France, for example, endured some 40 changes of government from 1919 to 1939. Frequent changes in government made it hard for democratic countries to develop strong leadership and move toward long-term goals.

In peaceful times, a country could get by with weak leadership. However, the weaknesses of a coalition government became a major problem in times of crisis. Voters in several countries were then willing to sacrifice democracy for strong, totalitarian leadership.

Weimar Republic Is Weak

Germany's new democratic government was set up in 1919. Known as the **Weimar Republic**, it was named after the city where the national assembly met. The Weimar Republic had serious weaknesses from the start. First, Germany lacked a strong democratic tradition. Furthermore, postwar Germany had several major political parties and many minor ones. Worst of all, millions of Germans blamed the Weimar government, not their wartime leaders, for the country's defeat and postwar humiliation. It was, after all, the Weimar government that had signed the Treaty of Versailles.

Inflation Causes Crisis in Germany

Germany also faced enormous economic problems that began during the war. Unlike Britain and France, Germa-

ny did not greatly increase its wartime taxes. To pay the expenses of the war, the Germans simply printed money. After Germany's defeat, this paper money steadily lost its value. Burdened with heavy reparations payments to the Allies and with other economic problems, Germany printed even more money. The result was the value of the mark, as Germany's currency was called, fell sharply. Severe inflation set in. Germans needed more and more money to buy even the most basic goods. For example, in Berlin a loaf of bread cost less than a mark in 1918, more than 160 marks in 1922, and some 200 billion marks by late 1923. People took wheelbarrows full of money to buy food. The mark had become worthless. Consequently, people with fixed incomes saw their life savings become worthless. The money people had saved to buy a house now barely covered the cost of a table. Many Germans also questioned the value of their new democratic government.

Attempts at Economic Stability Germany recovered from the 1923 inflation thanks largely to the work of an international committee. The committee was headed by Charles Dawes, an American banker. The Dawes Plan provided for a \$200 million loan from American banks to stabilize German currency and strengthen its economy. The plan also set a more realistic schedule for Germany's reparations payments. Put into effect in 1924, the Dawes Plan helped slow inflation. As the German economy began to recover, it attracted more loans and investments from the United States. By 1929, German factories were producing as much as they had before the war.

Efforts at a Lasting Peace As prosperity returned, Germany's foreign minister, Gustav Stresemann, and France's foreign minister, Aristide Briand, tried to improve relations between their countries. In 1925, they met in Locarno, Switzerland, with officials from Belgium, Italy, and Britain. They signed a treaty promising that France and Germany would never again make war against each other. Germany also agreed to respect the existing borders of France and Belgium. It then was admitted to the League of Nations.

The Great Depression

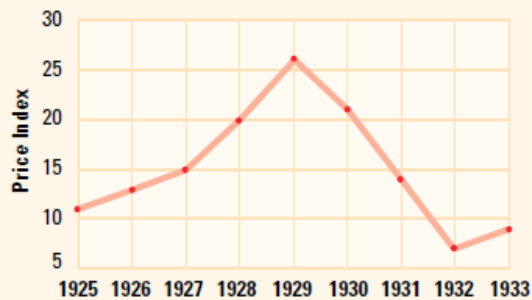
In the late 1920s, the world economy was like a delicately balanced house of cards. The key card that held up the rest was American economic prosperity. If the United States economy weakened, the whole world's economic system might collapse. In 1929, it did.

A Flawed U.S. Economy

Despite prosperity, three weaknesses in the U.S. economy caused serious problems. These were uneven distribution of wealth, overproduction by business and agriculture, and lessening demand for consumer goods.

By 1929, American factories were turning out nearly half of the world's industrial goods. The rising productivity led to enormous profits. However, this new wealth was not evenly distributed. The richest 5 percent of the population received 33 percent of all

Stock Prices, 1925–1933



What major weaknesses had appeared in the American economy by 1929?

personal income in 1929. Yet 60 percent of all American families earned less than \$2,000 a year. Thus, most families were too poor to buy the goods being produced. Unable to sell all their goods, store owners eventually cut back their orders from factories. Factories in turn reduced production and laid off workers. A downward economic spiral began. As more workers lost their jobs, families bought even fewer goods. In turn, factories made further cuts in production and laid off more workers.

During the 1920s, overproduction affected American farmers as well. Scientific farming methods and new farm machinery had dramatically increased crop yields. American farmers were producing more food. Meanwhile they faced new competition from farmers in Australia, Latin America, and Europe. As a result, a worldwide surplus of agricultural products drove prices and profits down. Unable to sell their crops at a profit, many farmers could not pay off the bank loans that kept them in business. Their unpaid debts weakened banks and forced some to close. The danger signs of overproduction by factories and farms should have warned people against gambling on the stock market. Yet no one heeded the warning.

The Stock Market Crashes

In 1929, Wall Street, in New York City, was the financial capital of the world. Banks and investment companies lined its sidewalks. At Wall Street's New York Stock Exchange, optimism about the booming U.S. economy showed in soaring prices for stocks. To get in on the boom, many middle-income people began buying stocks on margin. This meant that they paid a small percentage of a stock's price as a downpayment and borrowed the rest from a stockbroker. The system worked well as long as stock prices were rising.

However, if they fell, investors had no money to pay off the loan. In September 1929, some investors began to feel that stock prices were unnaturally high. They started selling their stocks, believing the rates would soon go down. By Thursday, October 24, the gradual lowering of stock prices had become an all-out slide downward. A panic resulted. Everyone wanted to sell stocks, and no one wanted to buy. Prices sank quickly. The wild shouting of 1,000 brokers and their assistants at the Stock Exchange became what one observer called a "weird roar." Prices plunged to a new low on Tuesday, October 29. A record 16 million stocks were sold. Then the market collapsed.

In the stock market crash, billions of dollars in "paper wealth" simply vanished. People could not pay the money they owed on margin purchases. Stocks they had bought at high prices were now worthless. Within months of the crash, unemployment rates began to rise as industrial production, prices, and wages declined. A long business slump, or depression, followed. The **Great Depression**, as it came to be called, touched every corner of the American economy. By 1932, factory production had been cut in half. Thousands of businesses failed, and banks closed. Around 9 million people lost the money in their savings accounts when banks had no money to pay them. Many farmers lost their lands when they could not make mortgage payments. By 1933 one-fourth of all American workers had no jobs.

A Global Depression

The collapse of the American economy sent shock waves around the world. Worried American bankers demanded repayment of their overseas loans, and American investors withdrew their money from Europe. The American market for European goods dropped sharply as the U.S. Congress placed high tariffs on imported goods so that American dollars would stay in the United States and support American workers. The government was trying to force Americans to buy American goods. This policy backfired. Conditions worsened for the United States. Many countries who depended on exporting goods to the United States also suffered. Moreover, when the United States raised tariffs, it set off a chain reaction. Other nations imposed their own higher tariffs. World trade dropped by 65 percent. This contributed further to the economic downturn. Unemployment rates soared.

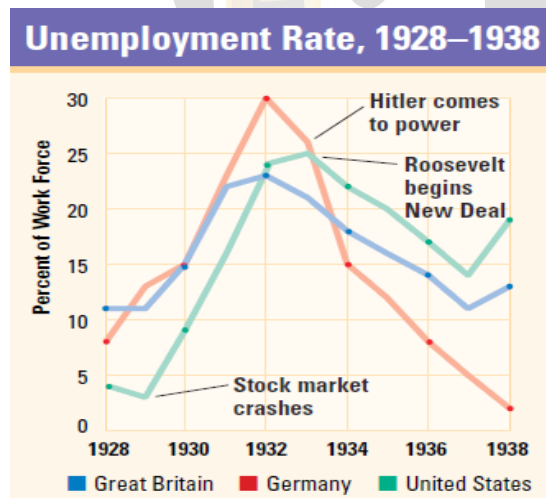
Because of war debts and dependence on American loans and investments, Germany and Austria were particularly hard hit. In 1931, Austria's largest bank failed. This started a financial panic in central European countries and sent their economies plunging.

In Asia, the Japanese economy also slumped. Japanese farmers suffered greatly during the Depression. In the rice growing areas of the northeast, crop failures in 1931 led to famine. Starving families ate tree bark and the roots of wild plants. City workers suffered, too, as the value of exports fell by half between 1929 and 1931. As many as 3 million workers lost their jobs, forcing many to go back to their rural villages.

The economic crisis fell heavily in Latin America as well. Many of its nations were tied to the global economy by trade in such cash crops or raw materials as sugar, beef, copper, and tin. During the 1920s, world prices and market demand for these products were already dropping. As European and U.S. demand for Latin American products dried up in the 1930s, prices for these goods collapsed. At the same time, the cost of imported goods rose, pushed up by high tariffs. Latin American nations that had borrowed heavily from other nations could not repay their debts. The worldwide crisis spread rapidly.

The World Responds to the Crisis

The Depression confronted democracies with a serious challenge to their economic and political systems. Each country met the crisis in its own way.



Britain Takes Steps to Improve Its Economy

Because its economy depended on foreign trade, the Depression hit Britain severely. To meet the emergency, British voters elected a multi-party coalition known as the National Government. This government's policies were designed to rescue the nation from economic calamity. It passed high protective tariffs, increased taxes, and regulated the currency. It also lowered interest rates to encourage industrial growth. These measures brought about a slow but steady recovery. By 1937, unemployment had been cut in half, and production had risen above 1929 levels. Britain avoided political extremes and preserved democracy.

France Responds to Economic Crisis

Unlike Britain, France had a more self-sufficient economy. In 1930, it was still heavily agricultural and less dependent on foreign trade. Thus, France was somewhat cushioned against the Depression. Nevertheless, by 1935, one million French workers were unemployed. The economic crisis contributed to political instability. In 1933, five coalition governments formed and fell. Many political leaders were frightened by the growth of anti-democratic forces both in France and in other parts of Europe. So in 1936, moderates, Socialists, and Communists formed a coalition. The Popular Front, as it was called, passed a series of reforms to help the workers. These reforms included pay increases, holidays with pay, and a 40-hour work week. Unfortunately, price increases quickly offset wage gains. Unemployment remained high. Yet France also preserved democratic government.

Socialist Governments Find Solutions The Socialist governments in the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway also met the challenge of economic crisis successfully. They built their recovery programs on an existing tradition of cooperative community action. In Sweden the government sponsored massive public works projects that kept people employed and producing. All the Scandinavian countries raised pensions for the elderly and increased unemployment insurance, subsidies for housing, and other welfare benefits. To pay for these benefits, the governments taxed all citizens. Under this program, both private and cooperative businesses prospered. Democracy remained intact.

Recovery in the United States In 1932, in the first presidential election after the Depression had begun, U.S. voters elected **Franklin D. Roosevelt**. His confident manner appealed to millions of Americans who felt bewildered by the Depression. On March 4, 1933, the new president sought to restore Americans' faith in their nation.

Roosevelt immediately began a program of reform that he called the **New Deal**. Large public works projects helped to provide jobs for the unemployed. New government agencies gave financial help to businesses and farms. Large amounts of public money were spent on welfare and relief programs. Roosevelt and his advisers believed that government spending would create jobs and start a recovery. Regulations were imposed to reform the stock market and the banking system. Despite these efforts, recovery was slow.

The New Deal did eventually reform the American economic system. Roosevelt's leadership preserved the country's faith in its democratic political system. It also established him as a leader of democracy in a world threatened by ruthless dictators.

24. Fascism Rises in Europe

Many democracies, including the United States, Britain, and France, remained strong despite the economic crisis caused by the Great Depression. However, millions of people lost faith in democratic government. In response, they turned to an extreme system of government called fascism.

Fascist Beliefs and Policies

This new, militant political movement called **fascism** emphasized loyalty to the state and obedience to its leader. Fascists promised to revive the economy, punish those responsible for hard times, and restore national pride. Their message attracted many people who felt frustrated and angered by the peace treaties that followed World War I and by the Great Depression.



Benito Mussolini
1883–1945

Unlike communism, fascism had no clearly defined theory or program. Nevertheless, most Fascists shared several ideas. They preached an extreme form of nationalism, or loyalty to one's country. Fascists believed that nations must struggle—peaceful states were doomed to be conquered. They pledged loyalty to an authoritarian leader who guided the state. In each nation, Fascists wore uniforms of a certain color, used special salutes, and held mass rallies.

In some ways, fascism was similar to communism. Both systems were ruled by dictators who allowed only their political party (one-party rule). Both denied individual rights. In both, the state was supreme. Neither practiced any kind of democracy. However, unlike Communists, Fascists did not seek a classless society. Rather, they believed that each class had its place and function. Communism claimed to be a dictatorship of the working class. In most cases, fascist parties were made up of aristocrats and industrialists, war veterans, and the lower middle class. Also, Fascists were nationalists, and Communists were internationalists, hoping to unite workers worldwide.

Mussolini Comes to Power in Italy

Fascism's rise in Italy was fueled by bitter disappointment over the failure to win large territorial gains at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Rising inflation and unemployment also contributed to widespread social unrest.

Italy's upper and middle classes feared a Communist revolution, as in Russia. To growing numbers of Italians, their democratic government seemed helpless to deal with the country's problems. They wanted a leader who would take action.

The Rise of Mussolini

A newspaper editor and politician named **Benito Mussolini** boldly promised to rescue Italy by reviving its economy and rebuilding its armed forces. He vowed to give Italy strong leadership. Mussolini had founded the Fascist Party in 1919. At first, he failed to win widespread support. As economic conditions worsened, however, his popularity rapidly increased. Finally, Mussolini publicly criticized Italy's government. Groups of Fascists wearing black shirts attacked Communists and Socialists on the streets. This campaign of terror weakened his opponents. Because Mussolini played on the fear of a workers' revolt, he began to win support from the middle classes, the aristocracy, and industrial leaders. In October 1922, about 30,000 Fascists marched on Rome. They demanded that King Victor Emmanuel III put Mussolini in charge of the government. The king decided that Mussolini was the best hope for his dynasty to survive, so he let Mussolini form a government. Thus, after widespread violence and a threat of armed uprising, Mussolini took power "legally." At the time, a foreign diplomat described him as "an actor, a dangerous rascal, and possibly slightly off his head."

Il Duce's Leadership

Mussolini was now *Il Duce*, or the leader. He abolished democracy and outlawed all political parties except the Fascists. Secret police jailed his opponents. Government censors forced radio stations and publications to broadcast or publish only Fascist doctrines. Mussolini outlawed strikes. He sought to control the economy by allying the Fascists with the industrialists and large landowners. Under his leadership, Italy became the model for Fascists in other countries. However, Mussolini never had the total control achieved by Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union or Adolf Hitler in Germany.

Hitler Takes Control in Germany

When Mussolini became dictator of Italy in the mid-1920s, **Adolf Hitler** was a little known political leader whose early life had been marked by disappointment. Born in a small town in Austria in 1889, he dropped out of high school and failed as an artist. When World War I broke out, Hitler found a new beginning. He would fight to defend Germany and crush its opponents. He volunteered for the German army and was twice awarded the Iron Cross, a medal for bravery.

The Rise of the Nazis

At the end of the war, Hitler settled in Munich. In early 1920, he joined a tiny right-wing political group. This group shared his belief that Germany had to overturn the Treaty of Versailles and combat communism. The group later named itself the National Socialist German Workers' Party, called Nazi for short. Its policies, supported by people in the middle and



Adolf Hitler
1889–1945

lower middle classes, formed the German brand of fascism known as **Nazism**. The party adopted the swastika, or hooked cross, as its symbol. The Nazis also set up a private militia called the storm troopers or Brownshirts. Within a short time, Hitler's success as an organizer and speaker led him to be chosen *der Führer*, or the leader, of the Nazi party. These skills also helped make the Nazis a growing political force. Inspired by Mussolini's march on Rome, Hitler and the Nazis plotted to seize power in Munich in 1923. The attempt failed, and Hitler was arrested. He was tried for treason, but sympathetic judges sentenced him to only five years in prison. He served less than nine months. While in jail, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*). This book set forth his beliefs and his goals for Germany. It became the blueprint, or plan of action, for the Nazis. Hitler asserted that the Germans, especially those who were blond and blue-eyed—whom he incorrectly called "Aryans"—were a "master race." He declared that non-Aryan "races"—such as Jews, Slavs, and Gypsies—were inferior or subhuman. He called the Versailles Treaty an outrage and vowed to regain the lands taken from Germany. Hitler also declared that Germany was overcrowded and needed more *lebensraum*, or living space. He promised to get that space by conquering eastern Europe and Russia.

After leaving prison in 1924, Hitler revived the Nazi party. Most Germans ignored him and his angry message until the Depression ended the nation's brief postwar recovery. When American loans stopped, the German economy collapsed. Factories ground to a halt and banks closed. Nearly six million people, about 30 percent of Germany's work force, were unemployed in 1932. Civil unrest broke out. Frightened and confused, Germans now turned to Hitler, hoping for security and firm leadership.

Hitler Becomes Chancellor

The Nazis had become the largest political party by 1932. Conservative leaders mistakenly believed they could control Hitler and use him for their purposes. In January 1933, they advised President Paul von Hindenburg to name Hitler chancellor. Only Hitler, they said, could stand up to the strong Communist party in Germany. Thus Hitler came to power legally.

Hitler acted quickly to strengthen his position. He called for new elections, hoping to win a parliamentary majority. Six days before the election, a fire destroyed the Reichstag building where parliament met. The Nazis blamed the Communists. By stirring up fear of the Communists, the Nazis and their allies won a slim majority.

With majority control, Hitler demanded dictatorial, or absolute, power for four years. Only one deputy dared to speak against the resulting Enabling Act. Hitler used his new power to turn Germany into a totalitarian state. He banned all other political parties and had opponents arrested. Meanwhile, an elite, black-uniformed unit called the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, or protection squad) was created. It was loyal only to Hitler. In 1934, the SS arrested and murdered hundreds of Hitler's enemies. This brutal action and the terror applied by the Gestapo, the Nazi secret police, shocked most Germans into total obedience.

The Nazis quickly took command of the economy. New laws banned strikes, dissolved independent labor unions, and gave the government authority over business and labor. Hitler put millions of Germans to work. They constructed factories, built highways, manufactured weapons, and served in the military. As a result, unemployment dropped from about 6 to 1.5 million in 1936.

The Führer Is Supreme

Hitler wanted more than just economic and political power—he wanted control over every aspect of German life. To shape public opinion and to win praise for his leadership, Hitler turned the press, radio, literature, painting, and film into propaganda tools. Books that did not conform to Nazi beliefs were burned in huge bonfires. Churches were forbidden to criticize the Nazis or the government. Schoolchildren had to join the Hitler Youth (for boys) or the League of German Girls. Hitler was greatly influenced by Social Darwinism. He believed that a continuous struggle brought victory to the strong. He twisted the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche to support this use of brute force to maintain power and his glorification of war.

Hitler Makes War on the Jews

Hatred of Jews, or anti-Semitism, was a key part of Nazi ideology. Although Jews were less than one percent of the population, the Nazis used them as scapegoats for all Germany's troubles since the war. This led to a wave of anti-Semitism across Germany. Beginning in 1933, the Nazis passed laws depriving Jews of most of their rights. Violence against Jews mounted. On the night of November 9, 1938, Nazi mobs attacked Jews in their homes and on the streets and destroyed thousands of Jewish-owned buildings. This rampage, called *Kristallnacht* (Night of the Broken Glass), signaled the real start of the process of eliminating the Jews from German life.

Other Countries Fall to Dictators

While Fascists took power in Italy and Germany, the nations formed in eastern Europe after World War I also were falling to dictators. The parliamentary governments that had been set up in these countries rarely lasted. In Hungary in 1919, after a brief Communist regime, military forces and wealthy landowners joined to make Admiral Miklós Horthy the first European postwar dictator. In Poland, Marshal Joseph Pilsudski seized power in 1926. In Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, kings turned to strong-man rule. They suspended constitutions and silenced foes. In 1935, one democracy, Czechoslovakia, remained in eastern Europe.

Elsewhere in Europe, only in nations with strong democratic traditions—Britain, France, and the Scandinavian countries—did democracy survive. With no democratic experience and severe economic problems, many Europeans saw dictatorship as the only way to prevent instability. Although all of these dictatorships restricted civil rights, none asserted control with the brutality of the Russian Communists or the Nazis.

By the mid-1930s, the powerful nations of the world were split into two antagonistic camps—democratic and totalitarian. And to gain their ends, the Fascist dictatorships had indicated a willingness to use military aggression.

25. Aggressors on the March

By the mid-1930s, Germany and Italy seemed bent on military conquest. The major democracies—Britain, France, and the United States—were distracted by economic problems at home and longed to remain at peace. The Soviet Union was not committed to either camp. With the world moving toward war, many people pinned their hopes for peace on the League of Nations.

World Drifts toward War

As fascism spread in Europe, a powerful nation in Asia moved toward a similar system. Following a period of reform and progress in the 1920s, Japan fell under military rule.

Democracy Struggles in Japan

During the 1920s, the Japanese government became more democratic. In 1922, Japan signed an international treaty agreeing to respect China's borders. In 1928, it signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war. Japan's parliamentary system had several weaknesses, however. Its constitution put strict limits on the powers of the prime minister and the cabinet. Most importantly, civilian leaders had little control over the armed forces. Military leaders reported only to the emperor.

Militarists Take Control of Japan

As long as Japan remained prosperous, the civilian government kept power. When the Great Depression struck in 1930, the government was blamed. Military leaders gained support and soon won control of the country. Unlike the Fascists in Europe, the militarists did not try to establish a new system of government. They wanted to restore traditional control of the government to the military. Instead of a forceful leader like Mussolini or Hitler, the militarists made the emperor the symbol of state power. Keeping Emperor Hirohito as head of state won popular support for the army leaders who ruled in his name. Like Hitler and Mussolini, Japan's militarists were extreme nationalists. They wanted to solve the country's economic problems by foreign expansion. They planned a Pacific empire that included a conquered China. The empire would provide Japan with raw materials and markets for its goods. It would also give Japan room for its rising population.

Japan Invades Manchuria

Japanese businesses had invested heavily in China's northeast province, Manchuria. It was an area rich in iron and coal. In 1931, the Japanese army seized Manchuria, despite objections from the Japanese parliament. The army then set up a puppet government. Japanese engineers and technicians began arriving in large numbers to build mines and factories.

The Japanese attack on Manchuria was the first direct challenge to the League of Nations. In the early 1930s, the League's members included all major democracies except the United States. Also members were the three countries that posed the greatest threat to peace—Germany, Japan, and Italy. When Japan seized Manchuria, many League members vigorously protested. The League

condemned Japanese aggression, but it had no power to enforce its decisions. Japan ignored the protests and withdrew from the League in 1933.

Japan Invades China

Four years later, a border incident touched off a full-scale war between Japan and China. On July 7, 1937, the Japanese and the Chinese exchanged shots at a railroad bridge near Beijing. Japanese forces then swept into northern China. Despite having a million soldiers, China's army led by Jiang Jieshi was no match for the better equipped and trained Japanese. Beijing and other northern cities as well as the capital, Nanjing, fell to the Japanese in 1937. Japanese troops killed tens of thousands of captured soldiers and civilians in Nanjing. Forced to retreat westward, Jiang Jieshi set up a new capital at Chongqing. At the same time, Chinese guerrillas led by China's Communist leader, Mao Zedong, continued to fight in the conquered area.

Mussolini Attacks Ethiopia

The League's failure to stop the Japanese encouraged Mussolini to plan aggression of his own. Mussolini dreamed of building a colonial empire in Africa like that of Britain and France. He bitterly complained that Britain and France had left only "a collection of deserts" from which to choose. Ethiopia was one of Africa's four remaining independent nations.

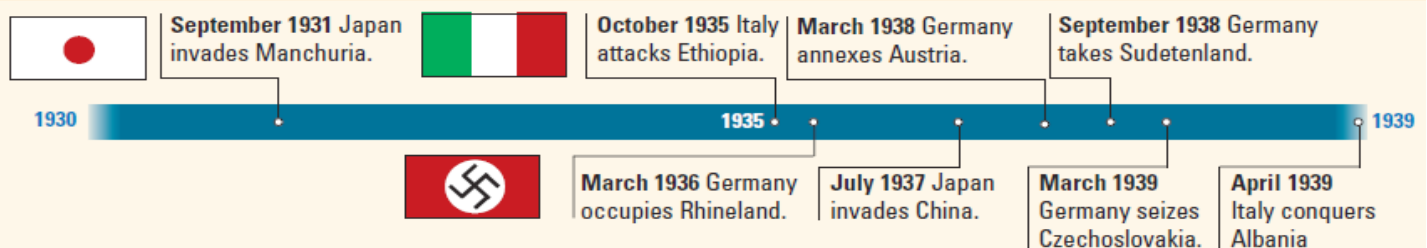
Hitler Defies Versailles Treaty

Hitler had long pledged to undo the Versailles Treaty. Among its provisions, the treaty limited the size of Germany's army. In March 1935, the Führer announced that Germany would not obey these restrictions. In fact, Germany had already begun rebuilding its armed forces. The League issued only a mild condemnation. Banners throughout Germany announced, "Today Germany! Tomorrow the World!"

The League's failure to stop Germany from rearming convinced Hitler to take even greater risks. The treaty had forbidden German troops to enter a 30-mile-wide zone on either side of the Rhine River. Known as the Rhineland, it formed a buffer zone between Germany and France. It was also an important industrial area. On March 7, 1936, German troops moved into the Rhineland. Stunned, the French were unwilling to risk war. The British urged **appeasement**, giving in to an aggressor to keep peace.

Hitler later admitted that he would have backed down if the French and British had challenged him. The German reoccupation of the Rhineland marked a turning point in the march toward war. First, it strengthened Hitler's power and prestige within Germany. Cautious generals who had urged restraint now agreed to follow him. Second, the balance of power changed in Germany's favor. France and Belgium were now open to attack from

Aggression in Europe and Asia, 1930–1939



The Ethiopians had successfully resisted an Italian attempt at conquest during the 1890s. To avenge that defeat, Mussolini ordered a massive invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935. The spears and swords of the Ethiopians were no match for Italian airplanes, tanks, guns, and poison gas. In May 1936, Mussolini told a cheering crowd that "Italy has at last her empire . . . a Fascist empire." The Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie urgently appealed to the League for help. Although the League condemned the attack, its members did nothing. Britain continued to let Italian troops and supplies pass through the British-controlled Suez Canal on their way to Ethiopia. By giving in to Mussolini in Africa, Britain and France hoped to keep peace in Europe.

German troops. Finally, the weak response by France and Britain encouraged Hitler to speed up his military and territorial expansion.

Hitler's growing strength convinced Mussolini that he should seek an alliance with Germany. In October 1936, the two dictators reached an agreement that became known as the Rome-Berlin Axis. A month later, Germany also made an agreement with Japan. Germany, Italy, and Japan came to be called the **Axis Powers**.

Civil War Erupts in Spain

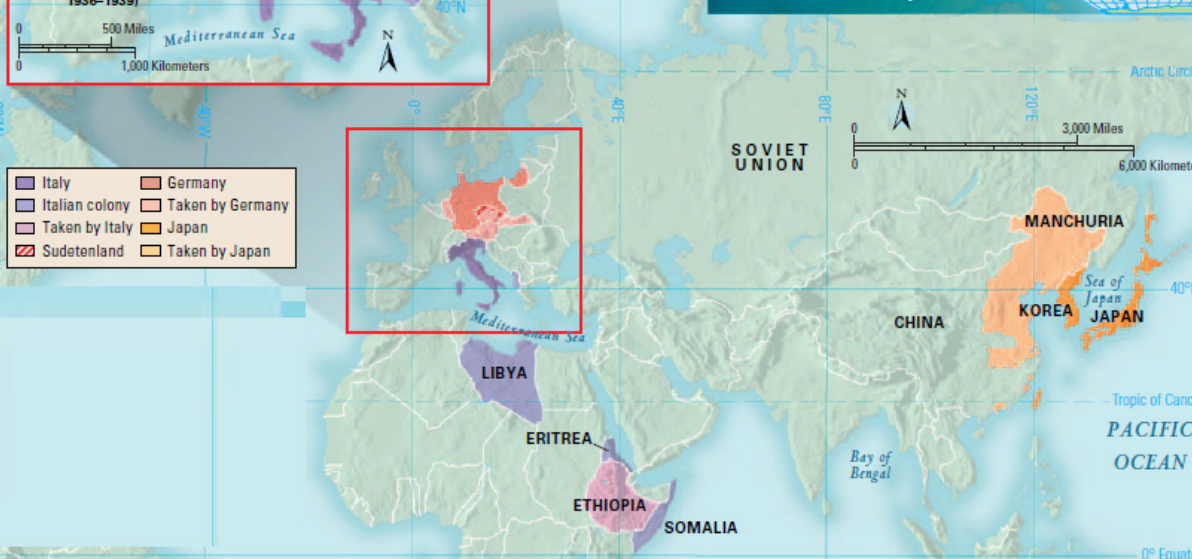
Hitler and Mussolini again tested the will of the democracies of Europe in the Spanish civil war. Spain had been a monarchy until 1931, when a republic was declared. The government, run by liberals and socialists, held office amid many crises. In July 1936, army leaders, favoring a

Fascist-style government, joined General **Francisco Franco** in a revolt. Thus began a civil war that dragged on for three years.

