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## **Bibliography**

## TOPIC ONE

### THE RISE OF CAPITALISM IN EUROPE

Capitalism is a socio-economic system in which a country's factors of production like industries, land, trade and other sources of capital and property are owned and controlled privately purposely for profit making in a free market economy (with little government intervention).

Capitalism is also referred to as a free market economy with a free competitive enterprise where prices of goods and services are determined by the forces of demand and supply.

*Note: The cardinal bases of capitalism are: private ownership and control of factors of production; the sole aim of production is for profit making and; little government involvement in the control of the economy.*

Capitalism first developed in Europe coming into existence after the demise of feudalism. It passed through three main stages namely, mercantile, competitive and monopoly phases.

#### ***Characteristics of capitalism***

Capitalism operates through a number of ways:

- a. Free market economy in which prices of goods and services are determined by the market forces of demand and supply.
- b. Little government intervention as production is left in the hands of capital owners.
- c. Private ownership of factors of production against nationalization policy.
- d. Production is purposely for profit maximization.
- e. Existence of classes. There are two major classes: the haves who are the Capitalists or Bourgeoisies who own the major means of production (capital), and the class of the have-nots, who are mainly the workers called proletariats exploited by the capitalists for profit maximization.
- f. Exploitation, due to the presence of classes. The haves exploit the have-nots through low wages purposely for profit making. The principle of a capitalist here is to ensure low costs in production but realize maximum profits.
- g. Class struggle. The workers struggle against their exploitation by their employers the capitalists. For instance through strikes under Trade Unions.

#### **TRANSITION FROM FEUDALISM TO CAPITALISM**

The transition of European societies from feudalism to capitalism was a gradual process. Several developments were experienced from the 15<sup>th</sup> C to the late 19<sup>th</sup> C for capitalism to mature.

Before taking an analysis of European transformation to capitalism, it is imperative to have a glance on the situation of Europe under the feudal system.

## **FEUDALISM IN EUROPE**

Feudalism is a political-economic system or Mode of Production based on landownership and personal loyalty. In a feudal system land was the major means of production. It was owned by a few, the landlords who rent it to the landless majority, the peasants or tenant (serfs). Besides owning land, landlords as well partially owned the serfs whom they exploited through payment of rent.

The development of feudalism in Europe is traced from the 5<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. after the fall of the Great Roman Empire. The fall of the Roman Empire caused more trouble as there was no longer a strong central government to protect the people. The invasions which had weakened the empire caused widespread disorder and suffering. As most western Europeans were living in constant danger, many turned to local rulers, the warlords who had fought the Roman Empire with their own armies. The strong rulers gained political strength, declared their independencies and distributed land to their armies and loyal subjects. Slaves who worked with the Roman Empire were set free and became tenants or serfs together with other free people who needed security from the rulers. On that note, feudalism was a system developed basing on mutual obligations. In exchange for military protection and other services, landowners granted land to their guards (armies). The person receiving a land was called a vassal. The armies then distributed it to the landless common people in return for rent. These came to be called peasant and serf.

### ***Features of European Feudalism***

1. Land was the major form of property and means of production. The other means of production like industry were not yet highly developed hence Europe depended much on the land with agriculture as the main activity. Landowners possessed land held both political and economic power.
2. Property especially land was owned by a few landlords who rented it the majority landless peasants and serfs/tenants. The serfs lived on the landlords land worked on the land for their landlords or paid rents to their landlords. The landlords and the property owners were the aristocrats, feudal lords and the church.
3. Social stratification. Society was divided into classes hierarchically: at the top were the nobility classes of the Monarchs and the Dukes, second were the clergy (religious leaders like Bishops and priests) followed by the knights (soldiers) and the landlords. At the bottom were vast majority of the peasants and serfs who did not own property or political power. This class was also divided into the Freeman Tenants (peasants) who enjoyed some freedom as they paid rent in produce and could leave the land when they wished and serfs who could not lawfully leave the place they were born/manor or marry without the consent of the landlord. Social class was usually inherited.
4. The church was also a powerful feudal institution owning vast estates (land) and accommodating tenants and serfs. Besides controlling the religious and moral affairs of society, the church also participated in political and administrative roles to the state. For instance, it controlled the education of which alongside religion was important strengthening loyalty to the state.
5. State and state apparatus. Feudalism existed under centralized monarchical systems which exercised despotic rule. Power was in hands of the strong landlords the monarch

supported with armies. The aristocrats, nobility and the clergy enjoyed state power and privileges followed by the landlords. For example, on top of owning land, they were exempted from taxation and public labour.

6. Restrictive laws. There were special laws which bounded the serfs to the land and to the services of landlords. This was purposely to strengthen the loyalty of the serfs to their landlords so as to enhance exploitation. For example the laws that bounded the serfs to the land (manors) where they neither marry nor leave without the consent of the landlord. Such laws were known as feudal justice laws.
7. Excessive exploitation of the serf and peasants. Serfs paid high and many feudal dues like rents and taxes to the landlords, the church and the state. In France for example, they obliged to payment of several taxes like income tax, land tax, poll tax and salt tax. In addition he paid a tithe of the produce of his land to the church. As if these burdens were not sufficient, he was often liable to forced labour on the roads or public buildings. The upper classes were exempted from such burdens.
8. Payment of Rent. On using their landlords' lands serfs had to pay rent. Rent payment was the major possible form of extracting surplus from the serfs by landlord. There were mainly three forms of rent: Labour Rent which was predominant in the early stage of development of feudalism in which the peasants worked part of the week, providing labour for the landlords and the rest of the days on his holding; Rent in kind by which the peasant shared portion of his products with his landlords and lastly; was money Rent in which peasants paid rent in form of money. The peasants had to sell their products in order to pay their rents.
9. Division of land. Land in the manors was divided into different complete portions for different purposed. The major divisions were; the open free lands for cultivation, common meadowland for hay production, common pasture lands for grazing of cattle, common woodlands for firewood and common wastelands which were fallowed.
10. Feudalism developed a tendency of invasion and conquest. Feudalism was much competitive for property especially land. Hence strong feudal lords or societies (manors) developed a habit of invading the weak ones, annexed their land, grab their properties and subjugate their people.
11. Petty commodity production. Trade and commerce were minimal and the use of money at the beginning was initially insignificant. However at the advanced stage when payment of rent in cash became more preferred by the landlords commodity production increased as serfs were now conditioned to turn to commodity production to raise money for rent payment.

The features of European feudalism are a glance on how the system was not only retrogressive but contradicting provocative to individual initiatives and freedoms particularly to the peasantry class and development of productive forces. The system was marred by frequent peasant revolts and civil wars. Besides it caused suffering to the majority due denial of individual freedom by the restrictive laws and low production which caused scarcity and frequent famines. It was on such grounds that the feudal system could not withstand the new changes of society which came to transform Europe to capitalism beginning with Western Europe.

## **FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF CAPITALISM IN EUROPE**

### **I. THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION**

The Agrarian revolution was a fundamental change in agricultural production system. The revolution made changes mainly in production techniques and land tenure system which transformed the old traditional and feudal European farming systems to the new one of commercial and capitalist systems. The revolution began in the Netherlands and reached England in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, from 1450's. It reached its climax in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

It was the transformation from the old traditional feudal farming system of the open field to new systems particularly the enclosure system which was effected by changes in land ownership (tenure) system and in land usage and application of scientific methods like cross-breeding, land reclamation, and use of fertilizers.

The old farming system under open fields, on which farmers worked on small strips of land in scattered fields and grazed their animals and gathered timber on public (common) land, did not allow effective use of land. Poor methods were used like fallowing and broadcasting of seeds, which resulted into poor grain production because weeding was difficult and mechanization impossible. By the Agrarian revolution such systems were discarded by introducing new and scientific systems and commercialization in farming.

#### ***Problems that faced agriculture in Europe under the Open Field system***

1. Poor land tenure system of landlordism of the feudal system. The feudal system of land ownership did not favour agricultural development and the majority of the people. The Largest part of land was owned and controlled by a small section of the state; the monarchy, church and landlords while the majority remained landless only to be exploited by the landed classes.
2. Existence of exploitative feudal laws. The serfs who were the majority landless were subjected to hard exploitative laws, which limited their freedom and tied them to work on land. For example the church used its canon laws to exploit its serfs.
3. Intensive exploitation of the lower classes. Serfs and peasants were required to pay high feudal dues in form of rent (labour rent, rent in kind, money rent) and taxes. These indeed did not favour the development of productive forces and commodity production as the serfs largest share was not his.
4. Use of primitive means of production. Poor tools were used in farms for example hand hoes and poor farming methods like fallowing. Such means retarded agricultural development. More so tied many people to work on land because they were labour intensive and thus limited land for agricultural use.
5. Civil wars and revolts also hit agriculture in Europe. The feudal system faced many conflicts and civil wars for instance in 1453 a civil war erupted in England as peasants and serfs reacted against exploitation by landlords and demanded for equal rights with the landlords.
6. Problems of land fragmentation. Land was acquired mainly by inheritance. It meant that family land had to be portioned into small strips for family members making large scale

farming and mechanisation difficult. It also increased conflicts based on land demarcations.

