

The Modern World: Global History since 1760

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1. Week One**a. The Great Divide**

- Divide between the 'traditional' and 'modern age'
- How can you mark that divide?
 - Population - up to 1500 CE very limited population change. After 1750 population growth greatly speeds up.
 - Where people live - moves from concentrations in China, India and the rest of Asia to being in Europe, North America and then the rest of the world.
 - Real income - breaking the Malthusian trap.
 - The Global Europe - the spread of European commerce, ideas and military / colonial power.
 - Political revolutions - move from tribal/religious to liberal, democratic and national movements.

b. The Traditional and the Modern

- Examining the contrasts between 'traditional' and 'modern':
 - Natural energy > Manmade energy
 - Rural > Urban
 - Real income - static/subsistence > growth/surplus
 - Unstable lives/stable communities > stable lives/unstable communities
 - faith > science

c. The Great Divide - Why did it happen?

- Did the great divide happen suddenly or slowly?
- Was the great divide predetermined? Or a lucky break? Did the material conditions ensure that European development was inevitable.
- Material versus cultural factors.
- Technology - why does technology develop, why does it develop in north west Europe (e.g. England) and why do certain technologies develop?
- Variations and interactions:
 - Eurasian and elsewhere;
 - Between 1700 and 1800 - the European fringe versus the rest of Eurasia
- "Pre-existing conditions are important, but pre-existing conditions are mediated by human beings" - people solving problems.
- For example, by the 1700s the Europeans had become the pre-eminent makers of clocks. This combined with the European oceanic exploration and the problem of finding a location. The solution is a chronometer, giving them the advantage over oceanic exploration.

- **Hindsight blinds** - “everything that could have happened is cast into shadow”.

d. The World of 1760

- Dominated by the Eurasian Land Empires - Russian Empire, Manchu-Qing China, Mughal India, Safavid Empire, Ottoman Empire and Austrian-Habsburg Empire.
- Nomadic versus settled consolidated land empires.
- Expansion of discovery and world trade.

East Asia

- Ming/Manchu China is the most powerful empire in 1760.
- Ming China falls to the Manchu during this period.
- In China (e.g. Canton) and Japan (Nagasaki) Europeans are represented by trading posts.

South Asia

- Mughal influence in India is receding into the 1700s as Hindu rulers assert their power and the empire comes under attack from the north.

Middle East and Africa

- The dominant empires of this periods were the Muslim dynasties of the Ottomans and the Safavids.

Europe

- Europe is heavily fragmented with small empires centred on the Spanish Habsburgs, Austrian Habsburgs, France and England/Britain. By 1760 Prussia has also risen to become an important regional power.
- One of the key features of Europe is its far flung maritime, commercial and colonial activities. This makes them key actors in the **Atlantic World**.
- By 1760, the key centres of settlement and economic activity are on the coastal regions of both south and north America and the Caribbean islands.
- European settlement in North America is based on coasts and rivers - generally no more than 50 miles inland.
- At the beginning, silver and raw materials form the basis of colonial economic activity. By the 1700s, the centre of commercial activity is the Caribbean sugar industry.
- The dominant concentrations of slaves is in the West Indies - eclipsing that of the southern states of north America.

Africa

- Society is essentially tribal, with some large kingdoms/empires centred in Ethiopia, Ghana etc.
- The economic interaction between Africa and Europe is centred on slavery.

Europeans establish trading posts, mainly on the western edge of Africa.

e. The military revolution

- The military revolution of the 1700s benefits the powers of Eurasia, but particularly the western European powers.
- The gunpowder revolution of the 1400s/1500s.
- Cannons and artillery.
- Military engineering - advanced fortifications.
- The rise of sophisticated navies.
- Professional drilled armies - e.g. the Prussian army
- Logistics and supply.
- Problem - solution dynamic - competition amongst the European powers.
- Printing press - using the printing press to disseminate ideas on military.

f. Introverts and extroverts

- Both Western European nations and Asian powers go on voyages of discovery.
- What do they think they have found?
- How do they value what they find?
- What do they fear?
- The reactions to the interactions can be viewed as a division between *introverts* and *extroverts*.
- Chinese manufacturing capacity in the late 1600s is as advanced as in Europe.

What do they have in common?

- Industrious revolutions
- Stronger monarchs

What are the differences?

- Eastern conservatism
- China's cultural integration and subordination (e.g. Japan, Manchuria) - forced dress and hairstyles
- European geographic exploration - restless Europeans
- Europeans discovering 'God's laws'

g. The Fates of India and North America

- The British in 1756 have a centre in Calcutta (Bengal), Northern Circars (Yanam), Madras and Bombay.
- The British, Indian partners and Bengali partners fight against the local princes. Clives forces are able to win a battle based on:
 - Finance to bribe opponents;
 - Drilled and regimented.
- By the 1760s, the British have a substantial domain in India, but under the control of a private company (the British East India Company).

- Ultimately, the British state accepts responsibility for its possessions in India. Britain appoints a Governor-General and assigns military resources to support its position.
- Another battle was going on in North America, with:
 - the British settlements in the original 13 colonies;
 - French along the St Lawrence River, the Great Lakes and New Orleans;
 - Spanish in Florida.
- The British score a decisive victory against the French at Quebec on the Plains of Abraham.
- After the Seven Years War - the French are pushed out of North America.
- The British drew a Proclamation Line (1763) after which colonists didn't have to push.
- The British attempt to tighten their trade monopoly to pay for the military presence in North America.
- The colonists' problems include:
 - Land restrictions on westward expansion;
 - Trade restrictions;
 - Taxes to pay for the British Army;

2. Week Two - Democratic Revolutions of the Atlantic World (1760 - 1800)

a. The Diffusion of Authority

- Where does 'Authority' come from?
 - Knowledge?
 - Force?
 - Money?
- In the traditional world, these sources of authority are held by a religious and aristocratic elite.
- In the modern world, this is changing:
 - Knowledge - printing press and the dissemination of knowledge. For example, the French encyclopédistes.
 - Knowledge - religious knowledge is being widely shared - holy texts printed in the vernacular.
 - Knowledge - the foundation and expansion of universities.
 - Knowledge - the development of scientific method.
 - Force - the key figures in wars are artillerymen, sea captains.
 - Force - noble birth and traditional skills (swordsmanship etc.) are less important.
 - Money - lots of new sources of wealth and holders of wealth are being created.
 - Money - new trading elites and middle classes are being created.
- The result of this is that more types of people have authority.
- Rousseau - authority comes from the individual.

b. Democratic Revolutions

- The Constituted Order - an idea emerging from western Europe.

- The Constituted Order is the collection of privileges, obligations, protections, customs and traditions that gives everyone their place and position.
- For some, this might be seen as a *despotism* or *tyranny*. But this is the position when there are no protections i.e. a king imposing their will on subjects.
- The protections came from intermediaries - town or city councils, parliaments, counsels.
- Who populates the intermediaries? An aristocracy comprising of:
 - Nobles;
 - Priests;
 - Wealthy individuals - purchasing offices.
- Some of the frictions come from the King against Parliament. This could be the King claiming to act for the general welfare being opposed by the aristocracy seeking to protect their traditional liberties and rights.
- Democratic revolutions are taking place in:
 - England (English Civil War)
 - America (American War of Independence)
 - France (French Revolution - 1789)
 - Geneva (1768)
 - Sweden (early 1770s)
- Historiography of democratic revolutions - R. R. Palmer - too narrow? Too triumphal? R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959)
 - The Atlantic Civilization was swept by a 'democratic' revolution;
 - Not as we would understand it today, but a "new feeling for a kind of equality" or at least "a discomfort with older forms of social stratification and formal rank".
 - The democratic revolutions were against any established, privileged, closed or self-recruiting groups of men.
 - Citizenship - citizens as the people with rights in cities or pay taxes and thus get privileges.
 - Conflict in 1770 - 1774 in France between Louis XV and the parlements over money. Privileges restored by the "restorer of French liberty" - Louis XIV.

c. These United States

- Why are the colonists in North America unhappy?
 - Colonists feel that they are British - part of Greater Britain;
 - Colonists feel that they are entitled to the rights and customs shared by their British counterparts - the King's power balanced by parliament;
 - The London Parliament is not a suitable intermediary - the colonists look to the local assemblies and governments.
 - They are not objecting to the *level* of taxes but to the principle of where is the *authority*.
 - Philosophical objections that arise from theories on authority.
 - Common cause from the 13 colonies - the West Indies and Canada do not join in.
 - The new intermediary is created - the Continental Congress formed in 1774.

- The colonies declare themselves to be independent in 1776.
- The United States get incredibly lucky peace terms. The final peace, the Peace of Paris (1783), sees the British government wanting to make a generous peace to make common cause against the French.
- The British are removed from west of the Appalachians and south in Florida.
- The nascent United States need to have access to the outlet of New Orleans. They do this with agreements with Spain.
- In the late 1780s, the Articles of Confederation develop into a Union. The American Union in 1787 was similar to the contemporary European Union.
- The Constitution of the United States became a 'compound republic' - a republic of republics, or a federal government with limited powers over the states. The Constitution is "riddled with compromises".
- There are separated powers - pluralism by design. This is manifested by the Congress split into the Senate and House of Representatives, the President (citizen-sovereign) and the judiciary (the Supreme Court). Powers are divided so that the confederation can never become one of the "hated tyrannies".

d. Liberty and Common Sense

- Free thinking versus dogma - "liberal thinking" - opinions against the Church.
- Liberty versus tyranny - rule of law and intermediary institutions (e.g. parliaments/councils etc.)
- Liberty is not the same as democracy - it can have an uneasy relationship with democracy. Not the same as having the right to vote or be representative of the people.
- Democracy comes more to the fore with the doctrine of common sense. This arises from the pamphlet by Thomas Paine - *Common Sense*. It enjoys large circulation on both sides of the Atlantic:
 - Natural nobility of man;
 - There is wisdom in experience (e.g. the scientific method)
 - The wisdom of the many - what a lot of people sense to be right will be right - this is a move to a more democratic concept.
 - It has an uneasy relation to philosophy.

e. The French Revolution

- 1788 / 1789 - the convening of the Estates General - part of the 'constituted order' - an intermediary body to reflect the privileges and rights of France.
 - First Estate - clergy
 - Second Estate - nobles
 - Third Estate - others (other men of property)
- The Estates General is convened to raise more money. The French finances were completely out of control. Because of the experience of Louis XV, the only way to raise money was to convene the Estates General.
- The Estates General takes on a life of its own.
- Abbé Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès *What is the Third Estate (Qu'est ce que le*

tiers-état). It asks three key hypothetical questions:

- What is the Third Estate? Everything.
- What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing.
- What does it ask? To become something.
- The creation of a constitutional monarchy - Louis XVI to rule in combination with a National Constituent Assembly.
- *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens (Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen)* (1793), prepared with help of Thomas Jefferson
 - "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be based only on public utility"
 - Declaration of Independence > Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen > Bill of Rights
- Why did the system fail?
 - Finances - printing money.
 - Religion - nationalising the priesthood.
 - King - lack of a charismatic king.
 - War - powers fighting against Republican France.
 - The view of the people - the sans culottes.

f. The French Republic

- The creation of the French Republic.
- The National Constituent Assembly is removed. It is replaced by a National Convention.
- The National Convention will deal harshly with the nation's enemies.
- Enemies include aristocrats, priests who refused to sign up to serve the nation.
- Tribunals are held and lead to the summary butchering of 'enemies'. The massacre of people was immensely shocking. It is justified by the view that the terror is essential to forget the nation.
- Monism versus pluralism - the nation should speak with one voice. This will lead to unity, but it does not allow for dissent.
- The Committee of Public Safety determines who are the enemies of the people. Thousands of people are executed in the terror. Robespierre leads the defence of the nation - the nation in arms.
- You have to be on one side or the other.
- The Nation in Arms can create vast power.
- Who is Robespierre?
 - The man of necessity?
 - The symbol of tyranny?
- The Bourgeois Republic - 1794 - 1799 - the Republic is trying to steady itself.
- Replaced by the First Consul under Napoleon Bonaparte.
- Citizen sovereign - leading the new aristocracy - a new meritocracy.

g. The World's Revolution

- France is the most powerful country in the 18th century.
- France is the most influence power.

- It required people to choose sides:
 - The power of counterrevolution (e.g. the creation of the British Nation);
 - Revolution.
- Across America and in Europe people are deciding their sides. People in favour of the revolution in the USA were Republicans, led by Jefferson. Those opposed were Federalists. Republicans were labelled 'Jacobins' and 'democrats'
- And beyond - 1798 - Egypt.
- And the 1790s in India - the Sultan of Mysore.
- Spanish America.
- The New Language of Politics:
 - Left wing
 - Right wing
 - Reactionary
 - The Thermidorian Reaction
- Total War - the Vendee and Saint-Domingue (Haiti)

3. Week Three - Revolutionary Wars (1800-1830)

a. Lucky Americans

- 1796 - 1801 - the War of the Second Coalition - thinking on how to expand the theatres of war, with much focus on the Americas.
- In this period, Spanish possessions are key - stretching from California to Argentina.
- The Spanish add Florida and Louisiana to the Viceroyalty of New Spain.
- There are also British, Dutch and French colonies in the Caribbean.
- In this period, the Spanish Empire was seen as weak by the British and French.
- This is mainly due to weak government in Spain with an incompetent king (Charles IV) and an unpopular favourite (Manuel de Godoy).
- The British try to seize Saint Domingue, which is in revolt against French rule. This is led from their garrison in Jamaica. The British also try and set up a base in Buenos Aires. Both are costly failures. This sees the British shift their focus eastwards.

Imperial ambitions in the Americas

- The **Spanish** have the largest empire in the Americas, but their power is fatally compromised by:
 - weak central government in Spain; and
 - increasing opposition to colonial rule within Spanish possessions.
- The **French** had the single most lucrative colony in Saint Domingue (Dominica), but this is now convulsed in a bloody slave revolt.
- The **British** attempt to extend their power in the region by intervening in Saint Domingue and Buenos Aires. Both ventures are unsuccessful.
- Napoleon and his foreign policy advisor Talleyrand review the Americas as an attempt to create an overseas empire. France tries this in Egypt (a Mediterranean empire) and fails. They then try to revive the French power in North America (Louisiana). The French plan is to:

- create a European and Atlantic peace;
 - sign an agreement with Spain over Louisiana;
 - send a vast expeditionary force to North America to reconquer Saint Domingue and take back Louisiana.
- The key period is 1801 - 1803:
 - By 1801, a European peace is established;
 - In 1800, an agreement with Spain is reached, exchanging land in Italy (Tuscany) for the claims to Louisiana (Third Treaty of San Ildefonso);
 - Napoleon assembles the expeditionary force.
- The move shocks the United States. It has a potentially profound impact on the United States because of the geography of the expansion of the United States.
- The population of the Ohio Valley had risen by 1800. New Orleans was the key to the river trade along the Ohio River. It acted as a chokepoint on river trade.
- The US army would not be in a position to thwart the French.
- The French move fails because of Saint-Domingue.
- Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the Haitian revolt, is tricked and captured. Napoleon announces that slavery will be restored and the colonial system reimposed on Haiti.
- The free slave population of Haiti fights the expedition with everything.
- The French are defeated:
 - the frenzy of the resistance; and
 - the impact of tropical diseases such as Yellow Fever.
- What should France do? Focus on the Americas or give up? Napoleon decides to go back to war in Europe and thus swings back to focus Europe.
- This then leads to the Louisiana Purchase - the purchase of the territory formerly under Spanish rule to the United States.
- The French would prefer to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States rather than Spain.
- The impact on the future of the United States is huge:
 - population density shifts decidedly westwards;
 - the country's orientation shifts away from the Atlantic towards the continent.

b. Napoleonic Wars

- Napoleon is transforming the French Republic into a revolutionary empire.
- Napoleon is increasingly depicted as a glorious leader (see paintings by Jaques-Louis David).
- In 1804, Napoleon scraps the French Republic and creates the French Empire, with himself as Emperor.
- The Empire is reconciled with the Catholic Church.
- It is still a *revolutionary empire* with the following characteristics:
 - Napoleon as a lawgiver - the Napoleonic Code;
 - Napoleon as the Liberator - e.g. Poland;
 - Napoleon as the creator of a new aristocracy based on merit, service and

wealth.

- The Wars of the Third Coalition - these are decided on land in 1805 at the Battle of Austerlitz and at sea in the Battle of Trafalgar;
- Creates the European System against Britain;
- Napoleon invades Spain and Russia;
- Defeats in Leipzig (1814) and then Waterloo (1815) finally defeat Napoleon.
- The great victors of the Napoleonic Wars are Prussia, Russia and Austria-Hungary.
- They form a holy alliance:
 - against republics;
 - against revolutions;
 - Christian;
 - against liberalism;
- There are revolts in the post-Napoleonic period in 1820s - in Spain, Italy, Poland, Belgium, Russia, the UK (chartism and Peterloo);

c. The End of Spanish America

- In 1800, the Spanish Empire in the Americas is expansive, covering the Viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Rio de la Plata and New Grenada.
- Who is the King of Spain? Ferdinand VII or Joseph? To whom do the Spanish colonies owe allegiance?
- Because of the French invasion of Spain and the capture of King Ferdinand VII, there is little royal authority from metropolitan Spain.
- What are the issues for the Spanish Empire in 1808?
 - Colonies under royal rule from Spain;
 - Trade limitations imposed by the Spanish crown;
 - Examples and precedents of the North American colonies in the United States;
 - Ethnic identities and hierarchies:
 - Peninsulares - emigrants from Spain - make up <1%;
 - Creoles - people of pure European ancestry - 20% in New Spain;
 - Mestizos (mixed marriages with Indians) and Mulattoes (mixed marriages with Africans) - 40% in New Spain;
 - Indians and blacks - 40% in New Spain.
 - Huge emphasis placed on 'purity of blood' *Limpieza de Sangre*.
 - You could also purchase a certificate confirming purity of blood.