Hitler and Mussolini sent troops, tanks, and airplanes to help Franco's forces, which were called the Nationalists. The armed forces of the Republicans, as supporters of Spain's elected government were known, received little help from abroad. The Western democracies remained neutral. Only the Soviet Union sent equipment and advisers. An International Brigade of volunteers fought on the Republican side but had little chance against a professional army. Early in 1939, Republican resistance collapsed. Franco became Spain's Fascist dictator.



Aggression in Europe, Africa and Asia, 1930–1939



Western Democracies Fail to Halt Aggression

Instead of taking a stand against Fascist aggression in the 1930s, Britain and France repeatedly made concessions, hoping to keep peace. Both nations were dealing with serious economic problems as a result of the Great Depression. In addition, the horrors of World War I had created a deep desire to avoid war. Allowing Hitler and Mussolini small territorial gains seemed a small price to pay for peace.

United States Follows an Isolationist Policy

Many Americans resisted accepting the nation's new position as a world leader. **Isolationism**—the belief that political ties to other countries should be avoided—won

wide support. Isolationists argued that entry into World War I had been a costly error. They were determined to prevent a repeat of this mistake. Beginning in 1935, Congress passed three Neutrality Acts. These laws banned loans and the sale of arms to nations at war. The isolationists believed this action would keep the United States out of another foreign war.

The German Reich Expands

On November 5, 1937, Hitler announced to his advisers his plans to absorb Austria and Czechoslovakia into the **Third Reich**, or German Empire. The Germans would then expand into Poland and Russia. Hitler's first target was Austria. The Treaty of Versailles prohibited Anschluss, or a union between Austria and Germany. However, many Austrians supported unity with Germany. In March 1938, Hitler sent his army into Austria and annexed it. France and Britain ignored their pledge to protect Austrian independence.

Hitler next turned to Czechoslovakia. After World War I, Czechoslovakia had developed into a prosperous democracy with a strong army and a defense treaty with France. About 3 million German-speaking people lived in the western border regions of Czechoslovakia called the Sudetenland. (See map, page 813.) This heavily fortified area formed the Czechs' main defense against

Germany. The Anschluss raised pro-Nazi feelings among Sudeten Germans. In September 1938, Hitler demanded that the Sudetenland be given to Germany. The Czechs refused and asked France for help.

Britain and France Again Choose Appeasement

France and Britain were preparing for war when Mussolini proposed a meeting of Germany, France, Britain, and Italy in Munich, Germany. The **Munich Conference** was held on September 29, 1938. The Czechs were not invited. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain believed that he could preserve peace by giving in to Hitler's demand. The next morning, a tense world learned that the crisis was over. Britain and France agreed that Hitler could take the Sudetenland. In exchange, Hitler pledged to respect Czechoslovakia's new borders.

Chamberlain's policy of appeasement seemed to have prevented war. When he returned to London, Chamberlain told cheering crowds, "I believe it is peace for our time." Winston Churchill, then a member of the British Parliament, strongly disagreed. He opposed the appeasement policy and gloomily warned of its consequences.

Less than six months after the Munich meeting, Hitler's troops took Czechoslovakia. Soon after, Mussolini seized nearby Albania. Then Hitler demanded that Poland return the former German port of Danzig. The Poles refused and turned to Britain and France for aid. Both countries said they would guarantee Polish independence. But appeasement had convinced Hitler that neither nation would risk war.

Nazis and Soviets Sign Nonaggression Pact

Britain and France asked the Soviet Union to join them in stopping Hitler's aggression. Negotiations proceeded slowly. The two democracies distrusted the Communist government, and Stalin resented having been left out of the Munich Conference. As the Soviet leader talked with Britain and France, he also bargained with Hitler. The two dictators reached an agreement. Once bitter enemies, fascist Germany and communist Russia now publicly committed never to attack one another. On August 23, 1939, a nonaggression pact was signed. As the Axis Powers moved unchecked at the end of the decade, the whole world waited to see what would happen next. War appeared inevitable.

26. World War II (1939-45)

Summary Of Events

Unlike the 1914-18 war, the Second World War was a war of rapid movement; it was a much more complex affair, with major campaigns taking place in the Pacific and the Far East, in North Africa and deep in the heart of Russia, as well as in central and western Europe and the Atlantic. The war falls into four fairly clearly defined phases:

Opening moves: September 1939 to December 1940



By the end of September the Germans and Russians had occupied Poland. After a five month pause (known as the 'phony war'), German forces occupied Denmark and Norway (April 1940). In May, attacks were made on Holland, Belgium and France, who were soon defeated; leaving Britain alone to face the dictators (Mussolini had declared war in June, just before the fall of France). Hitler's attempt to bomb Britain into submission was thwarted in the Battle of Britain (July to September 1940), but Mussolini's armies invaded Egypt and Greece.

The Axis offensive widens: 1941 to the summer of 1942

The war now began to develop into a worldwide conflict. First Hitler, confident of a quick victory over Britain, launched an invasion of Russia (June 1941), breaking the non-aggression pact signed less than two years earlier. Then the Japanese forced the US A into the war by attacking the American naval base at Pearl Harbor (December 1941), and they followed this up by occupying territories such as the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore and Burma, scattered over a wide area. At this stage of the war there seemed to be no way of stopping the Germans and Japanese, though the Italians were less successful.

The offensives held in check: summer 1942 to summer 1943

This phase of the war saw three important battles in which Axis forces were defeated.

- In June 1942, the Americans drove off a Japanese attack on Midway Island, inflicting heavy losses.
- In October, the Germans under Rommel, advancing towards Egypt, were halted at El Alamein and later driven out of North Africa.



- The third battle was in Russia, where by September 1942, the Germans had penetrated as far as Stalin-grad on the river Volga. Here the Russians put up such fierce resistance that in the following February the German army was surrounded and

forced to surrender.

Meanwhile the war in the air continued, with both sides bombing enemy cities, while at sea, as in the First World War, the British and Americans gradually got the better of the German submarine menace.

The Axis powers defeated: July 1943 to August 1945

The enormous power and resources of the USA and the USSR, combined with an all-out effort from Britain and her Empire, slowly but surely wore the Axis powers down. Italy was eliminated first, and this was followed by an Anglo-American invasion of Normandy (June 1944) which liberated France, Belgium and Holland. Later, Allied troops crossed the Rhine and captured Cologne. In the east, the Russians drove the Germans out and advanced on Berlin via Poland. Germany surrendered in May 1945 and Japan in August, after the Americans had dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and one on Nagasaki.



OPENING MOVES: SEPTEMBER 1939 TO DECEMBER 1940

(a) Poland defeated

The Poles were defeated swiftly by the German Blitzkrieg (lightning war), which they were ill-equipped to deal with. It consisted of rapid thrusts by motorized divisions and tanks (Panzers) supported by air power. The Luftwaffe (the German air force) put the Polish railway system out of action and destroyed the Polish air force. Polish resistance was heroic but hopeless: they had no motorized divisions and they tried to stop advancing German tanks by massed cavalry charges. Britain and

France did little to help their ally directly because French mobilization procedure was slow and out-of-date, and it was difficult to transport sufficient troops to Poland to be effective. When the Russians invaded eastern Poland, resistance collapsed. On 29 September Poland was divided up between Germany and the USSR (as agreed in the pact of August 1939).

(b) The 'phony war'

Very little happened in the west for the next five months. In the east the Russians took over Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and invaded Finland (November 1939), forcing her to hand over frontier territories which would enable the Russians to defend themselves better against any attack from the west. Meanwhile the French and Germans manned their respective defences - the Maginot and Siegfried Lines. Hitler seems to have hoped that the pause would weaken the resolve of Britain and France and encourage them to negotiate peace. This lack of action pleased Hitler's generals, who were not convinced that the German army was strong enough to attack in the west. It was the American press which described this period as the 'phony war'.

(c) Denmark and Norway invaded, April 1940

Hitler's troops occupied Denmark and landed at the main Norwegian ports in April 1940, rudely shattering the apparent calm of the 'phony war'. Control of Norway was important for the Germans because Narvik was the main outlet for Swedish iron-ore, which was vital for the German armaments industry. The British were interfering with this trade by laying mines in Norwegian coastal waters, and the Germans were afraid that they might try to take over some of Norway's ports, which they were in fact planning to do. Admiral Raeder, the German navy chief, realized that the fjords would be excellent naval bases from which to attack Britain's transatlantic supply lines. When a British destroyer chased the German vessel Altmark into a Norwegian fjord and rescued the 300 British prisoners aboard, Hitler decided it was time to act. On 9 April, German troops landed at Oslo, Kristiansand, Stavanger, Bergen and Trondheim; although British and French troops arrived a few days later, they were unable to dislodge the Germans, who were already well established. After a temporary success at Narvik, all Allied troops were withdrawn by early June because of the growing threat to France itself. The Germans were successful because the Norwegians had been taken by surprise and their troops were not even mobilized; local Nazis, under their leader Vidkun Quisling, gave the invaders every assistance. The British had no air support, whereas the German air force constantly harassed the Allies. This Norwegian campaign had important results:

- Germany was assured of her bases and her iron-ore supplies, but had lost three cruisers and ten destroyers. This made the German navy less effective at Dunkirk than it might have been.
- It showed the incompetence of Chamberlain's government. He was forced to resign and Winston Churchill became British prime minister. Although there has been criticism of Churchill's mistakes, there is no doubt that he supplied what was needed at the time - drive, a sense of urgency, and the ability to make his coalition cabinet work well together.

(d) Hitler attacks Holland, Belgium and France

The attacks on Holland, Belgium and France were launched simultaneously on 10 May, and again Blitzkrieg methods brought swift victories. The Dutch, shaken by the bombing of Rotterdam, which killed almost a thousand people, surrendered after only four days. Belgium held out for longer, but her surrender at the end of May left the British and French troops in Belgium perilously exposed as German motorized divisions swept across northern France; only Dunkirk remained in Allied hands. The British navy played the vital role in evacuating over 338 000 troops - two-thirds of them British - from Dunkirk between 27 May and 4 June. This was a remarkable achievement in the face of constant Luftwaffe attacks on the beaches. It would perhaps have been impossible if Hitler had not ordered the German advance towards Dunkirk to halt (24 May), probably because the marshy terrain and numerous canals were unsuitable for tanks.

The events at Dunkirk were important: a third of a million Allied troops were rescued to fight again, and Churchill used it for propaganda purposes to boost British morale with the 'Dunkirk spirit'. In fact it was a serious blow for the Allies: the troops at Dunkirk had lost all their arms and equipment, so that it became impossible for Britain to help France.

The Germans now swept southwards: Paris was captured on 7 June and France surrendered on 22 June. At Hitler's insistence the armistice (ceasefire) was signed at Compiègne in the same railway coach that had been used for the 1918 armistice. The Germans occupied northern France and the Atlantic coast (see Map 6.1), giving them valuable submarine bases, and the French army was demobilized. Unoccupied France was allowed its own government under Marshal Petain, but it had no real independence and collaborated with the Germans. Britain's position was now very precarious. Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, allowed secret enquiries to be made via Washington about what German peace terms would be; even Churchill thought about the possibility of a negotiated peace.

(e) Why was France defeated so quickly?

1) The French were psychologically unprepared for war, and were bitterly divided between right and left. The right was fascist in sympathy, admired Hitler's achievements in Germany and wanted an agreement with him. The communists, following the non-aggression pact between Germany and the USSR, were also against the war. The long period of inaction during the 'phony war' allowed time for a peace party to develop on the right, headed by Laval. He argued that there was no point in continuing the war now that the Poles, whom they were supposed to be helping, had been defeated.

2) There were serious military weaknesses.

- France had to face the full weight of an undivided German offensive, whereas in 1914 half the German forces had been directed against Russia.
- The French High Command was content to sit behind the Maginot Line, a line of defences stretching from the Swiss to the Belgian frontiers. Unfortunately the Maginot Line did not continue along the frontier between France and Belgium, partly because that might have offended the Belgians, and because Petain believed that the Ardennes would be a strong enough barrier; but this was exactly where the Germans broke through.
- France had as many tanks and armoured vehicles as Germany, but instead of being concentrated in completely mechanized armoured divisions (like the Germans), allowing greater speed, they were split up so that each infantry division had a few. This slowed them to the speed of marching soldiers (infantry).
- The German divisions were supported by combat planes, another area neglected by the French.

3) The French generals made fatal mistakes.

- No attempt was made to help Poland by attacking Germany in the west in September 1939, which might have had a good chance of success.
- No troops were moved from the Maginot Line forts (most of which were completely inactive) to help block the German breakthrough on the River Meuse (13 May 1940).
- There was poor communication between the army and air force, so that air defence to drive German bombers off usually failed to arrive.

4) Military defeats gave the defeatist right the chance to come out into the open and put pressure on the government to accept a ceasefire. When even the 84-year-old Petain, the hero of Verdun in 1916, urged peace, Prime Minister Reynaud resigned and Petain took over.

(f) The Battle of Britain (12 August to 30 September 1940)

This was fought in the air, when Goering's Luftwaffe tried to destroy the Royal Air Force (RAF) as a preliminary to the invasion of Britain. The Germans bombed harbours, radar stations, aerodromes and munitions factories; in September they began to bomb London, in retaliation, they claimed, for a British raid on Berlin.



Winston Churchill
1874–1965

The RAF inflicted heavy losses on the Luftwaffe (1389 German planes were lost as against 792 British); when it became clear that British air power was far from being destroyed, Hitler called off the invasion. Reasons for the British success were:

- Their chain of new radar stations gave plenty of warning of approaching German attackers.
- The German bombers were poorly armed. Though the British fighters (Spitfires and Hurricanes) were not significantly better than the German Messerschmitts, the Germans were hampered by limited range - they could only carry enough fuel to enable them to stay in the air about 90 minutes.
- The switch to bombing London was a mistake because it relieved pressure on the airfields at the critical moment.

The Battle of Britain was probably the first major turning point of the war: for the first time the Germans had been checked, demonstrating that they were not invincible. Britain was able to remain in the struggle, thus facing Hitler (who was about to attack Russia) with the fatal situation of war on two fronts. As Churchill remarked when he paid tribute to the British fighter pilots: 'Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.'

(g) Mussolini invades Egypt, September 1940

Not wanting to be outdone by Hitler, Mussolini sent an army from the Italian colony of Libya which penetrated about 60 miles into Egypt (September 1940), while another Italian army invaded Greece from Albania (October). However, the British soon drove the Italians out of Egypt, pushed them back far into Libya and defeated them at Beda Fomm, capturing 130 000 prisoners and

400 tanks. They seemed poised to take the whole of Libya. British naval aircraft sank half the Italian fleet in harbour at Taranto and occupied Crete. The Greeks forced the Italians back and invaded Albania. Mussolini was beginning to be an embarrassment to Hitler.

The Axis Offensive Widens: 1941 To The Summer Of 1942

(a) North Africa and Greece

Hitler's first moves in 1941 were to help out his faltering ally. In February he sent Erwin Rommel and the Afrika Korps to Tripoli, and together with the Italians, they drove the British out of Libya. After much advancing and retreating, by June 1942 the Germans were in Egypt approaching El Alamein, only 70 miles from Alexandria (see Map 6.2). In April 1941 Hitler's forces invaded Greece, the day after 60 000 British, Australian and New Zealand troops had arrived to help the Greeks. The Germans soon captured Athens, forcing the British to withdraw, and after bombing Crete, they launched a parachute invasion of the island; again the British were forced to evacuate (May 1941). The campaigns in Greece had important effects:

- It was depressing for the Allies, who lost about 36 000 men.
- Many of the troops had been removed from North Africa, thus weakening British forces there just when they needed to be at their most effective against Rommel.
- More important in the long run was that Hitler's involvement in Greece and Yugoslavia (which the Germans invaded at the same time as Greece) may well have delayed his attack on Russia. This was originally planned for 15 May and was delayed for five weeks. If the invasion had taken place in May, the Germans might well have captured Moscow before the winter set in.

(b) The German invasion of Russia (Operation Barbarossa) began on 22 June 1941

Hitler's motives seem to have been mixed:

- He feared that the Russians might attack Germany while his forces were still occupied in the west.
- He hoped that the Japanese would attack Russia in the Far East.
- The more powerful Japan became, the less chance there was of the USA entering the war (or so Hitler thought).

- But above all there was his hatred of communism and his desire for Lebensraum (living space).

According to historian Alan Bullock, 'Hitler invaded Russia for the simple and sufficient reason that he had always meant to establish the foundations of his thousand-year Reich by the annexation of the territory lying between the Vistula and the Urals.' It has sometimes been suggested that the attack on Russia was Hitler's greatest mistake, but in fact, as Hugh Trevor-Roper pointed out, 'to Hitler the Russian campaign was not a luxury: it was the be-all and end-all of Nazism; it could not be delayed. It was now or never.' Hitler did not expect a long war; he told one of his generals: 'We have only to kick in the door and the whole rotten structure will come crashing down.' The German attack was three-pronged:

- In the north towards Leningrad,
- In the centre towards Moscow,
- In the south through the Ukraine.

It was Blitzkrieg on an awesome scale, involving close on 5.5 million men, and 3550 tanks supported by 5000 aircraft and 47 000 pieces of artillery. Important cities such as Riga, Smolensk and Kiev were captured. The Russians had been caught off their guard, in spite of British and American warnings that a German attack was imminent. Stalin apparently believed that Hitler could be trusted to honour the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, and was extremely suspicious of any information which came from Britain or the USA.

The Russians were still re-equipping their army and air force, and many of their generals, thanks to Stalin's purges, were inexperienced. However, the German forces failed to capture Leningrad and Moscow. They were severely hampered by the heavy rains of October, which turned the Russian roads into mud, and by the severe frosts of November and December when in some places the temperature fell to minus 38°C. The Germans had inadequate winter clothing because Hitler had expected the campaigns to be over by the autumn. Even in the spring of 1942 no progress was made in the north and centre as Hitler decided to concentrate on a major drive south-eastwards towards the Caucasus to seize the oil fields.

(c) The USA enters the war, December 1941

The USA was brought into the war by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (their naval base in the Hawaiian Islands) on 7 December 1941. Until then, the Americans, still intent on isolation, had remained neutral, though after the Lend-Lease Act (April 1941), they had provided Britain with massive financial aid. Japanese motives

for the attack were tied up with her economic problems. The government believed they would soon run short of raw materials and cast longing eyes toward territories such as Britain's Malaya and Burma, which had rubber, oil and tin, and towards the Dutch East Indies, also rich in oil. Since both Britain and Holland were in no fit state to defend their possessions. The Japanese prepared to attack, though they would probably have preferred to avoid war with the USA. However, relations between the two states deteriorated steadily. The Americans assisted the Chinese, who were still at war with Japan; when the Japanese persuaded Vichy France to allow them to occupy French Indo-China (where they set up military bases), President Roosevelt demanded their withdrawal and placed an embargo on oil supplies to Japan (26 July 1941). Long negotiations followed in which the Japanese tried to persuade the Americans to lift the embargo. But stalemate was reached when the Americans insisted on a Japanese withdrawal both from Indo-China and from China itself. When the aggressive General Tojo became prime minister (16 October), war seemed inevitable.

The attack was brilliantly organized by Admiral Yamamoto. There was no declaration of war: 353 Japanese planes arrived undetected at Pearl Harbor, and in two hours, destroyed 350 aircraft and five battleships; 3700 men were killed or seriously injured. Roosevelt called 7 December 'a date which will live in infamy'. Pearl Harbor had important results:

- It gave the Japanese control of the Pacific, and by May 1942 they had captured Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong and Burma (all part of the British Empire), the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, and two American possessions, Guam and Wake Island (see Map 6.4).
- It caused Hitler to declare war on the USA. Declaring war on the USA was perhaps Hitler's most serious mistake. He need not at this stage have committed himself to war with the USA, in which case the Americans might well have concentrated on the Pacific war. However, the Germans had already assured the Japanese that they would come to Japan's aid if she was ever at war with the USA. Hitler assumed that President Roosevelt of the USA would declare war on Germany sooner or later, so he wanted to get Germany's declaration of war in first, to show the German people that he, and not the Americans, controlled events. In fact the US Congress was naturally determined to have their revenge on Japan, but was still reluctant to get involved in Europe. Roosevelt would have had a difficult job to persuade Congress to declare war on Germany; Hitler's action saved him the trouble.

As it was, Germany was now faced with the immense po-

tential of the USA. This meant that with the vast resources of the USSR and the British Commonwealth as well, the longer the war lasted, the less chance there was of an Axis victory. It was essential for them to deliver swift knockout blows before the American contribution became effective.

- Midway Island
 - El Alamein
 - Stalingrad
- a) **Midway Island, June 1942**



(d) Brutal behaviour by Germans and Japanese

The behaviour of both Germans and Japanese in their conquered territories was ruthless and brutal. The Nazis treated the peoples of eastern Europe as sub-humans, fit only to be slaves of the German master-race. As for the Jews - they were to be exterminated.

The Japanese treated their prisoners of war and the Asian peoples badly. Again this was ill-advised: many of the Asians, like those in Indo-China, at first welcomed the Japanese, who were thought to be freeing them from European control. The Japanese hoped to organize their new territories into a great economic empire known as a Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere, which would be defended by sea and air power. However, harsh treatment by the Japanese soon turned the Asians against rule from Tokyo, and determined resistance movements began, usually with communist involvement.

The Offensives Held In Check: Summer 1942 to Summer 1943

In three separate areas of fighting, Axis forces were defeated and began to lose ground:

At Midway Island in the Pacific the Americans beat off a powerful Japanese attack, which included five aircraft carriers, nearly 400 aircraft, 17 large warships and an invasion force of 5000 troops. The Americans, with only three carriers and 233 planes, destroyed four of the Japanese carriers and about 330 planes. There were several reasons for the American victory against heavier odds:

- They had broken the Japanese radio code and knew exactly when and where the attack was to be launched.
- The Japanese were over-confident and made two fatal mistakes: they split their forces, thus allowing the Americans to concentrate on the main carrier force; and they attacked with aircraft from all four carriers simultaneously, so that when they were all rearming, the entire fleet was extremely vulnerable.

At this stage the Americans launched a counter-attack by dive-bombers, which swooped unexpectedly from 19000 feet, sinking two of the carriers and all their planes. Midway proved to be a crucial turning point in the battle for the Pacific: the loss of their carriers and strike planes seriously weakened the Japanese, and from then on the Americans maintained their lead in carriers and aircraft, especially dive-bombers. Although the Japanese had far

more battleships and cruisers, they were mostly ineffective: the only way war could be waged successfully in the vast expanses of the Pacific was by air power operating from carriers. Gradually the Americans under General MacArthur began to recover the Pacific islands, beginning in August 1942 with landings in the Solomon Islands. The struggle was long and bitter and continued through 1943 and 1944, a process which the Americans called 'island hopping'.

(b) El Alamein, October 1942

At El Alamein in Egypt Rommel's Afrika Korps were driven back by the British Eighth Army, commanded by Montgomery. This great battle was the culmination of several engagements fought in the El Alamein area: first the Axis advance was temporarily checked (July); when Rommel tried to break through he was halted again at Alam Halfa (September); finally, seven weeks later in the October battle, he was chased out of Egypt for good by the British and New Zealanders.

The Allies were successful partly because during the seven-week pause, massive reinforcements had arrived, so that the Germans and Italians were heavily outnumbered - 80 000 men and 540 tanks against 230 000 troops and 1440 tanks. In addition, Allied air power was vital, constantly attacking the Axis forces and sinking their supply ships as they crossed the Mediterranean, so that by October there were serious shortages of food, fuel oil and ammunition. At the same time the air force was strong enough to protect the Eighth Army's own supply routes. Montgomery's skilful preparations probably clinched the issue, though he has been criticized for being over-cautious, and for allowing Rommel and half his forces to escape into Libya.

However, there is no doubt that the El Alamein victory was another turning point in the war:

- It prevented Egypt and the Suez Canal from falling into German hands.
- It ended the possibility of a link-up between the Axis forces in the Middle East and those in the Ukraine.
- More than that, it led on to the complete expulsion of Axis forces from North Africa. It encouraged landings of British troops in the French territories of Morocco and Algeria to threaten the Germans and Italians from the west, while the Eighth Army closed in on them from Libya. Trapped in Tunisia, 275 000 Germans and Italians were forced to surrender (May 1943), and the Allies were well-placed for an invasion of Italy.

The desert war had been a serious drain on German re-

sources that could have been used in Russia, where they were badly needed.

(c) Stalingrad

At Stalingrad the southern prong of the German invasion of Russia, which had penetrated deeply through the Crimea, capturing Rostov-on-Don, was finally checked. The Germans had reached Stalingrad at the end of August 1942, but though they more or less destroyed the city, the Russians refused to surrender. In November they counter-attacked ferociously, trapping the Germans, whose supply lines were dangerously extended, in a large pincer movement. With his retreat cut off, the German commander, von Paulus, had no reasonable alternative but to surrender with 94 000 men (2 February 1943).

If Stalingrad had fallen, the supply route for Russia's oil from the Caucasus would have been cut off, and the Germans had hoped to advance up the River Don to attack Moscow from the south-east. This plan had to be abandoned; but more than this was at stake - the defeat was a catastrophe for the Germans: it shattered the myth that they were invincible, and boosted Russian morale. They followed up with more counter-attacks, and in July 1943, in a great tank battle at Kursk, they forced the Germans to keep on retreating. Early in 1944 the Germans had to abandon the siege of Leningrad and to retreat from their position west of Moscow. It was now only a matter of time before the Germans, heavily outnumbered and short of tanks and guns, were driven out of Russia.

What Part Was Played By Allied Naval Forces?

a) British successes

1. Aircraft from the carrier *Illustrious* sank half the Italian fleet at Taranto (November 1940). The following March five more warships were destroyed off Cape Matapan.
2. The threat from surface raiders was removed by the sinking of the *Bismarck*, Germany's only battleship at the time (May 1941).
3. The navy destroyed the German invasion transports on their way to Crete (May 1941), though they could not prevent the landing of parachute troops.
4. They provided escorts for convoys carrying supplies to help the Russians. These sailed via the Arctic to Murmansk in the far north of Russia. Beginning in September 1941, the first 12 convoys arrived without incident, but then the Germans began to attack them, until convoy 17 lost 23 ships out of 36 (June 1942). After this disaster, Arctic convoys were not resumed until November 1943, when stronger escorts could

be spared. Altogether 40 convoys sailed: 720 out of a total of 811 merchant ships arrived safely, with valuable cargo for the Russians; this included 5000 tanks, 7000 aircraft and thousands of tons of canned meat.

of sinkings began to fall, while the U-boat losses increased. By July 1943 the Allies could produce ships at a faster rate than the U-boats could sink them, and the situation was under control.

5. Their most important contribution was their victory in the Battle of the Atlantic. 6-Sea and air power together made possible the great invasion of France in June 1944.

The reasons for the Allied success were:

- More air protection was provided for convoys by long-range Liberators;
- Both escorts and aircraft improved with experience;
- The British introduced the new centimetric radar sets, which were small enough to be fitted into aircraft; these enabled submarines to be detected in poor visibility and at night.

(b) The Battle of the Atlantic

This was the struggle against German U-boats attempting to deprive Britain of food and raw materials. At the beginning of 1942 the Germans had 90 U-boats in operation and 250 being built. In the first six months of that year the Allies lost over 4 million tons of merchant shipping and destroyed only 21 U-boats. Losses reached a peak of 108 ships in March 1943, almost two-thirds of which were in convoy. However, after that the number

The victory was just as important as Midway, El Alamein and Stalingrad: Britain could not have continued to sustain the losses of March 1943 and still remained in the war.



What Contribution Did Air Power Make To The Defeat Of The Axis?