7. Low production. Production was always low and mainly for subsistence, worse of all from the little the serfs produced they were required to pay a large part of it to their landlords as rent in kind. Many European societies were always attacked by famine due to low production.

### ***Causes of changes in the farming system***

1. Advancement in science and technology. New technology was applied in farms by the invention of farming machines like horse/oxen driven plough and seed drill. Other scientific methods included use of fertilizers and cross breeding. Such methods increased efficiency and production as more land could easily be opened for agriculture.
2. Demographic revolution. Between 1750 and 1810, European population was expanding very fast. In England for instance, it had doubled from about 5 to 10 million people. The increase caused shortage of land hence forced for changes in land ownership system to reduce excess population on farm land and improve agriculture hence the enclosure system was introduced.
3. The expansion of the domestic and external market. The increasing demand for farm products of food and raw materials transformed agriculture from subsistence to a commercial oriented venture. The market was expanded due to a sharp population increase in many countries like England, Belgium, and Netherlands. Europeans also had expansive overseas markets in Africa, Americas and India for textile products.
4. The adaptability of the English people. The English people were adaptive so could easily change to fit new circumstances before them. On that ground, it was easy for them to abandon the old traditional farming systems and adopt new ones which could meet new demands.
5. The expansion of towns. When towns expanded, many peasants abandoned the land and migrated to towns for better living. This led to shortage of labour in the farms and that could be solved by the use of machines. But also expanding town population was a reliable market for agricultural products particularly food and raw materials like wool needed for cloth making.
6. The rise of the monetary system. The increased use of money expanded trade, it required increase in production of agricultural goods like grain and wool which were important items of trade hence the monetary system contributed to the commercialization of agriculture.

### ***The new systems or changes that replaced the old ones were characterized by;***

#### ***a) The enclosure system***

In the enclosure system, small peasants' plots of land, common lands and public lands in amalgamated were amalgamated, enclosed (fenced) and put under private ownership of rich farmers. It was the most significant aspect of the Agrarian revolution. It brought great changes in land ownership and usage, replacing the open field system.

Under the enclosure system, agriculture became more efficient because wealthy landowners farmed larger amounts of land, applied new and scientific farming methods like use of machines for large scale farming, cross breeding on sheep, cattle and experimentation with new crops. Such new innovations increased production of both food and raw materials tremendously; production of grain (wheat, barley and corn), potatoes, cotton, wool and meat increased.

The poor peasants were forced to sell off their plots to the rich farmers or were evicted from the land. Peasants who lost plots remained in farms to sell their labour to the rich farmers for wages while others moved to towns to either sell their labour too or participate in trade for those who had capital. The system was supported by the English parliament and between 1760 and 1800 about three million hectares were enclosed.

### ***Reasons for the adoption of the enclosure system***

1. To increase food production. Many European states suffered from food shortages due to poor farming methods which contributed to low production and poor yields
2. To increase production of raw materials. The increasing number of textile and woolen industries forced changes in agricultural production system. There was need to provide more land for sheep rearing to increase wool production and to increase cotton production.
3. To solve the problem of land fragmentation. The open field system suffered the problem of land fragmentation like land conflicts and low production due to poor methods of farming. Hence the enclosure system with its new land tenure system was to solve the problem.
4. To reduce congestion on land. Before the enclosure system greater numbers of people were kept on land to work on it, this increased pressure on land leading to soil exhaustion, low and poor yields.
5. To transform agriculture from a simple subsistence to commercial production system. Land was commercialized and sold to rich capitalist farmers whose aim was to produce for profit making.
6. To end conflicts associated with landlordism of the feudal system. The feudal system caused conflicts since it denied many (commoners) a chance to own land. Land was owned by few; the nobles, church, and landlords on inheritance. The enclosure system was to change the old system by commercialization of land.
7. To improve transport in the farming areas. In the open field system the farms were not easily accessible, because they were not fenced without clear demarcations between different individuals' plots. Therefore the enclosure was to improve the situation.

### ***b) Land reclamation.***

This meant bringing into cultivation the lands which previously could not be used for farming. Thai is wastelands were made Arabic and consolidated for agricultural use. Marshy areas were drained, dry areas were put under irrigation and forests were cleared and terracing as used in hilly areas. Land reclamation did not only enable expansion of agricultural land but also allowed agricultural mechanization. This indeed revolutionized agriculture since light machines were invented and applied in farming.

**c) *Mechanization of agriculture.***

New technology was applied in farms through the invention of farming machines like the Jethro Tull seed drill that planted the seeds in straight rows to ease processes of planting, weeding and harvesting. Other machines applied included John Dear and Jethro Tull horse driven ploughs. Mechanization increased efficiency in farming by increasing production as more land could easily be opened for agricultural purposes.

**d) *Use of scientific breeding.***

Both animals and seeds were selected for breeding to develop high quality seeds and livestock breeds. As a result yields were tremendously increased in quality and quantity. For example, Sheep and cattle increased in weight and number thus increased production of raw materials like wool, and hides for textile industries, mutton, meat and milk.

**e). *Use of fertilizer.***

Fertilizers were applied to add and maintain soil fertility so as to increase agricultural production. Different types of fertilizers like decomposed manure were discovered and used together with other measures like use of nitrogenous crops like beans and peas which were inter-planted together with other crops and systems like mulching. The use of fertilizers ended the practice of fallowing which limited farmland by resting parts of land to regain fertility.

**f) *Introduction of crop rotation.***

This is a farming system in which farmlands are divided into different portions for cultivation of different crops at the same time on a (seasonal) rotational basis to control the problem of soil exhaustion caused by cultivation of same crops on the same part of land for a long time. Crop rotation was also a substitute to fallowing.

**g) *Infrastructural improvement***

Transport and communication net works like roads were improved to make farming areas easily accessible. The aim was to link the farms with the markets of agricultural goods especially towns which bought food and raw materials to the industries.

***How the Agrarian Revolution (enclosure system) contributed to the rise of capitalism.***

1. Increased production of raw materials. Application of scientific farming techniques like cross breeding and crop rotation improved agricultural productivity through which enough raw materials like wool were produced to feed the growing cottage textile industries and thus boosted industrial development.
2. Increased production of food. Better farming methods of agrarian revolution like crop rotation improved production and allowed cultivation of new food crops such as potatoes and corn introduced from America on top of the European traditional crops like wheat,



barley and turnips. Also cross breeding in sheep and cattle increased meat production. Enough food was produced which contributed to population and market expansion.

3. The revolution contributed to the abolition of serfdom. Poor landlords and peasants lost their land to the rich farmers, the situation which freed serfs who were tied on land for exploitation by landlords. The freed serfs turned to free labour needed for capitalist's development as wage labour leading to the creation of a working class.
4. Capitalization (Commercialization) of agricultural land. As land was sold to the rich farmers, the system changed the old feudal land tenure system based on inheritance agriculture was made an economic activity where production was purposely for sale and profit making. This marked a shift from the traditional subsistence farming to commercial farming.
5. Advancement of science and technology in agricultural. This was through application of machines in farming. Simple farm machines like seed drills and horse/oxen drive ploughs contributed to effective land use for agricultural purposes. But also contribute to further technological inventions and released a large labour force for industrial advancements
6. Growth of towns. Many evicted peasants migrated to towns where those with capital involved in trade and those without had to sell their labour for survival. This expanded town populations, market for agricultural goods like food and trade in towns.
7. Provision of capital. The commercialization of farming enabled rich farmers to accumulate a lot of wealth which was used as capital for further economic development. The capital acquired was invested in other capitalist economies like industry and trade which led to the creation of a large wealthy Bourgeoisie class. Capital was also acquired to the poor peasants and landlord by selling their plots to the rich farmers. Most of their capital was invested in trade.
8. Contributed to infrastructure development. Transport and communication infrastructure like roads were developed to link farms and market centres majorly towns and industries. Consequently, production, manufacturing and trade were developed. The enclosure system led to the development of transport to make farms easily accessible
9. The revolution contributed to the development of trade. Trade expanded internally and externally due to the availability of commodities for exchange like food stuffs which had ready market in towns and raw materials like wool for manufacturing of trading items like cloth highly needed in overseas trade of mercantilism.