Colonies: To revolt or not to revolt

Cuba - reasons to remain loyal

- Cuba is highly stratified between the creoles and slaves. Cuban slave owners need Spanish troops to keep the peace;
- Strange allies - alliances to the king from the common people against the Creole elite;

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Mexico and Venezuela - conservative and liberal reasons to revolt

- Creole elites decide that they should control the independence movement e.g. in Mexico the conservative elite stand against the liberals in Spain;
- Spanish monarchy goes through another period of unrest after adopting a liberal constitution;
- Liberal minded 'liberators' in South America - the creole elite reach out to the mass of the common people and, especially, the military;
- Wars of Liberation led by charismatic creole elite - Simon Bolivar and Jose San Martin;
- The Holy Alliance is concerned about the wars of liberation - these allies consider moving into South America in 1822 - 1824 to support Spain. This movement is opposed by the UK and USA - the Monroe Doctrine espoused in 1823;
- Pan-American dream - the Latin American republics will form a republic of republics.
- By the 1820s, the entire Spanish Empire has gone except for Cuba and scattered possessions in the Caribbean.

d. New Republics and Empires in the Americas

- What happens following the victory of the liberators?
 - Empires - the Empire of Brazil and Mexico;
 - Dictatorships - Gran Colombia.
 - Breakaway states - Gran Colombia turns into Venezuela and Colombia, Uruguay breaks away from the Argentine Confederations.
 - The United Provinces of Central America break into their constituent parts.
- Authoritarian elites.
- Battles between *Centralists* and *Federalists*.
- Mexico's population centres are in the central Mexican state. California, New Mexico, Sante Fe and Texas are thinly populated.
- Texas becomes independent in 1836. Texas asks to join the United States, but has to wait for ten years until President Palk.
- President Palk presides over a war against Mexico that results in the ceding of territory from Mexico to the United States.

e. The Tipping Point - India

- The crucial period is 1799 - 1805. The pivotal battles are in 1802 to 1803.
- In 1780s, power in India is fragmented. The British have centres in Bombay, Madras and Bengal.
- The Maratha Confederacy (a Hindu confederation of rulers) dominates central and northern India;
- The remnants of the Mughal Empire survives around Delhi;
- There is a muslim state in the south of India in Mysore (Sultan of Mysore);
- British weaknesses in India:
 - plunder from the East India Company;
 - the East India Company is unprofitable;
 - impoverished territories.
- The Maratha potentates and the Sultan of Mysore have strong, European style militaries. They don't, however, have strong trading networks as these are

increasingly dominated by the British.

The Reform of British India

- One of the ways that the British outflank their native rivals is through a series of reforms at the start of the 19th century:
 - Governor-Generals from London;
 - Rule of Law - new rules of property and taxes and court system;
 - Benefits for property, taxes and justice - stability and certainty;
 - Financial capabilities of the British state in India is increased.
- The British are able to defeat their rivals. They defeat the Sultan of Mysore and struggle against the Maratha Confederacy. Why were the Marathas defeated?
 - British money to build armies and bribe rulers;
 - Disunity in the British enemies;
 - Increasing British focus on the eastern hemisphere;
 - An unplanned 'swing to the East' leads to British paramountcy in the east;
 - Upending Muslim dominance;
 - Upending Hindu traditions;

f. The World of 1830

- In Europe:
 - Yearning for peace, tradition and stability;
 - Conservatism after years of revolutionary uncertainty;
 - Renewal of devotion to monarchy and religion;
 - Emergence of mystical Christian beliefs;
 - Nationalism;
 - Romanticism in literature (Sir Walter Scott), academia and music (Beethoven);
- The rise of 'engineers':
 - Iron working versus woodworking;
 - Economic liberalism (Adam Smith *The Wealth of Nations*);
 - Opposition to slavery emerging including the British ban on slavery;
 - Political liberalism - free thinking, willingness to reform and experiment (Jeremy Bentham - a practical philosopher and utilitarianism and Benjamin Constant - trying to find a centrist consensus);
- The Modern Encirclement:
 - Bastions of tradition - the church, the royal family etc.;
 - The more liberal parts of Europe are surrounding traditional Europe;
 - The emergence of autodidacts;
 - The Pax Britannica - the peaceful oceans and the ability to trade;

4. The World Transformed (1830 - 1870)

a. The Great Divergence - Why?

- The Great Divergence is a theory put forward by Kenneth Pomeranz.
- The divergence becomes most prominent when comparing the most advanced

European powers with the most advanced independent Asian power (e.g. Britain versus China).

- The World Economy and the work put together by shows startling divergence:
 - GDP per capita - rises by 0.15% per annum in 1500 - 1820 in Western Europe and flatlines in Asia;
 - GDP per capita - rises by 0.95% per annum in 1820 - 1870 in Western Europe and falls by 0.11% in Asia;
 - Total GDP - 1500 - 1820 - Western Europe 0.41% p.a. and Asia 0.29% p.a.;
 - Total GDP - 1820 - 1870 - Western Europe 1.65% p.a. and Asia 0.03% p.a.;
 - Shares of world GDP:
 - 1500 - Western Europe 17.9%: Asia 62.1%
 - 1820 - Western Europe 23.6%: Asia 56.2%
 - 1870 - Western Europe 33.6%: Asia 36%
- Why does this happen?
 - There are many things in common:
 - Early discoveries - gunpowder, printing, mathematics etc.;
 - Manufacturies - Chinese manufacturing facilities are as advanced as in European comparators;
 - Population centres - China versus North-West Europe;
 - Strong financial capacity;
 - Development coming against common constraints - the Malthusian trap;
 - There are differences:
 - Resources:
 - trading networks;
 - the New World.
 - Technology - new methods of production.

b. Engines, Electricity, Evolution

- Steam engines - why are people building steam engines?
 - to pump water out of coal mines - all the trees have been cut down;
 - to pull apart cotton and prepare yarn - protectionist legislation has been passed to prevent import of cotton and textiles from India;
 - encouraged by business opportunities.
- Electricity
 - Alessandro Volta - creates electricity using a battery;
 - Johann Gauss - magnetism;
 - Michael Faraday and electrical generator.
 - Why are they developing this? Pure science.
- Evolution
 - Charles Darwin and scientific observation;
 - Geology and mining;
 - British Navy and the pursuit of science.
- Where are these discoveries happening and why?

- Almost exclusively in Western Europe;
- Who is paying for it? Private enterprise, public funds (royal societies and universities), private wealth;
- Cumulative discoveries and knowledge - each building on the other - enabled by:
 - Scientific community across a number of countries, especially in western Europe which is able to share knowledge.;
 - Common medium of the exchange of information - scientific papers, books, pamphlets, academies and institutions;
 - Tools for measuring discoveries;
 - Laboratories for pure science;
 - Reward and recognition for scientific discoveries.
- Why do these discoveries happen?
 - Value judgments - they care about it and society cares about it;
 - Reality judgements - availability of information;
 - Opportunity judgements - opportunity to do experiments, to have investment and interest;

c. Harnessing the New Forces

- Railroads - revolutionises the movement of cargo and passengers;
- Communications revolution:
 - Railroads;
 - Steamships;
 - Telegraphs - by 1880s, there were major routes for steamships and telegraph cables;
 - Telephones.
- Factories - machine revolution - the age of machines:
 - harnessing the power of machines and fossil fuels;
 - Horsepower comparison;
 - Power sources for a new age of industry across western Europe.

d. The New Situation

- The Market Revolution - commodities, markets, labour, finance and public improvements:
 - Flows from the transport revolution;
 - Raw materials can travel by railroads and steam ships;
 - Factories can be located further away from markets;
 - Workers can travel to factories;

- Production is massively improved by the machine revolution;
- There is therefore a revolution in how raw materials are used, bought and transported, how goods are produced and how goods are sent to market.
- One of the impacts is that the Indian domestic textile industry declines and is replaced by Indian growing raw materials (e.g. cotton and wheat).
- Financial innovation is a key development, with insurance emerging to spread the risk of movements of raw materials etc.
- Major public improvements financed by government and in part by private enterprise - much greater capacity for governments, both local and national, to raise money and spend it.
- Clothing styles become standardised - industrially made clothes from England see standardised fashions spread across the world.
- Cultural changes:
 - Enthusiasm that 'god's laws' are being revealed;
 - Broad confidence is given to society - a movement of progress and missionary zeal (both commercial, scientific and religious);
 - Proliferation of missionaries going to the less developed world - they also take education and healthcare improvements;
 - London Mission Society (e.g. Livingstone);
 - Burgeoning middle class;
 - Reading tastes of the middle classes - Charles Dickens writes about people striving to enter the middle classes (Nicholas Nickleby);
 - Queen Victoria became the standard for the era, and stood for middle class values of stability and family;
 - Consumer goods e.g. soap and detergents;
 - The rise of a distinctive working class as millions of people crowd into the cities - they become a new class of factory workers;
 - Intensification of debates on slavery - offends working classes and middle classes, offends the missionary zeal;
 - Issue of cotton produced by slaves versus desire for abolition;
 - Migration - movement of people from Europe - Ireland and Germany;
 - Migration of Chinese from China to Southeast Asia and Indian labourers to parts of the Empire.
 - Movement of people from rural areas to the cities;
 - Nightmarish images of movement of people to urban environments.

e. The Islamic World Adapts

- European structure - King - Nobles - Everyone else
- Islamic structure - Ruler / military - learned / religious elite - Everyone else
- In the Islamic world, the role of government is more limited.
- Most facets of everyday life remain highly stable because of the continuity of the religious elites.
- Islam is not a static or decaying force in the 17th/18th history.
- New ideas come into the Islamic world:
 - Sunni;

- Shi'a;
- Sufism - veneration of senior figures, dancing, ecstatic rituals, brotherhoods and evangelical - into Indonesia and East and West Africa;
- Wahhabism - an ascetic movement in the Arabian peninsula aiming to return Islam to its roots.
- The main power in the Islamic world is the Ottoman Empire. However, in Arabia, the Wahhabist movement pushes out Ottoman influence.
- Egypt revives in this period under Muhammad Ali - develops strong military and state, commerce based on Egyptian cotton.
- Egypt dominates the Red Sea and the Levant.
- European powers do not want the Ottoman Empire to collapse - the Ottoman Empire is a bulwark against other European powers.
- Britain and French intervene against the Egyptians (1839 - 1841)
- Development of the Suez Canal.
- Tanzimat - the reform of the Ottoman Empire.
- Moving towards the creation of a constitution, parliament and extending civil rights - under Sultan Abdul Hamid.
- The dynasty adapts enough to be able to cope.
- Africa is beginning to be carved up between European powers, but is mainly ruled by traditional rulers.
- Europeans become able to penetrate the interior of Africa thanks to steamships, railroads and medical discoveries and pharmaceuticals.

f. Breaking open China and Japan

The Pacific World

- Europe and the United States starts to focus on the Pacific.
- There is a turning point in the American conscious in 1840, and that the Americans start to see it as crucial that they control the Pacific coast.
- In the 1840s, the USA succeeds in its claim for first Oregon and then over California down to San Diego after the first Mexican War.
- Thousands of people start making their way to the gold fields via San Francisco.
- The British had decided not to attempt to colonise California.
- The British moved into the 'Sandwich Islands', what is now Hawaii.

South East Asia

- The key to the Pacific Ocean from the Indian Ocean is through the Straits of Malacca and the Sunda Straits.
- The British and the Dutch have key possessions in South East Asia - the Dutch are expanding their possessions around the East Indies (modern day Indonesia).
- The Spanish are in the Philippines.
- In this period there is an independent Vietnam and Siam.

Chinese markets, western powers and the Opium Wars

- The Opium War and the market revolution.

- One of the historic centres of opium production is India.
- The British want Chinese tea and the Chinese want silver for it.
- The British decide to expand the Chinese market for opium. The British can supply opium from India to China and then trade tea - a profitable trade for the British East India Company.
- There is a series of raids on China from the western powers and force the Chinese authorities to permit trading outposts from the western powers.
- These are battles waged by navies and intended to break open Chinese trade.
- The foreigners are centred on trading centres at Hong Kong, Shanghai, Fuzhou and then ports along the Yangtze River and finally along the Yellow River (Tientsin leading to Peking (Beijing)).
- The British demand extraterritoriality and the protection of their nationals and then over the whole trading centres.
- In the 1860, a western mission moves to take Peking and burnt the Summer Palace.

Japan and the west

- Commodore Perry moves to open Japan.
- The Japanese decide not to fight the western powers but rather to learn from them and allow trade.

5. Week Five - The Rise of National Industrial States (1830-1871)

a. To Build a Nation

- In the traditional world, life is:
 - Extremely local;
 - People identify themselves in relation to the land, locality, language, family, clan or tribe;
 - Very local languages - dozens of different languages in a country such as France; even by 1870 half of the recruits into the French army do not speak French as their first language.
- How is this changing in the modern world?
 - People are travelling - dislocated local communities;
 - Enlarged communities - news and circulation of people from larger areas;
 - Who are we? What binds us together? A common nation - with common languages, common history, common folklore etc.;
 - The creation of a national culture - a deliberate plan to forge a national culture.
- Who is a rival in the formation of a national culture?
 - State versus church - *kulturkampf*;
 - Control of education;
 - Build up of universities;
 - Public schools.

- The state wants more people to be literate - to be better workers AND to teach them the common language and culture.
- What helps in forging the national culture?
 - The press - spreading the news;
 - Postal systems - the principal duty of the USPS is to deliver newspapers;
 - Railroads and telegraph;
 - The English Model - the 'Times of London' - mass circulation and a newspaper of record;
 - Allows people who can serve the nation - national service:
 - Post offices;
 - Mail delivery;
 - Postings - e.g. colonial postings.
 - Teacher training;
 - Uniforms.
 - Manifest Destiny and common national communities.
- Attempts to group people in confederations breaks down in 1860s
 - Italian states - the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Papal States, Piedmont, Grand Duchy of Tuscany, Austrian Empire - all swept away in the *risorgimento*;
 - Unified under Piedmont and Italy is formally created to 1870.
 - German states - Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover etc. - the Confederation of German States is taken over by the Prussian states (i.e. the northern German states). They ally with the southern German states to fight against France;
 - As a result of the Austro-Prussian War and the Franco-Prussian War, the German Empire is proclaimed under the Hohenzollern King of Prussia as the Emperor of Germany;
 - Another attempt to wrench the confederation is in the United States of America leading to the US Civil War in the 1860s.
- Can the United States hold together under slavery?
 - The Republicans say that it cannot extend beyond the common boundaries;
 - The slave states refuse to live in these confines;
 - Global forces play a big part in there being a civil war at all - slave states grow cotton as the leading commodity in the world economy. If the southern states secede, they'll take these valuable trade products.

b. The Global and the Local

- How are global forces interacting with local situations?
- The global forces create a load of new situations, but impacting at a distance because of the travel delays:

- local choices;
 - lack of control or direction from the centre.
- The middle of the nineteenth century this should not be seen as an Imperial age. There are exceptions - the new French Empire (the Second Empire) in Africa, Asia and the Americas.
- The other powers are not, however, pursuing grand imperial plans in the 1850s and 1860s. Instead, they are consolidating their possessions and positions.
- The 'man on the spot' has a lot of power both in regions in Europe and across colonial possessions. Local people have a lot of decisions in terms of how they interact with the global forces.
- A *comprodor* (買辦, mǎibàn; or 江擺渡, jiāngbǎidù; or 康白度, kāngbǎidù) is a Chinese merchant who runs a lot of the trade on behalf of the Europeans.
- Issues of what is happening in the settlor colonies - Australian settlers and the move across to New Zealand and the wars with the Maori.
- British sea officer to make a colony in California but this is turned down by the government of Lord Aberdeen.
- The King of Siam has adapted to and adopted European influences. Siam retains its independence.
- Case 1 - local opposition to the Europeans
- Case 2 - local compromise and adaptation to the Europeans
- Case 3 - uprisings

Case Study 1, 2 and 3 - The Anglo-India conglomerate:

- commercial
 - financial
 - military - the native Indian army is larger than the European army
- The partnership is coming under a lot of strain leading to the Indian Mutiny. Centred on the greasing of pig or cow fat on the bullets that the soldiers.
- The centre of the civil war is centred on the historic Mughal territory centred on Delhi. It encompasses both Muslim and Hindu fighters.
- Siege of Lucknow.
- The uprising was put down with particular brutality - been blown from cannons. British rule becomes more centralised and controlled by the state rather than the East India Company.

Case study 1, 2 and 3 - China

- In China, the Qing are still in control. A new emperor, the Xienfeng emperor. European penetration into Chinese markets are now breaking into the empire from both sea and river ports.
- The foreigners come into contact with a population that is suffering from Malthusian decline. Into this mix comes a charismatic leader - Hong Xiuquan.
- He turns the Christian gospel into his own religious thinking. This fuses Chinese and Western thought. He declared himself the Tian Wang - the 'heavenly king' and leads the Taiping Rebellion.
- By 1861, the rebels control a huge area of China including the key centres of the Yangtse River and cities such as Nanjing, Nanchang, Wuhan, Shanghai and Hangzhou. The revolt is centred on places where the foreign penetration was highest.
- Initial foreign support soured when the unorthodox reality of the Tiejing became clear.
- The Qing deals with the rebellion by making an alliance with the foreigners. The result is a savage put down resulting in millions of deaths.
- Self-strengthening movement comes to the fore with Zeng Ghofong and Li Hongzhang. The Chinese military is strengthens and modernised.

Case study 2 - Japan

- The Meiji dynasty overthrows the Tokugawa Shogunate and restores the power of the Emperor. This results in a revolution led from the top. This will see European ideas and technologies imposed.
- This is opposed by a number of traditional forces in Japanese society. Fukuzawa Yukichi is interested in new ideas and technology. Fukuzawa wants to bridge developments with traditional Japanese ways. Fukuzawa founds some of the first newspapers and Keio University.
- Japan is modernised in lightening speed, with manufacturing centres in Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka and the spread of the railways across the country.