Achievements of Allied air power

1. The first significant achievement was in the Battle of Britain (1940), when the RAF beat off the Luftwaffe attacks, causing Hitler to abandon his invasion plans.
2. In conjunction with the British navy, aircraft played a varied role: the successful attacks on the Italian fleet at Taranto and Cape Matapan, the sinking of the German battleship Tirpitz by heavy bombers in Norway (November 1943), the protection of convoys in the Atlantic, and anti-submarine operations. In fact, in May 1943 Admiral Doenitz, the German navy chief, complained to Hitler that since the introduction of the new radar devices, more U-boats were being destroyed by aircraft than by naval vessels.
3. The American air force together with the navy played a vital part in winning the Pacific war against the Japanese. Dive-bombers operating from aircraft carriers won the Battle of Midway Island in June 1942. Later, in the 'island-hopping' campaign, attacks by heavy bombers prepared the way for landings by marines, for example at the Mariana Islands (1944) and the Philippines (1945). American transport planes kept up the vital flow of supplies to the Allies during the campaign to recapture Burma.
4. The RAF took part in specific campaigns which would have been hopeless without them: for example, during the war in the desert, operating from bases in Egypt and Palestine, they constantly bombed Rommel's supply ships in the Mediterranean and his armies on land.
5. British and Americans later flew parachute troops in, to aid the landings in Sicily (July 1943) and Normandy (June 1944), and provided air protection for the invading armies. (However, a similar operation at Arnhem in Holland in September 1944 was a failure.)

The Axis Powers Defeated: July 1943 To August 1945

(a) The fall of Italy

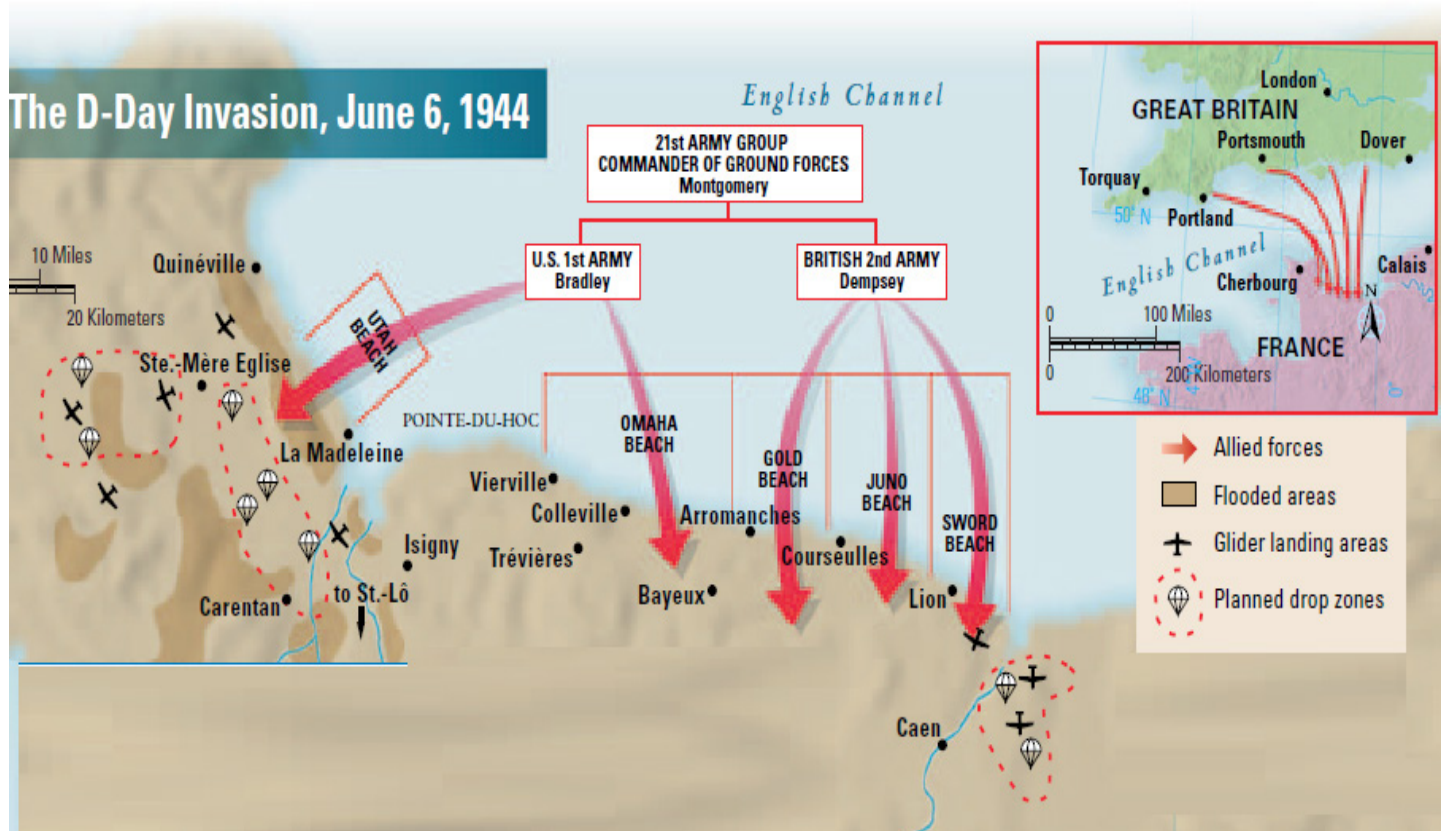
This was the first stage in the Axis collapse. British and American troops landed in Sicily from the sea and air (10 July 1943) and quickly captured the whole island. This

caused the downfall of Mussolini, who was dismissed by the king. Allied troops crossed to Salerno, Reggio and Taranto on the mainland and captured Naples (October 1943). Marshal Badoglio, Mussolini's successor, signed an armistice and brought Italy into the war on the Allied side. However, the Germans, determined to hold on to Italy, rushed troops through the Brenner Pass to occupy Rome and the north. The Allies landed a force at Anzio, 30 miles south of Rome (January 1944), but bitter fighting followed before Monte Cassino (May) and Rome (June) were captured. Milan in the north was not taken until April 1945. The campaign could have been finished much earlier if the Allies had been less cautious in the early stages, and if the Americans had not insisted on keeping many divisions back for the invasion of France. Nevertheless, the elimination of Italy did contribute towards the final Allied victory:

- Italy provided air bases for bombing the Germans in Central Europe and the Balkans;
- German troops were kept occupied when they were needed to resist the Russians.

(b) Operation Overlord, 6 June 1944

Operation Overlord - the invasion of France (also known as the Second Front) - began on 'D-Day', 6 June 1944. It was felt that the time was ripe now that Italy had been eliminated, the U-boats brought under control and Allied air superiority achieved. The Russians had been urging the Allies to start this Second Front ever since 1941, to relieve pressure on them. The landings took place from sea and air on a 60-mile stretch of Normandy beaches (code-named Utah, Omaha, Gold, Juno and Sword) between Cherbourg and Le Havre. There was strong German resistance, but at the end of the first week 326 000 men with tanks and heavy lorries had landed safely. It was a remarkable operation: it made use of prefabricated 'Mulberry' harbours, which were towed across from Britain and positioned close to the Normandy coast, mainly at Arromanches (Gold beach), and of PLUTO - pipelines under the ocean - carrying motor fuel. Eventually over 3 million Allied troops were landed. Within a few weeks most of northern France was liberated (Paris on 25 August), putting out of action the sites from which the German V 1 and V2 rocket missiles had been launched with devastating effects on south-eastern Britain. In Belgium, Brussels and Antwerp were liberated in September.



(c) Unconditional Surrender

With the Germans forced to retreat in France and in Russia, there were people on both sides who hoped that there might be an armistice followed by a negotiated peace; this was the way which the First World War had been brought to an end. However, Hitler himself always talked of a fight to the death and



General Dwight Eisenhower
1890–1969

there were serious differences between the Allies themselves over the question of peace negotiations. As far back as January 1943, President Roosevelt announced that the Allies were fighting for 'the unconditional surrender of Germany, Italy and Japan.

Churchill and most of his staff were dismayed by this because they felt that it ruined all chances of a negotiated peace. Members of the British secret service were actually in touch with their German opposite numbers and with members of the German resistance to the Nazis, who hoped to persuade the German generals to help them overthrow Hitler. However, this, they believed, would lead to the opening of peace negotiations. The Nazi leaders were delighted with Roosevelt's announcement.

Many leading Americans, including General Eisenhower, were against 'unconditional surrender' because they realized that it would prolong the war and cause further

unnecessary loss of life. Several times in the weeks before D-Day, the American chiefs of staff put pressure on Roosevelt to change his mind, but he stubbornly refused, in case this was taken by the Axis powers as a sign of weakness. The policy was continued by Roosevelt until his death in April 1945, and by his successor, Harry S. Truman. No attempts were made to negotiate peace with either Germany or Japan until they had both surrendered. Thomas Fleming, writing in *History Today* (December 2001), calculated that in the period from D-Day until the end of the war in August 1945, close on two million people

were killed. Many of these lives could perhaps have been saved if there had been the prospect of a negotiated peace to encourage the German resistance to overthrow Hitler.

(d) The assault on Germany

With the success of the Second Front, the Allies began to gather themselves together for the invasion of Germany itself. If they had expected the German armies to fall apart rapidly, they must have been bitterly disappointed. The war was prolonged by desperate German resistance and by further disagreements between the British and Americans. Montgomery wanted a rapid thrust to reach Berlin before the Russians, but Eisenhower favoured a cautious advance along a broad front. *The British failure at Arnhem in Holland* (September 1944) seemed to support Eisenhower's view, though in fact the Arnhem operation (an attempt by parachute troops to cross the Rhine and outflank the German Siegfried Line) might have

worked if the troops had landed nearer the two Rhine bridges. Consequently Eisenhower had his way and Allied troops were dispersed over a 600-mile front, with *unfortunate results*:

- Hitler was able to launch an offensive through the weakly defended Ardennes towards Antwerp;
- the Germans broke through the American lines and advanced 60 miles, causing a huge bulge in the front line (December 1944).

(e) The defeat of Japan

On 6 August 1945 the Americans dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, killing perhaps as many as 84 000 people and leaving thousands more slowly dying of radiation poisoning. Three days later they dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, which killed perhaps another 40 000; after this the Japanese government surrendered. The dropping of these bombs was one of the most controversial actions of the entire war. President Truman's justification was that he was saving American lives, since the war might otherwise drag on for another year. Many historians believe that the bombings were not necessary, since the Japanese had already put out peace feelers in July via Russia. One suggestion is that the real reason for the bombings was to end the fighting swiftly before the Russians (who had promised to enter the war against Japan) gained too much Japanese territory, which would entitle them to share the occupation of Japan. The use of the bombs was also a deliberate demonstration to the USSR of the USA's enormous power.

Why Did The Axis Powers Lose The War?

The reasons can be summarized briefly:

- shortage of raw materials;
- the Allies learning from their mistakes and failures;
- the Axis powers taking on too much;
- the overwhelming impact of the combined resources of the USA, the USSR and the British Empire;
- tactical mistakes by the Axis powers.

(a) Shortage of raw materials

Both Italy and Japan had to import supplies, and even Germany was short of rubber, cotton, nickel and, after mid-1944, oil. These shortages need not have been fatal, *but success depended on a swift end to the war*, which certainly seemed likely at first, thanks to the speed and efficiency of the German *Blitzkrieg*. However, the survival of Britain in 1940 was important because it kept the western front alive until the USA entered the war.

(b) The Allies soon learned from their early failures

By 1942 they knew how to check *Blitzkrieg* attacks and appreciated the importance of air support and aircraft carriers. Consequently they built up an air and naval superiority which won the battles of the Atlantic and the Pacific and slowly starved their enemies of supplies.

(c) The Axis powers simply took on too much

Hitler did not seem to understand that war against Britain would involve her empire as well, and that his troops were bound to be spread too thinly - on the Russian front, on both sides of the Mediterranean, and on the western coastline of France. Japan made the same mistake: as military historian Liddell-Hart put it, 'they became stretched out far beyond their basic capacity for holding their gains. For Japan was a small island state with limited industrial power.' In Germany's case, Mussolini was partly to blame: his incompetence was a constant drain on Hitler's resources.

(d) The combined resources of the USA, the USSR and the British Empire

These resources were so great that the longer the war lasted, the less chance the Axis had of victory. The Russians rapidly moved their industry east of the Ural Mountains and so were able to continue production even though the Germans had occupied vast areas in the west. By 1945 they had four times as many tanks as the Germans and could put twice as many men in the field.

When the American war machine reached peak production it could turn out over 70 000 tanks and 120 000 aircraft a year, which the Germans and Japanese could not match. Albert Speer, Hitler's armaments minister from 1942, gave the impression that he had worked some sort of miracle, enabling Germany's arms production to keep pace with that of the enemy. However, Adam Tooze has shown that Speer was more successful as a self-publicist than as an armaments minister. He claimed credit for successful policies that were actually started before he took over; he blamed everybody else when his policies failed, and continued right to the end to produce a stream of false statistics.

(e) Serious tactical mistakes

- The Japanese failed to learn the lesson about the importance of aircraft carriers, and concentrated too much on producing battleships.
- Hitler should have defeated Britain before invading the USSR, which committed Germany to a war on two fronts. German plans for the invasion of Britain were vague and improvised, and they underestimated the

strength of the enemy. Britain was saved for the Allies and was able to be used later as the base from which to launch the D-Day landings.

- Hitler failed to provide for a winter campaign in Russia and completely underestimated Russian resourcefulness and determination. The deeper the German army advanced into Soviet territory, the more its supply and communication lines became exposed to enemy counter-attacks. Hitler also became obsessed with the idea that the German armies must not retreat; this led to many disasters in Russia, especially Stalingrad, and left his troops badly exposed in Normandy (1944). This all helped to hasten defeat because it meant that scarce resources were being wasted.
- Hitler made a fatal mistake by declaring war on the USA after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.
- Another serious mistake was Hitler's decision to concentrate on producing V-rockets when he could have been developing jet aircraft; these might well have restored German air superiority and prevented the devastating bomb attacks of 1944 and 1945.

(f) Nazi racial policy

Nazi treatment of Jews, gypsies and homosexuals in occupied territories of the USSR alienated many of the conquered peoples who, with decent treatment, could have been brought on board to fight the Stalinist regime. Soviet rule was especially unpopular in the Ukraine.

What Were The Effects Of The War?

(a) Enormous destruction

There was enormous destruction of lives, homes, industries and communications in Europe and Asia.

Almost 40 million people were killed: well over half of them were Russians; 6 million were Poles, 4 million Germans, 2 million Chinese and 2 million Japanese. Britain and the USA got off comparatively lightly.

A further 21 million people had been uprooted from their homes: some had been taken to Germany to work as slave laborers, and around seven million of these were still in Germany~ some had been put into concentration camps, and some had been forced to flee from invading armies. The victorious powers were left with the problem of how to repatriate them (arrange for them to return home).

Large parts of Germany, especially her industrial areas and many major cities, lay in ruins. Much of western Russia had been completely devastated, and some 25 million

people were homeless. France had suffered badly too: taking into account the destruction of housing, factories, railways, mines and livestock, almost 50 per cent of total French wealth had been lost. In Italy, where damage was very serious in the south, the figure was over 30 per cent. Japan suffered heavy damage and a high death toll from bombings.

Though the cost was high, it did mean that the world had been rid of Nazism, which had been responsible for terrible atrocities. The most notorious was **the Holocaust** – the deliberate murder in extermination camps of over five million Jews and hundreds of thousands of non-Jews, mainly in Poland and Russia.

(b) There was no all-inclusive peace settlement

This was different from the end of the First World War, when an all-inclusive settlement was negotiated at Versailles. This was mainly because the distrust which had re-emerged between the USSR and the west in the final months of the war made agreement on many points impossible.

However, a number of separate treaties were signed:

- Italy lost her African colonies and gave up her claims to Albania and Abyssinia (Ethiopia).
- The USSR took the eastern section of Czechoslovakia, the Petsamo district and the area round Lake Ladoga from Finland, and held on to Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which they had occupied in 1939.
- Romania recovered northern Transylvania, which the Hungarians had occupied during the war.
- Trieste, claimed by both Italy and Yugoslavia, was declared a free territory protected by the United Nations Organization.
- Later, at San Francisco (1951), Japan agreed to surrender all territory acquired during the previous 90 years, which included a complete withdrawal from China.

However, the Russians refused to agree to any settlement over Germany and Austria, except that they should be occupied by Allied troops and that East Prussia should be divided between Russia and Poland.

(c) The war stimulated important social changes

In addition to the population movements during the war, once hostilities were over, many millions of people were forced to move from their homes. The worst cases were probably in the areas taken from Germany by Russia and Poland, and in the German-speaking areas in Hungary,

Romania and Czechoslovakia. About ten million Germans were forced to leave and make their way to West Germany so that no future German government would be able to claim those territories. In some countries, especially the USSR and Germany, extensive urban redevelopment took place as ruined cities had to be rebuilt. In Britain the war stimulated, among other things, the Beveridge Report (1942), a plan for introducing a Welfare State.

(d) The war caused the production of nuclear weapons

The first ever use of these weapons, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, demonstrated their horrifying powers of destruction. The world was left under the threat of a nuclear war that might well have destroyed the entire planet. Some people argue that this acted as a deterrent, making both sides in the Cold War so frightened of the consequences that they were deterred or discouraged from fighting each other.

(e) Europe’s domination of the rest of the world ended

The four western European states which had played a leading role in world affairs for most of the first half of the twentieth century were now much weaker than before. Germany was devastated and divided; France and Italy were on the verge of bankruptcy; although Britain seemed strong and victorious, with her empire intact, the cost of the war had been ruinous.

The USA had helped to keep Britain going during the war by sending supplies, but these had to be paid for later. As soon as the war was over, the new US president, Truman, abruptly stopped all further help, leaving Britain in a sorry state: she had overseas debts of over £3000 million, many of her foreign investments had been sold off, and her ability to export goods had been much reduced. She was forced to ask for another loan from the USA, which was given at a high rate of interest; the country was therefore closely and uncomfortably dependent on the USA.

(f) Emergence of the superpowers

The USA and the USSR emerged as the two most powerful nations in the world, and they were no longer as isolated as they had been before the war. The USA had suffered relatively little from the war and had enjoyed great prosperity from supplying the other Allies with war materials and food. The Americans had the world’s largest navy and air force and they controlled the atomic bomb. The USSR, though severely weakened, still had the largest army in the world. Both countries were highly suspicious of each other’s intentions now that the common enemies, Germany and Japan, had been defeated. The ri-

valry of these two superpowers in the Cold War was the most important feature of international relations for almost half a century after 1945, and was a constant threat to world peace.

(g) Decolonization

The war encouraged the movement towards decolonization. The defeats inflicted on Britain, Holland and France by Japan, and the Japanese occupation of their territories - Malaya, Singapore and Burma (British), French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies - destroyed the tradition of European superiority and invincibility. It could hardly be expected that, having fought to get rid of the Japanese, the Asian peoples would willingly return to European rule.

Gradually they achieved full independence, though not without a struggle in many cases.

This in turn intensified demands for independence among the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, and in the 1960s the result was a large array of new states.

The leaders of many of these newly emerging nations met in conference at Algiers in 1973 and made it clear that they regarded themselves as a Third World. By this they meant that they wished to remain neutral or non-aligned in the struggle between the other two worlds - communism and capitalism. Usually poor and under-developed industrially, the new nations were often intensely suspicious of the motives of both communism and capitalism, and they resented their own economic dependence on the world’s wealthy powers.

(h) The United Nations Organization (UNO)

This emerged as the successor to the League of Nations. Its main aim was to try to maintain world peace, and on the whole it has been more successful than its unfortunate predecessor.

Costs of World War II: Allies and Axis

	Direct War Costs	Military Killed/Missing	Civilians Killed
United States	\$288.0 billion*	292,131**	—
Great Britain	\$117.0 billion	271,311	60,595
France	\$111.3 billion	205,707***	173,260†
USSR	\$93.0 billion	13,600,000	7,720,000
Germany	\$212.3 billion	3,300,000	2,893,000††
Japan	\$41.3 billion	1,140,429	953,000

Visual Summary

Events of World War II

Europe

Aug. 1939
Nonaggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union

1939

Sept. 1939 Germany invades Poland; World War II begins

May 1940
Evacuation of British forces at Dunkirk

Jun. 1940
France surrenders; the Battle of Britain begins

1940

Jun. 1941
Germany invades the Soviet Union

1941

Aug. 1942
Hitler orders attack on Stalingrad

1942

Nov. 1942
Allies land in North Africa

Feb. 1943
Germans surrender at Stalingrad

1943

Jun. 1944
Allies invade Europe on D-Day

1944

Dec. 1944 Battle of the Bulge begins

May 1945 Germany surrenders

1945

Pacific

Dec. 1941
Japanese attack Pearl Harbor; U.S. declares war on Japan

Apr. 1942
Allies surrender in Philippines; Bataan Death March begins

May 1942 Allies turn back Japanese fleet in Battle of the Coral Sea

Jun. 1942
Allies defeat Japan in Battle of Midway

Feb. 1943
Japanese abandon the island of Guadalcanal

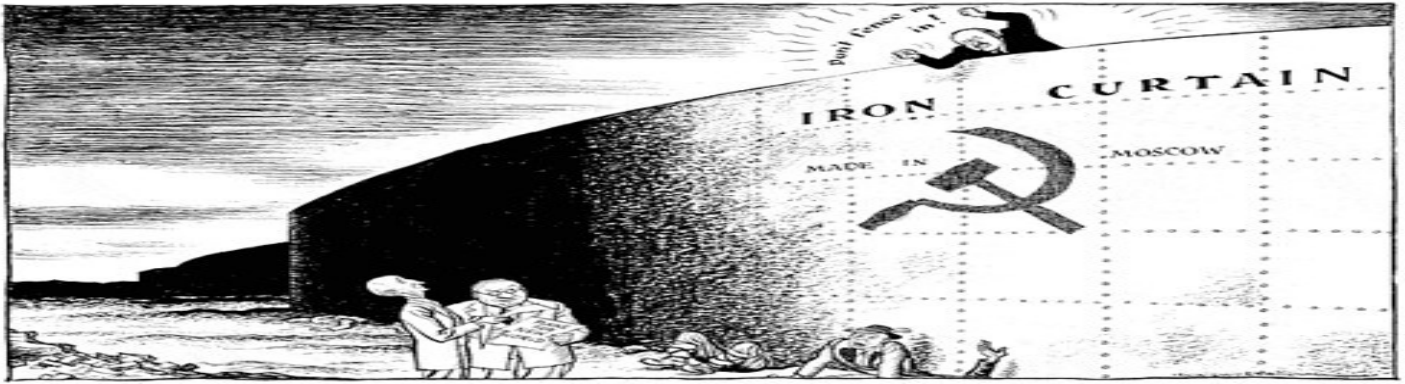
Oct. 1944
Allies defeat Japan in Battle of Leyte Gulf

Mar. 1945 Allies capture Iwo Jima

Jun. 1945 Allies capture Okinawa

Aug. 1945
Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Sep. 1945 Japan surrenders



UNIT J – COLD WAR: RESTRUCTURING THE POSTWAR WORLD

27. Two Superpowers Face Off

During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union joined forces to fight against the Germans. The Soviet army marched west. The Americans marched east to meet them in a defeated Germany. When the Allied soldiers met at the Elbe River, they embraced each other warmly. Their leaders, however, regarded each other much more coolly.

Former Allies Diverge



Winston Churchill (left), Stalin (right) and Roosevelt (center).

Even before World War II ended, the U.S. alliance with the Soviet Union had begun to unravel. The United States was upset that Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union's leader, had signed a nonaggression pact with Adolf Hitler, Germany's leader, in 1939. Later, Stalin blamed the Allies for delaying their invasion of German-occupied Europe until 1944. Driven by these and other conflicts, the two allies began to pursue opposing goals.

A Joint Postwar Plan

In February 1945, the war was not yet over. But the leaders of the three Allied nations—the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union—met in the Soviet Black Sea resort city of Yalta. There, they agreed to divide Germany

into zones of occupation controlled by the Allied military forces. Germany also would have to pay the Soviet Union to compensate for its loss of life and property.

Stalin promised that Eastern Europeans would have free elections. Skeptical Winston Churchill recognized this as an empty promise. And he predicted that Stalin would keep his pledge only if the Eastern Europeans followed “a policy friendly to Russia.” In return, Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan, an ally of Germany.

Creation of the United Nations

In June 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union temporarily set aside their differences. They joined 48 other countries in forming the **United Nations**. This international organization was intended to protect the members against aggression. It was to be based in New York. The 50 nations that signed the UN charter pledged “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.”

The charter for the new peacekeeping organization established a large body called the General Assembly. This was like an international town meeting. Each UN member nation could cast its vote on a broad range of issues, including membership.

An 11-member body called the Security Council had the real power to investigate and settle disputes, though. The five permanent members of the Security Council were Britain, China, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Each could veto any Security Council action. This provision was intended to prevent any members of the Council from voting as a bloc to override the others.

Differing U.S. and Soviet Goals

Despite their agreement at Yalta and their mutual presence on the UN Security Council, the United States and the Soviet Union split sharply after the war ended. The war had affected these two superpowers very differently.

The United States, the world's richest and most powerful country at that time, suffered 4 lac deaths. Its cities and factories remained intact, however. The Soviet Union experienced at least 50 times as many fatalities. One in four Soviets was wounded or killed. In addition, many Soviet cities were demolished. These contrasting situations, as well as striking political and economic differences, affected the two countries' postwar goals. As the following chart shows, their aims in postwar Europe were contradictory.

Superpower Aims in Europe	
United States	Soviet Union
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encourage democracy in other countries to help prevent the rise of Communist governments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encourage communism in other countries as part of a worldwide workers' revolution
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gain access to raw materials and markets to fuel booming industries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rebuild its war-ravaged economy using Eastern Europe's industrial equipment and raw materials
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rebuild European governments to promote stability and create new markets for American goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Control Eastern Europe to protect Soviet borders and balance the U.S. influence in Western Europe
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reunite Germany to stabilize it and increase the security of Europe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Keep Germany divided to prevent its waging war again

The Soviet Union Fences Eastern Europe

With the end of World War II, a major goal of the Soviet Union was to shield itself from another invasion from the west. Even before the devastation of World War II, centuries of history had taught the Soviets to fear invasion. Because it lacked natural western borders, Russia fell victim to each of its neighbors in turn. In the 17th century, the Poles captured the Kremlin. During the next century, the Swedes attacked. Napoleon overran Moscow in 1812. The Germans invaded Russia during World War I.

Soviets Build a Wall of Satellite Nations

As the war drew to a close, the Soviet Union pushed the Nazis back across Eastern Europe. By the end of the war, Soviet troops occupied a strip of countries along the Soviet Union's own western border. The Soviet Union regarded these countries as a necessary buffer, or wall of protection. Stalin ignored the agreement made in Yalta to allow free elections in Eastern Europe. He installed or secured Communist governments in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, and Yugoslavia. The Soviet leader's American partner at Yalta, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, had died on April 12, 1945. Roosevelt's successor, President Harry S. Truman, was a tougher adversary for Stalin. To the new president, Stalin's reluctance to allow free elections in Poland and other Eastern European nations represented a clear violation

of those countries' rights. Truman, Stalin, and Churchill met at Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. There, President Truman pressed Stalin to permit free elections in Eastern Europe. The Soviet leader refused. In a speech in early 1946, Stalin declared that communism and capitalism could not exist in the same world. He said that war between the United States and the Soviet Union was certain.



The Iron Curtain Divides East and West

Europe now lay divided between East and West. Germany's postwar fate, which had been decided at Yalta, left the country split into two sections. The Soviets controlled the eastern part, including half of Germany's capital, Berlin. Under a Communist government, East Germany was named the German Democratic Republic. The western zones became the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. Winston Churchill described the division of Europe Churchill's phrase "**iron curtain**" came to represent Europe's division between a mostly democratic Western Europe and a Communist Eastern Europe. From behind the iron curtain, Stalin termed Churchill's words a "call to war."

United States Counters Soviet Expansion

Soviet-American relations continued to worsen in 1946 and 1947. An increasingly worried United States sought to offset the growing Soviet threat in Eastern Europe. President Truman declared that it was time to stop "babying the Soviets." He adopted a foreign policy called **containment**. Containment was a policy directed at blocking Soviet influence and preventing the expansion of communism. Containment policies included creating alliances and helping weak countries resist Soviet advances.

The Truman Doctrine

In a speech asking Congress for foreign aid for Turkey and Greece, President Truman contrasted democracy with communism.

Truman's support for countries that rejected communism was called the **Truman Doctrine**. It caused great controversy. Some opponents objected to American interference in other nations' affairs. Others argued that the United States lacked the resources to carry on a global crusade against communism. Still others pointed out that some U.S. support would go to dictators. Congress, however, immediately authorized over \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece.

The Marshall Plan

Much of Western Europe lay in ruins after the war. Europe's problems included record-breaking cold and snow, postwar unemployment, lack of food, and economic turmoil. In June 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall proposed that America give aid to any European country that needed it. This assistance program, called the **Marshall Plan**, would provide food, machines, and other materials.