## **II. MERCANTILISM, 15<sup>TH</sup> - 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

Mercantilism was the first stage in the development of capitalism. It was an economic policy of European foreign trade based on the collection of bullion (gold and silver) basically by primitive means from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> C. European countries attracted themselves to the largest amounts of billions because they were a measure of a nation's wealth, power and prestige.

To the Marxist historians, mercantilism was the primitive means of capital accumulation through which Western European nations passed to acquire wealth especially by buying cheaply and selling dearly, plundering, looting and piracy

Mercantilism marked a revolution because of the significant changes it made in the commercial field by internationalization of trade. Supported by the geographical discoveries extending

trading contact to overseas continents was realized by mercantilism. It also marked the origins of a capitalist mode of production with merchant capital as its drawing force.

Advancements in marine technology sparked off geographical discoveries of the New Worlds of the Caribbean and Americas by Christopher Columbus (1492) and sea route to India by Vasco da Gama (1498) and other discoveries to start overseas trading contacts by the European merchants. The discovery of new lands meant the discovery of new sources of wealth to be exploited.

### ***Features of Mercantilism***

Mercantilism has five cardinal features;

- a. National unification. This involved creation of strong centralized states. Absolute monarchies in England, France, Spain, and Portugal were compelled to unify within themselves by amalgamating feudal Manorial states so as to be strong enough to withstand competition by other nations. For this purpose, English states of Britain, Scotland, Ireland and Wales unified to form England (United Kingdom). National unification helped in:
  - Creating a wider national market
  - Creation of a large labour force
  - Introduction of common currency
  - Maintaining peace and stability
  - Establishment of centralized taxation system
  - Establishment of legal system and legal protection of private property
  - Establishment of uniformity of weights and measures.
- b. Protectionism. The principle policy of mercantilism was protectionism at home and plundering abroad. Protectionism safeguarded local producers from outside competition by imposition of higher tariffs on imported goods to discourage domestic market from buying such goods and instead buy those locally made. Protectionism was also extended to the colonies to bar off merchants from other nations from plundering in them.
- c. Bullionism. Bullions (gold and silver) were the most wanted items of mercantilism. European states and merchants competed for the accumulation of largest stocks of bullions than their rivals because they were the determinant of nation's wealth, power and glory. Bullions also served as money hence determined one's wealth.
- d. Expansionism. In the exploration of the 15<sup>th</sup> C of other continents. European states acquired colonies in the Americas, Caribbean, India and Australia. Colonies were important for reliable markets, sources of cheap raw materials for European industries, investments and settlement of undesirable population.
- e. Militarism. Creation of strong armies and navies was a precondition in this era. Strong militaries were important in ensuring national security, protecting merchants on the sea against pirate and for piracy and plundering other nations. Important also for colonial acquisition.

### ***Phases through which Mercantilism passed***

Mercantilism passed through three main phases;

#### ***i) Bullion phase, 14-15<sup>th</sup> C***

This was the earliest phase in the development of mercantilism. In this stage, European merchants mainly attracted themselves to the accumulation of gold and silver. The quest for bullions propelled European sailors to circumnavigate the world leading to the discovery of the new worlds. Bullions were a determinant of a nation's wealth, power and glory. More so used as medium of exchange.

#### ***ii) Slave phase, 16<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> C.***

This phase was dominated by slave trade across the Atlantic Ocean. Millions of African slaves were shipped to the New Worlds of Caribbean and Americas across the Atlantic to supply cheap labour in European plantations and mines. The discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus in 1492, prompted European nations like Portugal and England to acquire colonies and establish plantations and mines there where African slaves were taken for labour.

#### ***iii) Trade in other items, 18<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> C.***

This was the last phase of mercantilism. It was a period when merchants started shifting attention from trade in slaves to natural products like the forest products like ivory, palm oil, and animal skin etc. It was the period when the industrial revolution was in its earliest stages.

### ***Factors for the rise of mercantilism in Europe***

1. Development of science and technology especially Maritime technology. Advancement in industrial and marine technologies played a pivotal role for mercantilism. Industrial development (cottages and guilds) availed items for trade like cloth. Marine technology enabled the building of strong high sea going ships and the Marine compass which enabled European sailors (merchants) move across high seas to contact overseas continents. Marine technology contributed to the development of mercantilism in a number of ways;
  - Contributed to geographical discoveries like New Worlds by Columbus (1492) and the sea routes like to India by Vasco da Gama (1498)
  - Made the carrying of bulk goods across high seas easy regardless of the distance.
  - Enabled the Europeans easily involve in piracy, plundering and looting since carrying of goods was now eased.
  - European merchants were able to control all the major seas like Atlantic and Indian Oceans.
  - Acquisition of overseas colonies by European nations.

2. Role of Merchant Kings. Supportive governments like of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal and King Henry VIII of England laid strong grounds for the, development of mercantilism by providing security and sponsoring merchant voyages. For example Vasco da Gama's search for the sea route to India was sponsored by king Henry of Portugal and King Henry III of England introduced the Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651, to protect English merchants from competition.
3. The enclosure system. The enclosure commercialized agriculture leading to increased raw material production like wool which boosted industry to produce enough items for trade. Not only that, but also raise capital for trade and ejected many people from land, many of whom joined trade and others involved in commodity production.
4. Prior accumulation of merchant capital. A lot of wealth had already been acquired during feudalism to be invested in trade like through feudal dues such as rent and taxes collected from the serfs and peasants by landlords, the church and the ruling classes. Also through internal trade and earlier sources of primitive capital accumulation like the 'crusades' of the 11-12<sup>th</sup> C.
5. Geographical discoveries. The discovery of sea routes and New Worlds was a main force for the development of mercantilism. For example the discovery of the Caribbean and America by a European sailor Christopher Columbus in 1492 led to the discovery of new sources of wealth (bullions) and gave way to colonization of the New Worlds and the existence of the Triangular trade.
6. The rise of Merchant companies. Companies like the Dutch East Indian company, the English East Indian companies and Royal African Company provided protection, transport facilities, capital and opened overseas location centres for their merchants like the Cape of South Africa by the Dutch East Indian company in 1652.
7. The development of financial institutions. These were mainly banks and insurance systems. Financial institutions raised capital by providing credit and loans to merchants which were vital in commodity production, purchasing ships and financial institutions also provided security to merchants and their wealth and served as agents of payment. Thus, more importantly they provided capital and protection against trade.
8. Introduction of money. Use of money as a medium of exchange made trading contacts easier for example in Britain the dinaries were widely used to substitute the feudal barter system and were also introduced in their colonies like India, hence making trade between Europe and the overseas areas easy.
9. The rise of competition among the mercantile powers. The rising competition among mercantile powers implied that each of the involved powers like Holland, Spain, Britain and Portugal sought to challenge the others and dominate trade. In the long run, all increased their volumes of trade and capital hence more development of mercantilism.
10. The emergence of a large commercial class in Europe. This emerged from the rich feudal lords, the peasants who sold off their land to join towns for trade and from industrialists and financiers. These classes possessed sufficient capital to invest in the overseas trade. Their capital was the propeller of mercantilism. Mainly invested in industries, and ship building.

Columbus was an Italian explorer, navigator and colonizer. Under the auspices of the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, he completed four voyages across the Atlantic Ocean which initiated the European colonization of the New World. In the context of emerging western imperialism and

economic competition between European kingdoms through the establishment of trade routes and colonies, Columbus' proposal to reach the East Indies by sailing westward eventually received the support of the Spanish Crown, which saw in it a chance to enter the spice trade with Asia through a new westward route. During his first voyage in 1492, instead of arriving at Japan as he had intended, Columbus reached the New World, landing on Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) an island in the Bahamas that he named "San Salvador": Over the course of three more voyages, Columbus visited more Caribbean islands and Central America, claiming all of it for the Spanish Crown. Though Columbus was not the first European explorer to reach the Americas, his voyages led to European exploration, conquest, and colonization that lasted for several centuries. Columbus spearheaded the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and has been accused by several historians of initiating the genocide of the Hispaniola natives. Columbus himself saw his accomplishments primarily in the light of spreading the Christian religion.

## **MERCANTILISM IN ENGLAND**

England was the dominant mercantile state by the help of the Tudor monarchy. The Monarchy founded by King Henry VII, followed by King Henry VIII, lasted to Queen Elizabeth I, from 1485-1603. The Tudors created an absolute monarchy by destroying the powers of the Nobles, and the feudal lords. The monarchy took deliberate measure to promote commercial interests. As a result England emerged the dominant mercantile power.