The United States

- The United States become a clash for ideas - can a federal republic work? The outcome of the civil war is crucial:
 - triumph of the nation state

- triumph of liberalism
- eradication of slavery

c. The Zenith of Liberalism

- What did liberalism mean in the mid-nineteenth century? The open-minded pursuit of progress. It is developing from:
 - the commercial revolution;
 - the social revolution;
 - the technological revolution;
 - turning away from the traditional.
- The triumph of liberalism is demonstrated by:
 - The victory of the Union forces in the United States, which is increasingly seen as a single nation state rather than a collection of states;
 - Slavery is abolished in the entire United States by constitutional amendment;
 - Reversals for the Catholic Church and the Pope:
 - creation of Italy and the destruction of the Papal States;
 - confining of the Papacy to the Vatican City;
 - uneasy relationship with French third republic;
 - battle with the German Empire on control of education in the *Kulturkampf*.
 - The overthrow of the French Second Empire and the creation of the Third Republic;
 - First Republic > First Empire > Monarchy > Second Republic > Second Empire > Third Republic
 - Revolt of the Paris Commune with the Communards attacking the Catholic Church and symbols of tradition and the old regime;
 - Practice of serfdom that is abolished by the Russian Empire in the Emancipation Reform of 1861 under Tsar Alexander II.
 - The Great Emancipators - Tsar Alexander II and Lincoln.
- British reforms as the home of liberalism
 - Reform bills - 1832 and 1867;
 - Gladstone attacking Turkish misrule, drink, House of Lords, Welsh Church.
 - Charles Darwin and *On The Creation of Species*, published in 1859.
- By the 1860s, there is a sense in the Western World that there is a new consensus - open minded, forward thinking, liberal.
- It is seen in the triumph of "constitutionalism";
- By 1871, there are only three states left in Europe that do not have constitutions.

d. A Liberal Rainbow

- Liberals are:
 - against tyrannies;
 - against mob rule (e.g. the Commune of Paris);
 - against civil insurrection and violence;
 - the people in the centre between the tyrannies and despots on the right and the anarchy of the revolutionaries of the left.
 - They tend to align themselves with the people of property;
 - In favour of education and literacy.
- Economic beliefs - economic beliefs are tied in with political views:
 - against too much regulation in state regulations;
 - Adam Smith's views on government in the Wealth of Nations:

“Little else is requisite to carry a state to the highest degree of opulence from the lowest barbarism, but peace, easy taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice; all the rest being brought about by the natural course of things”
 - against state monopolies;
 - against state control of trade;
 - in favour of free trade and a light hand in commerce (*laissez-faire*);
 - in favour of the creation of associations, co-operatives, parties etc. (the Rochdale Pioneers);
 - Farmers' societies and co-operatives - The Grange.
- Liberal beliefs in religion:
 - Freedom of conscience;
 - Disestablishment of established churches;
 - Rights of women.

e. Enemies of Liberalism

- The story of the opposition of liberalism - conservatism, nationalism,
- Tsar Alexander III as an iconic ruler opposed to liberalism.
- Ideas versus Ideology - ideas become ideologies when those ideas are turned into a system of beliefs - a collection of ideas that are grouped together. An ideology will feature a doctrine.
- The second half of the nineteenth century witnesses the formation of the key ideologies that are still key to understanding the world.

Why does this happen?

- Rise of the popular press - newspapers are cheaper and more appealing to a broader group of people - popular press and mass circulation;
- Rise of mass education and the expansion of literacy;

- Rise of 'mass narratives for judgments':
 - what is going on?
 - what should you **care** about - what value judgements do you want them to know?
 - what should you **do** about it - what action judgements should you have?
- Enemies - it is easier for people to unite about the things that they dislike - fears, concerns and problems that allow politicians to rally people;

Sectarian liberalism - what is a liberal?

- In favour of the private sector and businessmen;
- In favour of the nation and the national state;
- Interested in corporations and the development of larger businesses;
- Against 'priestcraft' - against religion in government;
- Against protectionism - against the Corn Law - Anti-Corn Law League;
- In favour of free trade;

Social democracy as another branch of liberalism

- Anti-clerical;
- Free thinking;
- For the group, not the individual;
- Opposed to ideas that do not lead to improvement in the conditions of the lower classes;
- Materialism - the concern for the real material situation of the working classes;
- Develops into Marxism.

- Splintering of liberalism - individualism versus welfare of the group

Renewing conservatism

- Conservatives appropriate the symbols of the national state;
- Conservatism approves of and develops traditionalism;
- Opposed to mere materialism - Richard Wagner;
- Focused on the monarchy, nobility, clergy and army - the traditional upholders of the state;
- The Catholic counter-attack - led by Pope Leo XIII - focus on the plight of the working class and to have social catholicism and social christianity;
- Who is "the nation"? Who is a true Frenchman? Who is a real American?
- Leads to debates about immigration;
- Leads to a fervour in France with the Dreyfus Affair - Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards;
- Darwinianism applied to politics.

Social Darwinism and the new nationalism

- Nations and societies are locked in a struggle for survival - the survival of the fittest;
- Applied by:

- Friedrich Nietzsche - the will to power (1883);
- Thomas Carlyle in the "rule by the hero, the man of action"; and
- Sir James Fitzjames Stephen versus J. S. Mill - force is required to protect civilisation - strong public order;
- In the political economy - free trade is opposed by Germany and the USA etc. Britain remains one of the last powers supporting free trade.
- This leads to the requirement for empire and imperial expansion;
- National industrial economic empires.

Fertile soils

- The events of 1859 -1878
- Russo-Ottoman War and the Congress of Berlin;
- US Civil War;
- Forging the German Empire;
- Triumph of 'blood and iron';
- Nationalism becomes a mass ideology, with participation by ordinary people in organisations such as the:
 - Primrose League;
 - League of Patriots;
 - Colonial Society - in favour of greater colonial and imperial expansion;
 - Pan-German League;
 - Navy League - dedicated to improving the strength of the national navy;
 - National Liberals;
 - Liberal Unionists.
- Growth of pseudo-scientific beliefs - racial divide promoted by scientific theories.
- Races compared to national groups - the Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Irish race;
- Concerns arise about 'purity of blood' and immigration;
- Emergency of the 'pan-movements' - pan-Slavism, pan-Asian movement etc.
- In the United States, there are some key decisions to make about race and nationalism - national union versus racial ideas;
- This leads to reunion and 're-enslavement' - the so-called Jim Crow Laws (Ku Klux Klan and lynching).

6. The Rise of National Industrial Empires (1871 - 1900)

a. The Age of Imperialism

- Growth of global empires is receding at the end of the 1860s - this is not a linear story;
- Growth of global empires is episodic and spasmodic;
- Why does the age of imperialism revive?

Why was there a pause?

- Rise of British liberalism - William Gladstone;
- View that Britain was overstretched overseas;
- Rise of dominion status - governing their own affairs in Canada, Australia, South

Africa and New Zealand;

- France's imperial growth in North Africa and Indochina pauses as France goes through
- Germany - satisfied with the balance of power and not looking for imperial conquest in the 1870s.

Why was this followed by a flood?

- Power:
 - Technology:
 - breechloading rifles and repeat fire rifles
 - machine gun - end of the 1800s;
 - artillery;
 - steamships;
 - communications - telegraph and railways;
 - Asymmetry - the modern armies and navies are so far advanced that they are able to exact so much more damage than less well advanced rivals;
- Identity - status and survival;
- Markets and fear of losing out under a protectionist future - if you don't get into the imperial race you could lose everything;
- Competition in navies;
- Moral and religious duty - the sense of the civilising duty e.g. in British India (banning sati, banning and wiping out slavery, spreading Christianity);
- Mass culture - adventure and manliness;

b. Tipping Points

British occupation in Egypt

- The Ottoman Empire was becoming known as the 'sick man of Europe';
- The Ottoman Empire had to borrow from European banks and increasingly had difficulty paying back;
- The Ottoman Empire is a multinational and multiethnic empire under Sultan Abdulhamid II;
- Balkan peoples are breaking loose - Serbia and Bulgaria;
- Egypt is struggling with debts - there were boom years when cotton exports replaced those lost from America;
- When American cotton came back, Egypt went bust;
- The French and British step in to take control of the Egyptian treasury to ensure they can pay back European loans;
- Egyptians push back and put in charge a local - Colonel Arabi Pasha
- Egyptians riot in Alexandria and foreigners are killed;
- Britain takes a more active role under William Gladstone - going counter to his natural Liberal political beliefs;
- One of the key reasons for this is the importance of the Suez Canal and the links to India;
- The British decide they need to temporarily occupy Egypt - a protectorate that lasts for decades;

- This embroils Britain in further issues - e.g. Sudan - General Gordon and Khartoum;
- Britain ends up in periodic wars with the Mahdi and ends up taking over Sudan.

International conference on Africa

- The Congo River basin is being opened up to Europeans;
- The Germans call a conference (the Berlin Conference) to determine what will happen to Africa.
- The Conference is intended to protect locals from exploitation by the Europeans.
- The Conference powers have four choices:
 - Destroy the locals;
 - Protect the locals;
 - Treat them as your subjects or slaves;
 - Assimilate them (as equals?).
- The tribes in the Congo are not organised enough to be represented at the Conference - the European powers take the role.
- The option that the conference adopts is to protect the locals - some government has to protect the 'sanctuary' from 'predators';
- Congo Free State - King Leopold of the Belgians - Belgium was a neutral, peaceful country and it was assumed that King Leopold II would be a model monarch like King Leopold I;
- Instead, it becomes a private domain for the King.
- Instead of becoming a protected area, the area is plundered.

Scramble for Africa

- All the territory in Africa with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia become European colonies of:
 - Britain;
 - Italy;
 - Germany;
 - Portugal;
 - Spain; and
 - France.

c. Varieties of Imperialism

National variations on an old theme

- Racial and national prejudices;
- Search for plunder - German colonies and Congo Free State;
- Settler colonialism - Europeans coming to new lands to settle new imperial domains in central Asia, Africa, Australia etc.;

Imperialism of Free Trade

- Robinson and Gallagher;
- No master design for the British Empire;
- No necessary push for formal control of territory;
- Episodic and opportunistic;
- The British government is pursuing free trade opportunities;
- Stumbled into in a fit of absence of mind.

Liberal imperialism

- Important in Britain, France and the United States;
- The United States follow into colonialism in the 1890s;
- These countries have a 'civilizing mission';
- The US debate over acquiring colonies reaches its fever pitch in 1898 and 1899;
- The 'White Man's burden';
- One of the biggest sources of anti-imperialism in the United States is racial prejudice;
- Legal systems - law and order;
- Protection - for people suffering from the predatory impact of warring tribes or other powers;

Anti-imperialism

- Anti-imperialism came from socialism;
- Even the socialist Second International had a hierarchy with European socialists at the top.

Imperial partnerships

- Ruling elite > Subjects
- Intermediaries - aristocrats, scholar-gentry (China), learned imams (Islam);
- Ruling imperial elite **and** colonial elite > subjects;
- The colonial elite includes:
 - historical elites (e.g. feudal Indian princes);
 - new elites from the old aristocracy;
 - elevate non-Muslims in Mughal dominated Bengal;
 - dominions in the 'white' dominions.
- 1877 - the Delhi Durbar

d. China in the Balance

- In the 1880s and 1890s, Africa was carved up by the imperial powers.
- China was also threatened with a similar fate at the end of the nineteenth century.
- Why was China in the balance in this period?
 - War between China and Japan in 1894;
 - Japanese win - using technological advantages to defeat their Chinese adversaries;
 - The crisis showed up some of the weaknesses in the Qing Empire:
 - Lack of modernisation and development;

- Court intrigues with the Dowager Empress;
- Decadence.
- Japan makes territorial claims on Chinese territory, which sparks of claims from the colonial powers.

Colonial position in East Asia in 1890

- The British have moved into Burma, Malaysia and British New Guinea;
- The French have French Indochina;
- The Americans have taken the Spanish colony of the Philippines. After their victory over the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay they have three options:
 - hand them back to Spain;
 - hand them to the locals;
 - take control.
- The Dutch have expanded their control over the Indonesian islands;
- The Japanese have extended control over Taiwan and parts of northern China.
- By 1890, the whole region has been divided into various colonial powers.

China in 1890

- The wealth creating areas of China were in the south-east, the Yangtse River Valley, Yellow River Valley, Beijing and Manchuria;
- Japanese claims spark competing claims from the other imperial powers:
 - Tsingtao (Germany);
 - Wei-hai-wei (Britain);
 - Port Arthur (Russia);
- Russia extends claims in Pacific-Asia - over the Trans-Siberian Railway and in pursuit of a warm water port.

How do the Chinese protect themselves

- Strengthen themselves;
- Play the 'barbarians' against themselves;
- Who are the Chinese? Manchu court? Other nobles (Yangtze Nobles)? Warlords? Revolutionaries?;

What do foreigners think should happen to China?

- Deliberate expansion (Russian policy):
 - work in political partnership with factions in China;
 - have military dominance in Chinese territory;
 - have effective control of ports, railroads
 - have effective control of public finances; and
 - oppose the intervention of any other foreigners.
- Passive open door (British policy):

- Commercial access for all;
 - Protect the security for people and assets;
 - Don't oppose expansion but don't join in - simply ensure you are not disadvantaged;
 - Salisbury speech - the dying nations of the world
- Active open door (US policy):
 - Commercial access for all;
 - Protect the security for people and assets;
 - Oppose the expansion by others - support the territorial integrity of China;
 - Strengthen China
 - The USA is not strong enough to win out in a conflict with stronger imperial powers at this time;
 - Have a hedge position in case this policy fails.
- Active partition (Germany and France):
 - Deploy troops on the ground and ensure your strategic position in China;
 - Seek bases from which to exercise military control;
 - Seek advanced agreement with key rivals over a carve up of China;
 - See political cartoons and map of China for how this was seen, especially in European countries (the allegory of the 'Yellow Peril').

The Boxer Rebellion

- Popular uprising against the foreigners in the north of China;
- Another drought in China and plenty of peasants in desperate conditions;
- Churches, missionaries and Chinese Christians;
- Ends up in the death of hundreds of westerners and thousands of Chinese;
- The Chinese are divided;
- Eventually, the Dowager Empress sides with the Boxer Rebels and declares war on the foreign powers;
- The Qing Empire works with the foreign powers to besiege the foreign legations in Peking;
- All communication is cut off for eight weeks. The foreign legations hold out for eight weeks;
- An international relief force is put together to save the legations and relieve the Siege of Peking;
- The Yangtse Nobles are working with the British and Americans;
- The Siege of Peking is lifted and the Qing court flees to the interior.

Postwar settlement

- The United States causes a pause over carving up China;
- President McKinley gives an order to pull all American troops in China;
- Russia moves to expand its territorial possessions;
- Anglo-German discussions on China end in fiasco;

- Japan reaches out for allies and the British and Japanese form an understanding which leads to an alliance and ultimately the Russo-Japanese War;
- China manages to get through the crisis without being carved up - it maintains sovereignty albeit it is weakened.

How does China survive?

- There are prospects of reform - constructive voices;
- Confusion and division amongst the foreign powers - especially the position of the United States;
- Rivalry between the foreign powers;
- Understanding between Japan and Britain which leads to Russia's claims being slowed down.

e. The Wave Breaks

- Local powers that had retained independence have caught up with European military technology:
 - Italy versus Abyssinia (Ethiopia) - Italy is defeated;
 - Britain versus Boers/Afrikaners - Cape Colony versus Orange Free State and Transvaal;
- The American experience in the Philippines soured the USA's appetite for colonialism. The Philippines fought for independence and the war dragged out.
- This results in the desire for colonialism in the USA diminishing - the USA refuses an opportunity to take over the Dominican Republic;
- America tries to work with Philippine elites to make its colonial adventure work;
- Rise in revulsion over imperialism in the popular press and in fiction (King Leopold's Soliloquy by Mark Twain and Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness);

Liberal critique of imperialism

- Harder to sustain the argument that local peoples shouldn't be able to rule themselves;
- Local liberals form ideals for the nation states with public education - taken over and run by local people e.g. Indians in the Indian National Congress;
- Decaying dynasties e.g. Russia, China etc. Should these be replaced by republics?
- A radical critique - global imperialism is a systemic, worldwide problem. José Rizal and solidarity with worldwide struggles for independence. J A Hobson argues that imperialism is a product of the global capital system (Imperialism: A Study).
- Hobson is influential for people such as Lenin;
- Pan-responses - solidarity between peoples e.g. Pan-Slavism, Pan-Asian movement, Pan-Islamic movement.
- Not only anti-imperialist, but counter-imperial e.g. Japanese as the leaders of a Pan-Asian federation.

7. The Great Acceleration (1890 - 1910)

a. The Second Industrial Revolution

- The first industrial revolution is characterised by steam engines - textiles and the first factories, steamships and railways.
- The second industrial revolution is characterised by chemistry, electricity, internal combustion engines, use of petroleum etc.
- The second industrial revolution is also characterised by machine made machines.
- Realisation of how powerful chemistry can be - chemistry is being developed by large companies and encouraged by states. Examples include:
 - Quinine - effective treatment of Malaria allows the exploration of Africa;
 - Aspirin - developed by German chemists;
 - Coca-Cola - requires carbonated water - needs containers of pressurised carbon dioxide and refrigeration;
 - Chemical explosives - creation of explosives vastly more powerful than gunpowder - dynamite and TNT etc;
 - X-Ray - discovered in Germany but turned into a business in the United States.
- Electric power is a key element of the second industrial revolution - this sees the generation of electricity and using it as a power source;
- Internal combustion engine - enclosing the combustion process in an internal engine. This empowers an engine in a much smaller space - this leads to the age of the oil-fueled engines and leads to automobiles and ultimately flight;
- There are new players:
 - Germany;
 - United States;
 - Japan;
 - Role-players in the tropics - enormous demand for commodities e.g. Brazil (Rubber), mining (Australia, Chile) and oil (Iran, Iraq).
- This is the age of urbanisation in the west. Chicago shifts from being a frontier town to a major metropolis in the space of a few decades. For the first time in human history 40 - 50% of the people in the west are living in cities. In Britain, the percentage is 60 - 70%.
- This requires new institutions:
 - Public institutions - roads, police, water, sewerage, rubbish removal. civil government and incorporation, hospitals, public transport - trams, underground and elevated trains.
 - Civil engineering
 - Private institutions - corporations e.g. Standard Oil Company, General Electric, GEC, ICI, Siemens, AG Farben etc.

b. Modern Capitalism

- What is the difference between 'traditional' capitalism and 'modern' capitalism?
 - Money; and
 - Organisation.
- Money was traditionally based on coins - the system of currency was based on what was physically in circulation.

- In this period, money would become standardised.
- In the 1870s, the Gold Standard would become the dominant means of exchange. This was used by Britain, France, Germany and the USA.
- There is stability in the system as all money is linked to a fixed amount of gold.
- Transactions across borders become much more standardised.
- There is the rise of international finance - massive investments from the industrialised companies in overseas ventures - railways, agricultural developments and mining etc.
- A complicated network of international finance emerges - insurance, exchange.
- The gold standard is helped by the discovery of more gold fields in South Africa, Alaska and Australia.