As Congress debated the \$12.5 billion program in February 1948, the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia. Congress immediately approved the Marshall Plan. The plan achieved spectacular success in Western Europe and in Yugoslavia.

The Berlin Airlift

While Europe began rebuilding, the United States and its allies clashed with the Soviet Union over Germany. The Soviets meant to keep their former enemy weak and divided. In 1948, France, Britain, and the United States decided to withdraw their forces from Germany. They would allow their three occupation zones to form one nation. The Soviet Union responded by holding West Berlin hostage.



Although Berlin lay well within the Soviet occupation zone of Germany, it too had been divided into four zones. The Soviet Union cut off highway, water, and rail traffic into Berlin's western zones. Since no supplies could get in, the city faced starvation. Stalin gambled that the threat would frighten Western countries. He hoped it would force them to surrender West Berlin or give up their idea of reunifying Germany. The Soviet leader lost his gamble. To break the blockade, American and British officials flew food and supplies into West Berlin. For nearly 11 months, planes took off and landed every three minutes. In 277,000 flights, pilots brought in 2.3 million tons of supplies—food, fuel, medicine, and even Christmas presents. The Soviet Union, admitting defeat, lifted the Berlin blockade in May 1949.

The Cold War and a Divided World

These increasing conflicts were the beginnings of the **Cold War**. This was a state of diplomatic hostility that developed between the two superpowers. Beginning in 1949, the superpowers used spying, propaganda, diplo-

macy, and secret operations in their dealings with each other. Much of the world allied with one side or the other. In fact, until the Soviet Union finally broke up in 1991, the Cold War dictated not only U.S. and Soviet foreign policy. It influenced world alliances as well.

Rival Alliances

The Berlin blockade heightened Western Europe's fears of Soviet aggression. As a result, in 1949, ten Western European nations joined with the United States and Canada to form a defensive military alliance. This alliance was called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (**NATO**). These nations promised to meet an attack on any NATO member with armed force. For the United States, NATO membership marked the country's first peacetime military commitment.

The Soviet Union viewed NATO as a threat. In response, the Soviets developed an alliance system in 1955 as part of their own containment policy. It was known as the **Warsaw Pact**. This alliance included the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. Not every country joined the new alliances, however. India, for example, chose to remain unallied with either side. And China, the world's largest communist country, came to distrust the Soviet Union. Like India, it remained unallied.

Nuclear Threat

As these alliances were forming, the Cold War threatened to heat up enough to destroy the world. The United States already had atomic bombs. As early as 1949, the Soviet Union exploded its own atomic weapon. The superpowers had both become nuclear powers. President Truman was determined to develop an even more deadly weapon before the Soviets did. He authorized work on a thermonuclear weapon in January 1950. This hydrogen or H-bomb would be thousands of times more powerful than the A-bomb.

Its power came from the fusion, or joining together, of atoms, rather than from the splitting of atoms, as in the A-bomb. In November 1952, the United States successfully tested the first H-bomb. By August of the following year, the Soviets had exploded their own thermonuclear weapon. Dwight D. Eisenhower became the U.S. president in 1953. He appointed the firmly anti-Communist John Foster Dulles as his secretary of state. If the Soviet Union or its supporters attacked U.S. interests, Dulles threatened, the United States would "retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing." This willingness to go to the brink, or edge, of war became known as **brinkmanship**.

Brinkmanship required a reliable source of nuclear weapons and airplanes to deliver them. So the United States strengthened its air force and began producing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. In response, the Soviet Union made its own collection of nuclear bombs. This arms race would go on for four decades.

The Cold War in the Skies



The launching of this Soviet satellite, *Sputnik 1*, made Americans feel as if they had fallen behind in science and technology.

The Cold War also affected the science and education programs of the two countries. In August 1957, the Soviets announced the development of a rocket that could travel great distances. This was a true intercontinental ballistic missile, or ICBM. On October 4, the Soviets used an ICBM to push the first unmanned satellite above the earth's atmosphere.

In response, the U.S. government poured huge amounts of money into education, especially in science, mathematics, and foreign languages. Within months, by January 1958, the United States had successfully launched its own satellite. In 1960, the skies provided the arena for an even more serious showdown between the superpowers. Five years earlier, President Eisenhower proposed an "open skies" policy. This policy stated that the United States and the Soviet Union could fly freely over each other's territory to guard against surprise nuclear attacks. The Soviet Union rejected Eisenhower's proposal. In response, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) authorized secret high-altitude spy flights over Soviet territory in planes called U-2s. In May 1960, the Soviets shot down a U-2 plane, and its pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was captured.

The Soviets sentenced him to ten years in prison but released him after 19 months. This **U-2 incident** brought mistrust and tensions between the superpowers to a new height.

While Soviet Communists were squaring off against the United States, Communists in China were fighting an internal battle for control of that country.

28. Communism in China

In World War II, China fought on the side of the victorious Allies. During the war, however, Japan's occupation armies devastated China's major cities. China's civilian death toll alone was in the millions. This vast country suffered casualties second only to those of the Soviet Union.

Civil War in China

When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, a bitter civil war was raging between the Nationalists and the Communists. During World War II, the political opponents temporarily united to fight the Japanese. With the war's end, however, they resumed their fight for control of the country.

Internal Struggles

Under their leader, **Mao Zedong**, the Communists held a stronghold in northwestern China. From there, they mobilized Chinese peasants for guerrilla war against the Japanese in the northeast. Thanks to their efforts to teach literacy and improve food production, the Communists won the peasants' loyalty. By 1945, Mao's Red Army controlled much of northern China.

Meanwhile, the Nationalist forces under **Jiang Jieshi**, whose name was formerly spelled Chiang Kai-shek, dominated southwestern China. Protected from the Japanese by rugged mountain ranges, Jiang gathered an army of 2.5 million men. Between 1942 and 1945, the United States sent the Nationalist army at least \$1.5 billion in aid to fight the Japanese. Instead of benefiting the army, however, these supplies and money often ended up in the hands of a few corrupt officers. In addition, Jiang's army actually fought few battles against the Japanese. Instead, the Nationalist army saved its strength for the coming battle against Mao's Red Army. As soon as the Japanese surrendered, the Nationalists and Communists resumed their civil war.


Involvement of the United States

That renewed civil war lasted from 1946 to 1949. At first, the Nationalists enjoyed a considerable advantage. Their army outnumbered the Communists' army by as much as three to one. And the United States provided nearly \$2 billion more in aid.

The Nationalist forces, however, did little to win popular support. With China's economy collapsing, thousands of Nationalist soldiers deserted to the Communists. In spring 1949, China's major cities fell to the Red forces one by one. Mao's troops were well trained in guerrilla warfare. But they were also enthusiastic about his promised return of land to the peasants. The remnants of Ji-

ang's shattered army fled south. In October 1949, Mao Zedong gained control of the country. He proclaimed it the People's Republic of China. Jiang and other Nationalist leaders retreated to the island of Taiwan, which westerners called Formosa.

Mao Zedong's victory fueled U.S. anti-Communist feelings. Those feelings only grew after the Chinese and Soviets signed a treaty of friendship in February 1950. Many people in the United States viewed the takeover of China as another step in a Communist campaign to conquer the world.



Chinese Political Opponents—1945

Nationalists		Communists
Jiang Jieshi	LEADER	Mao Zedong
Southern China	AREA RULED	Northern China
United States	FOREIGN SUPPORT	Soviet Union
Defeat of Communists	DOMESTIC POLICY	National liberation
Weak due to inflation and failing economy	PUBLIC SUPPORT	Strong due to promised land reform
Ineffective, corrupt leadership and poor morale	MILITARY ORGANIZATION	Experienced, motivated guerrilla army

Two Chinas and the Cold War

China had split into two nations. One was the island of Taiwan, or Nationalist China, with an area of 13,000 square miles. The mainland, or People's Republic of China, had an area of more than 3.5 million square miles. The existence of two Chinas, and the conflicting international loyalties they inspired, intensified the Cold War.

The Superpowers React

After Jiang Jieshi fled to Taiwan, the United States helped him set up a Nationalist government on that small island. They called it the Republic of China. The Soviets gave financial, military, and technical aid to the Communist People's Republic of China. In addition, the Chinese and the Soviets pledged to come to each other's defense if either country were attacked.

The United States responded by attempting to enlarge its own sphere of influence in Asia. For example, the United States limited the Soviet Union's occupation of Japan to only the few small islands it had gained at the Yalta talks. The two superpowers divided up Korea into a Soviet-supported Communist north and a U.S.-supported south.

Communist China Continues to Expand

In the early years of Mao's reign, Chinese troops expanded into southern, or Inner, Mongolia, Tibet, and India. Northern, or Outer, Mongolia, which bordered the Soviet Union, remained in the Soviet sphere. After declaring Inner Mongolia an "Autonomous Area," China challenged that autonomy. It took control of the country.

In a brutal assault in 1950 and 1951, China also took control of Tibet. This was another so-called Autonomous Area. The Chinese promised autonomy to Tibetans, who followed the religious leader, the Dalai Lama. When China's control over Tibet tightened in the late 1950s, however, the Dalai Lama fled to India. Tibetans responded by rioting.

India welcomed the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan refugees after Tibet's failed revolt in 1959. As a result, resentment between India and China grew. In 1962, when India trespassed across the two countries' unclear border into China's territory, Mao unleashed his forces. China held its border, but resentment continued.

Transformation and Revolution

For decades China had been either at war with or occupied by Japan. Mao and the Communists moved rapidly to strengthen their rule over China's 550 million people. The Communists claimed to have a new "Mandate of Heaven." And they aimed to restore China as a powerful nation.

Transformation Under Mao Zedong

After taking power, the Chinese Communists began to tighten their hold on the country. The party's 4.5 million members made up just one percent of the Chinese population. But they were a highly disciplined group.

Like the Soviets, the Chinese Communists set up two parallel organizations. These were the Communist party and the national government. Until 1959, Mao ruled as both chairman of the Communist party and head of state.

Mao's Marxist Socialism

Mao determined to reshape China's economy based on Marxist socialism. Eighty percent of the population still lived in rural areas. But most Chinese farmers owned no land. Instead, ten percent of the rural population controlled 70 percent of the farmland. Under the Agrarian Reform Law of 1950, Mao seized the holdings of these landlords. He then divided them among the peasants. His forces killed more than a million landlords who resisted this policy.

To further his socialist principles, between 1953 and

1957, Mao's government forced the peasants to join collective farms. These farms each consisted of 200 to 300 households. The Chinese Communists also eagerly embraced Marxist ideas about women and the family. They made women fully equal in the home and in the workplace. They also instituted state-sponsored child care.

Mao's changes also transformed industry and business. Gradually, the government nationalized all private companies, or brought them under government ownership. In 1953, Mao launched a Soviet-style five-year plan that set high production targets for industry. The plan succeeded. By 1957, China's output of coal, cement, and electricity had doubled. Steel production had quadrupled.

Mao's Communes

To expand the success of the first five-year plan in industry, Chinese leaders planned another ambitious program. Early in 1958, Mao proclaimed the "Great Leap Forward." This plan called for still larger collective farms, or **communes**. By the end of 1958, the government had created about 26,000 communes. The average commune sprawled over 15,000 acres and supported over 25,000 people.

In the strictly controlled life of the communes, peasants organized into "production battalions." Under the leadership of company and squad leaders, they worked the land together. They ate in communal dining rooms, slept in communal dormitories, and raised children in communal nurseries. And they owned nothing. The peasants had no incentive to work hard when only the state profited from their labor. Most of them hated living in the huge, impersonal communes.

The Great Leap Forward proved to be a great leap backward for China. Poor planning and inefficient "backyard" industries hampered growth. Worst of all, crop failures between 1958 and 1961 unleashed a famine that killed approximately 20 million people. The government officially discontinued the program in 1961.

New Policies and Mao's Response

China was facing external problems as well as internal ones in the late 1950s. The spirit of cooperation that had bound the Soviet Union and China began to fade. Each sought to lead the worldwide Communist movement. They also shared the longest border in the world. And they faced numerous territorial disputes. In 1960, the Soviets halted economic aid to China.

After the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the split with the Soviet Union, Mao reduced his role in the government. Other leaders moved away from Mao's strict socialist ideas. Under the new leaders, for example, farm

families could live in their own homes. They also could sell crops they grew on small private plots. Factory workers could compete for wage increases, bonuses, and promotions.

Mao disapproved of China's new economic policies, believing that they weakened the Communist goal of social equality. Determined to revive the revolution, Mao launched a new campaign in 1966. He urged China's young people to "learn revolution by making revolution." Millions of high school and college students responded to Mao's call. They left their classrooms and formed militia units called **Red Guards**.

The Cultural Revolution

The Red Guards led a major uprising known as the **Cultural Revolution**. The goal of the Cultural Revolution was to establish a society of peasants and workers in which all were equal. The new hero was the peasant who worked with his hands. The life of the mind—intellectual and artistic activity—was considered useless and dangerous. To help stamp out this threat, the Red Guards shut down colleges and schools. They lashed out at professors, government officials, factory managers, and even their own parents. They targeted anyone who seemed to have special privileges or who resisted the regime. Exiled intellectuals had to "purify" themselves by doing hard labor in remote villages.

Thousands of people were executed or died in jail.

The resulting widespread chaos closed down factories and threatened farm production. Civil war seemed possible. By 1976, even Mao admitted that the Cultural Revolution had to stop. With Mao's approval, the army dissolved the Red Guards. Zhou Enlai, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist party and premier since 1949, began to restore order.

While China was struggling to become stable, the Cold War continued to rage. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, two full-scale wars broke out—in Korea and in Vietnam.

29. War in Korea and Vietnam

When World War II ended, Korea became a divided nation. North of the **38th parallel**, a line that crosses Korea at 38 degrees north latitude, Japanese troops surrendered to the Soviets. South of this line, the Japanese surrendered to the Americans. As in Germany, two nations developed. One was the Communist industrial north. The other was the non-Communist rural south.

War in Korea

By 1949, both the United States and the Soviet Union

had withdrawn most of their troops from Korea. The Soviets gambled that the United States would not defend South Korea. So they supplied North Korea with tanks, airplanes, and money in an attempt to take over the peninsula.



Standoff at the 38th Parallel

On June 25, 1950, the North Koreans swept across the 38th parallel in a surprise attack on South Korea. Within days, North Korean troops had penetrated deep into the south.

President Truman was convinced that the North Korean aggressors were repeating what Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had done in the 1930s. His policy of containment was being put to the test. And Truman resolved to help South Korea resist Communist influence.

South Korea also asked the United Nations to intervene. When the matter came to a vote in the Security Council, the Soviets were absent. They had boycotted the council to protest the seating of Nationalist China (Taiwan) rather than mainland China. The Soviet Union thus forfeited its chance to veto the UN's plan of action. This plan was to send an international force to Korea to stop the invasion. A total of 15 nations, including Britain and Canada, participated under the leadership of General **Douglas MacArthur**.

Meanwhile, the North Koreans continued to advance. By September 1950, they controlled the entire Korean peninsula except for a tiny area around Pusan in the far southeast. That month, however, MacArthur launched a surprise attack. Troops moving north from Pusan met up with forces that had made an amphibious landing at Inchon. Caught in this pincer action, about half of the North Koreans surrendered. The rest retreated.

The Fighting Continues



The UN army pursued the retreating North Korean troops across the 38th parallel into North Korea. By late November, UN troops had pushed the North Koreans almost to the Yalu River at the border with China. These troops were mostly from the United States.

Then, in October 1950, the Chinese felt threatened by the American fleet off their coast. They sent 300,000 troops to aid North Korea. The fight between North and South Korea had grown into a war between the Chinese and the Americans.

Greatly outnumbering the UN forces, the Chinese drove them southward. By early January 1951, they had pushed all UN and South Korean troops out of North Korea. The Chinese then moved south. They finally captured the South Korean capital, Seoul.

“We face an entirely new war,” declared General MacArthur. And he called for a nuclear attack against Chinese cities. President Truman disagreed, viewing MacArthur’s proposals as reckless. “We are trying to prevent a world war, not start one,” the president explained. MacArthur tried to go over the president’s head by taking his case to Congress and to the press. In response, Truman fired him.

Over the next two years, UN forces continued to fight to drive the North Koreans back to the 38th parallel. By 1952, UN troops had recaptured Seoul and regained control of South Korea. Finally, in July 1953, the UN forces and North Korea signed a cease-fire agreement. After three

years of fighting, the border between the two Koreas was set near the 38th parallel. This was almost where it had been before the war started. But approximately 5 million soldiers and civilians had died.

Aftermath and Legacy of the War

After the war, Korea remained divided into two countries. In North Korea, the Communist dictator Kim Il Sung established collective farms, developed heavy industry, and built up the country’s military power. At Kim’s death in 1994, his son Kim Jong Il ascended to power. Under Kim Jong Il’s rule, Communist North Korea developed nuclear weapons. Although the country is wellarmed, it has serious economic problems. It continues to struggle with shortages of energy and food.

On the other hand, South Korea prospered, thanks to massive aid from the United States and other countries. In the 1960s, South Korea concentrated on developing its industry and boosting foreign trade. A succession of dictatorships ruled the rapidly developing country. With the 1987 adoption of a democratic constitution, however, South Korea established free elections. During the 1980s and early 1990s, South Korea claimed one of the highest economic growth rates in the world.

Political differences keep the two Koreas apart, despite periodic discussions of reuniting the country. In a show of force in 1996, for example, North Korea sent troops into the demilitarized zone that separates the two nations. And the United States still maintains 37,000 troops in South Korea. In 1997, however, South Korea joined several other countries in sending food to North Korea. Although talks continue, the Communist North Koreans remain firmly opposed to reunification.

War in Vietnam

Like America’s involvement in the Korean War, its involvement in Vietnam stemmed from its Cold War policy of containment. Beginning after World War II, many Americans and their leaders had one foreign policy goal. They were committed to halting the spread of communism.

By the 1950s, the United States had begun providing financial aid, advisers, and finally, half a million soldiers to a former French colony, Vietnam. America’s aim was to keep Southeast Asia from embracing communism as China had done.

The Road to War

In the early 1900s, France controlled most of resource-rich Southeast Asia. Nationalist independence movements, however, had begun to develop in the part of French Indochina that is now Vietnam. A young Vietnamese nationalist, **Ho Chi Minh**, turned to the Communists for help in his struggle.



Ho Chi Minh
1890–1969

During the 1930s, Ho's Indochinese Communist party led revolts and strikes against the French. The French responded by jailing Vietnamese protesters. They also sentenced Ho, the party's leader, to death. Ho fled his death sentence but continued to inspire Vietnam's growing nationalist movement from exile. Ho returned to Vietnam in 1941, a year after the Japanese seized control of his country. He and other nationalists founded the Vietminh (Independence) League. The Japanese left Vietnam in 1945, after their defeat in World War II. Ho Chi Minh believed that independence would surely follow. France, however, intended to regain its former colony.

War Breaks Out

Vietnamese Nationalists and Communists joined to fight the French armies. While the French held most of the major cities, they remained powerless in the countryside. There the Vietminh had widespread peasant support. The Vietminh used hit-and-run tactics to confine the French to the cities.

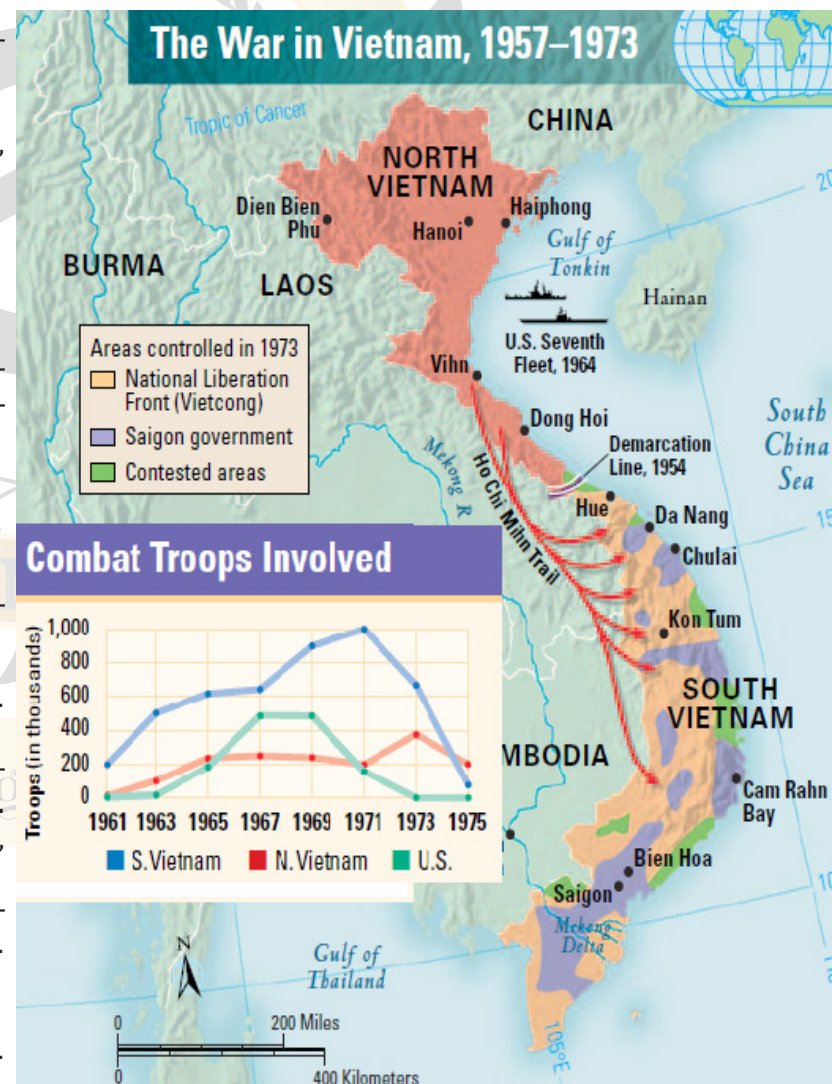
The French people began to doubt that maintaining their colony in Vietnam was worth the lives and money the struggle cost. In 1954, the French suffered a major military defeat at Dien Bien Phu. They surrendered to Ho.

The United States had supported the French in Vietnam. With the defeat of the French, the United States saw a rising threat to the rest of Asia. U.S. President Eisenhower described this threat in terms of the **domino theory**. The Southeast Asian nations were like a row of dominos, he said. The fall of one to communism would lead to the fall of its neighbors. This theory became a major justification for U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War era. After France's defeat, an international peace conference met in Geneva to discuss the future of Indochina. Based on these talks, Vietnam was divided at 17° north latitude. North of that line, Ho Chi Minh's Communist forces governed. To the south, the United States and France set up an anti-Communist government under the leadership of **Ngo Dinh Diem**.

Vietnam—A Divided Country

Diem, an unpopular leader, ruled the south as a dictator. In contrast, Ho Chi Minh began a popular program of land redistribution in the north. The United States sensed that an election might lead to victory for the Communists. So it supported Diem's cancellation of the elections. Vietnamese opposition to Diem's corrupt government grew. Communist guerrillas, called **Vietcong**, began to gain strength in the south. While some of the Vietcong were trained soldiers from North Vietnam, most were South Vietnamese who hated Diem. Gradually, the Vietcong won control of large areas of the countryside.

In 1963, backed by the United States, a group of South Vietnamese generals planned a coup. Meeting almost no resistance, they overthrew and assassinated Diem. The new leaders, however, were no more popular than Diem had been. A takeover by the Communist Vietcong with the backing of North Vietnam seemed inevitable.



The United States Gets Involved

Faced with this possibility, the United States decided to escalate, or increase, its involvement. Americans had been serving as advisers to the South Vietnamese since the late 1950s. But their numbers steadily grew. The United States also sent increasing numbers of planes, tanks, and other military equipment to South Vietnam.

In August 1964, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson told Congress that North Vietnamese patrol boats had attacked two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. As a result, Congress authorized the president to send American troops into Vietnam. By late 1965, more than 185,000 American soldiers were fighting on Vietnamese soil, although war had not officially been declared. American planes had also begun to bomb North Vietnam. By 1968, more than half a million American soldiers were in combat there.

The United States boasted the best-equipped, most advanced army in the world. Yet the Americans faced two major difficulties. First, they were fighting a guerrilla war in unfamiliar jungle terrain. Second, the South Vietnamese government they were defending was becoming steadily more unpopular. At the same time, popular support for the Vietcong grew. Ho Chi Minh also strongly supported the Vietcong with troops and munitions, as did the Soviet Union and China.

Unable to win a decisive victory on the ground, the United States turned to air power. American forces bombed millions of acres of farmland and forest in an attempt to destroy enemy hideouts. This bombing strengthened peasants' opposition to the South Vietnamese government.

The United States Withdraws

During the late 1960s, the war grew increasingly unpopular in the United States. Dissatisfied youth began to protest the tremendous loss of life in an unpopular conflict on the other side of the world. Bowing to intense public pressure, President Richard Nixon began withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam in 1969. Nixon's plan was called **Vietnamization**. It allowed for U.S. troops to gradually pull out, while the South Vietnamese increased their combat role. Nixon wanted to pursue Vietnamization while preserving the South Vietnamese government.

So he authorized a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnamese bases and supply routes. The president also authorized bombings in neighboring Laos and Cambodia to wipe out Vietcong hiding places.

Under continued popular protest and political pressure at home, President Nixon kept withdrawing U.S. troops.

The last forces left in 1973. The North Vietnamese overran South Vietnam two years later because the South Vietnamese could not fend off the North Vietnamese on their own. The Communists renamed Saigon, the former capital of the South, Ho Chi Minh City to honor their dead leader. But more than 1.5 million Vietnamese and 58,000 Americans had also died during the war.

Ongoing Turmoil in Cambodia

The end of the war did not put an end to bloodshed and chaos in Southeast Asia, however. Cambodia (also known as Kampuchea) had suffered U.S. bombing during the war. And it remained unstable for years. In 1975, Communist rebels known as the **Khmer Rouge** set up a brutal Communist government under the leadership of Pol Pot. In a ruthless attempt to transform Cambodia into a rural society, Pol Pot's followers slaughtered 2 million people. This was almost one quarter of the nation's population. A Vietnamese invasion in 1978 overthrew the Khmer Rouge. The Vietnamese finally withdrew in 1989. In 1993, under the supervision of UN peacekeepers, Cambodia adopted a democratic constitution and held a free election. Pol Pot was captured and detained in 1997 for the war crimes he had committed.



The skulls of Cambodian citizens form a haunting memorial to the brutality of the Khmer Rouge during the 1970s.

Postwar Vietnam

After 1975, the victorious North Vietnamese imposed strict controls over the South. Officials sent thousands of people to "reeducation camps" for training in Communist thought. They nationalized industries and strictly controlled businesses. Communist oppression also caused 1.5 million people to flee from Vietnam. Most refugees escaped in dangerously overcrowded ships. More than 200,000 of these "boat people" died at sea. The survivors often spent long months in crowded refugee camps scattered across Southeast Asia. About 70,000 Vietnamese refugees eventually settled in the United States or in Canada.

Though Communists still govern Vietnam, the country now welcomes foreign investment. Much of that investment comes from Vietnam's old enemy, the United States. America lifted its trade embargo against Vietnam in 1994 and is moving toward official recognition of the country.

While the Cold War superpowers were struggling for power in the Korean and Vietnam wars, they also were using economic and diplomatic means to bring other countries under their control.

30 Cold War Around the World and NAM

Vietnam was just one of many countries that attempted to shake off colonial rule after World War II. Local battles for independence provided yet another arena for competition between the Cold War superpowers.

ety. Soviet-style communism and U.S.-style free-market democracy were the countries' main choices.

Cold War Strategies

The United States, the Soviet Union, and, in some cases, China, used a variety of techniques to gain influence in the Third World. These competing superpowers sponsored or backed wars of revolution, liberation, or counterrevolution. The U.S. and Soviet spy agencies—the CIA and the KGB—engaged in a variety of covert, or secret, activities. These activities ranged from spying to assassination attempts. The United States also provided military aid, built schools, set up programs to combat poverty, and sent volunteer workers to developing nations in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The Soviets offered military and technical assistance, mainly to India and Egypt.

Association of Non-aligned Nations

Other developing nations also had pressing needs for assistance. They became important players in the Cold War competition between the United States, the Soviet Union, and also China.