### ***Contribution of Tudor monarch towards the development of mercantilism***

1. Establishment of absolute rule. The Tudor monarchy under King Henry VIII created an absolute state in England by destroying the powers of Nobles, feudal lords, the church and their exploitative activities of charging higher feudal dues of rent and taxes which used to discourage producers and merchants. This was done by confiscation of their property especially land which was distributed for private ownership leading to increase in commodity production
2. They supported the enclosure system. The monarchy confiscated the church and nobles lands and distributed them for private ownership. They also passed laws to allow land consolidation for the enclosure system. Such new measures increased wool production which was very important in making cloth for trade.
3. The Tudor monarchy protected merchants against the authoritarianism of the old guild system by allowing the manufacture of woollen clothes through domestic cottage industries. This raised competition and eventually increased commodity production
4. The monarchy encouraged establishment of other industries such as sugar iron and coal industries. These facilitated the development of mercantilism by facilitating ship building and the manufacture of more items for trade.
5. The monarchy provided security to English merchants. Sufficient navies were provided to protect English merchants against pirates and on the other hand conducted piracy against merchants from other nations like Holland and Portugal on high seas to rob their wealth, particularly bullions.
6. Encouraged formation of chartered companies. The monarchy encouraged merchant to form joint stock companies by offering them charters and exclusive trading rights all over the world. As a result, companies like the Royal African Company formed in 1588 to

organize slave trading and East Indian Company formed in 1600 for trading with India and the Far East were formed.

7. The Tudor monarchy promoted and organised settlement of merchant groups in English overseas colonies especially in the New World and supported them. By early 17<sup>th</sup> C English merchants were settling and investing in the overseas trading activities a clothiers, artisans, ship builders.
8. Through protectionism, the monarchy assured merchant capitalists the supply of raw materials especially wool by prohibiting the export of wool to any other country. Wool was the most important raw material in cloth manufacturing and cloth was the most important trade item from England during mercantilism.
9. Colonial acquisition. The monarchy secured colonies for England like in the Caribbean, America and India. Colonies were a reliable source of wealth, raw materials and market for the English manufacturers and areas for new investments. Colonies boosted English trade and industry.
10. The monarchy passed Navigation Acts. Navigation Acts such as those of the 7<sup>th</sup> c (1650) protected English merchants from competition with other nations by giving them exclusive rights to monopolize trade with English colonies. By that England acquired a lot of wealth.
11. Contributed to abolition of serfdom. It freed serfs by distributing the church and nobles land for free private ownership. By doing so, the monarchy allowed the emergence of new families whose livelihood depended on trade and manufacturing as many freed serfs joined towns for trade and guilds.

### ***Factors that enabled England to become a dominant mercantile power***

England was indeed the dominant mercantile power, the most successful nation in mercantilism. She was favoured by her early unification since the 14<sup>th</sup> C hence attained political stability.

Second she had developed an advanced well efficient Marine technology and her cottage and guild system had reached a stage of producing enough for her trade. Above all British producers had reached a considerable level of specialization and developed recognizable efficient skills of organization in commodity production.

1. The role of the Tudor Monarchy. The monarchy under kings like Henry VII and VIII greatly contributed to the development of mercantilism in England. It created a harmonious environment for the development of commercial activities. For example, protected English merchants against European rival nations acquired colonies in America and Caribbean and encouraged production by destroying the powers of the feudal lords and the church to stop exploitation.
2. Development of industrial production. This was done by encouraging specialization among English producers something which helped them develop efficient skills in commodity production and as a result English producers increase industrial production to dominate world market.
3. The enclosure systems. England was the first to fully embrace the enclosure system. The system changed land ownership by handing land to rich farmers and adopting new scientific farming methods. The enclosure system increased agriculture production to

allow increase in wool production, the main raw material used for cloth making and food to support population.

4. Development of the Maritime technology. Since the 14<sup>th</sup> C England had a superior marine transport compared to other nations. She was able to build enough stronger and efficient high sea-going ships which enabled her dominate overseas trade and control a large colonial empire.
5. The acquisition of greater numbers of colonies. England possessed the largest colonial empire compared to other mercantile nations. She had 13 colonies in North America, in the West Indies like Jamaica and Haiti and others like New Zealand and India. Colonies provided England with; bullions, raw materials, market for her industries and new areas for settlements and investment.
6. Subjugation and exploitation of other European Nations. Such exploited nations included Portugal which depended on English military assistance against her rival enemies particularly Spain. In return for her protection. England attained heavy economic gains from Portugal for instance, all Portuguese ports in Asia were left tax free for English ships. As if that was not enough, Portugal was to buy all her ships from England. Such exploitative tendencies enabled Britain to consolidate her mercantile supremacy.
7. Fighting her rival nations. England was able to defeat her rivals like Spain in 1588 over the control of the Americas and the West Indies, Holland over India and France between 1756 and 1763 for the control of North America. Canada and West Indies. Such victories won England more colonies and new sources of wealth.
8. The imposition of protective laws. These laws were passed to protect the English merchants and industries against competition from the rival nations. For instance the Navigation Acts of 1550, 1651 and 1660. Through these Acts trade between Britain and her colonies was reserved for only Britain and British ships.

#### ***The main provision of the Acts included;***

- a) Trade between Britain and her colonies was reserved for only British ships
- b) Goods carried from British colonies had to be brought to England First, before being exported to their final destination nations such goods included tobacco, sugar, timber hides and iron.
- c) Goods that were to be brought to Britain had to be carried in British ships or else 4 carried by other ships were heavily taxed.
- d) British colonies were integrated into the British economic system as they had provided raw materials to British industries and provide ready market to British manufactured goods.

#### ***Impact of Mercantilism in the world***

The impact of Mercantilism in the world reveals how Europe exploited other continents during the era through unequal exchange, plundering and slavery to enrich herself something which contributed to underdevelopment of other continents particularly Africa.

### ***Impact of mercantilism on the Americas and the Caribbean***

Mercantilism contributed greatly to the economic and cultural development of the Americas and the Caribbean greatly through African slave labour.

1. Colonization of the Americas and the Caribbean. After the Columbus discovery of the New World in 1492, and their great economic potentials, European powerful nations hastily went to colonise them. For example, Britain possessed 13 colonies in North America, Jamaica and Trinidad; Portugal had Brazil; Spain had Mexico, Peru and Chile and the French had Canada etc. colonies were for resource exploitation.
2. Agricultural development. Development of plantation farming in the New Worlds depended on African slave labour. Plantations of Sugar, tobacco, tea, and rice thrived on their muscles. Addition to that, African slaves carried new expertise in agriculture to the New Worlds for example slaves from the Upper Guinea region carried their rice- growing techniques to South Carolina in North America.
3. Population growth. There was a substantial African and European population in USA, Latin America and the Caribbean countries. Millions of Africans were shipped to the New Worlds as slaves while many Europeans migrated to the New Worlds to invest in plantations and mines, while many hopeless paupers and criminals from Europe were also moved to the Americas as fortune seekers to try their luck there. Furthermore, more were added by intermarriages between slaves and colonists.
4. Creation of blacks dominated states in the Caribbean. The increasing number of African slaves in the Caribbean islands where plantation agriculture greatly expanded led to the foundation of blacks' majority states as the number of Africans surpassed the native population. Such states include Jamaica, Haiti, Trinidad, San Marino and Barbados.
5. Growth of towns, cities and city ports. Many towns and ports developed directly due to mercantilism. Towns and cities like New York, Chicago and Mexico grew as sea ports handling slaves imported from America and raw materials and minerals exported to Europe. But also as ship repairing and trading centre.
6. Industrial growth. During the mercantile era, many European investors were attracted to the Americas to invest in industry, mines and plantations due to readily available cheap labour, raw materials and market as African slaves and European populations kept on expanding there. Mainly food processing, cloth making, and ship building industries were developed.
7. Mercantilism strengthened racism in the Americas and the world at large. The Europeans and white Americans segregation and inferiority looking at Africans are traced from Trans-Atlantic slave trade and enslavement of Africans in the New Worlds during mercantilism. Since then Africans have been viewed by the Europeans as low status people of no equality with the Europeans but only good for manual hard labour.
8. Spread of diseases and depopulation. The Europeans carried to the New World killer diseases such as small pox, measles and syphilis which claimed millions of the native populations. Depopulation was also due to mistreatment of the natives by the Europeans. The Amerindians lives were claimed to the point of annihilation. For instance in 1519, Mexico had a population of about 20 million people but by 1608 about only 2 million was left.



9. Cultural detachment. Mercantilism played a big role in the destruction of the culture of Native Americans. The Europeans imposed their ways of life like languages and dressing codes on the American natives and African slaves in their colonies. Also some African cultural practices were carried to the New Worlds by slaves.
10. Spread of Christianity. European mercantile nations introduced and spread Christianity in their colonies in the New Worlds as Native Americans and African slaves were forced to abandon their traditional religions. This created classes based on religions as Native populations were torn between Christians and Non Christians.
11. Exploitation of resources. Land, mineral and labour resources were exploited in the established plantations and mines. Minerals exploitation particularly gold and silver was done to diminishing level and human labour to extinction levels to the extent that new labour supplies of African slaves had to be introduced.