Growth in World Trade

- Huge rise in commodities and commodification - making places like Argentina one of the richest places in the world in the early 20th century.
- The seas are safe - the Pax Britannica over the oceans.
- The development of larger, faster and more reliable / safe ships - they can carry more cargo than before. By the end of this period, freighters are displacing 10,000 tons - ten times more than the average size 20 years ago.
- Free trade - though, by this period, this is being challenged by protectionism and tariff barriers. Only Britain is championing free trade and even here, many people are arguing for tariff protections (e.g. Joseph Chamberlain).

Building an industrial society

- Rise of corporations - the rise of limited liability and creation of corporate legal personality.
- The development of corporations requires:
 - Managers;
 - Professionals - engineers, lawyers, accountants, doctors, bankers, scientists etc.
- The modern office;
- The factory and the rise of the assembly line and mass production;
- Organisation of labour into trade unions and rise of confrontation between labour and capital.

c. The Dynamo and the Virgin

- Henry Adams - scion of the Boston elite (descendant of John Adams and John Quincy Adams) - develops a series of essays on political and philosophical life.
- His comparison between the modern world (symbolised by the dynamo) and the traditional world (the Virgin Mary) is developed in his essay 'The Dynamo and the Virgin'.
- He looks at forces - he sees the forces that brought people together in each age to complete a wonder. He compares Chartres Cathedral with the Chicago Exhibition - the forces that led to this are a shared faith (the Virgin) and the dynamo - a symbol of infinity and a moral force with the power of imbuing and almost religious

reverence.

d. Modern Nation-States

What the state can do:

- Vastly more capable:
 - communication capabilities;
 - organisational capabilities;
- Demands from their citizens - standards, social security, education, upholding the rule of law.

What is the modern nation state?

- Becoming much larger and more important:
 - Military power - the state in uniform;
 - Commercial power - the role of the state in trade - building the infrastructure for trade - coaling stations, naval control, ports, mines, railways;
 - National services - education, police, social insurance.
- What and who the State represents:
 - Culture wars - heroes versus bourgeoisie;
 - Beliefs and ideals.
 - What language to people speak?
- In this period - politics **matters** - people start to think about things in national or 'statish'. Seeing things like a state.
- The character of the state **matters** - is it pro-business? Free trade? Interventionist?
- Tensions in the period include:
 - Local / National;
 - Imperial / Home.

e. Revolutionary Nation-States

- "All the modern nation states are revolutionary" - this is because inertia in this era of change is not an option.
- All states feel that they have to 'do something' - even the conservative nations and parties are activist and pro-change;
- Modern states do not feel they can avoid developments and demands such as railroads, education, expansion of the state etc.
- One of the results of this period is the development of mass parties - the creation of political parties that have millions of members - between 1870s - 1890s (although this happens much earlier in the United States);
- States have one fundamental question to answer in this period: **how will we organise modern industrial societies.**
- Argument that there is a new Hundred Years' War between 1890 and 1990 - the clash of ideologies over how industrial societies should be organised.

Barcelona

- Barcelona is a major city in Spain;
- It is the capital of the Catalan region;
- Tension between nation (Spain) and region (Catalunya);
- Tension between industrial (Barcelona) and agricultural (Spanish Empire);
- Imperial policy - Spanish Empire and the production of Cuban cotton and protectionism;
- By 1890s, the modern Spanish state is encroaching on the economy and society of Barcelona;
- Tension between traditional Spanish culture and the modern / revolutionary culture in Barcelona (e.g. *modernisma* - Pablo Picasso);
- Attraction of anarchism and alienation of workers and intellectuals from the nation state and local government.
 - Six different heads of state are assassinated in the early 20th century;
 - Retaliation of the nation state against anarchists;
 - Rise in industrial unrest across the developed world.

The emerging Hundred Years' War

- The major issues return home;
- How to manage chronic tension between different groups in society.

f. Battle Lines

Five basic sets of political movements in the period 1890 - 1910

- Upholding national tradition:
 - national, ethnic or racial values;
 - in favour of a specific religion;
 - concerned about the purity of society / race / nation;
 - in favour of personified order and authority - in this period, that means supporting the Monarchy;
 - in favour of institutionalised order and authority - in this period, that means supporting the Army;
 - support having an empire for power and profit;
 - against social revolutionaries;
 - gain support from farmers and landowners.
- National conservatives (e.g. Republican Party in the US):
 - Strong national government;
 - Secular - control church or keep it out of politics;
 - In favour of developing and maintaining a modern military;
 - Wish to retain an empire for power and/or profit but also for the civilising mission;
 - More likely to believe in protectionism;
 - Close relationship with corporations, protecting the home producers from competition;

- Government-led social reform;
 - It is supported by the capitalist elite - professionals and businessmen.
- Liberals (e.g. Democratic Party in the US)
 - In favour of limited / weak central government;
 - Belief in individual liberty;
 - Emphasis of secularism or reform-minded Christians;
 - Wary of large armies, internationalist / imperial adventures and in favour of pacifism;
 - Anti-empire or support it for its civilising mission;
 - In favour of free trade and free markets;
 - Opposed to big business, big unions and big government;
 - Support from small farmers, small business owners and craft unions.
- Democratic socialism
 - Requires strong central government to oppose exploitation by big business;
 - Secular - strongly secular to the point of opposition to established religion and keen to keep church out of state;
 - Protect by right to organise - by job or class or workplace;
 - Internationalist, pacifist, against the expansion of empire and anti-military;
 - In favour of self help and/or co-operatives BUT also forming political parties in blocks of parties to secure protection from the state - e.g. social security, pensions and health care;
 - Support big business and big unions - big businesses provide the large organisations that will be taken over under socialism.
- Revolutionary socialism
 - The existing order is intolerable - cannot be worked within or without the existing system;
 - Secular - violently opposed to religion - they will attack religious authority and institutions;
 - Anti-military - they will attack the army and the police as agents of the capitalist state;
 - Believe in the need to organise - both society and as groups - underground as needed to enable them to take direct action against the capitalist states that they see as intolerable;
 - Use of direct action e.g. general strikes or violent;
 - Internationalist;
 - Organise for mass action or around professional revolutionary elite - the vanguard for the revolution providing the leadership when the time comes.
- These basic sets plus modern communications lead to ideologies which allow people to follow these sets of ideas as if following a script or pre-determined set of beliefs;

- These five families of beliefs will provide the core for the conflict around the world.

g. The Battles Begin

Six examples of battles between the ideologies:

1. Chicago

- National conservatives versus liberals / socialists;
- Politics in Chicago is staying extremely polarised between the groups;
- Emergence of a powerful strand of centrist Liberalism - personified by John Dewey;
- Dewey's ideas of centrist liberalism include:
 - Pragmatism as a political philosophy;
 - In favour of experimentalism;
 - Exploring grass roots democracy - small scale local experiments which allow a group of people to get together and try out different ways of organising;
 - Emphasis on education.

2. Russian Empire

- Dominated by national traditionalists and supported by some national conservatives
- This is a top down model - the Russian state is bringing in industry, railroads and capital which brings urbanism and fear in the traditional peasantry;
- Viciously anti-Jewish - brings about violent pogroms;
- Opposed by revolutionaries of a wide range of political beliefs from liberals to revolutionary
- Loss of a national war against Japan - the Russian fleets (both Pacific and Baltic) are destroyed in battles against Japan;
- The Russian Revolution of 1905 and wide range of peasant uprisings and violent urban strikes.

3. Constantinople

- The national traditionalists are replaced by the national conservatives - the Young Turks;
- The Committee for Union and Progress;
- Progress is key to the movement;
- Restoration of the constitution;
- Secularism.

4. Barcelona

- Spain is ruled by national conservatives aligned with the Catholic Church;
- Attempting to modernise the society from the top down;
- Tensions rise in Barcelona - first over education;
- Call up of ordinary subjects for conscription into the Spanish army for a war in

Morocco;

- Violent uprising and attacks against the Church - church property and church educational establishments;
- Barcelona is more polarised than ever - conservatives versus the working class;

5. Peking

- Qing Empire emphasises national tradition and brings in the national conservatives;
- The Empire falls in 1911-12 and a Chinese Republic is declared;
- The First Chinese Republic is declared in 1912;
- First all-Chinese election is called with the people of property;
- It is won by:
 - Liberals; and
 - National Conservatives.
- The leading Chinese general supports the National Conservatives;
- Yuan Shikai takes power and then declares himself as the military dictator and emperor.

6. Mexico

- In 1910, Mexico is ruled by national conservatives - dictator named Porfirio Diaz;
- By 1910, he is ready to move off the scene and is looking for a replacement;
- National conservatives in Mexico control large estates, mines, plantations, railroads;
- Working with foreign investors to develop industries;
- The revolution against Diaz is led by liberal politicians and revolutionaries e.g. Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata;
- The revolutionaries are conservative - they support the status quo of the old order in the countryside versus the national conservatives desire to develop industries.

What factors are similar across the examples?

- Always changing;
- Issues appear to be domestic issues but are intertwined with foreign issues;
- Increased state power.

h. The Big Picture

- Contrast between the traditional world and the modern world;
- Revolutions from 1760:
 - Commercial;
 - Military;
 - Democratic.
- These lead to:
 - Great powers;
 - Nation states;
 - Discovery of industrial and scientific power;
 - Global Europe.

- The result creates a new set of conditions. A transition period between 1870s and 1880s and then this leads to the **great acceleration**:
 - the rise of modern capitalism;
 - modern nation states;
 - revolutionary nation states;
 - great struggle between ideas;
 - the new Hundred Years' Struggle.

8. Crackup (1905 - 1917)

a. The Shock of 1914

- The First World War was a shock for people in 1914.
- There are many explanation for why the First World War happened:
 - International rivalries - the European powers had divided into two competing blocs - the Triple Entente (France, Russia and UK) and the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary). **Note:** UK is not formally bound by treaty to support the alliance of Russia and France.
 - Militarism and the arms race - continental powers amassing large armies and the naval races (Dreadnoughts);
 - Imperial rivalry - imperial races between the European powers;
 - Economic rivalry;
 - Domestic insecurity of dynastic empires
- With all of the reasons, why was there so much surprise. Why was it a shock?
- Niall Ferguson has examined the bond markets to demonstrate how the First World War was a shock. The bond markets in the summer of 1914 do not show any sign that war is coming.
- Why did well informed people expect peace?
 - Europe had been peaceful for so long - isolated conflicts in the Balkans, but there was generally peace since the Franco-Prussian War 1871 and continental peace since the Napoleonic Wars.
 - Peace was profitable - this was a period of general economic growth - books were published saying it was inconceivable that there could be war because of the impact of economic growth and wealth creation;
 - Tensions had been managed - see the rise of the peace movement and international arbitration;
- What changed to prevent the international arbitration of disputes and the failure of the forces for peace.
- Why did no one intervene? What was the 'governor' that failed?
- Some people did see the war coming, but they were in the minority.

b. Schizophrenic Germany

- Why focus on Germany? It was not the only insecure empire - see also Austria-Hungary and Russia.
- Zelikow argues that more than any other country, Germany owned the strategic initiative;
- The country that owned the strategic initiative is the country that can set the:
 - time of engagement;
 - place of engagement; and
 - manner of engagement.
- The German Empire's role is unique.
- In 1914, the German Empire is a 'deeply split' government:
 - Kingdom of Prussia;
 - Kingdom of Bavaria;
 - Kingdom of Saxony;
 - Kingdom of Wurttemberg;
 - Grand Duchy of Baden etc.
 - The German Empire is made up of lots of states.
- The head of the German Empire is the Kaiser, Wilhelm II. He is in charge of the Empire's Army and Navy. He is also the King of Prussia.
- There is an Imperial Parliament (the Reichstag) - it has limited powers but some important powers over the budget.
- Politics is deeply divided - the Kaiser is the representative of the nobility (the Junkers). They feel alienated from modern politics and society.
- The parties are aligned to the types outlined in Week 7 - national conservatives, liberals and democratic socialists. There are also revolutionary socialists outside of the parliament.
- The Chancellor is appointed by the Kaiser and is not a politician - he is essentially a career civil servant.
- Germany is starting to feel encircled - on the east there is the Russian Empire and on the west France, which is keen for revenge from the Franco-Prussian Empire.
- Germany wants to be a dominant power in the world following their success at becoming the most powerful single power in Europe - Germany seeking 'its place in the sun';
- Lord Grey has encouraged German ambitions in Europe, especially in *mitteleuropa*.

The 1912 Election

- Democratic socialists - the SPD - 110
- Liberals - PPP (left leaning) and NL (right leaning) - 97
- Liberal / conservative - Zentrum (Catholic Centre) - 91
- National conservatives - DKP and DRP - 57
- Others (including far right) - 19
- The largest single party is a Marxist party. The majority is in the hands of the socialists and liberals. The national conservatives have a small minority of seats.

c. The Balkan Whirlpool

- Germany is getting sucked into Balkan whirlpool.
- The Balkans are anti-Imperialist - against the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire;
- The Ottomans have been pushed out of the bulk of their holdings in continental Europe;
- Austria-Hungary has incorporated Bosnia-Herzegovina;
- The Balkans is now bordered between Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire.
- Within the Balkans, there are competing nationalities:
 - Serbians;
 - Bulgarians;
 - Greeks;
 - Albanians;
 - Macedonians;
- There are proxy rivalries between the Russians and Austrians - Serbians and Austria;
- The Russians are frustrated at the Austrians and Germans;
- Many of the powers are frustrated with the British for their role in managing the Balkans;

What are the accelerants towards war in 1912 - 13?

- British involvement in trying to sort out the Balkan problems;
- German attitudes to the British - especially the Kaiser's views "Britain is too cowardly openly to leave France and Russia in the lurch";
- World view of the key participants;
- At the 'War Council' of 1912, the Germans decide that it would be better to have a preventative war;
- The Germans implement war plans that will require:
 - build up of the army; and
 - attacking France in any conflict.
- The Germans will back the Austro-Hungarian empire whatever the cost.

d. The Shock of the 1914 - Second Cut

- Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo;
- Sarajevo is at the heart of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but is coveted by Serbia;
- Italy is also very keen to gain territories on the other side of the Adriatic Sea.
- State-sponsored terrorism by Serbia;
- Austria makes a strict ultimatum with Serbia knowing that the Germans would back the Austrians whatever happened - Austria had a 'blank cheque' from the Germans;
- A localised Balkan conflict then becomes a European war - the German response to the war is to attack France;
- A war for civilization - Moltke's view comparing the Latin peoples versus the Slavic peoples and the Germanic peoples.

Who was not shocked?

- Austrian intelligence;
- German military planners;
- Serbian terrorists;
- A few key people who foresaw what was happening.

What had changed?

- A few actors wanted a war;
- The British did not play the cautionary role - they were overwhelmed with issues arising in Ireland (the Strange Death of Liberal England);
- Germany believing that time was running out;
- Austria having the blank cheque for action;
- The technologies were more advanced than the people making the decisions;
- The reactions of the masses - support for action.

e. All the Plans Fail

- All of the elaborate military plans developed by the continental powers fail;
- The war starts out with a great sense of social unity;
- The war unfolds in ways that they had not expected - they looked at previous wars:
 - Russo-Japanese War;
 - Crimean War;
 - Franco-Prussian War.
- The Germans decide they will invade Belgium in order to gain the high ground. This does, however, ensure that the British come into the war.
- The German attack on Belgium is confounded by stiffer reaction in Belgium.
- The Russians move against Germany in East Prussia. Germany defends itself and reverses the attacks.
- The German attack overextends and is pushed back to the Western Front;
- The War begins to widen:
 - Japan and China;
 - Occupation of German held possessions in the Pacific;
 - Ottoman Empire joins the Central Powers;
 - The Ottomans declare a Holy War (jihad) against the British and French;
 - Gas and submarine warfare.
- All the powers attempt to spring a surprise attack to bring the war to an end;
- The 1915 pushes against the Western Front fails;
- Gallipoli;
- The entrenchment of war aims;
- German attacks on Verdun and unrestricted submarine warfare;
- The British plans for the Somme.

f. On to Victory?

Decisions made on whether and how to continue the war

- Choices were made by statesmen on whether to continue the Great War.
- These decisions were made against the backdrop of the slaughter in the conflict.

What is America's view?

- America was neutral and was doing very well out of supplying the British and French with agricultural produce and manufacturing goods.
- Woodrow Wilson has an extreme grip on controlling American foreign policy.
- Woodrow Wilson **did not** want the USA to enter into the war. His position was:
 - No sympathy with the war aims of the European Great Powers - no sympathy with the Allies over the Central Powers;
 - Wanted the USA to stay out of the Great War;
 - If the Great War continued, it was becoming more and more likely that the USA would enter the war - this was because:
 - Germany could not tolerate the USA to supply the Allies; and
 - the USA could not tolerate its trade being cut off.
 - Wanting to encourage the war to end. He had leverage over the Great Powers:
 - He was neutral and seen and believed to be neutral;
 - USA was bankrolling the British war effort and supplying the necessary primary and secondary goods;
 - USA's entry on the Allied side was seen as catastrophic for the Central Powers;
 - In 1916, his position was to encourage peace. The Great Powers did not listen in 1916 because they were trying out their plans to force the other sides into submission. These did not fail (or the failure did not become apparent) until later in the year.
 - Wilson was engaged in a tough re-election campaign in 1916 and the timing is key to developments.

Bethmann and the Kaiser - the German position

- The Germans are feeling the pressure in 1916;
- They are tactically in a good position - fighting on French and Belgian soil;
- They are strategically in a difficult position as they do not see a way to winning;
- Some Germans are thinking that unrestricted submarine warfare is the only way to win the war against the Allies by cutting off their supplies from across the Atlantic.
- The Germans thus reach out for **urgent** US mediation;
- The American ambassadors make it clear that the USA does not want to get involved - the Americans are a pacifistically inclined.
- The Germans threaten the unrestricted submarine warfare if the US does not get involved by mediating;
- The Germans are keen to escalate the war before submarine warfare is taken up and before the military take over from the civilian powers.