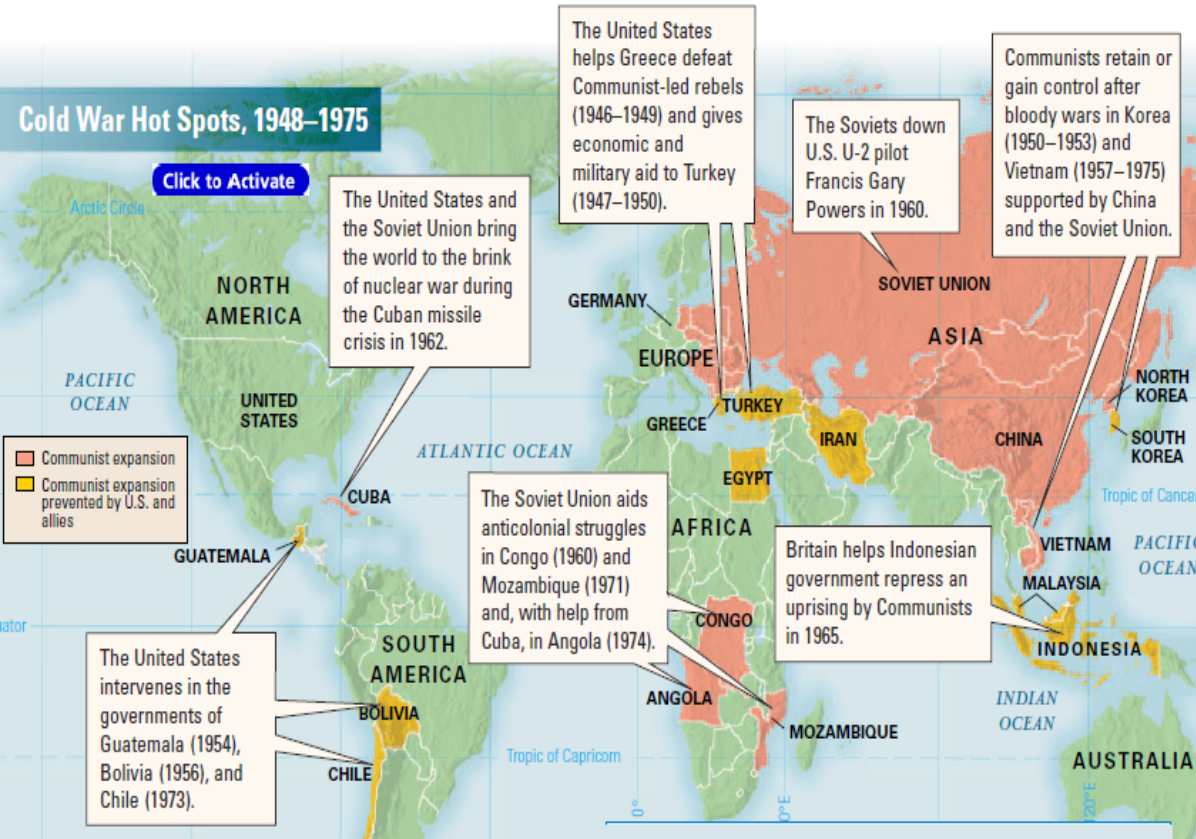
Not all Third World countries wished to play such a role, however. India, for example, vowed to remain neutral in the Cold War. Indonesia, a populous island nation in Southeast Asia, also struggled to stay uninvolved. In 1955, Indonesia hosted the leaders of Asian and African countries in the Bandung Conference.

They met to form what they called a "third force" of such independent countries, or **nonaligned nations**.

Nations such as India and Indonesia remained neutral. But other countries took sides with the superpowers or played the competing sides off against each other.

Postwar Face-off in Latin America

After World War II, rapid industrialization, population growth, and a lingering gap between the rich and the poor led Latin American nations to seek aid from both superpowers. During this period, many Latin American countries alternated between short lived democracy and harsh military rule.



Confrontations over Developing Nations

Following World War II, the world's nations were grouped politically into three "worlds." The First World was the United States and its allies. The Second World included the Soviet Union and its allies. The **Third World** consisted of developing nations, often newly independent, who were not aligned with either superpower. These Third World countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa experienced terrible poverty and political instability. This was largely due to a long history of imperialism.

They also suffered from ethnic conflicts and lack of technology and education. Each desperately needed a political and economic system around which to build its soci-

As described in Chapter 28, U.S. involvement in Latin America began long before World War II. American businesses backed leaders who often oppressed their people, but who protected U.S. interests. After the war, communism and nationalistic feelings inspired a wave of revolutionary movements. These found enthusiastic Soviet support. In response, the United States provided military support and economic assistance to anti-Communist dictators.

Cuban Revolution

Throughout the 1950s, U.S. support maintained Cuba's unpopular dictator, Fulgenio Batista. Cuban resentment led to a popular revolution, which overthrew Batista in January 1959. A young lawyer named **Fidel Castro** led that revolution.



At first, many people praised Castro for bringing reforms to Cuba and improving the economy, literacy, health care, and conditions for women. Yet Castro was a harsh dictator. He suspended elections, jailed or executed his opponents, and strangled the press with tight government controls.

When Castro nationalized the Cuban economy, he took over U.S.- owned sugar mills and refineries. In response, President Eisenhower ordered an embargo on all trade with Cuba. As relations with the United States deteriorated, Castro turned to the Soviets for the economic and military aid he needed.

In 1960, the CIA planned an invasion of Cuba and began to train anti-Castro Cuban exiles to carry it out. In April 1961 these exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. The new president, Kennedy, approved the invasion but refused to send U.S. planes to support it. Castro's forces defeated the invaders, humiliating the United States.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

The failed Bay of Pigs invasion convinced the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, that the United States would not resist Soviet expansion in Latin America. Consequently, in July 1962, Khrushchev secretly began to build 42 missile sites in Cuba. In October, an American spy plane discovered the sites. The U.S. President, John F. Kennedy, declared that missiles so close to the U.S. mainland were a threat. He demanded that the Soviets remove the missiles. Kennedy also announced a quarantine, or blockade, of Cuba to prevent the Soviets installing more missiles. Castro protested his country's being used as a tool in the

Cold War. Nevertheless, Cuba was deeply involved. Kennedy's demand for the removal of Soviet missiles put the United States and the Soviet Union on a collision course. U.S. troops assembled in Florida, ready to invade Cuba. People around the world began to fear that this standoff would lead to World War III and a nuclear disaster. Fortunately, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in return for a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba.

The resolution of the Cuban missile crisis left Castro completely dependent on Soviet support. In exchange for this support, Castro backed Communist revolutions in Latin America and Africa. Approximately 36,000 Cubans fought in Angola's war against colonialism in the 1970s. Soviet aid to Cuba, however, ended abruptly with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. This loss dealt a crippling blow to the Cuban economy. The country still suffers a scarcity of vital supplies. But the aging Castro refuses to adopt economic reforms or to give up power. An equally stubborn United States refuses to lift its trade embargo.

Civil War in Nicaragua

Just as the United States had supported the unpopular Batista in Cuba, it had funded the Nicaraguan dictatorship of **Anastasio Somoza** and his family since 1933. In 1979, Communist Sandinista rebels toppled the dictatorship of Somoza's son. Both the United States and the Soviet Union initially gave aid to the Sandinistas and their leader, **Daniel Ortega**.

The Sandinistas, however, had aided other socialist rebels in nearby El Salvador. To help the El Salvadoran government fight those rebels, the United States supported Nicaraguan anti-Communist rebel forces. These rebels were called *Contras* or *contrarevolucionarios*.

The civil war in Nicaragua lasted over a decade and seriously weakened the country's economy. In 1990, President Ortega agreed to hold free elections. He was defeated by Violeta Chamorro. In 1996, Arnoldo Alemán Lacayo was elected president.

Confrontations in the Middle East

As the map on the previous page shows, Cold War confrontations continued to erupt around the globe. With its rich supplies of oil, the Middle East lured both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Religious and Secular Values Clash in Iran

Throughout the Middle East, wealth from the oil industry fueled a growing conflict between traditional Islamic values and modern Western materialism. In no country did the clash between cultures erupt more dramatically than

in the former Persia, or Iran. After World War II, Iran's leader, **Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi**, embraced Western governments and wealthy Western oil companies. Angry Iranian nationalists resented these foreign alliances. They united under the leadership of Prime Minister Muhammad Mossaddeq. They seized and nationalized a British-owned oil company and, in 1953, forced the shah to flee. Fearing that Mossaddeq might turn to the Soviets for support, the United States had him arrested. It then restored the shah to power.

The United States Supports Secular Rule

With U.S. support, the shah westernized his country. By the end of the 1950s, Iran's capital, Tehran, featured gleaming skyscrapers, foreign banks, and modern factories. Millions of Iranians, however, still lived in extreme poverty. And the shah's secret police brutally punished anyone who dared to oppose him. The shah also tried to weaken the political influence of religion in the country by limiting the role of Islamic legal and academic experts. Iran's conservative Muslim leaders, known as ayatollahs, bitterly opposed this move. They also opposed what they saw as socially and morally corrupting Western influences. They wanted Iran to become a republic ruled strictly by Islamic law.

The leader of this religious opposition, **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini**, was living in exile. Spurred by his tape-recorded messages, Iranian workers went on strike. "Death to the shah!" and "Down with America!" they vowed. In late 1978, riots erupted in every major city in Iran. Faced with overwhelming opposition, the shah fled Iran in January 1979. A triumphant Khomeini returned from exile to establish an Islamic state. He banned the Western influences that the shah had brought to Iran and reinstated traditional Muslim values. Islamic law became the legal code for the country.

Khomeini's Anti-U.S. Policies

Adherence to Islam ruled Khomeini's domestic policies. But hatred of the United States was at the heart of his politics. The Americans had long supported the shah. Their admitting him into the United States for medical treatment in 1979, however, was the final insult. That year, with the ayatollah's blessing, a group of young Islamic revolutionaries seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran. They took more than 60 Americans hostage. They also demanded the return of the shah to face trial. Most of the U.S. hostages remained prisoners for 444 days before they were released on January 20, 1981.

Khomeini also encouraged Muslim fundamentalists, or strict believers, in other countries to overthrow their secular governments. Intended to be a means of unifying

Muslims, this policy only heightened tensions between Iran and its neighbor, Iraq. While the Iranians were Shi'a, the Iraqis belonged to the rival Sunni Muslim sect. In addition, a military leader, Saddam Hussein, governed Iraq as a secular state.

War broke out between the two countries in 1980. For eight years, Muslim killed Muslim in a territorial struggle. Caught in the middle, the United States secretly sold weapons to Iran in an effort to get their hostages released. A million Iranians and Iraqis died before a UN ceasefire ended the hostilities in 1988.

The Superpowers Face Off in Afghanistan

Iran was not the only country in the Middle East in which Cold War tensions erupted. For several years following World War II, Afghanistan maintained its independence from both the neighboring Soviet Union and the United States. In the 1950s, however, Soviet influence in the country began to increase. In the late 1970s, a Muslim revolt threatened to topple Afghanistan's Communist regime. This revolt triggered a Soviet invasion in December 1979.

The Soviets expected to prop up the Afghan Communists quickly and withdraw. Instead, just as the United States had gotten mired in Vietnam in the 1960s, the Soviets found themselves stuck in Afghanistan. And like the Vietnam in Vietnam, determined Afghan rebel forces outmaneuvered and overpowered a military superpower. Soviet helicopter rocket attacks secured the cities. They failed to dislodge the rebels, called *mujahideen*, from their mountain strongholds, however.

Supplied with American weapons, the *mujahideen* fought on. The United States had armed the rebels because they considered the Soviet invasion a threat to the rich Middle Eastern oil supplies. U.S. President Jimmy Carter sternly warned the Soviets that any attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf would be "repelled by any means necessary, including military force." No threat developed, though. Therefore, the United States limited its response to an embargo of grain shipments to the Soviet Union. It also boycotted the 1980 summer Olympic games in Moscow.

In the 1980s, a new Soviet regime acknowledged the war's devastating costs to both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. After a ten-year occupation—as long as U.S. involvement in Vietnam—President Mikhail Gorbachev ordered his forces to withdraw. The last Soviet troops left Afghanistan in February 1989. By then, internal unrest and economic problems were tearing the Soviet Union itself apart.

Third world and NAM

The Cuban Missile Crisis that we began this chapter with was only one of the several crises that occurred during the Cold War. The Cold War also led to several shooting wars, but it is important to note that these crises and wars did not lead to another world war. The two superpowers were poised for direct confrontations in Korea (1950 - 53), Berlin (1958 - 62), the Congo (the early 1960s), and in several other places. Crises deepened, as neither of the parties involved was willing to back down. When we talk about arenas of the Cold War, we refer, therefore, to areas where crisis and war occurred or threatened to occur between the alliance systems but did not cross certain limits. A great many lives were lost in some of these arenas like Korea, Vietnam and Afghanistan, but the world was spared a nuclear war and global hostilities. In some cases, huge military build-ups were reported. In many cases, diplomatic communication between the superpowers could not be sustained and contributed to the misunderstandings.

Sometimes, countries outside the two blocs, for example, the non-aligned countries, played a role in reducing Cold War conflicts and averting some grave crises. Jawaharlal Nehru — one of the key leaders of the NAM — played a crucial role in mediating between the two Koreas. In the Congo crisis, the UN Secretary-General played a key mediatory role. By and large, it was the realization on a superpower's part that war by all means should be avoided that made them exercise restraint and behave more re-

sponsibly in international affairs. As the Cold War rolled from one arena to another, the logic of restraint was increasingly evident.

However, since the Cold War did not eliminate rivalries between the two alliances, mutual suspicions led them to arm themselves to the teeth and to constantly prepare for war. Huge stocks of arms were considered necessary to prevent wars from taking place.

The two sides understood that war might occur in spite of restraint. Either side might miscalculate the number of weapons in the possession of the other side. They might misunderstand the intentions of the other side. Besides, what if there was a nuclear accident? What would happen if someone fired off a nuclear weapon by mistake or if a soldier mischievously shot off a weapon deliberately to start a war? What if an accident occurred with a nuclear weapon? How would the leaders of that country know it was an accident and not an act of sabotage by the enemy or that a missile had not landed from the other side?

In time, therefore, the US and USSR decided to collaborate in limiting or eliminating certain kinds of nuclear and non-nuclear weapons. A stable balance of weapons, they decided, could be maintained through 'arms control'. Starting in the 1960s, the two sides signed three significant agreements within a decade. These were the Limited Test Ban Treaty, Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Thereafter, the superpowers held several rounds of arms limitation talks and signed several more treaties to limit their arms.

FOUNDING FATHERS OF NAM



Jawahar lal Nehru (1889-1964)
First Prime Minister of India (1947-64); made efforts for Asian unity, decolonisation, nuclear disarmament; advocated peaceful co-existence for securing world peace.



Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980), President of Yugoslavia (1945-80); fought against Germany in World War II; communist; maintained some distance from the Soviet Union; forged unity in Yugoslavia.



Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-70), Ruled Egypt from 1952 to 1970; espoused the causes of Arab nationalism, socialism and anti-imperialism; nationalised the Suez Canal, leading to an international conflict in 1956.



Sukarno (1901-70) First President of Indonesia (1945-65); led the freedom struggle; espoused the causes of socialism and anti-imperialism; organised the Bandung Conference; overthrown in a military coup.



Kwame Nkrumah (1909-72) First Prime Minister of Ghana (1946-66); led the freedom movement; advocated the causes of socialism and African unity; opposed neo-colonialism; removed in a military coup.

Challenge To Bipolarity

We have already seen how the Cold War tended to divide the world into two rival alliances. It was in this context that nonalignment offered the newly decolonized countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America a third option—not to join either alliance. The roots of NAM went back to the friendship between three leaders — Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito, India's Jawaharlal Nehru, and Egypt's leader Gamal Abdel Nasser — who held a meeting in 1956. Indonesia's Sukarno and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah strongly supported them. These five leaders came to be known as the five founders of NAM. The first non-aligned summit was held in Belgrade in 1961. This was the culmination of at least three factors:

- i. cooperation among these five countries,
- ii. growing Cold War tensions and its widening arenas, and
- iii. the dramatic entry of many newly decolonized African countries into the international arena. By 1960, there were 16 new African members in the UN.

The first summit was attended by 25 member states. Over the years, the membership of NAM has expanded. The latest meeting, the 14th summit, was held in Havana in 2006. It included 116 member states and 15 observer countries.

As non-alignment grew into a popular international movement, countries of various different political systems and interests joined it. This made the movement less homogeneous and also made it more difficult to define in very neat and precise terms: what did it really stand for? Increasingly, NAM was easier to define in terms of what it was not. It was not about being a member of an alliance.

The policy of staying away from alliances should not be considered isolationism or neutrality. Non-alignment is not isolationism since isolationism means remaining aloof from world affairs. Isolationism sums up the foreign policy of the US from the American War of Independence in 1787 up to the beginning of the First World War. In comparison, the non-aligned countries, including India, played an active role in mediating between the two rival alliances in the cause of peace and stability. Their strength was based on their unity and their resolve to remain non-aligned

despite the attempt by the two superpowers to bring them into their alliances. Non-alignment is also not neutrality. Neutrality refers principally to a policy of staying out of war. States practicing neutrality are not required to help end a war. They do not get involved in wars and

do not take any position on the appropriateness or morality of a war. Non-aligned states, including India, were actually involved in wars for various reasons. They also worked to prevent war between others and tried to end wars that had broken out.

New International Economic Order

The non-aligned countries were more than merely mediators during the Cold War. The challenge for most of the non-aligned countries — a majority of them were categorized as the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) — was to be more developed economically and to lift their people out of poverty. Economic development was also vital for the independence of the new countries. Without sustained development, a country could not be truly free. It would remain dependent on the richer countries including the colonial powers from which political freedom had been achieved.

The idea of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) originated with this realisation. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) brought out a report in 1972 entitled *Towards a New Trade Policy for Development*. The report proposed a reform of the global trading system so as to:

- i. give the LDCs control over their natural resources exploited by the developed Western countries,
- ii. obtain access to Western markets so that the LDCs could sell their products and, therefore, make trade more beneficial for the poorer countries,
- iii. reduce the cost of technology from the Western countries, and
- iv. provide the LDCs with a greater role in international economic institutions.

Gradually, the nature of nonalignment changed to give greater importance to economic issues. In 1961, at the first summit in Belgrade, economic issues had not been very important. By the mid-1970s, they had become the most important issues. As a result, NAM became an economic pressure group. By the late 1980s, however, the NIEO initiative had faded, mainly because of the stiff opposition from the developed countries who acted as a united group while the non-aligned countries struggled to maintain their unity in the face of this opposition.

India and The Cold War

As a leader of NAM, India's response to the ongoing Cold War was two-fold: At one level, it took particular care in staying away from the two alliances. Second, it raised its voice against the newly decolonised countries becoming part of these alliances.

India's policy was neither negative nor passive. As Nehru reminded the world, nonalignment was not a policy of 'fleeing away'. On the contrary, India was in favour of actively intervening in world affairs to soften Cold War rivalries. India tried to reduce the differences between the alliances and thereby prevent differences from escalating into a full-scale war.

Indian diplomats and leaders were often used to communicate and mediate between Cold War rivals such as in the Korea War in the early 1950s.

It is important to remember that India chose to involve other members of the non-aligned group in this mission. During the Cold War, India repeatedly tried to activate those regional and international organisations, which were not a part of the alliances led by the US and USSR. Nehru reposed great faith in 'a genuine commonwealth of free and cooperating nations' that would play a positive role in softening, if not ending, the Cold War. Non-alignment was not, as some suggest, a noble international cause which had little to do with India's real interests. A non-aligned posture also served India's interests very directly, in at least two ways:

First, non-alignment allowed India to take international decisions and stances that served its interests rather than the interests of the superpowers and their allies.

Second, India was often able to balance one superpower against the other. If India felt ignored or unduly pressurized by one superpower, it could tilt towards the other. Neither alliance system could take India for granted or bully it.

India's policy of non-alignment was criticised on a number of counts. Here we may refer to only two criticisms:

First, India's non-alignment was said to be 'unprincipled'. In the name of pursuing its national interest, India, it was said, often refused to take a firm stand on crucial international issues.

Second, it is suggested that India was inconsistent and took contradictory postures. Having criticised others for joining alliances, India signed the Treaty of Friendship in August 1971 with the USSR for 20 years. This was regarded, particularly by outside observers, as virtually joining the Soviet alliance system. The Indian government's view was that India needed diplomatic and possibly military support during the Bangladesh crisis and that in any case the treaty did not stop India from having good relations with other countries including the US.

Non-alignment as a strategy evolved in the Cold War context. With the disintegration of the USSR and the end of the Cold War in 1991, non-alignment, both as an in-

ternational movement and as the core of India's foreign policy, lost some of its earlier relevance and effectiveness. However, nonalignment contained some core values and enduring ideas. It was based on a recognition that decolonised states share a historical affiliation and can become a powerful force if they come together. It meant that the poor and often very small countries of the world need not become followers of any of the big powers, that they could pursue an independent foreign policy. It was also based on a resolve to democratize the international system by thinking about an alternative world order to redress existing inequities. These core ideas remain relevant even after the Cold War has ended.

31. The Cold War Thaws

In the postwar years, the Soviet Union kept a firm grip on its satellite countries in Eastern Europe. These countries were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and East Germany. It did not allow them to direct and develop their own economies. Instead, it insisted that they develop industries to meet Soviet needs. These policies greatly hampered Eastern Europe's economic recovery.

The Soviets Dominate Eastern Europe

After Stalin died, a new, more moderate group of Soviet leaders came to power. These new leaders allowed their satellite countries a taste of independence, as long as they remained firmly Communist and allied with the Soviet Union. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, growing protest movements in Eastern Europe threatened the Soviet Union's grip over the region. Increasing tensions with Communist China also diverted Soviet attention and forces.

Destalinization and Rumblings of Protest

Joseph Stalin died on March 5, 1953. Shortly after his death, a loyal member of the Communist party named **Nikita Khrushchev** became the dominant Soviet leader. The shrewd, tough Khrushchev publicly denounced Stalin for jailing and killing loyal Soviet citizens. His speech signaled the beginning of a policy called **destalinization**, or purging the country of Stalin's memory. Workers destroyed monuments of the former dictator and reburied his body outside the Kremlin wall. Khrushchev also called for "peaceful competition" with the capitalist states.

This new Soviet outlook did not change life in the satellite countries, however. Their resentment occasionally turned into active protest. In October 1956, for example, the Hungarian army joined with protesters to overthrow Hungary's Soviet-controlled government. Storming through the capital, Budapest, angry mobs waved Hun-

garian flags with the Communist hammer and sickle emblem cut out. "From the youngest child to the oldest man," one protester declared, "no one wants communism."

A popular and liberal Hungarian Communist leader named Imre Nagy formed a new government. Nagy promised free elections and demanded that Soviet troops leave Hungary. In response, in early November, Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest. They were backed by infantry units. Thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters armed themselves with pistols and bottles. The Soviets overpowered them, however. The invaders replaced the Hungarian government with pro-Soviet leaders and eventually executed Nagy.

From Brinkmanship to Détente

In the 1970s, the United States and the Soviet Union finally backed away from the aggressive policies of brinkmanship they had followed during the early postwar years. The superpowers slowly moved toward a period of lowered tensions.

Brinkmanship Breaks Down

The brinkmanship policy that the United States followed during the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations resulted in one terrifying crisis after another. Though these crises erupted all over the world, they were united by a common fear. Nuclear war seemed possible.

In 1960, the U-2 incident prevented a meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union to discuss the buildup of arms on both sides. Then, during the presidency of **John F. Kennedy** in the early 1960s, the Cuban missile crisis made the superpowers' use of nuclear weapons a very real possibility. The crisis ended when the Soviet ships turned back to avoid a confrontation at sea. "We're eyeball to eyeball," the relieved U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, "and I think the other fellow just blinked."

Tensions remained high, and after the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963, **Lyndon Johnson** assumed the U.S. presidency. Committed to stopping the spread of communism, President Johnson escalated U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam.

The United States Embraces Détente

Widespread popular protests wracked the United States during the Vietnam War. And the turmoil did not end with U.S. withdrawal. As it tried to heal its internal wounds, the United States began backing away from its policy of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union. **Détente**, a policy of lessened Cold War tensions, finally replaced brinkmanship during the administration of President

Richard M. Nixon.

President Nixon's move toward détente grew out of a philosophy known as real politik. This term comes from the German word meaning "realistic politics." In practice, real politik meant dealing with other nations in a practical and flexible manner. While the United States continued to contain the spread of communism, the two superpowers agreed to pursue détente and to reduce tensions. Nixon's new policy represented a dramatic personal reversal as well as a political shift for the country. His rise in politics in the 1950s was largely due to his strong anti-Communist position. Twenty years later, he became the first American president after World War II to visit Communist China. The visit made sense in a world in which three—rather than just two—superpowers eyed each other suspiciously. "We want the Chinese with us when we sit down and negotiate with the Russians," Nixon explained.

Nixon Visits the Communist Superpowers



U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev optimistically mark the signing of the SALT II treaty in Vienna, Austria, in 1979. Carter, however, remained concerned over Soviet violations of its citizens' human rights.

Three months after visiting Beijing in February 1972, President Nixon made history again by becoming the first American president since the beginning of the Cold War to visit the Soviet Union. After a series of meetings called the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (**SALT**), Nixon and Brezhnev signed the SALT I Treaty. This five-year agreement limited to 1972 levels the number of intercontinental ballistic and submarine-launched missiles each country could have. In 1975, 33 nations joined the United States and the Soviet Union in signing a commitment to détente and cooperation, the Helsinki Accords.

Détente Cools

Under Presidents Nixon and Gerald Ford, the United States gradually improved relations with China and the Soviet Union. In the late 1970s, however, President Jimmy Carter’s concern over harsh treatment of Soviet protesters threatened to prevent a second round of SALT negotiations. In June 1979, Carter and Brezhnev finally signed the SALT II agreement. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December of that year, however, the U.S. Congress refused to ratify SALT II. Tensions continued to mount as increasing numbers of European and Asian countries began building nuclear arsenals.

Ronald Reagan Abandons Détente

The fiercely anti- Communist U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** took office in 1981. He continued his country’s retreat from détente. In 1983, he announced a program— the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—to protect America against enemy missiles. The program, called **Star Wars** after a popular movie, was never put into effect. It remained a symbol of U.S. anti-Communist sentiment, however. Tensions increased as U.S. activities such as arming Nicaragua’s Contras pushed the two countries even farther from détente. A transfer of power in the Soviet Union in 1985, however, brought a new policy toward the United States and the beginnings of a final thaw in the Cold War. The Cold War between the two superpowers ebbed and flowed.

End of the Cold War

In 1991, Soviet Union collapsed due to multiple factors which marked the end of the Cold War, as one of the superpowers was weakened.

Reasons of the collapse of the Soviet Union

Military reasons

The space race and the arms race drained a considerable proportion of Soviet Union’s resources for military needs.

Policies of Mikhail Gorbachev

In order to kick start moribund Soviet economy, Gorbachev instituted the policies of **glasnost** (“openness”) and **perestroika** (“restructuring”).

Glasnost was intended for liberalization of the political landscape. Perestroika intended to introduce quasi free market policies in place of government-run industries. It allowed more independent actions from various ministries and introduced many market-like reforms. Rather than sparking a renaissance in Communist thought, these steps opened the floodgates to criticism of the entire Soviet apparatus. The state lost control of both the media and the public sphere, and democratic reform movements gained steam throughout the Soviet Union. Also, there was growing disenchantment in the public due to falling economy, poverty, unemployment, etc. This made the people of the Soviet Union attracted to western ideology and way of life.