### ***Impact of mercantilism on Africa***

Mercantilism was largely destructive to Africa; it marked the beginning of Africans underdevelopment and dependence on the capitalist world. It disturbed African economic and socio-political settings in areas touched therefore it largely left drastic effects on Africa.

### ***Economic effects;***

1. Technological stagnation. This was due to; flooding of European manufactured goods to Africa which out-competed African local industries and slave trade which eroded African skilled craftsmen and artisans to the New World for labour.
2. Decline of inter African trading system. Both local and regional trading patterns like the Trans-Saharan trade which boomed before mercantilism declined and their position were occupied by Trans-Atlantic slave trade as many Africans preferred trading with the European merchants other than their fellow African societies and the Middle East
3. Exploitation of African resources. Exploitation was done especially through unequal exchange where Africans valuable resources like gold, silver and ivory and human resources were taken by the European maritime traders for the less valuable European manufactured goods such as, beads, glass ware, and cloth.
4. Introduction of new crops. New crops such as maize, potatoes, cassava and fruits like pineapples and guavas were introduced in Africa by the Europeans and are still used in Africa and some African societies have adopted them as staple foods.

### ***Political effects;***

5. Rise and growth of some African states. Some African states acquired political and economic strength from participation in trade with the Europeans. States like Oyo, Benin, Dahomey and Asante, acquired firearms and wealth from the trade with the Europeans. Firearms were essential in state expansion and slave raiding.
6. Downfall of some states. Some states crumbled by attacks from more powerful states for slaves and wealth like gold and silver needed by European traders. Slave trade also robbed them of their badly needed labour force for their development.

7. Paved way for the future colonization of Africa. Through mercantilism, Africans economic potentialities such as minerals, fertile lands and abundant labour were exposed to the European nations. After industrial revolution, European industrial powers viewed Africa as a solution to their industrial demands.

### *Social effects;*

8. Occurrence of famine. Famine was caused due to agricultural decline caused by destabilizations by frequent slave raiding. Suddenly also slave trade led to labour shortage in farms and over concentration of many societies on trade and abandoning agriculture
9. Spread of diseases. The interaction with the European merchants exposed Africans to European diseases such as small pox, measles, syphilis and gonorrhea carried to Africa by the European merchants. Other associated diseases like cholera and diarrhea were also spread due to congestion of slaves in small rooms with poor hygiene before transportation to the New World. Diseases claimed a lot of lives.
10. Rise of state of fear and insecurity. Slave trade devastated African societies by introducing guns which encouraged frequent inter-society wars for slave raiding and wealth looting. Societies were destabilized and people forced to wonder around in fear.
11. Depopulation. A large number of African productive youths ageing between 15 and 35 were caught and shipped to the Americas as slaves. Additionally famine, raids and wars of slave capture also claimed lives of many Africans. Surely numerous cultures lost generations of their fittest, young and able.
12. Deculturalisation. Mercantilism contributed to the destruction of African culture and heritage. In contacting Europeans, many Africans particularly middlemen adopted European ways of life like languages and dressing codes and mixed them with their traditional ways of life.
13. African families were torn apart. Countless African families were torn apart as some members were captured and exported to the Americas and the Caribbean as slaves while the lucky ones who escaped slavery in the New Worlds remained in Africa.
14. Development of Kiswahili language. Some vocabularies from European languages like Portuguese, English and French were added to Kiswahili language. For example, Portuguese words like meza, were incorporated into Kiswahili.
15. Spread of Christianity. In contacting the European merchants, some Africans adopted Christianity. This brought a new aspect in Africa, that created classes based on religions as societies were torn apart between Christians and Non Christians.

In all, mercantilism integrated Africa into capitalist economic system with Africa as the exploited and Europe as her exploiter. Africa was robbed of her precious human and physical resources and started dependence due to technological stagnation.

### ***The contributions of Mercantilism to the rise of European capitalism (impact of mercantilism on Europe)***

Mercantilism by its exploitation of other continents through unequal exchange by European powers resulted into the development of European countries and largely contributed to the development of industrial revolution and capitalism.

1. Accumulation of capital (wealth). European mercantile powers amassed a lot of wealth particularly bullions by exploiting other continents, mainly Africa and the Americas through unequal exchange, plundering and slavery. By that mercantile nations were able to earn huge capital to invest in other sectors like industry.
2. Development of science and technology. Mercantilism largely contributed to the advancement of European science and technology beginning with the Marine technology which was the backbone of mercantilism because it enabled Europeans to contact overseas areas. It also stimulated industrial development to give way to industrial revolution through increased invention so as to meet the increasing market demands of the domestic and overseas markets.
3. Stimulated the development of agriculture. Agriculture was expanded and commercialized due to the greater demands of agricultural raw materials like wool for cloth making and food for expanding urban population which engaged in commodity production for overseas markets.
4. Led to the development of ports, towns and cities. City ports like Liverpool, Manchester, Marseilles and Amsterdam developed as commercial centers and landing sites handling commodities to and from overseas. Other towns like Yorkshire, Lancashire and Paris developed as manufacturing centres producing trading items.
5. The rise and expansion of commercial classes of merchants. Expansion of local and overseas trade attracted many with capital to abandon their old activities in favour of trade. This also led to the rise of a rich aristocratic merchant class which transformed Europe to capitalism.
6. Development of money economy. Mercantilism led to the monetization of the European economy. At first the bullions were used as money hence many nations competed for their accumulation to be counted the richest but later paper money was adopted as trade volumes kept on expanding.
7. Development of financial institutions. Banks and insurance houses were born due to the increased accumulation of wealth by mercantile traders. Banks like Barclays formed in 1756 encouraged trade by providing security to merchants' wealth. Additionally were important in the provision of capital in form of credits and loans.
8. Provision of cheap labour. Through Trans-Atlantic slave trade, the trade known for its greatest human trafficking, millions of African slaves were exported to the New Worlds to provide cheap labour in the capitalist established mines and plantations in the Americas.
9. Colonial expansion. During mercantilism European mercantile states acquired colonies in the New Worlds for example; Britain possessed the 13 North American colonies, Jamaica and Trinidad; Portugal had Brazil, Spain had Mexico etc. colonies were integrated into the mercantile system through which they were exploited as sources of bullions, raw materials, and markets

10. Opened and strengthened trans- continental links. Mercantilism established ties between Europe and other continents like Africa, the Americas, Asia and Australia. Since the mercantilism period, contacts among continents have never stopped. The links provided Europe with wider trading and exploitation zones.

Mercantile states such as Britain, France, Holland, Spain and Portugal emerged into powerful states in the world economically and politically due to huge wealth accumulated from mercantilism. That is why they were able to colonize Africa and Asia in the 19<sup>th</sup> C.

### **III. AFRICA AND THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA**

Africa contributed to the development of capitalism in Europe and North America through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The trade developed during Mercantilism between the to the 19<sup>th</sup> **Century**, connecting three regions; Europe, Africa and the Americas. The Trade was an act of the European foreign trade, Africa and the Americas were involved as victims of exploitation.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade marked the largest continental migration in the world history because by it, a big number of African slaves were shipped to the Americas and the Caribbean to labour in the European opened plantations and mines. The magnitude of slave exportation during the trade was very big and went on increasing year after year. For example between 1530 and 1600 about 13,000 slaves were exported per year. The number rose to about 27,500 in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and about 70,000 in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. By 1800 they had increased to 145,000 slaves per year.

#### ***How the trade was conducted***

The trade operated between three continents (regions) of Europe, Africa and the Caribbean and Americas along triangular routes dictated by the European merchants.

It was the European merchants who journeyed from their home ports to contact Africa and the Caribbean and the Americas;

The first route was from Europe to Africa, transporting European made goods like cloth, cheap ornaments like earrings, beads, necklaces, guns, gun powder, and alcohol to be exchanged for slaves (and other goods like cola nuts, palm oil and bullions shipped directly to Europe);

The second route of the triangle was ‘the Middle Passage’, European merchants transported human cargo (slaves) from West Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas and the Caribbean for resale to plantations and mines owners and;

The third route was from the Americas and the Caribbean to Europe. Goods transported included, sugar, tobacco, cotton and rice from the plantations and minerals especially gold and silver to feed the European industries.

## **AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE TRANS — ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE**

Between 1650 and 1860, approximately 10 to 15 million enslaved Africans were shipped from western Africa to the Americas. Most were taken to West Indies, Central America and South America.

A single ship setting out from Europe completed three stages of the triangle in its voyage, each with its own separate cargo, before finally returning to its home port in Europe.