Asquith and the Liberals - the British position

- Herbert Asquith, the Liberal leader and Prime Minister, is becoming exhausted by the work. This is exacerbated by the death of his son on the western front.
- Britain is under enormous strain and unsure as to what they can do to change their situation.
- It is clear that the front line has not changed much and there has been terrible loss of life and injured;
- Asquith asks all the leaders of his Cabinet what would be the aims for continuing the war.
- David Lloyd George has some strong views and believes that Britain must be willing to fight the war until they defeat Germany. He is willing to be the strong leader that Britain needs to win the war.
- Lloyd George suggests that Britain needs to plan for a knockout blow against Germany and do whatever is needed to win.
- Landsdowne sends a memo to Asquith in response to his question. In November 1916, Landsdowne says that it is no-one's interest if the war is prolonged.
 - 1.1 million casualties;
 - 15,000 officers;
 - Britain is killing off the men of the island;
 - The financial burden is intolerable - generations will have to come and go to recover;
 - Britain is about to go bankrupt - its public and private finances are stretched to breaking point;
 - Britain's allies are even more stretched;
 - If the war is prolonged, Britain and the world may be reshaped in a negative way.

The moment passes - moves for peace - why did the moment pass?

- The timing of the USA's presidential election means that Wilson cannot respond until December 1916;
- David Lloyd George becomes the British Prime Minister - he has urged the continuation of the war;
- Germany's military leaders gain the upper hand by the end of 1916 - too late for Wilson's peace overtures.
- In the winter of 1916/17 the Great War takes a decisive turn:
 - Britain under David Lloyd George and the formation of a National Coalition;
 - France under Georges Clemenceau - strong advocate of winning the war;
 - Germany - the High Command appoints a key man to become a military ruler of Germany - Eric von Ludendorff;
 - Woodrow Wilson calls for a 'peace without victory' - he puts pressure on the British.
- The Germans decide to gamble on unrestricted submarine warfare to knock out Britain. They believe this will happen before the Americans arrive in significant strength.
- Russia - the February Revolution in 1917 - continues in the war.
- Reasons for the American decision to go to war:
 - Zimmermann Telegraph - the offer to Mexico;

- Unrestricted submarine warfare against US shipping;
- Wilson is increasingly convinced that the only way to save civilization is to enter the war;
- The USA will not have any voice on the future of the world after war if it doesn't engage;

9. New orders emerge (1917 - 1930)

a. Total states

- The First World War supplies answers to how industrialised societies will organise.
- It marks the creation of 'total states'.
- The new warfare - fixed, mechanical, chemical, dehumanised, encompassing civilian areas.
- States are looking at industrial organisations (e.g. Ford Motor Company, Krupps Steel) and thinking that they need to organise along similar lines.
- States need to control their own money supply - national money that involves printing money and moving away from the Gold Standard;
- States need to control:
 - the raw resources:
 - agriculture and food production (rationing);
 - mining;
 - metals.
 - manufacturing and munitions - to ensure soldiers have what they need;
 - plant - create new factories and convert existing factory capabilities.
 - manpower - the 'total states' find that they do not have enough people to man the armies, production and manufacturing. The government will direct people, conscription into the armies, inducing women to work on the land and in factories.
- The 'total states' bring about profound political change.
- There is a key impact on the political parties and political thought:
 - the split in socialism / left wing becomes more crucial - in support of the state and the war effort or against it;
 - the traditional right wing is beaten - society has changed and modernisers and radicals are on top;
 - liberalism dies under the 'total state' - the 'total state' is the antithesis of small state and thus liberalism;
 - this is seen in Russia, Britain, France and Germany - the civilian, limited state is giving way to the 'total state'. In the USA, the federal government becomes much stronger - the First World War becomes a watershed in the functioning of the US political system.

b. Why did the Allies win?

- In early 1918 it was not clear at all at the Allies would win the First World War.
- What are some of the solutions that people come to in early 1918:
 - For Britain and France, 1917 had been an awful year - they had lost the support of Russia and even the US entry into the war was limited - the US

- forces were minimal and badly trained.
 - French and British offensives in 1917 fail to make an impact - the Germans are holding defensive positions which great Allied sacrifice of men fails to budge.
 - The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk sees the Russians leave the war and give the Germans control of a vast swathe of the former Russian empire.
 - The Allies are looking at 1919 - 1920 when American economic and manpower resources come on tap.
 - The Germans are looking at the situation with their battle plans decided by Ludendorff. The Germans try and win the war in 1918 by pushing for a decisive victory by using the manpower freed up on the Eastern Front.
- The Western Front opens up following the Ludendorff Offensives. The Germans push forward, and break the lines **but** the Allies, after falling back, make a stand and the Germans are spent.
- The German forces are physically and psychologically spent - their great stand has resulted in ruinous offences which fail.
- The Americans come into the war in greater numbers in 1918.
- By 1918, the Allies are able to leverage the entire world to their help - the Central Powers have no help coming from outside of central and Eastern Europe.
- The submarine offensives fail with the development of the convoy system.
- The Allies draw on their colonies for man power, raw materials and manufactures - Canada, Australia, India, New Zealand, Africa, Indo-China. This also produces raw materials.
- The Allies can develop scientific advantages on:
 - chemical warfare and gas;
 - intelligence;
 - aircraft;
 - tanks
- Another key factor in 1918 is the leadership:
 - On the Allied side, the leaders are politicians but gifted politicians - they are articulate and representative - Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau.
 - On the Central Powers, this contrasts with Kaiser Wilhelm - he does not speak in public; Emperor Karl - not a charismatic leader; Enver Pasha.

c. The End of Empires?

- Some empires come to an end, but not all of them.
- Wilson talked of a peace without victory - a new world order.
- This was based on Wilson's 14-point plan.
- Five empires come to an end between 1910 and 1920:
 - Qing Empire (China) - 1911 / 12;
 - Russian Empire (Romonov) - 1917;
 - German Empire (Hohenzollerns) - 1918;
 - Austria-Hungary (Habsburgs) - 1918; and
 - Ottoman Empire - 1918.
- What takes their place? Who will be in charge? The tendency is to replace monarchies with republics / democracies.
- What are the principles that these countries should be created along - should they

become larger? The peace results in score settling.

- There are a series of treaties, principally Versailles, which deal with the defeated powers.
- Do you want to retain a balance of power? How large should Germany remain?
 - Poland is recreated to take some of the German territory in the east;
 - Germany gives up the Alsace and Lorraine provinces to France;
 - The French occupy western Germany in the Ruhr / Rhine;
 - Austria-Hungary is broken up into a series of states - Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania etc.
 - Should states be ethnically or linguistically pure? The new enlarged Romania will include a number of Hungarians.
- Are all the empires going to go away? No - the 'winning' empires of Britain and France expand after the first world.
- The plans of the powers for Turkey - the Treaty of Sevres.
- Desire to create new international structures - a key principle of liberal ideas.
 - League of Nations;
 - Protectorates and mandates;
 - Future of China settled under the 'Washington system';
 - 1921 - 1922
 - Political relationships between the great powers;
 - Naval treaty putting in place naval controls (5:5:3);
 - All sign an accord to respect the territorial integrity of China.
- There is a breakdown in Europe and the Near East between 1919 and 1921:
 - War between Poland and Russia;
 - Revolutionary and counter-revolution in Hungary and Germany;
 - Emergency of a vigorous Turkish republic and the creation of a modern nation state and its borders are fixed in 1923.
- The British and French have trouble in their middle eastern mandates.

d. Communism

- One of the big impacts of the First World War is the rise of international communism. Why?
 - War - if you are appalled by the war, the status quo may lose its appeal;
 - Chaos - the chaotic period following the war provides opportunities for well organised revolutionary movements and cells.
- The Russian Revolution - the elites have moved towards nationalism, tradition, religiosity, slavophilism.
- Russia has very weak intermediate institutions - there are limited intermediaries.
- This results in democratic socialists and liberals as being devoted to violent overthrow of the Empire.
- The Russian Empire has a relatively weak apparatus for state operation. The First World War forced European states to become 'total states' This is difficult for the Russian state to maintain - feeding the population and army etc.
- By 1917, the strain was becoming too much. Even by 1916, it was becoming apparent to outsiders that it was about to breakdown.
- There is a patriotic revolution - some are arguing in favour of continuing the war (Kerensky), whilst others want Russia to pull out of the war as soon as possible.

- Elections to the Assembly of the Provisional Government - the democratic socialists were in the majority. The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks made up a minority of votes and seats in the assembly (30%).
- The Provision Government is still in the war against the Germans. They are supporters of land reform but have not started distributing the land.
- The Bolsheviks launch a decisive coup in the October Revolution (in November 1917);
- The Bolsheviks are led by Vladimir Lenin - an internationalist revolutionary. Leon Trotsky.
- Bolshevism is not a mass movement - it is the revolutionary vanguard that will lead the masses. It requires the strictest party discipline.
- The centre of power is broken in the success of the October Revolution;
- The Pogrom of the Winter Palace.
- There is no immediate counter to the Bolshevik take over of power - no one responds in a co-ordinated way.
- Foreign governments were concerned to get involved in Russia to ensure that the Russians stayed in the war. They side with the Whites. The Allies land in Russia to support the Whites.
- The Bolshevik example is contagious in Hungary, Germany, Poland, Kronstadt - there are uprisings in Bavaria, Bremen, Berlin, Hamburg etc.
- By the early 1920s, Communism has established itself as a powerful international movement.

e. Anti-communism

- Communism created a new political force - anti-Communism.
- Anti-communism is a political movement - it is a reaction to the threats of Communism. Anti-communists belong from a wide range of groups.
- Fears of Communism became a powerful rallying and renewal point for conservatism.
- What about liberalism?
- The apparatus of liberalism is important - the new states feel they need to have a constitution and the liberal functions.
- The struggle for how to organise modern industrial societies - the 100 year struggle from 1890:
 - Revolutionary socialists;
 - Democratic socialists;
 - Liberal;
 - National conservatives;
 - National traditionalists;
- Before the First World War, the middle three are the most prevalent groups.
- The middle groups maintain their position. Revolutionary socialism breaks into Communism and Fascism (the latter being joined by national conservatives and national traditionalists).
- Fascism is a hybrid - national traditions and ethnicity, top down control and revolutionary socialists with a strongly nationalist agenda.
- Imperialism and anti-Imperialism:
 - Ostensibly liberal;

- There is a necessity to talk about national self-determination;
- Anti-imperialism takes new forms - it moves from 'stop the foreigners' to 'take over the State' e.g. India and Indonesia. Uses a lot of the vocabulary used by the foreigners e.g. ruling class, self-determination and the vocabulary of revolutionary socialism.
- India and the National Congress - Indian self-empowerment.
- Gandhi believes there should be a national state called India, with liberal values such as a constitution and elections, but suffused with traditional Indian values. This is designed to replace the rule of the British.
- Could the British have managed this issue by granting Dominion status.

The New Politics in action

United States

- The way that the Russian Civil War is reported in the United States;
- But in the domestic news - 50,000 radicals agitating in the USA;
- Thousands of aliens are agitating for the overthrow of US constitutional government;
- Strikes in Gary, Indiana - strike leaders have links to 'red conclaves';
- Labor unrest - radical strikers shoot and stab working piermen - three wounded and six foreigners are arrested.

Barcelona

- A General Strike is called in 1919.
- In 1923 there is an anti-Communist backlash with a dictatorship led by Primo de Rivera.

China

- Police fire into a crowd and riots break out
- Chinese Republic breaks out of its south-western stronghold
- Boycott of western goods
- In 1920s, the Chinese Communists joined forces with other republican forces;
- In 1927, the non-Communists are purged and a civil war begins between the Nationalists and the Communists.

f. The Age of Uncertainty

- The sense of the 'broken world' - the age of uncertainty following the First World War. The certainties of the past were gone:
 - human killed and damaged - First World War, Spanish Influenza, Turkish War, Russian War of Independence.
 - During the First World War, 90% of the people killed were soldiers. Casualties are concentrated on the military. This had a profound impact on the demographics of belligerent countries.
 - The loss of morality, of an age of gentlemen, of service;
 - The loss of confidence in:

- progress;
- certainty in what was right - in politics and religion;
- missionary values;
- faith in rationality - the costs of the war caused people to doubt reason - people searched for the real forces underneath;
 - subconscious - the rise of modern psychiatry and psycho-analysis;
 - modern architecture - a new faith in rationality - Bauhaus - Walter Gropius;
 - futurism and its relationship with fascism;
 - The Doctrine of Fascism by Benito Mussolini 1932;

According to Benito Mussolini, "Against individualism, the Fascist conception is for the State; and it is for the individual in so far as he coincides with the State, which is the conscience and universal will of man in his historical existence."

- the relationship between the individuals and the state;
- the rise of the anti-liberal.

- **The rise of Global America**

- This is becoming evident in the 1920s;
- Not due to being a supreme military power;
- Not due to its diplomatic influence;
- Coming from American economy, finance and culture - the USA is representative of a new way of living.
- Abundant goods available to all - the rise of materialism or consumerism but a step change from the past.
- The emblem of new technologies - cars, aeronautics and radio - the USA is the leader of affordable cars and radio broadcasting;
- Broadcasting radio allows the transmitting of programmes to a mass audience of millions.

- **The impact of culture**

- Broadcasting allows the move from localism to a sense of a national community;
- Movies that have universal appeal - the creation of a global or universal culture - but dominated by the American movie industry.

g. Modern Women

- The period of the 1910s and 1920s sees an enormous debate on the role of women.
- This debate is being held around the world.

Women's rights

- In the 18th century, women by and large lived in traditional roles;
- In a legal and formal sense, the role of women was often subordinate (e.g. on property and legal cases);
- In China, a physical manifestation of this was in foot binding;
- There was a move towards political rights in the nineteenth century, specifically the late nineteenth century. Why then?
 - Liberal ideas were reaching a zenith;
 - Anti-slavery movement and the ideology of giving former slaves the right to vote - shouldn't women be given the same rights as former slaves?;
 - Similar advocates - emancipation and suffrage;
 - Women increasingly require protection - reflecting the changes in society - urbanisation, the availability of alcohol, work;
 - emancipation of women in various factors - work, birth control, planned parenthood;
 - The rise of the saloon culture in cities and its negative effects led many women to seek the vote so they could support measures to restrict or ban sales of alcohol.
 - Events such as the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in 1911 encouraged women to seek the vote so they could support workplace safety measures to protect other women.
 - the rise of the idea of the 'modern girl' or the 'modern women'.
 - transmission belts - magazines, movies and melting pots in cities such as Tokyo, Shanghai, Saigon, Djakarta.
 - consumerism - fashions, cigarettes, cars etc.
 - reaction against consumerism - Soviet propaganda.

h. The World of 1930

- A common term for this period is the 'inter-war' period;
- People see it as the period between the First and Second World Wars;
- This is not necessarily how people see it at the time - the world of 1930 is addressing its problems;

The Great Powers

- The Great Powers are still seen as being predominantly European (albeit the USA is also included at times);
- The European powers have fixed some of their issues in the Treaty of Locarno.
- Germany under Gustave Stresseman is reaching compromises with its European neighbours.
- The League of Nations is up and running, and is creating some ways to work internationally - courts, arbitration and treaties;
- An agenda of disarmament - the Washington Treaty on naval disarmament;
- Return of the Gold Standard - the Young Plan - the revival of the Gold Standard is helping to internationalise trade.
- American credit is helping to rebuild an international trade system;

- Europeans are maintaining their empires. Increasing autonomy to the local peoples is seeing the Europeans becoming reluctant umpires between the people.
- The world map is a lot more complicated following the First World War - see comparison of map between 1913 and 1930.
- The Soviet Union is outside the mainstream European diplomacy;
- Communism is providing ideas for new countries.

Models for new nations

- Communism;
- Nationalism and modernisation (Turkey);
- Liberalism;
- Secularism (Turkey);
- Fascism (Italy);
- National conservative (Spain);
- Shanghai - the new Chinese republic - national conservatism;
- Chicago - corporatism - businessmen engaging in welfare capitalism
- In urban areas, local government is a federation of ethnic communities.
- Dissent in modern society - from business groups, the military, nationalists and religious.

10. The Crisis of the World (1930-1940)

a. Challenges to Capitalism and Security

- Start by analysing money and guns.

Challenges to Capitalism

- Modern capitalism is a feature of the late nineteenth century. It is underpinned at this point of time by the Gold Standard.
- Demand is linked to economic growth.
- Demand is also linked to the money that is available.
- The Gold Standard links the amount of money that is available to the amount of gold that is available. If you are part of the gold system, there is less demand - it acts as an anchor or a drag on demand.
- Does the Gold Standard act as a golden anchor (i.e. stability) or golden fetters (i.e. reduced demand).
- Most of the world is on the gold standard in the period 1929 - 1934 - key exceptions are China (silver standard), Japan, Turkey, Russia and Spain.
- What happens if gold is leaving the country? This can be 'solved' by raising interest rates.
- Sclerotic economic growth in Britain, Germany and USA.
- Economies are buoyed by loans from the USA and by speculation on the stock market.
- The Wall Street Crash in 1929 results in a massive dislocation to the economic system and banking.

- The 1929 Crash does not cause the Great Depression. Economies are already spluttering in 1927/28.
- The Great Depression happens in two stages - a financial panic in the USA linked to the Wall Street Crash followed by a European crash following this.
- The USA made certain choices in the aftermath of the crash:
 - balancing books;
 - get money;
 - sell stocks;
 - a policy of 'liquidation'
- Should there have been more spending by public or private interests? The Gold Standard prevented both of these options.
- The issue is not just structural but also political - an inability to work together.
- The international system leads to lower loans from the USA to Germany and thus lower reparations to Britain and France.
- There is a freezing up of financial systems in Western Europe. This leads to panic across Europe and collapsing of banks.
- Ultimately, Britain comes off the Gold Standard.
- This then results in a massive collapse of the world's stock markets.

Challenges to collective security

- There is a massive cultural shift against war with a corresponding positive feel for pacifism.
- All Quiet on the Western Front by Erich Maria Remarque
- Imperial retreat - the Empires for Britain and France were a financial drain on the imperial powers. Britain and France therefore try and think about ways of retreating from the burdens of empire.
- Indian Conferences - retreat from power in India. Meanwhile, the Indian National Congress decides to push for complete independence.
- Disarmament agenda is falling apart - the final disarmament conference in 1933 collapses.
- There are crises in Asia especially over China and Japan.

b. Escapes from Freedom (1931 - 1933)

- This is a pivotal phase in the development of the world crisis.