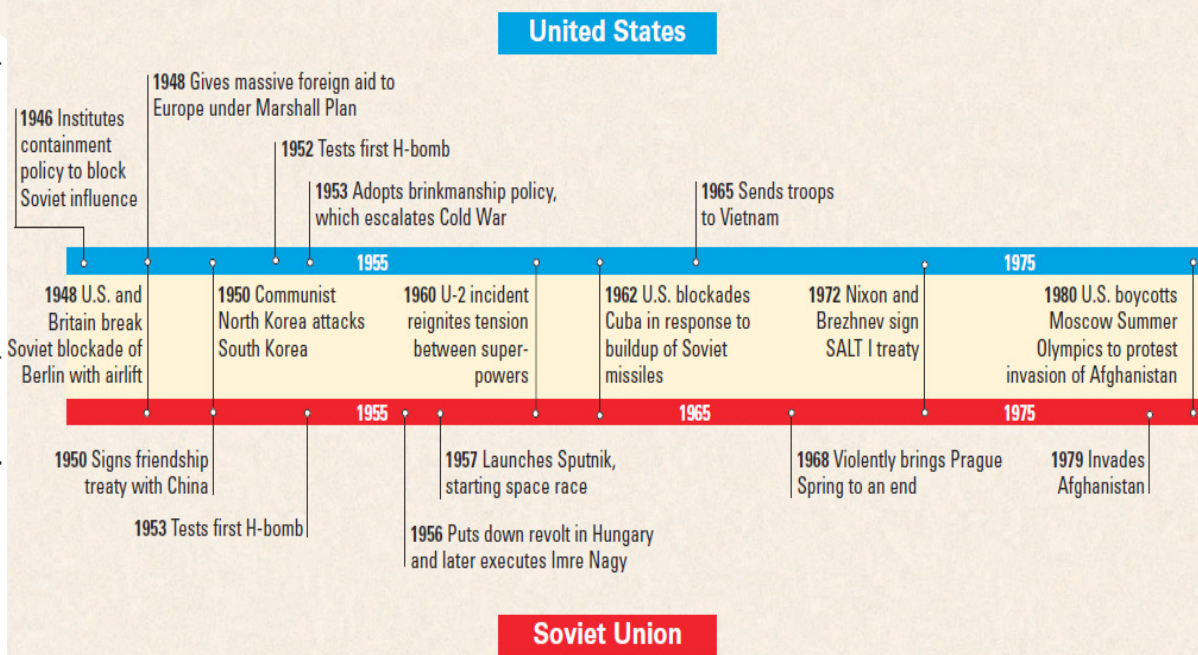
Afghanistan War

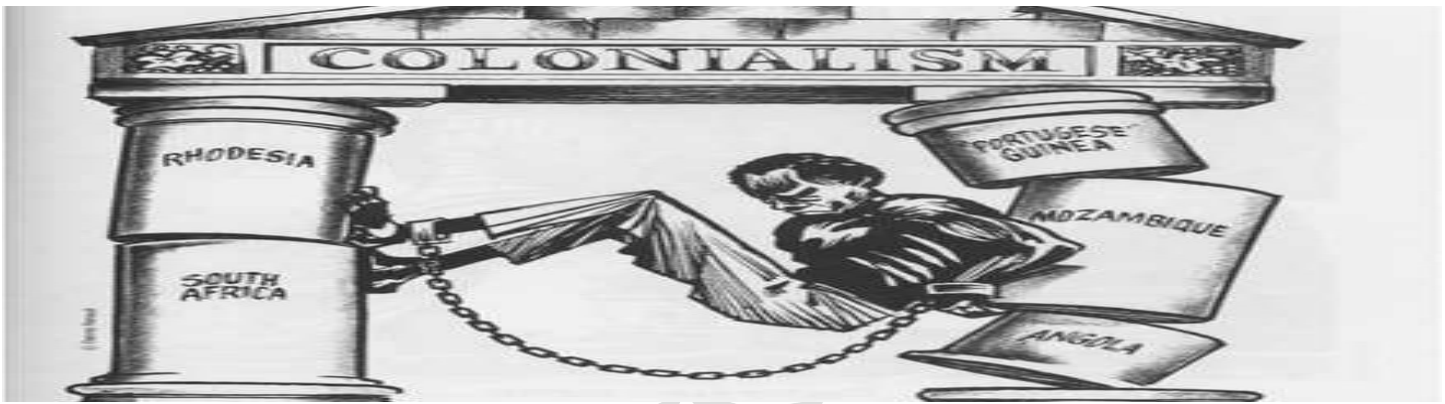
The Soviet-Afghan (1979–89) was another key factor in the breakup of the Soviet Union, as it drained the economic and military resources of Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War marked the victory of the US and the bipolar world order turned into a unipolar. However, over the last decade, the position of the US as the world’s most powerful state has appeared increasingly unstable. The US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, non-traditional security threats, global economic instability, the apparent spread of religious fundamentalism, together with the rise of emerging economic powers (like Japan, Australia, India, China etc.) have made the world look more multipolar and has led many to predict the **decline of the west and the rise of the rest.**

Visual Summary

Cold War, 1946–1980





UNIT K – DECOLONIZATION AROUND THE WORLD

32. Southeast Asian Nations Gain Independence

At the end of World War II, colonized people all over the world agitated for independence. As it had in India, Britain gave up control of its Southeast Asian colonies; it gave up Burma quickly and Malaysia after some delay. Some imperialists, the Dutch among them, were reluctant to give up their Southeast Asian possessions. They waged bitter and losing battles to retain control. The United States gave up its Asian colony in the Philippines soon after World War II.

32.1 The United States and the Philippines

The Philippines became the first of the world's colonies to achieve independence following World War II. The United States granted the Philippines independence in 1946, on the anniversary of its own Declaration of Independence, the Fourth of July.

The Philippines Achieves Independence

The Filipinos' immediate goals were to rebuild the economy and to restore the capital of Manila. The city had been badly damaged in World War II. The United States had promised the Philippines \$600 million in war damages.

However, the U.S. government insisted that Filipinos approve the Bell Act in order to get the money. This act would establish free trade between the United States and the Philippines for eight years, to be followed by gradually increasing tariffs. Filipinos were worried that American businesses would exploit the resources and environment of the Philippines. In spite of this concern, Filipinos approved the Bell Act and received their money.



The United States wanted to maintain its military presence in the Philippines. With the onset of

the Cold War (see Chapter 33), the United States needed to be able to protect its interests in Asia. Both China and the Soviet Union were opponents of the United States at the time. Both were Pacific powers with bases close to allies of the United States as well as to raw materials and resources vital to U.S. interests. Therefore, the United States demanded a 99-year lease on its military and naval bases in the Philippines.

The bases—Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base near Manila—proved to be critical to the United States later, in the staging of the Korean and Vietnam wars. These military bases also became the single greatest source of conflict between the United States and the Philippines. Many Filipinos regarded the bases as proof of American imperialism. Later agreements shortened the terms of the lease, and the United States gave up both bases in 1991.

After World War II, the Philippine government was still almost completely dependent on the United States economically and politically. The Philippine government looked for ways to lessen this dependency. It welcomed Japanese investments. It also broadened its contacts with Southeast Asian neighbors and with nonaligned nations.

The Marcos Regime and Corazón Aquino Ferdinand Marcos was elected president of the Philippines in 1965. The country suffered under his rule from 1966 to 1986. Marcos imposed an authoritarian regime and stole millions of dollars from the public treasury. Although the constitution limited Marcos to eight years in office, he got around this restriction by imposing martial law from 1972 to 1981.

Two years later, his chief opponent, Benigno Aquino, Jr., was shot when he returned from the United States to the Philippines, lured by the promise of coming elections. In the elections of 1986, Marcos ran against Aquino's widow, **Corazón Aquino**. Aquino won decisively, but Marcos refused to acknowledge her victory. When he declared himself the official winner, a public outcry resulted. He was forced into exile in Hawaii, where he later died. In 1995, the Philippines succeeded in recovering \$475 million Marcos had stolen from his country and deposited in Swiss banks. During Aquino's presidency, the Philippine government ratified a new constitution. It also negotiated successfully with the United States to end the lease on the U.S. military bases. In 1992, Fidel V. Ramos succeeded Aquino as president. Ramos was restricted by the constitution to a single six-year term. The single-term limit is intended to prevent the abuse of power that occurred during Marcos's 20-year rule.

32.2 British Colonies Gain Independence

Britain's timetable for giving its colonies independence depended on local circumstances. Burma had been pressing for independence from Britain for decades. It became a sovereign republic in 1948 and chose not to join the British Commonwealth. In 1989, Burma was officially named Myanmar, its name in the Burmese language.

Burma Experiences Turmoil

In the postwar years, Burma suffered one political upheaval after another. Its people struggled between repressive military governments and pro-democracy forces. When the Japanese occupied Burma during World War II, they had declared Burma a sovereign state. In fact, the Japanese were in control. Their demands for forced labor were particularly unpopular.

The Burmese nationalists' army, led by **Aung San**, at first cooperated with the Japanese in order to drive the British out of Burma. Then the army linked up with British forces to defeat the Japanese. They succeeded in driving out the Japanese and were about to become independent. Then Aung San and most of his cabinet were gunned down on orders of Burmese political rivals.



Aung San Suu Kyi

Conflict among Communists and ethnic minorities disrupted the nation. In 1962, General Ne Win set up a repressive military government, with the goal of making Burma a socialist state. Although Ne Win stepped down in 1988, the military continued to rule Burma repressively. Also in 1988, **Aung San Suu Kyi**, the daughter of Aung San, returned to Burma after many years abroad. She became active in the newly formed National League for Democracy. For her pro-democracy activities, she was placed under

house arrest for six years by the government. In the 1990 election—the country's first multiparty election in 30 years—the National League for Democracy won 80 percent of the seats. The military government refused to recognize the election, and it kept Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest. She was finally released in 1995 though still kept under surveillance.

Malaysia and Singapore

During World War II, the Japanese conquered the Malay Peninsula, formerly ruled by the British. The British returned to the peninsula after the Japanese defeat in

1945. They tried, unsuccessfully, to organize Malaya into one state. They also struggled to put down a Communist uprising. Ethnic groups resisted British efforts to unite their colonies on the peninsula and in the northern part of the island of Borneo. Malays were a slight majority on the peninsula, while Chinese were the largest group in Singapore. In 1957, the Federation of Malaya was created from Singapore, Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah. The two regions—on the Malay Peninsula and on northern Borneo—were separated by 400 miles of ocean. In 1965, Singapore separated from the federation and became an independent city-state. The Federation of Malaysia—consisting of Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah—was created. A coalition of many ethnic groups maintained steady economic progress in Malaysia.

Singapore, extremely prosperous, was one of the busiest ports in the world. Lee Kuan Yew ruled Singapore as prime minister from 1959 to 1990. Under his guidance, Singapore emerged as a banking center as well as a trade center. It had a standard of living far higher than any of its Southeast Asian neighbors. In early 1997, the Geneva World Economic Forum listed the world's most competitive economies. Singapore topped the list. It was followed, in order, by Hong Kong, the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Switzerland, and Great Britain.

32.3 Indonesia Gains Independence from the Dutch

The Japanese occupation of Indonesia during World War II destroyed the Dutch colonial order. Waiting in the wings to lead Indonesia was **Sukarno**, known only by his one name. He was a leader of the Indonesian independence movement. In August 1945, two days after the Japanese surrendered, Sukarno proclaimed Indonesia's independence and named himself president. The Dutch, however, backed up initially by the British and the United States, attempted to regain control of Indonesia.

The Dutch in Indonesia

Unlike British colonialists, who served their term in India and then returned to England, the pre-war Dutch looked upon the East Indies as their permanent home. To keep it that

way, the Dutch resisted native Indonesians' attempts to enter the civil service or to acquire higher education. After the war, Indonesians were unwilling to return to their condition of servitude under the Dutch. They therefore put together a successful guerrilla army. After losing the support of the United Nations and the United States, the Dutch agreed to grant Indonesia its independence in 1949.

A Variety of People, Islands, and Religions

The new Indonesia became the world's fourth most populous nation. It consisted of more than 13,600 islands, with 300 different ethnic groups, 250 languages, and most of the world's major religions. It contained the world's largest Islamic population. Sukarno, who took the official title of "life-time president," attempted to guide this diverse nation in a parliamentary democracy. Unfortunately, this attempt failed.

In 1965, a group of junior army officers attempted a coup, which was suppressed by a general named **Suharto**. He then seized power for himself, and began a bloodbath in which 500,000 to 1 million Indonesians were killed. Suharto, officially named president in 1967, turned Indonesia into a police state and imposed frequent periods of martial law. Outside observers heavily criticized him for his annexation of East Timor in 1976 and for human rights violations there. (East Timor freed itself from Indonesian rule in 1999.)

The Chinese living in Indonesia met with discrimination but was tolerated because of their financial contributions to the state. Christians were persecuted. Bribery and corruption became commonplace. Growing unrest over both government repression and a crippling economic crisis moved Suharto to step down in 1998. In a sign of hope for the future, the nation in 1999 elected a new leader, Abdurrahman Wahid, in its first-ever democratic transfer of power.

33. New Nations in Africa

Like the Asian countries, the countries of Africa were unwilling to return to colonial domination after World War II. The problem of building strong, independent nations in Africa, however, was complicated by the way in which European imperialists had divided up the continent, plundered its resources, and left the countries unprepared to deal with independence. The colonialists had imposed borders having little to do with the areas where ethnic groups actually lived. While borders separated culturally similar people, they also enclosed traditional enemies.



33.1 Background to Independence

Between the two world wars, an educated middle class had begun to emerge in African cities. Young men went abroad for college and graduate studies. They listened to American jazz musicians and read literature of the Harlem Renaissance. They were influenced by African Americans such as W. E. B. Du Bois as well as by such older Africans as Blaise Diagne, who organized Pan-African (all-African) congresses in 1919 and 1921.

French-speaking Africans and West Indians began to express their growing sense of black consciousness and pride in traditional Africa. They formed the **Négritude movement**—a movement to celebrate African culture, heritage, and values. This movement viewed the black experience as unique. One of the movement's leaders, Leopold Senghor, later became the first president of Senegal.

African soldiers in World War II fought alongside Europeans to “defend freedom.” This experience made them unwilling to accept colonial domination when they returned home. The postwar world changed the thinking of Europeans too. They began to question the cost of maintaining their colonies abroad.

33.2 British Colonies Seek Independence

After World War II, many European countries were ready to transfer government to the African people. For the Europeans, the question was when and how to do that. **Ghana Leads the Way to Independence** The British colony of the Gold Coast became the first African colony south of the Sahara to achieve independence. Following World War II, the British in the Gold Coast began making preparations. For example, they allowed more Africans to be nominated to the Legislative Council. However, the Africans wanted elected, not nominated, representatives, and they wanted “Freedom Now!” The leader of their largely nonviolent protests was **Kwame Nkrumah**. He was a former teacher who had spent several years studying in the United States. In the 1940s, he worked to liberate the Gold Coast from the British. Nkrumah organized strikes and boycotts and was often imprisoned by the British government. Ultimately, however, his efforts were successful.

On receiving its independence in 1957, the Gold Coast took the name Ghana. This name honored a famous West African kingdom of the past. Ghana became the first nation governed by black Africans to join the British Commonwealth.

Nkrumah became Ghana's first prime minister and later its president-for-life. Nkrumah pushed through expensive development plans and economic projects—new roads, new schools, and expanded health facilities. These costly projects soon crippled the country. His programs for industrialization, health and welfare, and expanded educational facilities showed good intentions. However, the expense of the programs undermined the economy and strengthened his opposition.

In addition, Nkrumah was often criticized for spending too much time on Pan-African efforts and neglecting economic problems in his own country. In his dream of a "United States of Africa," Nkrumah was influenced by the thinking of Marcus Garvey. Garvey was a Jamaican-born black man who in the 1920s called for forcing all Europeans out of Africa and creating a black empire there. Nkrumah, influenced by Garvey (among others), wanted to create an Africa ruled by Africans. Nkrumah helped develop the Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England, in 1945. Later, in 1958, he hosted the first Pan-African meeting held in Africa. This led to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

In 1966, while Nkrumah was in China, the army and police in Ghana seized power. Since then, the country has shifted back and forth between civilian and military rule, and has struggled for economic stability. Jerry Rawlings, an Air Force pilot, seized power in 1979 and again in 1981. In 2000, the first open elections were held. **Kenya and the Mau Mau Rebellion** British settlers had taken over prize farmland in the northern highlands of Kenya. They fiercely resisted independence for Kenya.

They were forced to accept black self-government as a result of two developments. One was the strong leadership of Kenyan nationalist **Jomo Kenyatta**, a Kikuyu educated in London. The second was the rise of the **Mau Mau** (MOW mow). This was a secret society made up mostly of Kikuyu farmers forced out of the highlands by the British. The Mau Mau's aim was primarily to frighten the white farmers into leaving the highlands rather than to engage in outright war. Kenyatta had no connection to the Mau Mau.

However, he refused to condemn the organization and was imprisoned by the British for a time for this refusal. By the time the British granted Kenya independence in 1963, more than 10,000 black Kenyans and 100 white Kenyans had been killed. Kenyatta became president of the new nation. He worked hard to unite the various ethnic and language groups in the country. Nairobi, the capital, grew into a major business center of East Africa. When Kenyatta died in 1978, his successor, Daniel arap Moi, was less successful in governing the country. Moi faced more and more opposition to his one-party rule.

Under him, university strikes and protests resulted in the deaths of some students. These demonstrations put pressure on Moi to make the country more democratic.

In the early 1990s, Kenya's economy suffered a severe reversal. Adding to the nation's woes were corruption in Moi's government and ethnic conflicts that killed hundreds and left thousands homeless.

33.3 The Congo Gains Independence

Of all the European possessions in Africa, probably the most exploited was the Belgian Congo. Belgium had ruthlessly plundered the colony's rich resources of rubber and copper. It had employed a system of forced labor. While draining wealth from the colony, Belgium had provided no social services. It also had made no attempt to prepare the people for independence.

Independence Brings Change

Belgium's granting of independence in 1960 to the Congo (known as Zaire from 1965 to 1997) resulted in upheaval. Patrice Lumumba became the nation's first prime minister. He ruled a divided country. In the mineral-rich southeastern province of Katanga, a local leader named Moise Tshombe declared that region's independence. This was a serious threat, especially since copper from Katanga's mines was the nation's primary export. Intervention by outside forces added to the problems. Tshombe was backed by Belgian mining interests. Lumumba, with Communist connections, first appealed to the United Nations for help in putting down Tshombe's rebellion. He then turned to the Soviet Union for aid. At this point, a coup led by an army officer, Colonel Joseph Mobutu, later known as **Mobutu Sese Seko**, overthrew Lumumba and turned him over to his enemy, Tshombe. Lumumba was murdered while in Tshombe's custody. Tshombe himself ruled briefly until he was overthrown by Mobutu, who seized power in a bloodless coup in 1965.

Mobutu Comes to Power

For 32 years, Mobutu ruled the country that he renamed Zaire. He used a combination of force, one party rule, and gifts to supporters. Zaire had the mineral wealth and natural resources to make it one of the richest countries in Africa. It was reduced under Mobutu's rule to one of the continent's poorest. Mobutu and his associates were accused of looting the country of billions of dollars.

Mobutu successfully withstood several armed rebellions and ethnic clashes. He was finally overthrown in 1997 by Laurent Kabila after a seven-month-long civil war. On becoming president, Kabila banned all political parties. However, he promised a transition to democracy and free elections by April 1999. Such elections never came,

however, and by 2000 the nation faced civil war again as three separate rebel groups sought to overthrow Kabila's autocratic rule.

33.4 Algeria Fights for Its Independence

In 1945, about 1 million French colonists and about 9 million Arab and Berber Muslims were living in the North African country of Algeria, France's principal overseas colony. Some of the colonists had lived there for generations. They were unwilling to give up their land without a fight. France claimed to offer full citizenship rights to its colonial subjects—a policy called assimilation. In reality, assimilation was hard to achieve. The colonists refused to share political power.

The Struggle

The post-World War II conflict in Algeria began in 1945 when French troops fired on Algerian nationalists who were demonstrating in the town of Setif. Before peace was restored, thousands of Muslims and about 100 Europeans were killed.

In 1954, the Algerian National Liberation Front, or **FLN**, announced its intention to fight for independence. The FLN would use guerrilla tactics at home and diplomatic tactics internationally.

The French sent over half a million troops into Algeria to fight the FLN. Both sides committed atrocities. European settlers in Algeria began calling for the World War II hero Charles de Gaulle to return as president of France and restore order in the French colony.

De Gaulle Takes Control

De Gaulle returned to power in 1958. He soon concluded that Algeria could not be held by force. Fearful that the rebellion might spread, France let go of most of its other possessions in Africa. In 1962, a referendum setting out the conditions for Algerian independence in cooperation with France passed with overwhelming majorities in Algeria and France. As France planned the transfer of power after the cease-fire in March 1962, 750,000 French settlers fled Algeria. Independence came in July 1962.

Ahmed Ben Bella, a leader of the FLN who had been imprisoned by the French, was named first prime minister (1962–1963) and first president (1963–1965). Ben Bella reestablished national order, began land reforms, and developed new plans for education. In 1965, he was overthrown by his chief of staff.

From 1965 until 1988, Algerians tried to modernize and industrialize. Their efforts were undermined when oil prices plunged in 1985–1986. Unemployment and the unfulfilled promises of the revolution contributed to an

Islamic revival. Riots in 1988 against the secular government left hundreds dead. The chief Islamic party, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), won local and parliamentary elections in 1990 and 1991. However, the ruling government and army refused to accept the election results. Eventually, a civil war broke out between Islamic militants and the government—a war that continues, on and off, to this day. Efforts to restore democratic government included presidential elections in 1995 and parliamentary elections in 1997. However, these efforts excluded the FIS.

Recently, there have been calls from the FIS for a truce and a national peace conference to end the violence that has claimed the lives of thousands of people.

33.5 Angola Gains Its Independence

The Portuguese had been the first Europeans to enter Africa, 400 years ago, and they were the last to leave. Portugal was unwilling to give up any of its colonies. It made no preparations for helping its colony of Angola emerge into the modern world. At the end of World War II, Angola had no education or health facilities and little commerce.

The Movement Towards Independence

Still, some Angolans gained an education. Accounts of other African countries that had become independent inspired them. In the 1960s, three revolutionary groups emerged. Foreign powers supported each group. To put down the rebels in Angola, Portugal sent in 50,000 troops. The cost of the conflict amounted to almost half of Portugal's national budget. Discontent over the colonial wars built up among the Portuguese troops until the Portuguese dictatorship in Lisbon was toppled by the military.

Civil War Follows Independence

The Portuguese withdrew from Angola in 1975 without formally handing over power to anyone. The lack of preparation for independence in Angola was complicated by the Communist seizure of power. The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) took control of the capital, Luanda. The Communist MPLA declared itself the rightful government. This led to a prolonged civil war among various rebel groups. Each group received help from outside sources. The MPLA was assisted by some 50,000 Cuban troops and by the Soviet Union. The FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), which eventually faded away, was backed by Zaire and the United States. The major opposition to the MPLA was UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which was assisted by South Africa and the United States.

In 1988, the United States, with a nod from the Soviet Union, pressed for a settlement among the MPLA, UNITA, South Africa, and Cuba and for the evacuation of Cuban troops. A shaky cease-fire went into effect in June 1989. In 1995, the parties began discussions

about representation of each group in the government. Negotiations eventually broke down, however, and the long and bloody civil war continued on into the 2000s. Trouble in the Middle East also prompted intervention by the United States and other powers. These efforts, too, met with mixed results.

34 Conflicts in the Middle East

The division of Palestine after World War II set off bitter disputes in the Middle East. Some of the problems faced by the new nation of Israel were similar to those experienced by new nations in Africa and Asia. These included the writing of a new constitution, the merging of diverse peoples, and involvement in territorial disputes with neighbors. Palestinians who did not remain in Israel faced a disruptive life as refugees.

34.1 Palestine and Israel

The conflict between Jews and Arabs (including Palestinians) over a Palestinian homeland is one that has its roots in ancient history. To Jews, their claim to the land goes back 3,000 years, when Jewish kings ruled from Jerusalem. To Palestinians (both Muslim and Christian), the land has belonged to them since the Jews were driven out around A.D. 135. To Arabs, the land has belonged to them since their conquest of the area in the 7th century. Mixed in with the intertwined history of Jews and Arabs in the region have been more modern events. These include the persecution of Jews in Europe, the rising value of oil in the Middle East, and global politics that have influenced decisions half a world away.

Zionists—people who favored a Jewish national homeland in Palestine—had begun to settle in Palestine in the late 19th and early 20th century. At the time, the region was still part of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by Islamic Turks. Zionists at first made up only about 10 percent of the population. After the defeat of the Ottomans in World War I, the League of Nations asked Britain to oversee Palestine until it was ready for independence.

The Early Stages

Palestinians feared that the increasing numbers of Jewish immigrants would result in hardships for them. Jews asked that a Jewish nation be carved out of the territory. Engaged in fighting World War I, Britain did not want to lose the support of either side. In a letter from the British foreign secretary to a Zionist supporter, Britain seemed

to make promises to both sides. Britain found the terms of the **Balfour Declaration** to be unworkable because the two sides could not live together. Therefore, Britain called for partition of the country. Meanwhile, Nazi Germany's persecution of Jews spurred immigration to Palestine.

Israel Becomes a State

Britain failed in its many attempts to work out a satisfactory compromise. At the end of World War II, a weary Britain referred the Palestine issue to the United Nations. The UN recommendations, accepted by the General Assembly in 1947, called for a partition of Palestine into a Palestinian state and a Jewish state. Jerusalem was to be an international city owned by neither side. All of the Islamic countries voted against partition, and the Palestinians rejected it outright. They objected that the UN did not have the right to partition a country without considering the wishes of the majority of its people. However, the Jews welcomed the proposal. The terms of the partition were very favorable to them, giving them 55 percent of the area even though Jews made up only 34 percent of the population.

Certain nations, such as the United States and many in Europe, felt sympathy for the Jews because of the Holocaust. Such nations supported the concept of giving Jews their own nation. Finally, the date was set for the formation of Israel—May 14, 1948. On that date, David Ben-Gurion, long-time leader of the Jews residing in Palestine, announced the creation of an independent Israel.

34.2 Israel and the Arab States in Conflict

The new nation of Israel got a hostile greeting from its neighbors. The day after it proclaimed itself a state, six Arab states—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria—invaded Israel. The first of many Arab-Israeli wars, this one ended within months in a victory for Israel. Israel depended on strong American support in this conflict, as well as in most of its other wars.

Full-scale war broke out again in 1956, 1967, and 1973. The Palestinian state that the UN had set aside for Palestinians never came into being. Israel seized half the land in the 1948–1949 fighting. Egypt took control of the Gaza Strip, and Jordan annexed the West Bank. (See map on page 903.) While the fighting raged, thousands of Palestinians fled, migrating from the areas under Jewish control. They settled in UN-sponsored refugee camps that ringed the borders of their former homeland.



The 1956 Suez Crisis

The second Arab-Israeli war followed Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956. This seizure was ordered by Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had led the military coup that overthrew King Farouk in 1952. French and British business interests had continued to control the canal after the coup.

In 1956, angered by the loss of U.S. and British financial support for the building of the Aswan Dam, Nasser sent his troops to take the canal. Outraged, the British and the French made an agreement with Israel. With air support provided by their European allies, the Israelis marched on the Suez Canal and quickly defeated the Egyptians. However, pressure from the rest of the world's community, including the United States and the Soviet Union, forced Israel and its European allies to withdraw from Egypt. This left Egypt in charge of the canal and thus ended the **Suez Crisis**.

The 1967 Six-Day War

Tensions between Israel and the Arab states began to build again in the years following the resolution of the Suez Crisis. By early 1967, Nasser and his Arab allies, equipped with Soviet tanks and aircraft, felt ready to confront Israel. Nasser announced, "We are eager for battle in order to force the enemy to awake from his dreams, and meet Arab reality face to face." He moved to close off the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel's outlet to the Red Sea. Convinced that the Arabs were about to attack, the Israelis attacked airfields in Egypt, Iran, Jordan, and Syria. Safe from air attack, Israeli ground forces struck like lightning on three fronts. The war was over in six days. Israel lost 800 troops in the fighting, while Arab losses exceeded 15,000.

As a consequence of the **Six-Day War**, Israel occupied militarily the old city of Jerusalem, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank. This was done to provide a buffer zone and improve security. Palestinians

who lived in Jerusalem were given the choice of Israeli or Jordanian citizenship. Most chose the latter.

Palestinians who lived in the other areas were not offered Israeli citizenship and became stateless. **The 1973 War** A fourth Arab-Israeli conflict erupted in October 1973. Nasser's successor, Egyptian president **Anwar Sadat**, planned a joint Arab attack on the date of Yom Kippur, the holiest of Jewish holidays. This time the Israelis were caught by surprise. Arab forces inflicted heavy casualties and recaptured some of the territory lost in 1967. The Israelis, under their prime minister, **Golda Meir**, launched a counterattack and regained most of the lost territory. An uneasy truce was agreed to after several weeks of fighting, ending the October war.

34.3 Trading Land for Peace

Since no peace treaty ended the Yom Kippur War, many people feared that another war could start. Four years later, however, in November 1977, Anwar Sadat stunned the world by offering peace to Israel. No Arab country up to this point had recognized Israel's right to exist. In a dramatic gesture, he flew to Jerusalem and told the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, "We used to reject you. . . . Yet, today we agree to live with you in permanent peace and justice." Sadat emphasized that in exchange for peace, Israel would have to recognize the rights of Palestinians. Further, it would have to withdraw from territory seized in 1967 from Egypt, Jordan, and Syria.