### **DIAGRAM**

*The diagram of a slave ship of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade on route to the New World.*

#### *Factors for the rise of Triangular Trade*

1. Development of marine technology. The advancement of maritime technology made overseas journeys easier to contact distant lands and allowed easy transportation of goods including slaves across high seas. The technology enabled making of stronger high sea-going vessels and compass direction to direct voyages. More so the invention of the gun and gun powder was a boost for protection along sea journeys. Such developments enabled European merchants make successful voyages across the Atlantic.
2. Discovery of the New World. The geographical discoveries by Christopher Columbus of the West Indies and the Americas were paramount for the rise and existence of the Triangular trade. The new found lands were discovered to be of greater economic importance to prompt colonization by the European mercantile powers like England, Spain, France and Portugal to exploit the rich land and mineral resources. The colonists needed cheap and reliable labour which African slaves could provide better in the established plantations and mines.
3. Low machine making technology. By the 15<sup>th</sup> C no significant machines had been invented to handle vigorous tasks in mines and plantations. Machines in use were inefficient to meet the increasing demands of the mercantile states which were in intense competition. To that effect, a large amount of cheap and reliable human labour was to be availed from Africa to work in plantations and mines in propagating resources for European merchants.
4. Profitability of trade in slaves. European merchants accrued unanimous profits in dealing with slaves. Slaves were acquired cheaply in exchange with cheap manufactured goods from Europe like cloth, mirrors and guns and in Africa and on the other hand in the New World were exchanged for abundant expensive items like the bullions and raw materials like sugar, tobacco and tea which were badly demanded in Europe.
5. The prior knowledge of Africans' abilities by the Europeans. Since 1440s Portuguese explorers like Gonzales had carried some Africans to Europe where they were enslaved and proved physically efficient for manual duties. Also African slaves had been used by the Portuguese in sugar plantations on the Atlantic islands of Principe and Sao Tome since their conquest in 1480s. With such earlier knowledge, when the experiment on the Red Indians and European labour in the New World proved profitably wrong the Europeans with conviction knew African slaves would provide the needed cheap labour efficiently.

6. The problems encountered from the earlier sources of labour. The earlier labour source the Red Indians and European labour were not profitable, reliable, cheaper and efficient to the colonists in the New World. They could hardly withstand harsh conditions in mines and plantations and new diseases as for instance European diseases like syphilis claimed millions of the Red Indians. Also could serve for a limited time as for example labour from Europe could reclaim their freedom at the expiry of their contracts of imprisonment terms. The solution for all such was sought in African slaves who were more physically fit, more reliable and cheaper.
7. The role played by African chiefs. Local rulers in Africa played a vital role for the existence of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade by providing slaves to the European merchants cheaply and easily. They took all the risks in slave raids on behalf of the European merchants, collected slaves from the interior and transported them to the coast where the European merchants who by then never entered the interior of Africa found them to be exchanged for the cheap goods local rulers and traders needed from Europe like firearms and cloth.
8. Nearness of the Atlantic African coast to Europe and the New World. Geographically the Atlantic coast of Africa is closer to Western Europe, the West Indies, and Americas as well. The proximity of the three lands propelled the Atlantic trade. With shorter sea journeys European merchants made more trade trips (rounds) annually and reduced risks of long sea journeys like losing direction in deep sea. By that, more slaves were annually transported to the New Worlds and more bullions and raw materials from the New Worlds to Europe.
9. Possession of capital by the European merchants. By the time of the start of the Trans-Atlantic trade, European wealthy classes had accumulated enough capital through primitive means like the crusades of the 11-12<sup>th</sup> centuries and enclosure system and also through trade. It was this capital that was invested in ship building, cottage industries and purchasing items for trade like manufactured goods from Europe and slaves from Africa to facilitate the trade.
10. The rise of mercantilism. Mercantilism led to insatiable demand for wealth by European merchants (nations). The intensive competition resulted into colonial conquest in the New Worlds and opening of plantations and mines of silver and gold which were badly needed in Europe. Such demands forced for increased importation of slaves from Africa.

### ***Why the Europeans preferred African slaves***

1. The fear to under populate their own countries which would affect their economic and political stability. Large populations were needed at home to provide the required domestic market, cheap labour and defense.
2. Cheapness of African slaves. European labour was expensive. Despite their non-effective performance, labour from Europe demanded for higher wages yet African slaves worked for free.
3. The European labour and the Red Indians worked for a limited time. At the end of their contracts or imprisonment terms for the prisoners the European labour demanded for their freedom to start their own businesses or purchased land when they acquired capital or returned to Europe. Also like the Red Indians who were familiar with the environment,

European labour could escape from the plantations and mingle with the local population or disguise themselves as free men.

4. The European labour knew their rights and demanded for them. For example, the right to bargain for better pay and demand for better working conditions. Similarly they were protected by their states' laws against mistreatment — they could sue their employers for misconducts.
5. Africans proved to be more physically fit and more resistant to disease. African slaves could handle the hard conditions of work in mines and plantations like long hours of work and handling heavy duties than the European and Red Indian labour. Likewise Africans were less susceptible to diseases like small pox and syphilis brought from Europe and tropical diseases like malaria.
6. Climatic factor. The climate in the tropics was hard for European labour to work due to high temperatures since Europe has a temperate climate with lower temperatures.
7. The racial factor. The Europeans were considered to be a master race to rule the other “inferior-servant” races particularly the Africans, on that matter, the Europeans were not for manual (donkey) jobs but other races Africans in particular. In raising such notions. the Europeans based on the biblical story of Noah and his sons. Their interpretation was that the Europeans were the descendants of Seth the blessed, Asians of Japheth and Africans of Ham the accursed and doomed to be servants of his brothers.

### ***Impacts of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade***

(Refer to the impact of mercantilism)

Generally, the Trans-Atlantic trade integrated Africa into the capitalist system through which it planted dependence in Africa. Africa from there on has been relying on European for manufactured goods and thus serving as a reliable market for European manufactured goods. And worse of all, the trade paved way to the future colonization on Africa as availed the European capitalists with enough information about Africa especially on it' potentialities.

### ***The Trans-Atlantic slave trade and the development of capitalism (industrial revolution in Europe***

1. Ensured the availability of raw materials to the European industries. Raw materials were mainly obtained from European plantations and mines in the Americas and the Caribbean. Plantations supplied raw materials like cotton, sugar, tea, tobacco and others like palm oil were got from Africa.
2. Expanded markets for the European goods. Africa, America and the Caribbean served well as ready markets for European made goods. European merchants transport goods like cloth, mirrors, beads, guns, powder, alcohol etc. for sale to both Africa and the New World.
3. Provision of abundance of cheap labour. Trans-Atlantic trade acquired abundant slaves from Africa for the European established plantations and mines in the New World. For example for Portuguese coffee plantations in Brazil and Spaniards' silver mines in Mexico.

4. Expansion of the European merchant class. The trade in slaves and bullions was much lucrative hence attracted many Europeans to abandon other activities like agriculture in favour of trade. This led to the expansion of the European merchant class in whose hands capitalism was developed
5. The trade enabled the European capitalist merchants to open new investments in the New World. Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade encouraged many European capital owners to invest in the New World due to cheap labour. They invested in plantations, mining, ship building, and industries from which they amassed a lot of wealth.
6. It Stimulated growth of science and technology. Firstly was marine technology due to the constant shipping by European merchants to overseas so, ship building industries were developed. Second was industrial technology. New inventions were made to improve production to satisfy domestic and overseas markets. All resulted into Industrial Revolution.
7. Accumulation of capital. European merchants acquired a lot of wealth from profits in Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The acquired wealth formed capital which was invested in other sectors especially industry which automatically gave way to the rise of capitalism.
8. The trade enabled European merchants acquire more entrepreneurship skills. They acquired enough skills in managing trade and risk handling. European merchants acquired more expertise in handling bigger and risky businesses like colonies.
9. Development of Banking and insurance services. These financial institutions developed due to increased merchant wealth which needed security. For example Barclays bank was founded in 1756 due to the wealth acquired in slave trading. Banks were also to provide capital inform of credits.
10. Contributed to the introduction of monetary system in Europe. The trade availed Europe with abundance of bullions which were adopted as medium of exchange before introduction of paper money. Bullions were also a determinant of a country's wealth and power.
11. Growth and expansion of towns and cities. Profits from the trade largely accounted for the rising wealth of a number of major European port cities, such as Liverpool and Bristol in Britain and Amsterdam in Holland which handled volumes of cargo imported and exported to and from Europe. Other towns like Birmingham in Britain grew as manufacturing centres, for trade items.