Japan

- The economic crisis in the early 1930s creates a struggle between:
 - liberals who favour international co-operation - this will bring about interdependence and exposure to other cultures and economic systems;
 - national conservatives - emphasise the importance of Japan's cultural traditions. For this, it needs its own empire and needs to be economically independent (autarky).
- The Great Depression favours the national conservatives - it suggests that global capitalism has failed.
- This faction is led by Kanji Ishiwara - need for resources in Manchuria but then

align with other Asian powers (e.g. Nationalist China).

- The new Chinese republic of Chang Kai Chek is checking Japanese influence in Manchuria.
- The army engineers a confrontation between the Japanese and the Chinese. This is done by blowing up a railway in Manchuria. The government in Japan has two options - to expose its own military or to respond to the fake provocation.
- In 1931, the Japanese invade and take over Manchuria and install the Qing Emperor Pu Yi.
- Inukai Tsuyoshi is assassinated by the army in the May 15 incident.

Germany

- The Great Depression hits Germany very hard.
- This is reflected in elections, with the anti-democratic parties doing well - Nazi 38% and KPD 15%. Socialists comprise 37% in July 1932.
- By November 1932, the Nazi share of the vote has fallen to 33.21%. The KPD share is up to 17% and combined socialists 38%.
- The Government is headed by President Hindenburg.
- The Conservative faction decides to try and use the popular support of the Nazis to give Hitler and the Nazis the chance to lead the German republic.
- Adolf Hitler becomes the Chancellor. Soon, the German Republic will be replaced by the Third Reich.

Failure of world capitalism

- In 1932, Britain abandons free trade. Imperial preference finally wins out.
- Demand plummets in the world trading system.
- The Gold Standard goes from being the predominant system to being used only by the USA, Holland, Poland and France in 1933. In 1934, the USA leaves the gold standard.
- There are huge declines in the exports of primary goods - China, India, Australia, Canada, Latin America are particularly hard hit.
- Was this inevitable? Could international cooperation have saved the day?
- An International Conference in London 1933 (the London Economic Conference) tried to do this, but this was torpedoed by the USA's new president Roosevelt.
- There are huge declines in industrial production and huge rises in unemployment.
- There are political impacts - there is a rise in right-wing dictatorships. East of the Rhine, only Czechoslovakia is left as a democracy.

Failure of the League of Nations

- The invasion of Manchuria by Japan is disapproved of by the League of Nations, but no intervention is made.
- Japan then leaves the League of Nations.
- Disarmament conferences are a failure but are also used by the Germans as a pretence for withdrawing from the League of Nations.
- Mussolini attacks Ethiopia. The League of Nations threatens economic sanctions, but it fails. No one would put their faith in the League of Nations.

- Three possible solutions:
 - War;
 - Imperialism;
 - Diplomacy.
- Why does this happen?
 - Structures and circumstances;
 - Convergence of issues;
 - Contingency and choice.
- Why are people allowing the rise of the dictatorships? Why are people allowing the complete sacrifice of freedoms?
- Erich Frohm - the Frankfurt School - critical theory - trying to find a deeper explanation for the way people constructed the world around them:
 - positive freedom - the freedom to create; and
 - negative freedom - freedom from social dictates.
- With all the negative freedom, there is the rise of the sense of the terror of aloneness and insignificance.
- Surrender to the rule of others, dictatorship can feel like an escape from this negative freedom.
- "The individual finds himself "free" in the negative sense, that is, alone with his self and confronting an alienated, hostile world." - desire to feel security by the elimination of the burden - the self.
- The individual can sublimate themselves into something larger and grander. Sublimation of the individual into the state.

c. Total politics

- The dictatorships converted economies to planned economies with systemised controls;
- New communications and mass communications provided the dictatorships with tools to broadcast news to the masses - radio, newsreels etc.
- State getting involved in matters of life and death, race and religion, euthanasia, eugenics and genetics, approval of the sterilisation of people judged to be 'mentally unfit'.
- The USSR is an 'empire of workers' republics' - a transnational identity upon which you can build vast empires.
- Nazi Germany is based on a racial difference - Aryanism which can go beyond Germans to include Scandinavians and Britons.

How do political families evolve in the 1930s and the age of extremism?

- Social democracy develops as a way of containing the demands of workers within the democratic systems. It incorporates strands of democratic socialism, liberalism and even national conservatism. For example, Roosevelt's New Deal coalition - the progressive wing of the Republican Party who are attracted to the promise of a

vigorous state managed development. This is also shown in Sweden at the time.

- The original strands of democratic socialism, liberalism and national conservatism still remain, but in much smaller forms.
- At opposite ends of the spectrum but arguably joining in radical extremism are the fascists (right wing) and communists (left wing). They are much more influential than they were in the 1920s - they are running vast areas of the world.

What is the culture of these mass movements?

- One of the shared trends in the mass movements is the sublimation of the individual into the state - all three trends (communism, social democracy and fascism) see power being delivered through the state.
- The metaphor of steel as a way of identifying individual and political power.

Illustrations

- Chicago - the New Deal of social democracy - you still have big businesses and corporations, but they are matched by big unions. In a city like Chicago, trade unions are meeting the big businesses and matching them for power. This results in pitched businesses between the two sides umpired or regulated by the government.
- Chicago - the federal state is balanced by the local government role.
- Shanghai - the Republic of China is sponsoring a New Life movement - a mass movement.
- China - pushing back the Communist areas in China.
- Sao Paulo - a New State - the republic is taken over by a military ruler. He is influenced by socialist and fascist examples.
- Spain - the Spanish Civil War is the crucible of conflict between the Fascists and Communists.
- Spain - Soviet and Nazi / Italian support for each side.
- Exposition in Paris - the contrast between the women on the nationalist side and the republican side.
- Contrast Dali, Miro and Picasso with Goya.

d. New wars for new empires

- Focus on **1937** when key formative choices are made.
- 'Successful' dictatorships:
 - Soviet Union - by the mid-1930s, Josef Stalin's power was completely consolidated. His collectivisation of the countryside demonstrated the complete power of the state;
 - Italy - the Fascist dictatorship has completed its conquest of Ethiopia and Mussolini's power base is secure;
 - Germany - Hitler had succeeded in transforming Germany into the Third Reich;
 - Japan - the Showa Emperor (Hirohito) heads the military government which has interests in China and Manchuria (which they called Manchukoko).

- This leaves four key empires - the desire for a large workers' empire, Lebensraum, the revival of the Roman Empire and the Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Sizing up the world empires

- France and Britain are weakened by the economic conditions;
- France cannot consider independent military action without Britain;
- Neville Chamberlain is pursuing a policy of economic recovery in Britain, preserving the British Empire and appeasement;
- America is still focused on the recovery in the domestic sphere;
- The US army is, at this time, only the 20th largest in the world (about the same size as the Romanian armed forces);
- The Spanish Civil War is seen as a proxy war between fascism and communism.
- The counter-imperialisms are seen as having their moment - they can supplant the British and French empires with their own.

The New Empires and their new wars

- The Soviet Union steps up its war against dissidents and possible opponents to Stalin's rule in a series of brutal purges. There is forced collectivisation of farms but also the development of new industry and mining. The Soviet Union creates the 'Gulag Archipelago' - using slave labour to develop industries in Siberia, the Arctic North and the Far East.
- The Japanese have made some key decisions in 1937 that will determine what they will do in respect of the Republic of China. They move against the north-east and Shanghai. By 1937, the Japanese have pushed into vast areas of China.
- The Germans are contemplating their moves in 1937 - the German Plan is laid out in 1937. He makes it clear that there is a problem of space and race - the need for lebensraum for the German people. Germany needs to expand eastwards.
- By 1937, Germany is placed to solve some of the key issues of the European settlement - the remilitarisation of the Ruhr, the anschluss with Austria and the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia.
- In 1937, Italy has been fighting in Africa to lay the foundations for a new Italian empire centred on the Mediterranean.

e. Triumph of the new empires (1937 - 1940)

- The democracies had to make some fundamental decisions as to how, when and whether to oppose the dictatorships and especially Nazi Germany.
- The British and French had to decide whether to go to war with Germany over the fate of Czechoslovakia.
- Sudetenland has a German speaking population. But it is also the location of Czechoslovakia's key defences (both physical defences and the location of war industries).
- Chamberlain, Munich and 'peace in our time'.
- But, in March 1939, Hitler takes the rest of Czechoslovakia and partitions it to the German Empire, a German protectorate, a Slovak puppet state and Hungary.
- Britain and France have decided to make a stand against Nazi Germany in Poland.

- Poland is, essentially, the place to draw the line.
- Britain and France try to talk to Stalin to make common cause over Poland.
- Instead, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia decide to work together to destroy Poland. The Molotov/Ribbentrop pact.
- The powers make use of strong defences in France (the Maginot Line).
- The Germans will move into France via Belgium rather than attacking the Maginot Line. The British and France will rely on naval blockades and aerial bombardment.
- There is no invasion in the Fall of 1939 - the Phony War.
- But the British / French tactics are failing - the blockade fails because Nazi Germany gets its raw materials through the Soviet Union.

The Strange Victory of Nazi Germany

- The Germans develop a high risk strategy to invade France through the Ardennes.
- The Germans believe that there is a one in ten chance of success.
- The British and French were not agile enough to deal with the surprise German move - the one in ten chance does succeed.
- The Germans occupy the north and west in France. Vichy France emerges as a puppet state to protect
- After the stalemate in the First World War, the speed and success 'Lightning War' of the Blitzkrieg is a surprise.
- Churchill is determined to fight Nazi Germany to the death. He is supported by Clement Attlee of the Labour Party.
- After the successes, the three dictatorships forge the Pact of Steel.
- By 1940, there are three camps - the dictatorships, the USSR and the British Empire. At this point, the totalitarian dictatorships are in control.

11. Total war and the aftermath (1940 - 1950)

a. Choosing global war

- June 1940 and the end of 1941 - a key period in the Second World War - this is the period in which the Second World War is transformed.
- The two spheres - East Asia and European, will become a single conflict, and the United States and the USSR will be drawn into the conflict.
- The totalitarian states hold the balance of world power and control the agenda. This will be the case unless they choose to fight each other.

Berlin

- The Germans have an ideology that is based on **space** and **race** - the eastwards movement of the Third Reich and the creation of Lebensraum for Germans to have 'living space'.
- The Germans have several options for what to do:
 - A grand coalition against the British Empire - perhaps even involving the other members of the Tripartite Pact and/or USSR;
 - A conflict with the USSR to knock out Nazism's ideological enemy and get the living space in the east.

- The German High Command assesses whether the Germans can beat the Soviets. The German army determines that they can defeat the Soviet Union and that they can do this quickly.
- The German army is caught up in a sense of optimism and hubris.
- How hard will it be to beat the British.
- Another key assessment is that the British problem is a difficult one - but only for now.
- The Germans assess what it would take to take the British. They probe British defences with the Battle for Britain. The RAF and the Luftwaffe fight to knock out the British air defences and thus permit the invasion of Britain by giving Germany control of the air and thus the seas.
- Hitler's primary attention shifts away from Britain and moves to focusing on the USSR. These attentions harden by the end of 1930.

Tokyo

- The Japanese want to forge a pan-Asian empire in which the Japanese will be the leaders. This empire will allow the Japanese to utilise resources throughout the Asian sphere.
- The Japanese were looking to attack China and south east Asia. Their essential decision is whether to:
 - Attack the Soviet Union;
 - Focus on China;
 - Attack other countries to the south east of their current possessions.
- The process for creating decisions is between the army, the navy and the civil service.
- The Japanese are also concerned about provoking the United States in the Pacific.
- What is the Japanese assessment?
 - The Germans are in the ascendancy and Japan should emulate them;
 - China is refusing to concede and surrender;
 - Huge opportunities in South East Asia - French and Dutch governments not controlling their empires and the British are overstretched - the Japanese could therefore invade Malaysia, Indonesia and French Indochina.
- There is stalemate in Tokyo over what to do.

United States

- What are the decisions that face the United States in 1940/41?
- These are most intense political arguments of the time - isolationists versus interventionists.
- One side believed passionately that the United States had to stand up to the dictatorships.
- The other side believed that the USA had to stay out of any conflict. They formed the America First movement to campaign against intervention.
- Many in America thought that the USA's involvement in the First World War was a huge mistake.
- The fall of France had been a huge shock. In the Charlottesville, VA address it

addressed the issues of the Allies versus the dictatorships. In this address, the US president promised to extend the materials of the USA to their allies.

- Roosevelt also beefed up internal defence spending and training.
- Roosevelt forms a national unity government by co-opting Republicans who believe in intervention e.g. Henry Stimpson, Harry Hopkins, George Mashall.
- Roosevelt declares a state of national emergency and prepares the country for what might come - i.e. conflict with either Japan or Germany.
- The Americans are becoming irritating to the Japanese and Germans by supplying the allies in their conflict against the dictators.
- Roosevelt runs for the Presidency again in 1940 for an unprecedented third term - he believes he is required to stand again in the midst of a national emergency.
- The Americans conclude that if and when the USA gets into the war it will have to be ready to fight.

Hitler and Stalin

- Formally, the Germans and Russians are protecting their gains and reinforcing their positions.
- Yugoslavia and Greece are opposed to the Axis - the Balkans are therefore invaded by the the Germans.
- Stalin has a number of choices at this stage - to reach out to the allies, or to continue opposing his internal enemies.
- Stalin sends Molotov to Berlin with a number of proposals for working together.
- Soviet spies are telling Stalin that Hitler is preparing to invade.
- Hitler has made the decision not to work with the Soviets because he is planning to invade the USSR.
- The lack of control or planning is a boon to the Allies.
- Operation Barbarossa is designed to attack the USSR and Nazi Germany attacks the USSR in August 1941

Washington and Tokyo

- An evaluation of the German-Soviet war produces analysis in the USA and Japan.
- The Japanese predict German victory and this influences their war plans. They have two options:
 - To attack the Soviet Union in the north; or
 - To continue to push into south east Asia.
- The Americans predict that the Soviet Union may hang on. The USA decides to try and dissuade the Japanese from attacking the USSR.
- The Americans place extreme sanctions on the Japanese - this dissuades the Japanese from attacking the USSR. The sanctions also focus Japanese interest on the USA.
- The Japanese therefore choose war with the USA unless they can settle on favourable terms. The Japanese prepare to attack the USA.
- The Americans have bases in Hawaii and the Philippines.
- In Japan, the pro-war forces take power under Tojo.
- Why is there no 'modus vivendi' between the USA and Japan - why can they not find a way of living together.

- One of the reasons is due to America's commitment to China.
- Another is the overall Allied position in Asia.
- This is compromised by the American decision to confront Germany First.
- The Japanese choose war by attacking Pearl Harbour in December 1941.

Key gambles

- The Japanese are making decisions based on considering the Germans will win. The Americans, on the other hand, believe that the Soviets could hang on.
- How strong can the USA be in a war? The Japanese and Germans are gambling that they can become strong enough and knock out enough enemies that the USA will not be in a position to oppose them.

b. Gambling for victory

- What are the critical gambles that are made at the end of 1941? Japan versus America and Germany versus the USSR.

Japan versus the United States

- Japan won't attack the United States - the Americans wanted to focus on Germany first and so didn't want the Japanese to attack.
- The Americans placed sanctions on the Japanese. They did this to prevent the Japanese from going to war with the USSR. This was successful.
- The Americans also wanted to assert themselves to make clear that they would defend their possessions and position.
- The Americans underestimated how the Japanese would work through the problem - they didn't understand how the Japanese made decisions.
- The Americans didn't think that the Japanese could or would project their power.
- This was proved wrong in spectacular fashion by Pearl Harbour.
- Would it now be 'Japan First'? No - Germany declares war on the USA. In addition, the Japanese are being successful in the Asia-Pacific, but not so successful as to pose a mortal threat.

Germany versus the USSR

- Both Germany and Japan had made decisions based on a gamble that the Nazis would defeat the USSR at speed.
- Whilst mechanised and industrial warfare does give the German army vast swathes of the USSR, it extends the supply lines deep in to hostile territory.
- Victory becomes impossible.

Americans pinned in Pacific

- There is a big gamble that the USA will be pinned in the Pacific Ocean.
- This fails for a number of reasons:

- US aircraft carriers are not sunk at Pearl Harbour;
- The Japanese do not get the oil - they fail to destroy the oil tankers that fuel the Pacific fleet and are crucial for American power in the region.
- Japan has a number of big choices - they can choose to attack:
 - India;
 - Hawaii;
 - Australia; or
 - USSR.
- Japan decides to do 'all three', but not massing forces and thus not doing any of them adequately.
- This leads to the Battle of Midway.

c. Strategies for total war

- Which models would pass the test?
- Is the inherent potential in the society realised?
- What happens to your society when you mobilise for total war?

Nazi Germany

- The Germans plan for a New Order - *neuordnung* for Europe and a war of annihilation. If the Germans had mobilised the entire resources under their rule their economic power was vast.
- The Germans reimagine what nations and states can do - the extinction of entire nations and societies.
- Imperial push to the east - the creation of 'living space' or *lebensraum*.
- Final solutions - primarily the Jews but also Slavs and Gypsies.

Soviet Russia

- How is the Soviet Russia able to survive?
- After 1941, there is a war of attrition.
- There are roughly comparable populations and GDP - so how does Russia manage such great productions?
- Russia out produces Germany in every category of military production in 1941. By 1942, Russia is vastly out producing Germany despite the loss of land and production in the west.
- How is this possible? The Soviets mobilise their entire resources. The Soviets have a better organised command economy and are able to mobilise their entire populations.
- How can the Soviets turn their entire population into a war economy? One of the key reasons is by being supplied from the Allies.
- The Soviets can focus entirely in the eastern front - the Germans are spread on different fronts.

- By 1943, the tide has turned and the Soviets are able to push the Germans back.

The USA - the juggler

- The Americans have a number of commitments and need to balance them:
 - Pacific - three major fronts in Indonesia and the Philippines, Indochina and directly against the Japanese home islands;
 - Supply to the Soviets;
 - A theatre of war in the Mediterranean;
 - Concentrating resources in the UK for the invasion of Europe;
 - Fighting a naval war in the Atlantic and Pacific;
 - Fighting an air war against Germany.
- The Americans build the Pentagon in this time - at the time the largest office building in the world.
- The US plans are for Germany first, a relatively small army.

d. Zero hour

- Total War - military instability means insecurity for all populations.
- Complete mobilisation - everyone is mobilised.
- 1944 is the bloodiest year of fighting in the war.
- In Europe there are key battle fronts in the East, Italy and France. By 1944, the German empire is shrunk to the centre of Europe.
- In the Pacific, the war is fought across a vast sphere of islands. Islands need to be taken one hop at a time in the face of ferocious Japanese defence.
- By 1945, the world is a broken place; physically, socially and economically.
- After occupation, Germany and Austria are divided into zones of occupation between the USA, the USSR, the UK and France.
- Japan suffers atomic bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima. In addition, fire raids destroy most of the Japanese cities.
- All sides were taking increasingly brutal decisions.