President Jimmy Carter recognized that Sadat had created a historic opportunity for peace. In 1978, Carter invited Sadat and Israeli prime minister **Menachem Begin** to Camp David, the presidential retreat in rural Maryland. Isolated from the press and from domestic political pressures, Sadat and Begin discussed the issues dividing their two countries. After 13 days of negotiations, Carter triumphantly announced that Egypt recognized Israel as a legitimate state. In exchange, Israel agreed to return the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. Signed in 1979, the **Camp David Accords**, the first signed agreement between Israel and an Arab country, ended 30 years of hostilities between Egypt and Israel. While world leaders praised Sadat, his peace initiative enraged many Arab countries. In 1981, a group of Muslim extremists assassinated him. Egypt's new leader, **Hosni Mubarak**, maintained peace with Israel.

34.4 The Palestinians Demand Independence

Peace agreements between Israelis and Palestinians were harder to achieve. Unwilling to give up territories they had seized for security, the Israelis began to build settlements on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The Intifada

Palestinians living in Israel resented Israeli rule. As their anger mounted, they turned increasingly to the Palestine Liberation Organization, or **PLO**, led by Yasir Arafat. During the 1970s and 1980s, the military wing of the PLO conducted a campaign of armed struggle against Israel. Israel turned to strong measures, bombing suspected bases in Palestinian towns. In 1982, the Israeli army invaded Lebanon in an attempt to destroy strongholds in Palestinian villages. The Israelis soon became involved in Lebanon's civil war and were forced to withdraw.

In 1987, Palestinians began to express their frustrations in a widespread campaign of civil disobedience called the intifada, or "uprising." The intifada took the form of boycotts, demonstrations, attacks on Israeli soldiers, and rock throwing by unarmed teenagers. The intifada continued into the 1990s, with little progress made towards a solution. However, the civil disobedience affected world opinion, which, in turn, put pressure on Israel. Finally, in October 1991, Israeli and Palestinian delegates met for the first time in a series of peace talks.

The Declaration of Principles

The status of the Israeli-occupied territories proved to be a bitterly divisive issue. In 1993, however, secret talks held in Oslo, Norway, produced a surprise agreement. In a document called the Declaration of Principles, Israel, under the leadership of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, agreed to grant the Palestinians self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, beginning with the town of Jericho. Rabin and Arafat signed the agreement on September 13, 1993.

The difficulty of making an agreement work was demonstrated by the assassination of Rabin in 1995. He was killed by a right-wing Jewish extremist who opposed concessions to the Palestinians. Rabin was succeeded as prime minister by Benjamin Netanyahu, who had opposed the plan. Still, Netanyahu made efforts to keep to the agreement. In January 1997, he met with Arafat to work out plans for a partial Israeli withdrawal from Hebron, on the West Bank. In 1999, Ehud Barak won election as prime minister and voiced support for the peace plan. However, the election in 2001 of Ariel Sharon, a former military leader, as prime minister complicated the peace process.



UNIT L – TUSSELE FOR DEMOCRACY

35. Challenges in Latin American Nations

By definition, democracy is government by the people. Direct democracy, in which all citizens meet to pass laws, is not practical for nations. Therefore, democratic nations such as the United States developed indirect democracy, in which citizens elect representatives to make laws for them.

Even in the United States, the establishment of democracy has taken time. Although the principle of equality is part of the Constitution, many Americans have struggled for equal rights. To cite one example, women did not receive the right to vote until 1920 132 years after the Constitution went into effect. Under the best of circumstances, democracy is always a “work in progress.”

Democratic institutions may not ensure stable, civilian government if other conditions are not present. In general, the participation of a nation’s citizens in government is essential to democracy. If citizens don’t vote or don’t contribute to public discussions of important issues, democracy suffers. Education and literacy—the ability to read and write—give citizens the tools they need to make political decisions. Also, a stable economy with a strong middle class and opportunities for ad-

PATTERNS OF CHANGE: Making Democracy Work

Common Practices	Conditions That Foster Those Practices
Free elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having more than one political party • Universal suffrage — all adult citizens can vote
Citizen participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High levels of education and literacy • Economic security • Freedoms of speech, press, and assembly
Majority rule, minority rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All citizens equal before the law • Shared national identity • Protection of such individual rights as freedom of religion • Representatives elected by citizens to carry out their will
Constitutional government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear body of traditions and laws on which government is based • Widespread education about how government works • National acceptance of majority decisions • Shared belief that no one is above the law

Making Democracy Work

Democracy is more than a form of government. It is also a way of life and an ideal goal. A democratic way of life includes practices such as free and open elections. The chart on this page lists four basic practices and ideal conditions that help those practices to succeed. Many nations follow these democratic practices to a large degree. However, none does so perfectly. Establishing democracy is a process that takes years.

vancement helps democracy. It does so by giving citizens a stake in the future of their nation.

Other factors advance democracy. **First**, a firm belief in the rights of the individual promotes the fair and equal treatment of citizens. **Second**, rule by law helps prevent leaders from abusing power without fear of punishment. **Third**, a sense of national identity--the idea that members of a society have a shared culture—helps encourage citizens to work together for the good of the nation.

The struggle to establish democracy continued in the 1990s as many nations abandoned authoritarian rule for democratic institutions. Several Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina, were among those making democratic progress.

35.1 Brazil: From Dictators to Democracy

Many Latin American nations won their independence in the early 1800s. However, three centuries of colonial rule left problems. This included powerful militaries, one-crop economies, and sharp class divisions. These patterns persisted in the modern era. One reason is that Europe and the United States dominated the region economically and politically. In addition, many Latin American leaders seemed more interested in personal power than in democracy.

Like much of Latin America, Brazil struggled to establish democracy. After gaining independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil became a monarchy. This lasted until 1889, when Brazilians established a republican government—which wealthy elite actually controlled. Then, in the 1930s, Getulio Vargas became dictator of Brazil. Vargas suppressed political opposition. At the same time, however, he promoted economic growth and helped turn Brazil into a modern industrial nation.

Kubitschek's Ambitious Program

After Vargas, three popularly elected presidents tried to steer Brazil toward democracy. Juscelino Kubitschek, who governed from 1956 to 1961, continued to develop Brazil's economy. Promising "fifty years of progress in five," Kubitschek encouraged foreign investment to help pay for elaborate development projects. He built a new capital city, **Brasília**, in the country's interior. Kubitschek's dream proved expensive. The nation's foreign debt soared and inflation shot up. This caused hardship for most Brazilians.

Kubitschek's successors proposed reforms to lessen economic and social problems. Conservatives resisted this strongly. They especially opposed the plan for **land reform**—breaking up large estates and distributing that land to peasants. In 1964, with the blessing of wealthy Brazilians, the army seized power in a military coup.

Military Dictators

For two decades, military dictators ruled Brazil. Emphasizing economic growth at all costs, the generals opened the country to foreign investment. They began huge development projects in the Amazon jungle. The economy boomed, in what many described as Brazil's "economic miracle."

The boom had a downside, though. The government froze wages and cut back on social programs. This caused a decline in the **standard of living**—or quality of life, which is judged by the amount of goods people have. When Brazilians protested, the government imposed censorship. It also jailed and tortured government critics. Nevertheless, opposition to military rule continued to grow.

The Road to Democracy

By the early 1980s, a **recession**—or slowdown in the economy—gripped Brazil. At that point, the generals decided to open up the political system. They allowed direct elections of local, state, and national officials. In 1985, a new civilian president, José Sarney, took office. Although he was elected indirectly, a 1985 constitutional amendment declared that all future presidents would be elected directly by the people.

Though well-intentioned, Sarney failed to solve the country's problems and lost support. The next elected president fared even worse. He resigned because of corruption charges. In 1994 and again in 1998, Brazilians elected Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who achieved some success in tackling the nation's economic and political problems. Although Brazil faced many challenges, during the 1990s it continued on the path of democracy.

35.2 Mexico: One Dominant Party

Unlike Brazil, Mexico enjoyed relative political stability for most of the 20th century. Following the Mexican Revolution, the government passed the Constitution of 1917. It outlined a democracy and promised reforms. This document helped prevent direct military involvement in politics—which has been a common problem in many Latin American countries.

Beginnings of One-Party Domination

From 1920 to 1934, Mexico elected several generals as president. However, these men did not rule as military dictators. They did create a ruling party—the National Revolutionary Party, which has dominated Mexico under various names ever since. From 1934 to 1940, President Lázaro Cárdenas tried to improve life for peasants and workers. He carried out land reform and promoted labor rights.

He nationalized the Mexican oil industry, kicking out foreign oil companies and creating a state-run oil industry. After Cárdenas, however, a series of more conservative presidents turned away from reform. For the most part, they worked to develop the economy for the benefit of wealthy Mexicans.

The Party Becomes the PRI

In 1946, the main political party changed its name to the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or **PRI**. In the half-century that followed, the PRI became the main force for political stability in Mexico.

Although stable, the government was an imperfect democracy. The PRI controlled the congress and won every presidential election. The government allowed opposition parties to compete, but fraud and corruption spoiled elections and blocked opposition gains.

Even as the Mexican economy rapidly developed, Mexico continued to suffer severe economic problems. Lacking land and jobs, millions of Mexicans struggled for survival. In addition, a huge foreign debt forced the government to spend money on interest payments instead of helping the Mexican people. Two episodes highlighted Mexico's growing difficulties. In the late 1960s, students and workers began calling for economic and political change. On October 2, 1968, protesters gathered at the site of an ancient Aztec market in Mexico City.

The massacre in the Aztec ruins claimed several hundred lives. A second critical episode occurred during the early 1980s. By that time huge new oil and natural gas reserves had been discovered in Mexico. The economy had become dependent on oil and gas exports. In 1981, however, world oil prices fell sharply, cutting Mexico's oil and gas revenues in half. Mexico went into an economic decline.

Economic and Political Crises

The rest of the 1980s and 1990s saw Mexico facing various crises. In 1988, opposition parties seriously challenged the PRI in national elections. The PRI candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, won the presidency—some argued by fraud. Even so, opposition parties won seats in congress and began to force a gradual opening of the political system.

During his presidency, Salinas signed NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA removed trade barriers between Mexico, the United States, and Canada. In early 1994, just as the agreement was going into effect, peasant rebels in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas staged a major uprising. Shortly afterward, a gunman assassinated the PRI presidential candidate.

The PRI Loses Control

After these events, Mexicans felt more concerned than ever about the prospects for democratic stability. Nevertheless, the elections of 1994 went ahead as planned. The new PRI candidate, Ernesto Zedillo, won in what appeared to be a fair ballot. At the same time, opposition parties continued to challenge the PRI.

In 1997, two opposition parties each won a large number of congressional seats—denying the PRI control of congress for the first time in its history. Then, in 2000, Mexican voters ended 71 years of PRI rule by electing center-right party candidate Vicente Fox Quesada as president.

35.3 Argentina Casts Off Repression

Mexico and Brazil were not the only Latin American countries where democracy had made progress. By the late 1990s, all of Latin America—except Cuba—was under democratic rule. One notable example of democratic progress was Argentina.

Perón Rules Argentina

The second largest country in South America, Argentina had struggled to establish democracy. Argentina was a major exporter of grain and beef. It was also an industrial nation with a large working class. In 1946, Argentine workers supported an army officer, Juan Perón, who won the presidency and then established a dictatorship.

Perón did not rule alone. He received critical support from his wife, Eva—known as “Evita” to the millions of Argentines who idolized her. Together, the Peróns created a welfare state. The state offered social programs with broad popular appeal but limited freedoms. After Eva's death in 1952, Perón's popularity declined and his enemies—the military and the Catholic Church—moved against him. In 1955, the military ousted Perón and drove him into exile.

Repression in Argentina

For the next three decades, the military essentially controlled Argentine politics. Perón returned to power once more, in 1973, but ruled for only a year before dying in office. By the mid-1970s, Argentina was in chaos. The economy was in ruins and radical terrorism was on the rise.

In 1976, the generals seized power again. They established a brutal dictatorship and hunted down political opponents. For several years, torture and murder were everyday events. By the early 1980s, several thousand Argentines had simply disappeared—kidnapped by their own government. The government killed at least 10,000 people. Critics charged that some of the victims were pushed out of airplanes over the ocean.

Moving Toward Democracy

In 1982, the military government went to war with Britain over the nearby Falkland Islands and suffered a humiliating defeat. Thoroughly disgraced, the generals agreed to step down. In 1983, Argentines elected Raúl

Alfonsín president in the country's first truly free election in 40 years.

During the 1980s, Alfonsín worked to rebuild democracy and the economy. The next president continued that process. By the late 1990s, democracy seemed established in Argentina, though economic problems continued.

36. Challenges in African Nations

Beginning in the late 1950s, dozens of European colonies in Africa gained their independence and became nations. As in Latin America, the establishment of democracy in Africa proved difficult. In many cases, the newly independent nations faced a host of problems that slowed their progress toward democracy.

36.1 Colonial Rule Hampers Democracy

The main reason for Africa's difficulties was the negative impact of colonial rule. European powers did little to prepare their African colonies for independence. In fact, the lingering effects of colonialism undermined efforts to build stable, democratic states.

European Policies Cause Problems

When the Europeans established colonial boundaries, they ignored ethnic or cultural divisions. Borders often divided peoples of the same background or threw different—often rival—groups together. Because of this, a sense of national identity was almost impossible to develop. After independence, the old colonial boundaries became the borders of the newly independent states. As a result, ethnic and cultural conflicts remained, and even increased.

Other problems had an economic basis. European powers had viewed colonies as sources of wealth for the home country. They had no desire to develop the colonies for the benefit of the Africans who lived there. The colonial powers encouraged the export of one or two cash crops—such as coffee or rubber—rather than the production of a range of products to serve local needs. Europeans developed plantations and mines but few factories. Manufactured goods were imported from European countries. They also built few roads, bridges, or communications systems—all necessary for economic development. These policies left new African nations with unbalanced economies and a small middle class. Such economic problems lessened their chances to create democratic stability.

European rule also disrupted African family and community life. In some cases, colonial powers moved Africans far from their families and villages to work in mines or on plantations. In addition, colonial governments did lit-

tle to educate the majority of African people. As a result, most newly independent nations lacked a skilled, literate work force that could take on the task of building a new nation.

Short-Lived Democracies

When Britain and France gave up their colonies, they left new democratic governments in place. Soon problems threatened those governments. Rival ethnic groups often fought each other for power. Strong militaries, left over from colonial rule, became a tool for ambitious leaders. In many cases, a military dictatorship quickly replaced democracy. Since independence, the struggle between democracy and authoritarian rule has torn apart many African nations.

36.2 Nigeria Erupts in Civil War

Nigeria provides a good example of the political struggles that have shaken Africa. Nigeria, a former British colony, won its independence peacefully in 1960. Nigeria is Africa's most populous country and one of its richest. Because of that, Nigeria seemed to have good prospects for democratic stability. The country was ethnically divided, however. This soon created problems that led to war.

A Land of Many Peoples

Three major ethnic groups and many smaller ones live within Nigeria's borders. In the north are the Hausa-Fulani, who are Muslim. In the south are the Yoruba and the Igbo (also called Ibo), who are mostly either Christians or animists. The Yoruba, a farming people with a tradition of kings, live to the west. The Igbo, a farming people who have a democratic tradition, live to the east.

After independence, Nigeria adopted a **federal system**. In a federal system, power is shared between state governments and a central authority, much like in the United States. The Nigerians set up three states, one for each region and ethnic group, with a corresponding political party in each.

War with Biafra

Although one group dominated each state, the states also had other ethnic minorities. In the Western Region—the Yoruba homeland—non-Yoruba minorities began to resent Yoruba control. In 1963, they tried to break away and form their own region. This led to fighting. In January 1966, a group of army officers, most of them Igbo, seized power in the capital city of Lagos. These officers abolished the regional governments and declared **martial law**, or temporary military rule.

The Hausa-Fulani, who had long distrusted the Igbo, launched an attack from the north. They persecuted and killed many Igbo. The survivors fled east to their homeland. In 1967, the Eastern Region seceded from Nigeria, declaring itself the new nation of Biafra.

The Nigerian government then went to war to reunite the country. The Nigerian civil war lasted three years. The Igbo fought heroically but were badly outnumbered and outgunned. In 1970, Biafra surrendered. Nigeria was reunited, but the war took a tremendous toll. Although exact numbers are unknown, perhaps several million Igbo died, most from starvation.

Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy

After the war, Nigerians returned to the process of nation-building. "When the war ended," noted one officer, "it was like a referee blowing a whistle in a football game. People just put down their guns and went back to the business of living." The Nigerian government did not punish the Igbo. It used federal money to rebuild the Igbo region.

Federal Government Restored

The military governed Nigeria for most of the 1970s. During this time, Nigerian leaders tried to create a more stable federal system, with a strong central government and 19 regional units. The government also tried to build a more modern economy, based on oil income. Nigeria became the world's seventh largest oil producer. For a time, it grew wealthy from oil money. In 1979, the military handed power back to civilian rulers. Nigerians were cheered by the return to democracy.

Nigerian democracy was short-lived. In 1983, the military overthrew the civilian government, charging it with corruption. A new military regime, dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, took charge. It carried out a policy of discrimination against other ethnic groups.

A Return to Civilian Rule

In the years that followed, the military continued to govern Nigeria, while promising to bring back civilian rule. The army held elections in 1993, which resulted in the victory of popular leader Moshood Abiola. However, officers declared the results not valid and handed power to a new dictator, General Sani Abacha.

General Abacha banned political activity and jailed Abiola and other **dissidents**, or government opponents. Upon Abacha's death in 1998, General Abdulsalami Abubakar seized power and promised to end military rule. He kept his word. In 1999 Nigerians elected their first civilian president, Olusegun Obasanyo, in nearly 20 years.

36.3 South Africa Under White Rule

In South Africa, racial conflict was the result of colonial rule. From its beginnings under Dutch and British control, South Africa was racially divided. A small white minority ruled a large black majority. In 1910, South Africa gained self-rule as a dominion of the British Empire. In 1931 it became an independent member of the British Commonwealth. Although South Africa had a constitutional government, the constitution gave whites power and denied the black majority its rights.

Apartheid Segregates Society

In 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa. This party promoted Afrikaner, or Dutch South African, nationalism. It also instituted a policy of **apartheid**, a complete separation of the races. The minority government banned social contacts between whites and blacks. It established segregated schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods. It provided the best facilities for whites.

In 1959, the minority government set up reserves, called homelands, for the country's major black groups. Blacks were forbidden to live in white areas unless they worked as servants or laborers for whites. The homelands policy was totally unbalanced. Although blacks made up 75 percent of the population, the government set aside only 13 percent of the land for them. Whites kept the best lands.

Blacks Protest

Black South Africans resisted the controls imposed by the white minority. In 1912, they formed the African National Congress (ANC) to fight for their rights. The ANC organized strikes and boycotts to protest racist policies. During one demonstration in 1960, police killed 69 people—an incident known as the Sharpeville Massacre. Afterward, the government banned the ANC and imprisoned many of its members. One was ANC leader **Nelson Mandela**.

The troubles continued. In 1976, riots over school policies broke out in the black township of Soweto, leaving 600 students dead. In 1977, police beat popular protest leader Steve Biko to death while



he was in custody. This sparked an international outcry. As protests mounted, the government declared a state of emergency in 1986.

South Africa Moves Toward Democracy

By the late 1980s, South Africa was under great pressure to change. For years, a black South African bishop, Desmond Tutu, had led an economic campaign against apart-

heid. He asked foreign nations not to do business with South Africa. In response, many nations imposed trade restrictions. They also isolated South Africa in other ways, for example, banning South Africa from the Olympic Games. (In 1984, Tutu won the Nobel Peace Prize for his nonviolent methods.)

The First Steps

In 1989, white South Africans elected a new president, F. W. de Klerk. His goal was to transform South Africa and end its isolation. In February 1990, he legalized the ANC and also released Nelson Mandela from prison.

These dramatic actions marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa. Over the next 18 months, the South African Parliament repealed apartheid laws that had segregated public facilities and restricted land ownership by blacks. World leaders welcomed these changes and began to ease restrictions on South Africa.

Although some legal barriers had fallen, others would remain until a new constitution was in place. First, the country needed to form a multiracial government. After lengthy negotiations, President de Klerk agreed to hold South Africa's first universal elections, in which people of all races could vote, in April 1994.

Majority Rule

Among the candidates for president were F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. During the campaign, the Inkatha Freedom Party—a rival party to the ANC—threatened to disrupt the process. Nevertheless, the vote went smoothly. South Africans of all races peacefully waited at the polls in lines that sometimes stretched for up to a kilometer. To no one's surprise, the ANC won 62.7 percent of the vote. They won 252 of 400 seats in the National Assembly (the larger of the two houses in Parliament). Mandela was elected president. Mandela stepped down in 1999, but the nation's democratic process continued. That year, ANC official Thabo Mbeki won election as president in a peaceful transition of power.

A New Constitution

In 1996, after much debate, South African lawmakers passed a new, more democratic constitution. It guaranteed equal rights for all citizens. The constitution included a bill of rights modeled on the U.S. Bill of Rights, but with important differences. The South African document expressly forbids discrimination and protects the rights of minorities and children. It also guarantees the right to travel freely—a right denied blacks in the past. It proclaims social and economic rights, including the right to adequate housing, education, and health care.

As they passed the constitution, South African leaders realized that these sweeping promises would be difficult to fulfill. Many South African blacks wanted instant results. Even so, the political changes that South Africa had achieved gave other peoples around the world great hope for the future of democracy.

37. Disintrigation of USSR

37.1 Gorbachev Moves Toward Democracy

After World War II, the Soviet Union and the United States engaged in a Cold War. Each tried to increase its worldwide influence. The Soviet Union extended its power over much of Eastern Europe. By the 1960s, it appeared that communism was permanently established in the region.

Gorbachev's Reforms

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union's Communist leadership kept tight control over the Soviet people. Leonid Brezhnev and the **Politburo**—the ruling committee of the Communist Party—crushed all political disagreement. Censors decided what writers could publish. The Communist Party restricted such basic rights as freedom of speech and worship.



Mikhail Gorbachev

After Brezhnev's death in 1982, the aging leadership of the Soviet Union tried to hold on to power. Time was against them, however. Each of Brezhnev's two successors died after only about a year in office. Who would succeed them?

A Younger Leader To answer that question, the Politburo debated between two men. One was a conservative named Victor Grishin. The other was **Mikhail Gorbachev**. Gorbachev's supporters praised his youth, energy, and political skills. With their backing, Gorbachev became the party's new general secretary. In choosing him, Politburo members signalled their support for mild reform in the Soviet Union. They did not realize they were unleashing a second Russian Revolution.

The Soviet people welcomed Gorbachev's election. At 54, he was the youngest Soviet leader since Stalin. Gorbachev was only a child during Stalin's ruthless purge of independent-minded party members. Unlike other Soviet leaders, Gorbachev had not needed to blindly follow Stalin's policies. He could pursue new ideas.

Glasnost Promotes Openness

Past Soviet leaders had created a totalitarian state. It rewarded silence and discouraged individuals from acting on their own. As a result, Soviet society rarely changed. Gorbachev realized that economic and social reforms could not occur without a free flow of ideas and information. In 1985, he announced a policy known as **glasnost**, or openness. He encouraged Soviet citizens to discuss ways to improve their society. Glasnost brought remarkable changes. The government allowed churches to open. It released dissidents from prison and allowed the publication of books by previously banned authors. Reporters actively investigated social problems and openly criticized government officials.

Perestroika Reforms the Economy

The new openness allowed Soviet citizens to complain publicly about economic problems. Angry consumers protested that they had to stand in long lines to buy food, soap, and other basics. Gorbachev blamed these problems on the Soviet Union's inefficient system of central planning. Under central planning, party officials told farm and factory managers how much to produce. They also told them what wages to pay, and what prices to charge. Because individuals could not increase their pay by producing more, they had little motive to improve efficiency.

In 1985, Gorbachev introduced the idea of **perestroika**, or economic restructuring. In 1986, he made changes to revive the Soviet economy. Local managers gained greater authority over their farms and factories, and people were allowed to open small private businesses. Gorbachev's goal was not to throw out communism, but to make the system more efficient and productive.

Democratization Opens the Political System

Gorbachev also knew that for the economy to thrive, the Communist Party would have to loosen its grip on Soviet society and politics. In 1987, he unveiled a third new policy called democratization. This would be a gradual opening of the political system. The plan called for the election of a new legislative body. In the past, voters had merely approved candidates who were hand-picked by the Communist Party. Now, voters could choose from a list of candidates for each office. The election produced many surprises. In several places, voters chose lesser-known candidates over powerful party bosses. Voters also elected a number of outspoken reformers.

Foreign Policy

Soviet foreign policy also changed. Gorbachev realized that the troubled Soviet economy could no longer afford

the costly arms race. He announced a "new thinking" in foreign affairs that stressed diplomacy over force. Therefore, arms control became one of Gorbachev's top priorities. In December 1987, he and President Reagan signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. This treaty banned nuclear missiles with ranges of 300 to 3,400 miles. Gorbachev's new thinking led him to urge Eastern European leaders to open up their economic and political systems. The aging Communist rulers of Eastern Europe resisted reform. However, powerful forces for democracy were building in those countries.

In the past, the threat of Soviet intervention had kept those forces in check. Now, Gorbachev was saying that the Soviet Union would not oppose reform. "Each people determines the future of its own country and chooses its own form of society," he announced. "There must be no interference from outside, no matter what the pretext."

Reforms in Poland and Hungary

Poland and Hungary were among the first countries in Eastern Europe to embrace the spirit of change. In fact, the Polish struggle for democracy had begun before Gorbachev's rise to power. In 1978, a Polish archbishop became Pope John Paul II and lent his support to the anti-communist movement. In 1980, workers at the Gdansk shipyard went on strike, demanding government recognition of their union, **Solidarity**. When millions of Poles supported the action, the government gave in to the union's demands. Union leader **Lech Walesa** became a national hero.

Solidarity Defeats Communists

The next year, however, the Polish government banned Solidarity again and declared martial law. The Communist Party quickly discovered that military rule could not revive Poland's failing economy. In the 1980s, industrial production declined, while foreign debt rose to more than \$40 billion. Frustrated shoppers endured long lines, shortages, and rising prices. Public discontent deepened as the economic crisis worsened. In August 1988, defiant workers walked off their jobs. They demanded raises and the legalization of Solidarity. Faced with Poland's worst labor unrest since 1980, the military leader, General Jaruzelski, agreed to hold talks with Solidarity leaders. In April 1989, Jaruzelski legalized Solidarity and agreed to hold Poland's first free election since the Communists took power. In elections during 1989 and 1990, Polish voters voted against Communists and overwhelmingly chose Solidarity candidates. They elected Lech Walesa president. For the first time, the people of a nation had turned a Communist regime out of office peacefully.

Hungarian Communists Disband

Inspired by the changes in Poland, Hungarian leaders also launched a sweeping reform program. To stimulate economic growth, reformers encouraged private enterprise and allowed a small stock market to operate. A new constitution permitted a multiparty system with free parliamentary elections. The pace of change grew faster when radical reformers took over a Communist Party congress in October 1989. The radicals deposed

the party's leaders and then dissolved the party itself. Here was another first: a European Communist Party had voted itself out of existence. A year later, in national elections, the nation's voters put a non-Communist government in power.

In 1994, a socialist party—largely made up of former Communists—won a majority of seats in Hungary's parliament. The socialist party and a democratic party formed a coalition, or alliance, to rule. The following year, the government sought to improve the economy by raising taxes and cutting back on government services.

Communism Falls in East Germany

While Poland and Hungary were moving toward reform, conservative leaders in East Germany stubbornly refused to accept change. East Germany's 77-year-old party boss Erich Honecker dismissed reforms as unnecessary. Then in 1989, Hungary allowed vacationing East German tourists to cross the border into Austria. From there they could travel to West Germany. Thousands of East Germans took this new escape route.

Fall of the Berlin Wall

In response, the East German government closed its borders entirely. By October 1989, huge demonstrations had broken out in cities across East Germany. The protesters demanded the right to travel freely—and later added the demand for free elections. At one point, Honecker tried to regain control by ordering the police to break up a demonstration in Leipzig. The police refused. Honecker lost his authority with the party and resigned on October 18.

The new East German leader, Egon Krenz, boldly gambled that he could restore stability by allowing people to leave East Germany. On November 9, 1989, he opened the Berlin Wall. Thousands of East Germans poured into West Berlin. The long-divided city of Berlin erupted in joyous celebration. Once-feared border guards smiled as huge crowds climbed on top of the wall to celebrate. The jubilant Berliners danced and chanted, "The wall is gone! The wall is gone!" Krenz's dramatic gamble to save communism did not work. When the public discovered evidence of widespread corruption among party leaders,

Krenz and other top officials were forced to resign in disgrace. By the end of 1989, the East German Communist Party had ceased to exist.