### ***The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the development of capitalism in North America***

1. Development of agriculture. Capitalist plantations were opened to provide raw materials to the European industries depending on African slave labour. That shows how African slaves were very vital in the transformation of American agriculture from a simple subsistence to commercial farming.
2. Industrial development. A number of industries were developed in America due to the Trans-Atlantic trade. Food processing, textile and ship building industries were developed to handle the increasing volumes of trade, increasing flow of slaves and European merchants and processing industries to reduce the bulkiness of raw materials for easy transportation to Europe.
3. The trade attracted many European investors to America. Many European investors moved to America during the Triangular trade to invest in agriculture, mining, and



industry and participate in lucrative trade. These investors were the founding fathers of American capitalism and capitalist class.

4. It led to the expansion of American population; for example Millions of African slaves were moved to America for labour and European merchants and investors who invested in plantation farming, mining and industry on which African slaves worked therefore, enough Labour and market were availed.
5. Development and expansion of towns and cities in America. These were mainly coastal cities which grew as slave landing and trading centres and others grew along plantations and mining centres. Cities like Hawaii, New York, Massachusetts emerged and expanded.
6. It led to the development of other sectors especially infrastructure. The slaves were important in construction of roads, railways which connected plantations, industries and ports to enable European investors export raw materials and import slaves and manufactured goods to America.
7. The slaves served in American institutions especially the army. African slaves were very instrumental in the American war of independence against British colonialists in 1776 and American civil war of 1861-65 for the union government.
8. Provided cheap labour. African slaves provided cheap labour to the development of American economy. American industry, agriculture mining and infrastructure were developed depending on African slave muscles.

## **ABOLITION OF SLAVE TRADE**

The abolition of slave trade was the putting of the trade in human beings to an end. it became prerequisite due to the transition in capitalism from mercantilism to industrial capitalism cause of the Industrial Revolution from 1750s. The Industrial Revolution marked a great change in labour relations as machines largely substituted human labour. The abolition of slave trade was to serve new demands of capitalism brought by the industrial revolution through the so called “Legitimate Trade” which was a new form of exploitation of Africa to provide cheap labour, raw materials and market. Britain was the first nation to wage a campaign against slave trade because she was the first to undergo industrial revolution.

### ***Reasons for the abolition of slave trade***

The reasons for the abolition of slave trade are of two categories; economic as propounded by Marxists and humanitarian by Eurocentric scholars.

#### ***Economic reasons***

Marxist scholars argue that the real and major reasons for the abolition of slave trade were economic oriented. This stand is also supported by even analytical non Marxists, agreeing that abolition of slave trade was not for moral/humanitarian but economic reasons and that is why it came into force by Industrial Revolution

1. Industrial revolution. This was the fundamental factor for the abolition of slave trade. The revolution began in Britain in 1750s and later spread to other European nations. That is

enough to explain why Britain was the pioneer slave trade abolitionists. The revolution was manifested by the invention of machines, marking a shift of labour relations as machines simplified work henceforth largely substituted human labour. The Industrial Revolution demanded for an end of slave trade due to;

- a) The need for cheap raw materials. Factories needed extra tropical raw materials like palm oil so European industrial powers saw a need for Africans to remain in their continent and produce raw materials cheaply other than being enslaved in the New World.
  - b) Need for market expansion for manufactured goods. It was planned that if Africans would be turned to free labour they would spend their wages and incomes from cash crop selling on manufactured goods to expand market.
  - c) Need for cheap labour. Abolition targeted making Africans cheap labour in Africa through production of the needed raw materials and low wages. The invention of the machines made slave labour unprofitable because the costs of maintaining slaves had become high since a lot of work was performed by machines.
  - d) Area for investment. Abolition of slave trade would create a conducive environment for European capital investment in Africa because Africans would provide cheap labour to the capitalist economies in Africa, very important also was that Africans would be blind folded by thinking that, the Europeans were humanitarian and their liberators and therefore cooperated with them.
  - e) The need for natural oils. In the early stages of industrial revolution natural oils got from tropical crops like palm oil were used as lubricants for machines because alternative oils like petroleum had not yet been discovered. On that point, Africans were needed to stay in Africa to produce enough lubricant oils.
2. The sugar competition between the French and the British. The French had dominated the world's sugar market by selling their sugar at lower prices than their rivals, the British. The French maintained lower prices because they produced it at lower costs by largely depending on slave labour, in support of their modern machinery. The, British, being out competed, campaigned for the abolition of slave trade to deny their competitors the French who depended on slave labour force.
  3. The abundance of slaves in the New World. European capitalists especially the British had already collected enough slaves in the New World in their colonies such as Jamaica. Trinidad and Tobago, North America and also other nations like the Portuguese in Brazil and Spaniards in Peru. Basing on that, there was no need of buying more slaves.
  4. The American war of Independence of 1776. In 1776, the 13 British colonies rose against the British colonial masters, in fighting for their independence. In the same year the British were defeated and Americans declared themselves independent. Independence meant that, the British had lost colonies where slaves were taken to labour henceforth had nowhere to carry more slaves.
  5. Frequent slave revolts. Slaves being tired of slavery with its massive exploitation and torture revolted against their masters in many areas like in 1791 when the slaves in St. Domingo led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, killed their French masters and set up the Haiti republic. Such revolts contributed to the abolition of slave trade because they made slavery too risky and unprofitable.
  6. The rising prices of slaves in West Africa. African rulers and merchants had started charging higher prices for slaves. This reduced the profit levels of the European

merchants dealing in slaves. Also Plantation owners reduced buying slaves due to high prices and many opted to invest in new manufacturing industries at home instead of plantations in the New World.

### ***Humanitarian factors***

Marxist scholars believe that the so called humanitarian factors were baseless and just mere conjectures. They question that why did such arguments emerge after the Industrial Revolution?

7. Rise of humanitarian groups in Europe. Humanitarian groups grew up in Europe like the so called “social reformers” formed in Britain in 1787 by men like William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson formed the society for the abolition of slave trade to campaign against slave trade claiming that “slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and rights of man” through W. Wilberforce who was a member of parliament pressurized the parliament to stop slave trade.
8. Role of religious bodies. Different religious bodies condemned slave trade and slavery accusing them of being ungodly and inhuman that it caused suffering and inequality to God’s people. They also argued that God created all human beings equal so no one has the right to enslave others.
9. The influence of philosophers and their literature. Philosophers like Jean Jacques Rousseau condemned slavery by defending peoples’ rights and emphasizing on the liberal ideas of freedom and equality. On that regard, Rousseau in his book, “The Social contract” argued that all men are born equal and no one has the right to torture the other. In so doing, their literature influenced people to fight against slave trade and slavery.
10. The influence of classical economists. Influential economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo wrote against slave trade arguing that slave trade was not the best economic trend for the survival of the capitalist economy. Adam Smith believed that capitalism can survive best in a free labour situation, where labour could easily be exploited through low wages other than tying slaves to their masters.
11. The influence of the French revolution of 1789. The revolution spread the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity and that liberty should be extended to all races in the world. The spread of such liberal ideas swept across Europe to win willing hearts for the abolition of slave trade. It was realized that slave trade and slavery were against equality, liberty and fraternity.

### ***Difficulties faced in the abolition of slave trade.***

The task to abolition of slave trade was not smooth. Despite the legal abolition of slave trade, slaves continued to be traded through the entire continent. In West Africa about 5,000 slaves were taken to America annually and the number increased to 125,000 by the year 1830.

1. Smallness of the British anti slavery squadron. Britain was the only country that was willingly ready to fund the abolition of slave trade from the start. However, she lacked enough manpower to patrol the whole seas minus assistance of other European powers. Thus Europeans who were still benefiting in slave trade continued to smuggle slaves.