What happens?

- High modernism.
- High liberalism - the triumph of democracy.
- The ideals of the Second World War made it difficult to sustain Jim Crow laws.
- Big planning which is required from imperial management and then economic management and urban management and war management. Total war required total planning.
- By the end of the 1940s, there is a sense of being 'modern'.
- There are two successful models from the Second World War - the United States and the USSR.
- The 'rule of the administrators' - Burnham 'The Managerial Revolution' versus George Orwell's 1984 and Hayek's 'The Road to Serfdom'.
- The requirement is for large scale government intervention.

What are Stalin's key demands?

- Formulated in Yalta and Potsdam.
- The Soviet's key concern is security - the security of the USSR and communism.
- This would be achieved by territorial expansion, disabling Germany and Japan, maintaining wartime alliance, maintain worldwide network of compliant communist parties.

What are America's demands?

- Interested in the security of the USA - both politically and militarily as well as economically - avoiding the Great Depression.
- Maintain the wartime alliance, continue to disable Germany and Japan, and provide international cooperation and new institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the United Nations.
- The Americans are concerned as to how to rebuild the world economy.
- They are concerned with dismantling empires along with protectorates and mandates.
- There are thus two visions which are offered.
- Where are the areas of friction:
 - annexation of territory;
 - control of Poland;
 - joint duties e.g. over occupied Germany;
 - two global systems but established local Communists - China, France, Italy, Indochina etc.
 - trade and exchange - how to build trade and exchange;
 - decolonisation.

e. Imagining new countries

- There are:
 - countries that are defeated;
 - ideologies that are discredited;
 - people that have been displaced.
 - dreams and hopes that have been deferred;
 - countries that have been created.
- Who are the 'lonely pioneers' that are creating new countries in post-colonial wars:
 - Mao Zedong and China;
 - Nehru and Gandhi and India;
 - Soekarno and Indonesia.
- Considerations include what are the borders? Who are the citizens? What is the form of government? What are the opportunities and challenges?

- What are the models? Democracies? Communists? Anti-communists? Muslim politicians and religion.
- Ideologies - identity and narrative and the supply of vocabulary. What are the ideologies in the post-war world? Fascism is discredited.
- Communism is in the ascendant. But also social democracy and national (Christian) conservatism are important.

Capitalism and 'Social Democracy' - a key ideology in this post-war world

- Belief in countercyclical economics - governments can influence the performance of the economy - John Maynard Keynes and Harry Dexter White.
- Social insurance - provide people with more security in their lives - cushioning the effects of modern industrial societies.
- Government in partnership with labour - big corporations and big unions with support from the government.
- Big government is the 'umpire' in this understanding of society.
- Walter Reuther - the head of the Auto Workers Union.
- Promotion of global standard - Bretton Woods and the Gold/Dollar standard. Dollars become the world's global reserve currency and the anchor of a world system.
- There is a focus on managed economies and greater regulation.
- There was a support in the revival of free trade but with capital controls.
- Creation of global institutions the World Bank arising from the IBRD and the UNRRA.

f. Postwar

Europe

- Germany is occupied;
- The USSR moves west, and occupies the Baltic Republics;
- Poland is moved west;
- Communist parties are in power across eastern Europe.

Asia

- In China, there is a civil war between the nationalists and communists;
- Great change in south east Asia - Japanese departures leave a vacuum in the Dutch East Indies, French Indochina and British Malay and Burma;
- A Republic of the Philippines is declared.

India

- The British decided to give the Indians self government after the war;
- Complicated negotiations then ensued.
- The British quit precipitively and there are the population exchanges between Hindu and Muslim dominated areas.

Middle East

- The British had power over a vast swathe of the Middle East.
- A big question was what should happen to Iran - the Russians had occupied the north and the British and Americans the south.

The origins of the Cold War

- The big questions on how to solve the world problems.
- General Marshall is given big challenges - to solve China and Germany.
- What to do in Japan, Germany and China? How can America regain the strategic initiative.
- One of the ways is by having an agreed way to manage Germany and the future of Europe.
- Negotiations with Moscow fail - they stumble over devilish details on demilitarisation and the economic situation.
- Marshall goes back to the USA and tells the American people that the "patient is dying while the doctors are deliberating".

g. Two Europes

- Two Europes are created in the late 1940s.
- The major spur to this is the Marshall Plan.
- This was a team effort on the American team - Dean Acheson, Will Clayton, George Kennan and led by George Marshall and Harry Truman.
- More devilish details - the theory of the ERP (the European Recovery Programme):
 - Europeans write a shopping list;
 - The American government is their purchasing agent;
 - The US government then buys products from American companies.
 - In addition, if they are to receive the goods, the European countries have to cooperate - they need to reduce tariffs.
- Interdependence means that the political rivalries between the European countries had to be downplayed.
- The Communists believe that this is all wrong - it is centred on America, free trade, capitalism etc.

What is the effect of the Marshall Plan?

- One of the key benefits is to provide a psychological boost.
- The economies of western Europe start to improve.
- A vision for western Europe as a cooperative entity sharing resources.
- See French election results and the impact of the Marshall Plan on governments.
- Schumann and Monnet - creating a world of international cooperation.

A vision for Eastern Europe

- The Communists seize power in all countries - empowered by the Red Army.

h. Revolutionary Asia

- What are the models for China and other Asian countries?
 - Kuomintang (KMT);
 - Chinese Communist Party (CCP);
 - Two great powers - USA and USSR.
- In 1947, most people thought that the KMT would win.
- The KMT held the bulk of the country.
- The KMT planned to launch an offensive against the Communists in 1947 that would destroy the CCP.
- The KMT move their capital back to Nanjing and is trying to rebuild a state.
- China begins to tip over into economic crisis and hyperinflation.

What is the outcome of the Chinese civil war?

- There is no certain outcome.
- The Nationalists have all the equipment provided by the Americans - aircraft and weaponry.
- Both the CCP and KMT decide to move against Manchuria. Manchuria has been controlled by Soviet Russia, and so the CCP hopes that it will be in a good position.
- George Marshall suggests an agreement and a truce.
- But the truce does not last - within two months, the war breaks out again.
- Manchuria is the cockpit of the struggle with Japanese industry.
- The big powers make some key decisions:
 - In 1947, they make a play for the CCP to win;
 - The USA makes decisions in 1947 and eliminate much of their assistance to the KMT. Should the US make a huge intervention and investment in the Chinese civil war?
 - In 1948, Mikoyan goes to China. Mao says that the USSR is the CCP's model for how to run China. Mao is concerned that the USA will get involved.
 - George Marshall goes to Congress to discuss helping China - the three cheers ploy.
- In 1948, the Nationalist fortunes plummet until the Nationalists are defeated in 1949.
- This is a major failure on the attempt to contain communism. There are a number of effects:
 - The world's most populous country is now communist;
 - there are examples of agrarian revolutions;
 - examples of guerilla warfare against non-communist powers;
 - turmoil in Asia - Korea, Taiwan, Indochina and the Vietminh, the Philippines and the insurgency, the future of Indonesia - a strong Indonesian communist party wants to play a role.
- 1949 is a tough year for the USA. They hope that the Chinese will be more nationalist than communist and will eventually fall out with the USSR.
- This leads to an enduring dilemma for the USA - it supports flawed regimes against communists - should the USA bolster these regimes and hope that they will reform or do you abandon them?

12. The Return of Wartime (1950-1968)

a. The Age of the Americans

- Before 1950, the fate of North America was important in the world, but as important as any other region.
- In this period, America takes on a position shaping and being central to world history.
- By the 1940s, the USA becomes exceptionally important and powerful.
- Why does the USA become a key player in world history in the second half of the 20th century?
- By the mid-1950s, the USA has decided it will have a global strategy of containing communism.

America as a world power - a superpower?

- The USA emerges as a leading world power and, at times, the leading world power.
- The USA develops an industrial-military complex as a national security state.
- After the Second World War, the USA demobilised and is tempted to revert to isolationism.
- The 1940s and the 1950s are therefore the key periods for creating the national security institutions - US Department of Defence, the NSA, the CIA, Department of the Air Force, National Security Council, the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
- There is also a key role for the USA as an economic model.
- It becomes the best example of social democracy and the big unions, businesses and government.
- The leading spokes country for free trade and ending protectionism.

America's Domestic Transformation

- There is an increasing growth in the American South - huge growth in populations in cities across the South. The economies are also growing.
- Rise of the west - especially the rise in the importance of California.
- The USA finally took on the legacy of African slavery - the large population of African Americans were kept in a state of oppression. This began to change in the 1940s and the 1950s following the Second World War.
 - Integration of the armed forces;
 - Court cases;
 - School segregation - Supreme Court case of Brown v Board of Education;
 - Boycott of bus system in Alabama.
 - the rise of the civil rights movement.

b. Choosing War in Korea

- What does the US envisage in 1949? I multi-polar war with the USA, an increasingly empowered western Europe, USSR, China, new independent states

such as Japan and India.

- One of the pillars of this is the creation of NATO and NSC 48/2 for Asia - both envisaging independent power centres in the respective continents.
- National defense for 1950 - on one side are the internationalists - the commitments can not be supported by low levels of defence spending. Others want to cut defence spending and channel funds to domestic programmes.
- There are two blows to this assumptions:
 - the USSR detonating its own atomic weapon;
 - the success of the Chinese Communist Party and taking over mainland China.
- There are therefore more intense arguments on what the USA should do.
- What do the USSR and China envisage in the early 1950s? They are both needing to focus on reconstruction. But they also want to expand their revolutions.

Focus on Korea

- Korea had been a Japanese colony since 1910. After Japan's defeat in the Second World War, it was taken away.
- Korea was going to become an independent state, but, until then, it was under the control of military protectorates. These are the Soviet Union in the north and the Americans in the south - the division being along the 38th Parallel.
- The US side is led by Syngman Rhee - a national conservative.
- The USSR and PRC support Kim Il Sung.
- The US does not want a war with north Korea. They are in the process of pulling forces outside of the south Korea.
- In the north, Kim Il Sung pleads with Stalin to provide the troops and material to support Kim Il Sung's intervention in the south. Stalin is minded to agree because of a change in the international position vis a vis China (both militarily and psychologically).
- A series of meetings - Kim and Stalin in April 1950 followed by Mao, Kim and Stalin in May 1950.
- The North Koreans attack in 1950. The USA backed by the United Nations decides to intervene. Why?
 - Calculated versus axiomatic reasoning.
 - The attack seemed like such a brazen echo of the Nazi and Japanese aggression.

c. Contemplating World War III

- The intensification of the Korean War - is this the start of World War III?
- People in 1950 remembered how a regional war turned into a global conflict.
- The USA controls the air and the sea and so have advantages.
- The US/UN forces push back the north Korean forces, overturning the gains made and pushing far into the north Korean territory.
- The US/UN forces want to unify the peninsula and drive the communist forces north.
- What should the Chinese/USSR forces do? Stalin argues that the Chinese need to

go to war against the US and UN.

- Some factions in the CCP want to concentrate on developing the PRC. Others want to support the north Koreans.
- Stalin is making his arguments even at the risk of sparking World War III. This is based on the USA not being ready for a global conflict. Japan is not yet strong enough to intervene.
- Stalin - if a war is inevitable, let it be waged now and not in a few years when USA's allies will be stronger (e.g. the Japanese and Germans).
- How does the Chinese army succeed against much stronger US / UN forces?
- The Chinese fight a guerilla attack in the mountains of north Korea.
- The US / UN forces are over-confident and position themselves in indefensible and scattered positions.
- Is there going to be a wider war against China and the USSR? The Chinese push back over the 38th parallel.
- The USA triples the defence budget, calls up the reserves and pumps vast amount of equipment into the peninsula.
- The Americans decide not to widen the war against the Chinese. Truman thus has to fire the Commander McArthur.

d. The Shadow of World War III

- World War III could come and could come at any time.
- There is massive mobilisation of the US industrial - military complex.
- There is an American commitment in Europe - concentrated in Germany.
- This is a 'forward defense' move.
- It could involve the use of nuclear weapons.
- Duck and cover!
- Shown in classrooms across the United States. There could be a nuclear war at anytime. The film might save 20% of lives.
- The civil defense apparatus that is set out across the continental United States - no one is safe wherever they live. War may come at any time.

e. The Nuclear Revolution

- The nuclear revolution centres around the creation of super powerful weapons that are on a scale not previously available and with destructive capacity far beyond human experience or understanding.
- For a period between 1945 and 1949, the United States was the only country with such weapons.
- The United States considered putting atomic weapons under international control.
- It is interesting that the United States even considered bringing the bombs under international control.
- At this time, the early atomic bombs were **fission bombs**. A ton of TNT would level a building. Fission bombs of 1945 had the destructive power of 10,000 tonnes of TNT.
- At this time the Soviet Union caught a crashed B45 bomber and replicated it
- Civil defence pamphlets sought to explain the devastating effects:
 - heat (thermal effects);

- blast (pressure per inch); and
 - radiation (and drift - fallout).
- How does the US defend itself when it is no longer the sole nuclear power.
 - Increase conventional capabilities as the USA can no longer rely on the nuclear shield;
 - Step up research into fusion reaction - fission/fusion bombs (H-Bombs) - these are vastly more powerful.
- The Soviets are also developing their thermo-nuclear weapons (but a year or two behind the US developments).
- Does this make the world more stable? Not at this period - the technical developments in the weapons created windows of vulnerability:
 - NSC 68 - USA has more atomic power but less conventional power;
 - USA develops H-Bombs before the USSR;
 - Differences over delivery capacities.
- Soviet and Chinese calculations - the communists have to make decisions on when to use the bombs. Had the USSR moved too soon and done a better job of cancelling out the Americans?
- By the 1950s, the US have a gigantic build up of conventional and atomic powers. Eisenhower now has the upper hand - new nuclear weapons and new ways of delivering the bombs (jet bombers).
- Some in the administration are arguing for a preventative war against the USSR - should we wait for the Soviet Union to have built up a comparable arsenal? Or should the USA wage a preventative war before they have the ability to destroy the USA.
- The Eisenhower administration looks at the options and Eisenhower decides to rely on deterrence and containment.
- Eisenhower makes a moral decision - he cares about the morality of nuclear conflict.
- The stakes involved in the decisions are huge - see Time front cover of the H-Bomb over the Pacific.
- How deadly are H-Bombs? 1 million tons of TNT - a megaton - a hundred times stronger than atomic bombs. H-Bombs have a destructive power of 7 miles out - an area of extreme lethality covering 150 sq miles. The fallout would be correspondingly greater.
- Bombs do not just destroy parts of cities, they destroy whole metropolis and, if used en masse, whole countries if not the entire human population.

f. New Empires and Confederations

- By the mid-1950s, the world of empires, colonies, mandates and protectorates has diminished. The British Empire has been replaced by a British Commonwealth.
- There is still a French Empire and smaller Portuguese and Spanish Empires.
- There are new imperial partnerships between colonial rulers and colonial elites.
- As empires recede, these local elites are rising. There is still a partnership between the two sides - they become a junior partner but still strong political, economic and social players.
- The locals have a lot more autonomy.
- Anti-communist confederation (the 'American Empire'?) e.g. NATO, OAS, the Rio

Treaty (the Inter-American Pact) - see definition in the OED - a number of states united by a league for a common purpose.

- There is an enlarged sense of identity - the emergence, for example of an Atlantic community.
- The Baghdad Pact linking Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan etc.
- SEATO - south east Asia - pact signed in Manila.
- British influence in Persia, Iraq and Egypt - impact of the nationalist movements. There is a conflict between the US support for Britain and US sympathies for national self determination.
- Finally, the British and the Americans decide to work together and support the installation of the Shah.

Europe and Japan reborn

- These are the great boom years in the defeated countries. Part of the reason is the development of connected trading and international organisations and supranational organisations.
- GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade);
- ECA (Economic Cooperation Agreement);
- EPU (European Payments Union).
- European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) - Schuman and Monnet - Europe unites in the Common Market - the European Economic Community.
- NATO and the EEC.
- SCAPanese model (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) - Shigeru.
- Japan is at the hub of a new Asian economic power base - the offshore economies of Korea, Hong Kong, the Philippines, South Vietnam and Indonesia.
- The United States plays the role in fostering free trade and general economic prosperity.
- in the period 1950 - 1970, per capita GDP rises sharply in the USA, Western Europe, Japan. The Soviet Union and South Korea grow much more slowly, but China and India grow very slowly.

Why did the cooperation happen?

- The experience of the Second World War and a refusal to go back to extremes and dictatorships.
- Stalin dies in the early 1950s. American power now seems much stronger.
- There is therefore an armistice in Korea along the Demilitarized Zone.
- There is a big conference in Indochina - the French would leave and the Vietnamese would hold elections - instead, Vietnam splits between north and south.
- Could there be a thaw in the Cold War?
- In Western Europe, there were still strong believers.
- There are other forms of communism, e.g. Tito in Yugoslavia.
- Soviet 'modernism' and the high tide of Sino-Soviet relations.
- The legacy of Stalin.
- There is a growing uneasiness between China and the USSR.