Germany Is Reunified

With the fall of Communism in East Germany, many Germans began to speak of **reunification**—the merging of the two Germanys. However, the movement for reunification worried many people. They feared that a united Germany would once again try to dominate Europe. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl assured world leaders that Germans had learned from the past. They were now committed to democracy and human rights. Kohl's assurances helped persuade other European nations to accept German reunification. Forty-five years after its crushing defeat in World War II, Germany was officially reunited on October 3, 1990.

Germany's Challenges

The newly united Germany faced serious problems. More than 40 years of Communist rule had left eastern Germany in ruins. Its railroads, highways, and telephone system had not been modernized since World War II. Many East German industries produced shoddy goods that could not compete in the global market. Rebuilding eastern Germany's bankrupt economy was going to be a difficult, costly process. To pay these costs, Kohl raised taxes. As taxpayers tightened their belts, workers in eastern Germany faced a second problem—unemployment. Inefficient factories closed, depriving millions of workers of their jobs.

In spite of these difficulties, German voters returned the ruling coalition of political parties to power in 1994. Kohl was re-elected chancellor. But the economic troubles continued, so in 1998, voters turned Kohl out of office and elected a new chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder of the Socialist Democratic Party. Reunification forced Germany to rethink its role in international affairs. As central Europe's largest country, Germany gained important global responsibilities. As Germany's global responsibilities grew, German leaders began to argue that the country deserved a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The Security Council is a group of 15 nations with the authority to decide UN actions. As of 2000, however, Germany had not gained membership to the body.

Democracy Spreads

Changes in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary had helped inspire reforms in East Germany. In the same way, changes in East Germany affected other Eastern European countries, including Czechoslovakia and Romania. In those countries, however, repressive governments delayed the movement toward democracy.

Czechoslovakia Reforms

While huge crowds were demanding democracy in East Germany, neighboring Czechoslovakia remained quiet. Vivid memories of the violent crackdown against the reforms of 1968 made the Czechs cautious. A conservative government led by Milos Jakes resisted all change. In October 1989, the police arrested several dissidents. Among these was the Czech playwright Vaclav Havel, a popular critic of the government. On October 28, 1989, 10,000 people gathered in Wenceslas Square in the center of Prague. They demanded democracy and freedom. Hundreds were arrested. Three weeks later, 25,000 students inspired by the fall of the Berlin Wall gathered in Prague to demand reform. Following orders from the government, the police brutally attacked the demonstrators and injured hundreds.

The government crackdown angered the Czech people. On each of the next eight days, huge crowds gathered in Wenceslas Square. They demanded an end to Communist rule. On November 24, 500,000 protesters crowded into downtown Prague. Within hours, Milos Jakes and his entire Politburo resigned. One month later, a new parliament elected Vaclav Havel president of Czechoslovakia.

Overthrow in Romania By late 1989, only Romania seemed unmoved by the calls of reform. Romania's ruthless Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu maintained a firm grip on power. His secret police enforced his orders brutally. Nevertheless, Romanians were aware of the reforms in other countries. They began a protest movement of their own.

In December, Ceausescu ordered the army to fire on demonstrators in the city of Timisoara. The army killed and wounded scores of people. The massacre in Timisoara ignited a popular uprising against Ceausescu. Within days, the army joined the people. They fought to defeat the secret police and overthrow their ruler. Shocked by the sudden collapse of his power, Ceausescu and his wife attempted to flee. They were captured, however, then hastily tried and executed on Christmas Day, 1989.

Romania held general elections in 1990 and in 1992. The government also made economic reforms to introduce elements of capitalism. At the same time, the slow pace of Gorbachev's economic reforms began to cause unrest in the Soviet Union.

37.2 Collapse of the Soviet Union

The reforms of the late 1980s brought high hopes to the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. For the first time in decades, they were free to make choices about the economic and political systems governing their lives. They soon discovered that increased freedom sometimes challenges the social order.

Unrest in the Soviet Union

As Eastern Europe gained freedom from Soviet control, various nationalities in the Soviet Union began to call for their own freedom. More than 100 ethnic groups lived in the Soviet Union. Russians were the largest, most powerful group. However, non-Russians formed a majority in the 14 Soviet republics other than Russia.

Ethnic tensions brewed beneath the surface of Soviet society. As reforms loosened central controls, unrest spread across the country. Nationalist groups in Georgia, Ukraine, and Moldavia (now Moldova) demanded self-rule. The Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia called for religious freedom.

Lithuania Defies Gorbachev

The first challenge came from the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. These republics had been independent states between the two world wars—until the Soviets annexed them in 1940. Fifty years later, in March 1990, Lithuania declared its independence. To try to force it back into the Soviet Union, Gorbachev ordered a blockade of the republic. Although Gorbachev was reluctant to use stronger measures, he feared that Lithuania's example might encourage other republics to secede. In January 1991 Soviet troops attacked unarmed civilians in Lithuania's capital. The army killed 14 and wounded more than 150.

Yeltsin Denounces Gorbachev

The bloody assault in Lithuania and the lack of real economic progress in the Soviet Union damaged Gorbachev's popularity. More and more people looked for leadership to **Boris Yeltsin**. He was a member of parliament and the former mayor of Moscow. Yeltsin criticized the crackdown in Lithuania and the slow pace of reforms. In June 1991, voters overwhelmingly chose Yeltsin to become the Russian Republic's first directly elected president. Yeltsin and Gorbachev were now on a collision course. In spite of their rivalry, they faced a common enemy in the old guard of Communist officials. Hard-liners—conservatives who opposed reform—were furious at Gorbachev. They were angry that he had given up the Soviet Union's role as the dominant force in Eastern Europe. They also feared losing their power and privileges. These officials vowed to overthrow Gorbachev and undo his reforms.

The August Coup

On August 18, 1991, the hard-liners detained Gorbachev at his vacation home on the Black Sea. They demanded his resignation as Soviet president. Early the next day, hundreds of tanks and armored vehicles rolled into Moscow. The hard-liners—who called themselves the State Committee—assumed that a show of force would ensure

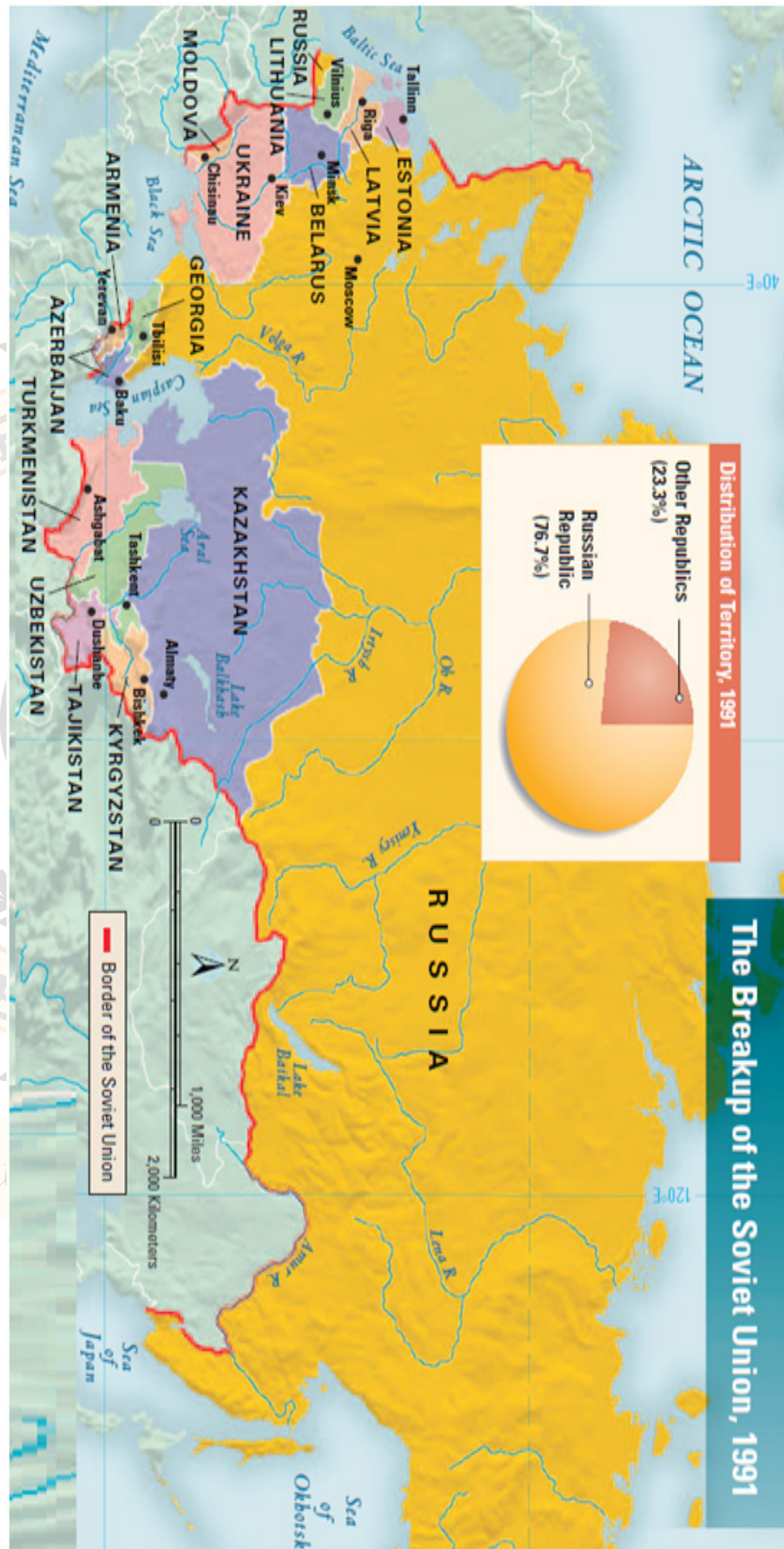
obedience. However, the Soviet people had lost their fear of the party. They were willing to defend their freedoms. Protesters gathered at the Russian parliament building, where Yeltsin had his office.

Around midday, Yeltsin emerged and climbed atop one of the tanks. As his supporters cheered, Yeltsin declared, "We proclaim all decisions and decrees of this committee to be illegal. . . . We appeal to the citizens of Russia to . . . demand a return of the country to normal constitutional developments." On August 20, the State Committee ordered troops to attack the parliament, but they refused. Their refusal turned the tide. On August 21, the military withdrew its forces from Moscow. That night, Gorbachev returned to Moscow.

End of the Soviet Union

The coup attempt sparked anger against the Communist party. Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the party. The Soviet parliament voted to stop all party activities. Having first seized power in 1917 in a coup that succeeded, the all-powerful Communist Party now collapsed because of a coup that failed. The coup also played a decisive role in accelerating the breakup of the Soviet Union. Estonia and Latvia quickly declared their independence. Other republics soon followed. Although Gorbachev pleaded for unity, no one was listening.

By early December, all 15 republics had declared independence. Yeltsin met with the leaders of other republics to chart a new course. They agreed to form the Commonwealth of Independent States, or **CIS**, a loose federation of former Soviet territories. Only the Baltic republics and Georgia refused to join. The formation of the CIS meant the death of the Soviet Union. On Christmas Day 1991, Gorbachev announced his resignation as president of the Soviet Union, a country that by then had ceased to exist.



The Yeltsin Era

As president of the large Russian Republic, Boris Yeltsin was now the most powerful figure in the CIS. He would face many problems—an ailing economy, tough political opposition, and an unpopular war.

Yeltsin Faces Problems

One of Yeltsin's goals was to reform the Russian economy. He adopted a bold plan known as "**shock therapy**," an abrupt shift to free-market economics. To eliminate government involvement in the economy, Yeltsin lowered trade barriers, removed price controls,



Boris Yeltsin

and ended subsidies to state-owned industries. Initially, the plan produced more shock than therapy. Prices soared; from 1992 to 1994, the inflation rate averaged 800 percent. Many factories dependent on government money had to cut production or shut down entirely. This forced thousands of people out of work. By 1993, most Russians were suffering severe economic hardship.

Economic problems fueled a political crisis. In October 1993, legislators opposed to Yeltsin's policies shut themselves inside the parliament building. Yeltsin ordered troops to bombard the building, forcing hundreds of rebel legislators to surrender. Many were killed. Opponents accused Yeltsin of acting like a dictator. **Chechnya Rebels** Yeltsin's troubles included war in Chechnya, a largely Muslim area in southwestern Russia. In 1991, Chechnya declared its independence, but Yeltsin denied the region's right to secede. In 1994, he ordered 40,000 Russian troops into the breakaway republic. Russian forces reduced the capital city of Grozny to rubble. News of the death and destruction sparked anger throughout Russia. With an election coming, Yeltsin sought to end the war. In August 1996, the two sides signed a peace treaty. That year, Yeltsin won re-election.

War soon broke out again between Russia and Chechnya. In 1999, as the fighting raged, Yeltsin resigned and named Russian Premier Vladimir Putin as acting president. Putin forcefully quashed the rebellion in Chechnya—a popular move that helped him win the presidential election in 2000. The nation's economic woes continue, however, and some observers wonder whether Russian democracy can survive.

Yugoslavia Falls Apart

Ethnic conflict also plagued Yugoslavia. This country, formed after World War I, had six major groups of people—Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrins. Ethnic and religious differences dating back centuries caused these groups to view each other with suspicion. After World War II, Yugoslavia became a federation of six republics. Each republic had a mixed population.

A Bloody Breakup

Josip Tito, who led Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1980, held the country together. After Tito's death, however, long-simmering ethnic resentments boiled over. Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic asserted Serbian leadership over Yugoslavia. Two republics—Slovenia and Croatia—then declared independence. In June 1991, the Serbian-led Yugoslav army invaded both republics. After months of bloody fighting, both republics freed themselves from Serbian rule. In February 1992,

Bosnia-Herzegovina joined Slovenia and Croatia in declaring independence. (In April, Serbia and Montenegro formed a new Yugoslavia. See the map below.) Bosnia's ethnically mixed population included Muslims (44 percent), Serbs (31 percent), and Croats (17 percent). While Bosnia's Muslims and Croats backed independence, Bosnian Serbs strongly opposed it. Supported by Serbia, the Bosnian Serbs launched a brutal war in March 1992.

During the war, the Serbs used murder and other forms of brutality against Bosnian Muslims living in Serb-held lands. Called **ethnic cleansing**, this policy was intended to rid Bosnia of its Muslim population. By 1995, the Serbs controlled 70 percent of Bosnia. In December of that year, the leaders of the three factions involved in the war signed a UN and U.S.-brokered peace treaty. In September 1996, Bosnians elected a three-person presidency—one leader from each ethnic group. However, the nation continues to experience unrest.

Rebellion in Kosovo

The Balkan region descended into violence and bloodshed again in 1998—this time in Kosovo, a province in southern Serbia made up almost entirely of ethnic Albanians. As an independence movement in Kosovo grew increasingly violent, Serb forces invaded the province and fought back with a harsh hand. In response to growing reports of Serb atrocities—and the failure of diplomacy to bring peace—NATO began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999. After enduring more than two months of sustained bombing, Yugoslav leaders finally withdrew their troops from Kosovo. However, the atmosphere in the region remains tense—and the future status of the province remains uncertain.



cause of this. Czechoslovakia split into two countries on January 1, 1993. Havel was elected president of the Czech Republic. He won re-election in 1998. The nations of the former Soviet bloc had made many gains. Even so, they continued to face serious obstacles to democracy. Resolving ethnic conflicts remained crucial, as did economic progress.

If the nations of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union can improve their standard of living, democracy might have a better chance to grow. In the meantime, economic reforms in Communist China sparked demands for democratic reforms.

Eastern Europe Faces Problems

Compared with Yugoslavia, the nations of Eastern Europe were relatively stable in the 1990s and did not experience widespread violence. Nevertheless, countries like Poland faced ongoing challenges.

Poland Votes Out Walesa

After becoming president in 1991, Lech Walesa tried to revive Poland's bankrupt economy. Like Boris Yeltsin, he adopted a strategy of shock therapy to move Poland toward a free market economy. As in Russia, inflation and unemployment shot up. By the mid-1990s, however, the economy was improving. Nevertheless, many Poles remained unhappy with the pace of economic progress. In the elections of 1995, they turned Walesa out of office in favor of a former Communist, Aleksandr Kwasniewski. Kwasniewski vowed to combine free market policies with greater social benefits. Despite his Communist background, it appeared that he was committed to democratic rule.

Czechoslovakia Breaks Up

In Czechoslovakia, reformers also launched an economic program based on shock therapy. The program caused a sharp rise in unemployment. It especially hurt Slovakia, the republic occupying the eastern third of Czechoslovakia. Unable to agree on economic policy, the country's two parts—Slovakia and the Czech Republic—drifted apart. In spite of President Havel's pleas for unity, a movement to split the nation gained support. Havel resigned be-

China chose its own path

The trend toward democracy around the world also affected China to a limited degree. A political reform movement arose in the late 1980s. It built on economic reforms begun earlier in the decade. China's Communist government clamped down on the reformers, however, and maintained a firm grip on power.

Mao's Unexpected Legacy

After the Communists came to power in China in 1949, Mao Zedong set out to transform China. Mao believed that peasant equality, revolutionary spirit, and hard work were all that was needed to improve the Chinese economy. For example, intensive labor could make up for the lack of tractors on the huge agricultural cooperatives that the government had created.

However, lack of modern technology damaged Chinese efforts to increase agricultural and industrial output. In addition, Mao's policies stifled economic growth. He eliminated incentives for higher production. He tried to replace family life with life in the communes. These policies took away the peasants' motive to work for the good of themselves and their families.

Facing economic disaster, some Chinese Communists talked of modernizing the economy. Accusing them of "taking the capitalist road," Mao began the Cultural Revolution to cleanse China of anti-revolutionary influences. The movement proved so destructive, however, that

it caused many Chinese to distrust party leadership. Instead of saving radical communism, the Cultural Revolution turned many people against it. In the early 1970s, China entered another moderate period under **Zhou Enlai**. Zhou had been premier since 1949. During the Cultural Revolution, he had tried to restrain the radicals.

Mao's Attempts to Change China

Mao's Programs

Program's Results

First Five-Year Plan
1953–1957

- Industry grew 15 percent a year.
- Agricultural output grew very slowly.

Great Leap Forward
1958–1962

- China suffered economic disaster—industrial declines and food shortages.
- Mao lost influence.

Cultural Revolution
1966–1976

- Mao regained influence by backing radicals.
- Purges and conflicts among leaders created economic, social, and political chaos.
- Moderates increasingly opposed radicals in Communist Party.

China and the West

Throughout the Cultural Revolution, China played almost no role in world affairs. In the early 1960s, China had split with the Soviet Union over the leadership of world communism. In addition, China displayed hostility toward the United States because of U.S. support for the government on Taiwan and memories of the Korean War.

China Opened Its Doors

China's isolation worried Zhou. He began to send out signals that he was willing to form ties to the West. In 1971, Zhou startled the world by inviting an American table tennis team to tour China. It was the first visit by an American group to China since 1949.

The visit began a new era in Chinese-American relations. In 1971, the United States reversed its policy and endorsed UN membership for the People's Republic of China. The next year President Nixon made a state visit to China. He met with Mao and Zhou. The three leaders agreed to begin cultural exchanges and a limited amount of trade. In 1979, the United States and China established formal diplomatic relations.

Economic Reform

Both Mao and Zhou died in 1976. Shortly afterward, moderates took control of the Communist Party. They jailed several of the radicals who had led the Cultural Revolution. By 1980, **Deng Xiaoping** had emerged as the most powerful leader in China. Like Mao and Zhou, Deng had survived the Long March. He was the last of the “old revolutionaries” who had ruled China since 1949.

Although a lifelong Communist, Deng boldly supported moderate economic policies. Unlike Mao, he was willing to use capitalist ideas to help China's economy. He embraced a set of goals known as the **Four Modernizations**. These called for progress in agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology. Deng launched an ambitious program of economic reforms, which he called the “Second Revolution.”

First, Deng eliminated Mao's unpopular communes and leased the land to individual farmers. The farmers paid rent by delivering a fixed quota of food to the government. They could then grow any crops they wished and sell them for a profit. Under this system, food production increased by 50 percent in the years 1978 to 1984. Deng then extended his program to industry. The government permitted small private businesses to operate. It gave the managers of large state-owned industries more freedom to set production goals. Deng also welcomed some foreign technology and investment. Deng's economic policies produced striking changes in Chinese life. As incomes increased, people began to buy appliances and televisions. Chinese youths now wore stylish clothes and listened to Western music. Gleaming hotels filled with foreign tourists symbolized China's new policy of openness.

Tiananmen Square

Deng's economic reforms produced a number of unexpected problems. As living standards improved, the gap between the rich and poor widened. Increasingly, the public believed that party officials took advantage of their positions by accepting bribes and enjoying privileges denied to others.

Furthermore, the new policies admitted not only Western investments and tourists but also Western political ideas. Increasing numbers of Chinese students studied abroad and learned about the West.



Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997)

Warned by hard-line officials that Communist values were at risk, Deng replied, "If you open the window, some flies naturally get in." In his view, the benefits of opening the economy exceeded the risks. Nevertheless, as Chinese students learned more about democracy, they began to question China's lack of political freedom.

Students Demand Democracy

In 1989, students sparked a popular uprising that stunned China's leaders. Beginning in April of that year, more than 100,000 students occupied **Tiananmen Square**. This square is a huge public space in the heart of Beijing. The students mounted a protest for democracy by chanting, "Down with corruption!" "Down with dictatorship!" and "Long live democracy!" The student protest won widespread popular support. When several thousand students began a hunger strike to highlight their cause, perhaps a million people poured into Tiananmen Square to support them. Many students now boldly called for Deng Xiaoping to resign.

Deng Orders a Crackdown

Instead of considering political reform, Deng declared martial law. He ordered more than 250,000 troops to surround Beijing. Although many students left the square after martial law was declared, about 3,000 chose to remain and continue their protest. The students revived their spirits by defiantly erecting a 33-foot statue that they named the "Goddess of Democracy." It resembled the American Statue of Liberty.

On June 4, 1989, the standoff came to an end. Thousands of heavily armed soldiers stormed Tiananmen Square. Tanks smashed through barricades and crushed the Goddess of Democracy. Soldiers sprayed gunfire into crowds of frightened students. They also attacked protesters elsewhere in Beijing. The assault killed hundreds and wounded thousands.

The attack on Tiananmen Square marked the beginning of a massive government campaign to stamp out protest. Police arrested an estimated 10,000 people. The state used the media to announce that reports of a massacre were untrue. Officials claimed that a small group of criminals had plotted against the government. After showing great restraint, officials said, the army was forced to crush a riot. Television news, however, had already broadcast the truth to the world.

China in the 1990s

The brutal repression of the pro-democracy movement left Deng firmly in control of China. During the final years of his life, Deng continued his program of economic reforms. By the mid-1990s, China's booming economy was

producing extraordinary changes. Although Deng moved out of the limelight in 1995, he remained China's unquestioned leader. In February 1997, after a long illness, Deng died. Communist Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin assumed the presidency.

China After Deng

Many questions arose after Deng's death. What kind of leader would Jiang be? Would he be able to hold onto power and ensure political stability? A highly intelligent and educated man, Jiang had served as mayor of Shanghai. He was considered skilled, flexible, and practical. However, he had no military experience. Therefore, Jiang had few allies among the generals. He also faced challenges from rivals, including hard-line officials who favored a shift away from Deng's economic policies. Other questions following Deng's death had to do with China's poor human rights record and relations with the United States. During the 1990s, the United States pressured China to release political prisoners and ensure basic rights for political opponents.

China remained hostile to such pressure. Its government continued to repress the pro-democracy movement. Nevertheless, the desire for freedom still ran through Chinese society. If China remained economically open but politically closed, tensions seemed bound to surface. As Chinese writer Liu Binyan observed in 1995, "The government Deng Xiaoping leaves behind will be the weakest in China since Communist rule began in 1949. . . . At the same time, the populace has become more difficult to rule than any other in Chinese history." In late 1997, Jiang paid a state visit to the United States. During his visit, U.S. protesters demanded more democracy in China. Jiang admitted that China had made some mistakes but refused to promise that China's policies would change.

Transfer of Hong Kong

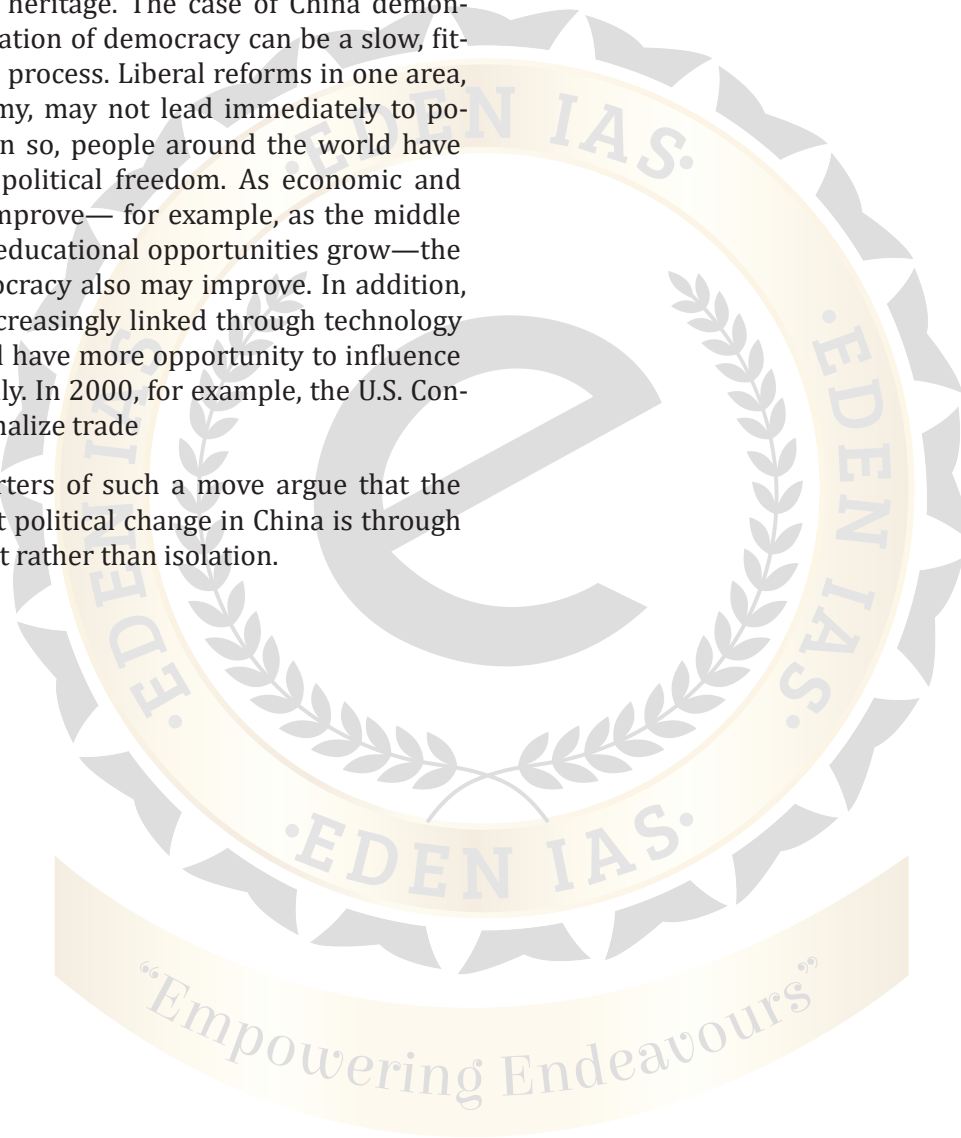


In 1997, citizens of Hong Kong held their annual candle light vigil to remember the massacre in Tiananmen Square. Many feared that the Chinese government would ban such memorials now that it controlled Hong Kong.

Another major issue for China was the status of **Hong Kong**. Hong Kong was a thriving business center and British colony on the southeastern coast of China. On July 1, 1997, Great Britain handed Hong Kong over to China, ending 155 years of colonial rule. As part of the negotiated transfer, China promised to respect Hong Kong's economic system and political liberties for 50 years. Many Hong Kong citizens worried about Chinese rule and feared the loss of their freedoms.

Others, however, saw the transfer as a way to reconnect with their Chinese heritage. The case of China demonstrates that the creation of democracy can be a slow, fitful, and incomplete process. Liberal reforms in one area, such as the economy, may not lead immediately to political reforms. Even so, people around the world have a desire for more political freedom. As economic and social conditions improve—for example, as the middle class expands and educational opportunities grow—the prospects for democracy also may improve. In addition, as countries are increasingly linked through technology and trade, they will have more opportunity to influence each other politically. In 2000, for example, the U.S. Congress voted to normalize trade

with China. Supporters of such a move argue that the best way to prompt political change in China is through greater engagement rather than isolation.



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