Khrushchev and the Crisis Years

- Khrushchev and the 'Secret Speech' - 20th CPSU and the denunciation of Stalin
- Mao's speech - Stalin had to be carefully evaluated with both good and bad elements, but 70 / 30 in favour of Stalin.
- 8th CCP: "End of class struggle".

g. The Third World

- How do you reconcile the anti-communist goals of the USA with their imperial allies who are also anti-communist.
- These come to a head in Egypt over the Suez Canal.
- Nasser is determined to take control of the Suez Canal and its revenue.
- Nasser has forced the British army to remove their forces.
- There is a lot of tension between Israel and Egypt.
- The French see Egypt leading Arab nationalism which supports anti-French forces in Algeria.
- The French, British and Israelis attack Egypt in a combined action.
- This is defeated by the United States, who support the Egyptians and force the British and French to cede in the face of American financial
- The British and French look at the idea of a European identity.
- For the USSR, the Suez Crisis provided a chance for the Soviets to get more involved in the Middle East.
- The Third World is the world of countries inbetween the USA-led anti-communists and the communists of the USSR and China.
- They saw themselves as a third power or a different way of working.
- The third world could be:
 - Neocolonial client states;
 - Laboratories for development in line with capitalism or communism;
 - Strategic pivots controlling points in the world;
 - Examples of authenticity or liberation - e.g. Che.
 - The third world seemed important - it was something that people followed.
- The Non-Aligned Movement (including China by 1955). Nehru was a key figure along with India.
- These countries are shaped by the struggle against colonialism and by colonial rule.
- What are the problems that they face?
 - complex new borders of the new entities coming into being;
 - decolonisation happens quickly;
 - fragility - the structures of some of these states are very small - small army, minimal infrastructure etc.
 - easy for leaders to be overthrown and for other countries to intervene;
 - independence - countries want to feel more independent - they have not thrown off empire to become part of new empires;
 - modernisation, development and becoming richer.
- How do these countries modernise? What choices do they have?
 - Finance;

- Key industries;
 - Land - who gets the land? Do you need to redistribute the land?
 - Trade - do you like the trading system - do you want a freer system or raise barriers;
 - wages and prices - left to the market or controlled by government;
 - justice.
 - These choices will define the character of the states - there are theories from communism (China), liberalism, social democracy (Europe), democratic socialism (India, Mexico), import-substitution industrialisation (Brazil), export oriented industrialisation (Japan and South Korea).
- How do I decide who gets what? How is the politics of the new country going to be set up.
 - Mao's great leap forward and the famine.
 - Problems of separatism and civil wars and insurgencies (e.g. in India and Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma etc.)

h. To the Brink

- The years of maximum crisis in the Cold War between 1957 and 1961.
- The crises of 1958:
 - Crisis in the Middle East – deposing the King of Iraq;
 - Crisis in the Pacific – deterring the Communist attack against Taiwan.
 - Crisis in Berlin – the Berlin Airlift. The GDR and the USSR decide to liquidate the issue of West Berlin by blockading Berlin.
- There are also some great developments in the communist countries such as:
 - The Great Leap forward in China;
 - The Sino-Soviet Split – USSR doesn't trust China with nuclear weapons. Khrushchev wants to remain head of the worldwide communist movement.
 - There is a dangerous triangle formed – USSR, USA and China.
 - Khrushchev travels around the world creating a 'grand design' – how does the USSR demonstrate leadership in the Communist world:
 - Increase missile power to make the USSR seem strong;
 - Win a symbolic victory over West Berlin;
 - Cut spending on the huge USSR conventional military spending;
 - With this money, devote more attention to developing the Soviet economy and consumer goods. Perhaps creating a thaw in the Soviet model over life and freedoms.
- Summit between Eisenhower and Khrushchev in Paris is cancelled after the Soviets shoot down the U-2 and its pilot Gary Powers
- Cuban invasion by the Cuban exiles in the Bay of Pigs debacle.

The brink

- Berlin and the Berlin Wall;
- Vienna;

- Cuba;
- Nuclear demonstrations – the largest nuclear weapons are detonated in the fall of 1961 – 50 megatons and beyond.
- In May 1962, Khrushchev makes some key decisions to deploy IRBMs and MRBMs onto Cuba along with tens of thousands of troops. This would make the US position in West Berlin untenable.
- Khrushchev's plan is to have the missiles in place so that they will then be able to be unveiled and force the negotiations in Berlin.
- The Cubans go along with the proposal to have the missiles in place.
- The Soviets begin to move huge amounts of military equipment into Cuba.
- The USA has to decide on how to react to this. Kennedy says that he will tolerate it if there are defensive equipment. He draws a line that says don't put any offensive weapons on Cuba.
- The plan is foiled by the discovery of the build up by reconnaissance aircraft. This shows Soviet missiles being prepared for launch capability.
- Kennedy has to decide how to react. His options include invading Cuba and blockading Cuba.
- Kennedy's view is:
 - To understand and explain why the Russians did what they did:
 - To have a missile base that puts pressure on the USA;
 - If he does anything on the missiles, they can retaliate on Berlin – this would lose support for the USA amongst their allies especially West Germany;
 - If the USA does nothing, they are able to threaten the USA at any time.
 - Kennedy believes that the whole issue is about Berlin.
 - Any action by Kennedy presents the risk of a counter attack or counter action against Berlin. This could escalate into a nuclear exchange.
 - A blockade against Cuba could be matched by a blockage against Berlin.
 - Kennedy recognises the importance of Berlin to its European allies and thus to the USA.
 - Kennedy recognises that he has to do something.
- Kennedy decides a middle option between attacking and negotiation – a blockade but a first step that might lead to an invasion. Kennedy implies a ready intention to invade Cuba.
- The world understands that it has been brought to the brink of a nuclear exchange.
- The USSR is hit with a diplomatic offensive exposing the Cuban missiles that have been deployed by the Soviets on Cuba.
- How do the Soviets back down?
- How does Washington make sure that the missiles do not become operational?
- The Armageddon Letter from Castro to Khrushchev.
- The USA agrees to settle on terms that include an agreement not to invade Cuba and the removal of the missiles from Turkey.
- This leads the world relieved but with Castro angry.
- Aftermath – an enormous turning point – the world is saved from the Third World War;
- There needs to be some management of the arms race between the USA and USSR;
- The Berlin Crisis comes to an end – the Soviets decide to let the situation lie.

Wars of containment

Southeast Asia

- Communist North Vietnam is trying to overthrow the South Vietnamese government;

- Communist insurgency from Malaysia and Indonesia;
- A lot of dynamism coming from China and Mao.
- Middle East
 - The USSR is backing Arab nationalists;
 - The USA is finding supporters in traditional monarchies and Israel;
 - Israel launches a pre-emptive attack in 1956.
 - Iran is still run by the Shah –the Shah is part of the league of anti-Communist monarchies.
- Latin America
 - Cuba;
 - Communist insurgencies in other Latin American countries;
 - Can Latin America develop in an alternative way to communism
- Africa
 - Proxy wars between the USA and USSR;
 - More a theatre of superpowers in 1970s;
 - In Africa, many of the countries in the 1960s are fighting for their national hood.
- Vietnam
 - Divided into North and South Vietnam
 - § Hanoi – Ho Chi Minh
 - § Saigon - Ngo Dinh Diem
 - The North Vietnamese decide to raise the stakes and force the destruction of the South Vietnamese state.
 - The initial US response is to provide equipment.
 - The initial Chinese response is to provide equipment.
 - By 1963, the Americans are wondering what they should be doing in Vietnam:
 - § Bolster a flawed government;
 - § Abandon the flawed government.
 - In 1963, there is a coup against Diem. This forces the Americans to decide what to do.
 - In May 1964, the new president, Lyndon B Johnson has to decide what to do.

13. Decay and Renaissance (1969-1991)

a. Breakdown and Reaction Bust

- The Cold War in popular culture - Dr Strangelove, Fail Safe, Seven Days in May.
- During this period, the Cold War becomes routine:
 - the USA and USSR are settling down for a long conflict;
 - they have stepped back from the brink;
 - there is an emerging European settlement based on the division of Europe;
 - Both superpowers are national security states with large cold war

bureaucracies.

- The managerial society in an affluent society.
- There is a crossover between large corporations and the government posts e.g. McNamara at Ford and the Department of Defence.
- The managerial state is being challenged:
 - Mao's great leaps forward - a more revolutionary socialist position.
 - Liu Shao-Chi - work, purges and disillusionment.
 - Protest against stifling hierarchies:
 - Women's liberation;
 - Catch 22 by Joseph Heller;
 - Revolutionary Road by Richard Yates;
 - The rights revolution.

The rights revolution

- The origin of the rights revolution is:
 - domestic; and
 - international.
- The challenges of the United States force people around the world to change the way they think about rights.
- There is a big push for civil rights for African-Americans in the 1950s and 1960s. This results in legislation saying that government cannot discriminate against people based on their race.
- In the Civil Rights Act 1964 anti-discrimination provisions are extended beyond the government to private citizens. This is an extension of government power - private individuals in their businesses cannot discriminate based on race.
- Anti-discrimination legislation then extends around the world - first in Europe and then around the world.
- The Civil Rights Act 1964 also extended the scope to anti-gender discrimination. Again, this extended around the world.
- There is a change to people's expectations about their rights and what governments should do to protect their rights.
- This is a challenge to the managerial state.

Freedom

- There are also big challenges to the managerial state by calls for freedom. This is not just a political argument - it is a social and cultural argument.
- This is manifested in the big rebellions in 1968 - Prague, Paris, USA anti-Vietnam protests, Mexico, China - the red guards in the Cultural Revolution.
- All of this leads to the Great Disruption - what is the cause and how does it develop?
 - China and the rest;
 - Living on the quiet volcano;
 - Students;
 - American turmoil plus Vietnam as a catalyst.
- A lot of society reacts with fear in response to the turmoil. There is therefore

- response and reaction;
- A possibility of a preventative war with China following China's secret years of terror;
- USA and the Vietnam War.

b. The Weary Establishment

The Status Quo

- Whatever type of government - socialist, capitalist etc. they are all alike;
- Creaky managerial states;
- Sputtering economic models:
 - the great inflation of the 1970s;
 - inflation peaking at 25% in the UK;
 - governments are printing money to maintain military spending and social services;
 - trying to combat unemployment - the traditional economic orthodoxy is that this high inflation will lead to lower unemployment - this does not happen;
 - the end of the Bretton Woods financial system - world money 2.0 - the gold / dollar standard;
 - nothing takes the place of the Bretton Woods system - there is floating trade;
 - the great oil shock arising from the OPEC oil producing countries raising prices;
 - these mean different sorts of problems for different types of economic models - import substitution industrialisation, export oriented industrialisation or socialism:
 - ISI - can't buy primary raw materials, do not have products to export, want to give people more money to pay for raw materials - this leads to endemic inflation leading to hyperinflation and a breakdown in the value of the currency;
 - EOI - these countries have depressed domestic standards of living to make exports cheap - but what if demand in richer countries fails? Political problems from domestic populations fed up with depressed living standard.
 - there is a fraying in the alliance systems.
- The USA pulls out of Vietnam - it feels like a defeat for the USA and perhaps marks the retrenchment of their power. It appears that the USSR is supplanting the USA.

Detente

- Regular meetings between the USA and USSR;
- Routine managed conflict in the detente era;
- Commercial relationships are in place between the superpowers;
- Conflict is measured and monitored.
- Others think the USA should confront the USSR.

- There are obstacles to detente:
 - **Obstacle 1** - Domestic support - the government says that the public needs to be realistic. Some believe this is a betrayal of ideals or making conflict routine;
 - Secretive on process and style - it appears suspicious to outsiders;
 - Are the two superpowers alike - is the rest of the world trapped by them?
 - **Obstacle 2** - Reducing the threat - the Soviet army is much bigger, but NATO has a supremacy in technology - there is something of an imbalance - an asymmetry;
 - There is an asymmetry in the nuclear arsenals - Soviet missiles versus American bombers and submarines.
 - **Obstacle 3** - The competition for allies in the third world. Both countries claim the other is seeking a unilateral advantage in the middle east and in Indochina and southern Africa - proxy wars between the USA and the USSR.
 - Wars in Afghanistan and the Soviet fear of intervention. But in USA, there is concern that this is part of a Soviet plan to take advantage of turmoil in Persia / Iran and move to the Persian Gulf.

c. Bust

- How bad were things getting in the 1970s?
- Systemic crises in the West - is there trouble for capitalism? Can communist parties achieve electoral success in democratic systems (e.g. Italy and states in India).
- The oil crisis benefits the USSR in the short term because they are a major oil producer.
- One criticism of the whole system is a question of whether there is a human rights crisis. Should human rights be considered as part of international relations.
- If there is an election in the world - what is happening in the world? What are the swing areas that could decide the future of the world?
 - Western and central Europe; and
 - China
- Choices made in these two areas will change the flow of world history.

The historical problem

- A tale of two U-Turns:
 - 1972 - Edward Heath tries to take on the labour unions and inflation. Instead he fails and inflation runs rampant. This is a turn to the left.
 - 1982 - Francois Mitterand takes control of France - he runs a government in partnership with the communist. It appears to be a leftward move. But in 1982, Mitterand joins a new consensus that is emerging in Europe - a rightward shift.

What are the alternatives for democratic socialism?

- In the British Labour Party and in France in the late 1970s;
- The miners' strike in Britain - Thatcher versus Scargill - the public had to decide which side were you on.
- Surge in popularity of communism in Spain and Italy - the rise in Eurocommunism.
- Single issue parties - the Greens, ethnic nationalism etc.
- Governability and public order - people are more and more concerned about societies are breaking down - plagued by domestic terrorists such as the Red Brigade, the RAF, ETA and IRA.
- The socialists are in the shadow of the USSR - by the late 1970s the Soviets are getting a bad press in the West.

d. New Thinking in the West

- A renaissance in liberalism:
 - economic liberalism - smaller government - Milton Friedman;
 - social liberalism;
 - political liberalism - Pope John Paul II;
 - yearning for public order;
 - the shadow of the USSR;
 - a revolution of the shopkeepers - small business owners.

The Turns

- Italy and Spain - the communist are defeated;
- UK - Margaret Thatcher is elected in 1979;
- Ronald Reagan takes power in 1980;
- Francois Mitterrand is a socialist, but does make a rightward turn to the European consensus;
- West Germany - Helmut Schmidt's SPD - had to govern with Germany's Liberal party - the Free Democrats. The FDP hold the balance of power.
- What turns Germany in a decisive direction is a crisis over missiles.
- Schmidt makes a pitch for missiles in Germany - the deployment of US missiles in Germany. This is to be completed in 1983.
- This became an enormous symbol of political divisions in Europe.
- The SDP moves leftward.

Polarization

- There is economic and political polarization in Europe;
- In Germany, the FDP joins the CDU/CSU in a more right wing coalition.
- There are vast demonstrations in Germany.
- Chancellor Helmut Kohl - the *Tendenzwende* - the 'change of direction'.

Converging crises

- The early 1980s are key years for political change;

- There are flash points:
 - Martial law in Poland and the influence of Pope John Paul II;
 - Soviet war in Afghanistan;
 - Economic crises in the developed and industrialised world;
 - Countries are threatening to go bankrupt;
 - Argentina's seizure of the Falkland Islands and the UK taking them back;
 - Euromissiles;
 - Strife and civil war in Central America - Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador - right wing death squads - human rights issues.
- A huge feel of tension that culminates in 1983:
 - USSR - change of leadership when Brezhnev dies and is succeeded by Andropov;
 - Debt crisis and country defaults and bankruptcy;
 - US intervention in central America
 - Stress - seeking cures for modern anxieties;
 - Soviet airforce destroys a Korean Air passenger liner;
 - Issues in Afghanistan;
 - Lebanon and carnage in Beirut;
 - The USA invades Grenada;
 - Escalating crisis in Syria;
 - NATO military actions and
- The Third World War - August 1985
- The Day After
- Red Dawn - Soviet invasion of the USA
- War Games

e. Global Capitalism Transformed

- The importance of China in the development of a new global economic.
- What to do in the post-Mao era?
 - Embalming of Mao's body - symbolic of what role Mao should play. Mao's body is embalmed and put on display.
 - Four visions for China:
 - Revolutionary socialism;
 - Soviet-style Communism - concentrating on heavy industry and stronger state planning;
 - National conservatives with Chinese characteristics - strong central management and partnerships between entrepreneurs and central government;
 - Liberal social democracy e.g. as found in western Europe.
 - These four groups battle. The revolutionary socialist model is ruled out following the arrest and trial of Mao's widow and supporters.
 - Critical party conference in 1978 - Deng Xiaoping.
- In the 1970s - the models that they would notice were Japan, Taiwan and South

Korea - would have seen nominal democracies in all countries (LDP in Japan, KMT in Taiwan etc,)

- China was also taking a new direction - formally stabilising relations with the United States.
- There is a cycle of tightening / loosening - Fang-Shou.
- Deng Xiaoping tightens his control and wrests power away from the liberal faction.
- Mundell's Trilemma:
 - Capital mobility
 - Stable exchange
 - Monetary independence
- You can only have two of these three under the thesis - comparing Gold Standard versus Bretton Woods
- What took the place of the collapsed Bretton Woods system? How do you have a gold standard like system without gold - how do you make paper money 'hard'.

The Capitalist revolution

- Two key establishments - National Keynesianism and Import-Substitution Industrialisation.
- Three key turns - America followed by Europe followed by America.
- Hayek and Milton lead arguments that the government should get out of the way.
- The ideas are picked up by German liberals and others on the continent.
- Tight monetary controls co-ordinated by US, European and Japanese central bankers - this is the way of firming control of money supplies as a way of making paper money 'hard'.
- This leads to a major fluctuation in the exchange rates. This requires the raising of interest rates.
- This leads to two key issues:
 - debt crises for developing countries;
 - personal debt in developed countries.
- The rise of globalisation and global finance - the rise of international finance and global investment banking.
- The issue of sovereign control over economic decisions and the rise of European economic integration.

What should developed countries do?

- Independence; or
- Interdependence.
- How do political parties say that they are offering something different? Are they vitally different or essentially equivalent;
- Conciliation with the blocs or confrontation.

f. New Thinking in the East

- How does new thinking emerge? Situations > Problems / opportunities > Solutions
- New thinking in the USSR - the Soviet system sees itself as being in a crisis in the 1980s.

- The leadership looks like the old guard - the same old faces.
- The economic situation looks bad - the Soviet Union is not growing as fast as other economies.
- The USSR is suffering from the focus on heavy industries.
- Oil prices have plummeted - the drop in prices means that the Soviet income from oil sales has halved.

Alternative

- The new socialists - Gorbechev;
- Perestroika - renewal
- Glasnost - openness
- Reducing foreign entanglements.
- Convergent ideas

g. The End of the Cold War

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14. The Next Phase (1991-2013)

a. The "Washington Consensus"

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b. Toward a New Era in World History

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c. The Great Convergence

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d. The Bottom Billion

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e. The Muslim World

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f. Drift and Shock

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g. The Global and the Local

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h. An Age of Transition

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