2. Introduction of “legitimate trade”. Legitimate trade was to serve as an alternative to slave trade. The trade was directed in dealing with agricultural products like palm oil, coffee, rubber, groundnuts and timber needed as raw materials and lubricant oils. This was a new form of exploitation to substitute slave trade.
3. Created peace and security in Africa. Slave trade had established a state of anarchy due to slave raids and wars which were means to capture slaves, however with its abolition, a state of peace and stability prevailed to allow societies settle and concentrate on agricultural production. The peaceful situation attracted Europeans to Africa.
4. Influx of monopolistic trading companies. Companies like the Royal Niger Company, Basel Trading Company in West Africa and Imperial British East Africa came to exploit Africa by enjoying trade in exportation of raw materials from Africa and importation of manufactured goods from Europe. They laid ground for colonization of Africa.
5. Introduction of money economy. Money was introduced to replace barter system and facilitate “Legitimate trade”. Legitimate trade handled larger volumes of trade which the barter system could not handle. It was introduced to fully integrate Africa into the capitalist system through wage labour and sale of raw materials like cash crops and expand market for manufactured goods.
6. Penetration of agents of industrial capitalism into the interior of Africa. Groups of explorers, missionaries and traders flowed to Africa to prepare ground for European colonization under the pretext of stopping slave trade and introduction of legitimated trade. They made feasibility study in Africa and persuaded their home governments to colonise areas of economic potential.
7. Establishment of colonialism and colonial economy. Abolition of slave trade was used as one of the excuses for colonization of Africa in the so called humanitarian reasons. However in the real sense a new form of slavery was introduced through colonial economy in which Africans were enslaved in their own homeland through forced labour.
8. Collapse of Trans-Atlantic trade. The basis of Trans-Atlantic trade was slave trade with slaves as the major item exported to the Americas and the Caribbean. With the abolition of slave trade, the trade collapsed since its major item ceased to be supplied.
9. Decline of some states. States like Oyo, Dahomey and Benin which largely depended on slave trade as their major source of wealth, came to their decline with the end of slave trade. It took them long to adapt to other economic activities especially agriculture since it was not all that profitable and not as such easy like trade in slaves.
10. Rise of some states. States like Opobo and Itsekeli benefited from the so called legitimate trade because their leaders like Jaja and Nana Olwum actively participated in the selling of agricultural products like palm oil and cola nuts which were on great demand by European industries.
11. Establishment of new states of Sierra Leone and Liberia. The two states were found as a direct result of abolition of slave trade. Sierra Leone was founded by members of the British abolitionist movement in 1787 as a settlement of the freed slaves from England and Liberia in 1822 for the freed slaves from the United States of America.

It can be concluded that slave trade and its successor “Legitimate trade” integrated African societies into the chains of capitalistic exploitation. The so called “legitimate Trade was a new form of slavery, this time enslaving Africans in their own land. Africa became the supplier of raw materials, market for the industries of Europe and cheap labour.

#### **IV. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN EUROPE, 1750-1850**

The Industrial revolution was the change in production techniques from hand tools to machines in which new sources of power such as steam and electricity largely replaced human and animal power. It was a transition from agrarian and manual labour-based economy to machine-based economy. The revolution began in England in the 18<sup>th</sup> C, from 1750s.

The revolution was marked by invention and application of advanced scientific and technological techniques with the use of engine driven machines in production which replaced the feudal cottages and guild systems. Henceforth the Industrial Revolution may also refer to the greatly increased output of machine-made goods that began in England during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. The Industrial Revolution was a major turning point in the history of man as the transition from agrarian and manual labour-based economy to machine-based production fundamentally transformed economic, social, cultural and political life throughout European and eventually the rest of the world.

##### ***Origin of the Industrial Revolution***

The Industrial Revolution began in the English textile industry when a series of invention transformed the British textile industry to advancement (explained in the phase I of the Industrial Revolution) and then other comparable advances followed suit. The most significant invention after developments in the textile industry was the invention of a steam engine which indeed accelerated industrial technology as it revolutionised the textile iron, coal and transport industries which were the earliest industries from which industrial technology was advanced. Others included glass, wood and salt industries.

As far as date specification for the start of the revolution is concerned, historians do agree that the revolution didn't have definite dates that marked its beginning since it didn't develop at once. It was a gradual stage from simple inventions to more improved ones with a more advanced technology as time went on.

Later, heavy industries emerged with more advanced technological discoveries which led to invention of more powerful sources of power especially electricity, petroleum and other industrial chemicals from 1870s. With more inventions and innovations, more improvements were ensured hence improving efficiency in industrial production. The revolution is continuous, more inventions and innovations are still made up to today.

##### ***Characteristics of the Industrial Revolution***

- a. The substitution of human and animal labour force (inanimate forces) with the engines (animate force) as new sources of power. Production shifted from hand tools to machines and in which new sources of power such as steam and electricity replaced human and animal power. The engines provided extra energy for more and easy production.
- b. The development of the factory system of production. This replaced the guild system of the feudal cottage industries. In a factory system, production of related items is concentrated in single units of production, the factories.

- c. Increase in the quality and quantity of manufactured goods. Machines added efficiency and provided extra energy to speed up production. Thus improved quality and increased quantities of manufactured goods for the market.
- d. Increased the division of labour. This was much facilitated by the factory system as different units in production are done by different specialized people. This consequently improved industrial efficiency, and productivity.
- e. Rapid rise and growth of towns and cities. As many workers were needed in the industries, they had to shift their homes near the factories. This led to the rise of urban centers like Lancashire, Birmingham and Brussels in Belgium to accommodate the workers and their employers. So, towns sprung out of buildings around factories.
- f. Emergence of new classes. Two main classes emerged; the Bourgeoisie who are the factory owners and businessmen owning and controlling the major means of production and the class of workers, the proletariat who were employed in the factories.
- g. Increased application of science and technology in industrial production. New scientific and technological inventions and discoveries were the only major force for industrial revolution and the continual technological advancement was needed for industrial growth.
- h. Emergence of new consumption habits. The revolution ushered in a complete transformation in peoples' pattern of life as many new goods of different styles were brought to the market which brought new consumption habits and behaviours like dressing codes. Negatively, also it increased dubious social habits like robbery mainly associated with unemployment caused by the invention of machines and expansion of trade.
- i. Expansion of trade. Trade expanded due to exorbitant increase in production of industrial goods that is both raw materials and manufactured goods. As producers of raw materials increased production to feed the industries, they raised incomes and thus also provided market to industrial manufactured goods. Workers also provide market to industries.

## **THE FACTORY SYSTEM**

The factory system is the industrial production system characterized by the confinement of different but related industrial production units in the same industrial plant called the factory. In a factory system, a worker performs only few operations. This principle is called division of labour. The factory may be under a single roof or located in several buildings in the same locality.

The factory system was a replacement of the domestic cottage system, in which workers made goods in their own homes (cottages) and used their own tools, but raw materials were supplied by the merchants for whom the work was to be done. In the factory system however, goods are produced by hired (workers) labour that use raw materials and operate tools and power machines provided by the owners.

### ***Characteristics of the factory system***

- a) Application of advanced technology in production. Factories use the newly invented technology and techniques in production. For example early factories used steam engines which were the most advanced technology by that time.
- b) Establishment of factories near sources of fuel. Like on coal fields, in England textile industries were established in North Western England around Lancashire and Manchester while iron industries development in central England around Birmingham.
- c) Division of labour. Specialization was essential for efficiency as different units in production in the factory needed different attention. This increased production and at the same time improved quality on manufactured goods.
- d) Replacement of the feudal cottage and domestic industries. The location of work was in the industrial towns where factories were established and not upcountry or in individual homes as it was with the domestic cottage industries of the feudal system.
- e) Rise and growth of industrial towns. Factory workers made their homes around factories leading to creation of new urban centers and expansion of the already existing towns.
- f) Poor working and living conditions. In most cases industrial workers lived in slums characterized by poor housing and sanitation facilities due to their low incomes. This made workers prone to diseases like cholera which claimed many lives.
- g) Exploitation of workers. Exploitation was experienced through long working hours, low wages, child labour and poor working facilities like safety gears such as gloves. Exploitation however led to workers' movements (Trade Unions) as workers reaction against exploitation.

### ***The factory system and the rise of workers consciousness***

The effects of the factory system (industrial revolution) which contributed to the rise of workers consciousness included the following;

- a) Unemployment. The factory system phased out the old cottage industries which led to unemployment to those who used to operate them. Additionally, machines largely substituted human labour hence increasing unemployment problems.
- b) Low payment to the industrial workers. As a means to maximize profits and minimize production Costs, factory owners paid little wages to the workers. This resulted into low living standards, hence workers rose to demand for better payments.
- c) Poor conditions of work. Industrial workers served under unbearable conditions which included lack of safety in form of working facilities like gloves, boots and helmets. Not only that but, they were hardly provided with transport facilities.
- d) Poor housing conditions. Workers were accommodated in dormitories near factories which were congested with poor sanitation. Others lived in shanty places with poor hygiene.
- e) Long working hours. In factories, workers toiled for long hours with little time to rest for example they worked between 14 - 16 hours a day.
- f) Child labour. Children as young as 14 years were subjected to hard labour and torture in industries of which they would be paid low wages later.

- g) Crime and juvenile delinquencies. Employment in factories attracted mass movements of people including children to industrial towns where many led miserable lives caused by unemployment. Hard life in towns tempted many to crimes like theft, robbery and prostitution.

### ***How the factory system facilitated workers class consciousness***

1. Increased the number of workers. The number of workers increased in the factories in towns. This added more force to the workers to demand for better changes for their benefits.
2. It provided better communication systems. Industrial revolution led to the development of transport networks. The railway system was invented and road networks improved. This was helpful for workers as it eased their mobilization and organization.
3. It brought workers together for unity. Since workers worked and accommodated under the same roofs were able to interact more closely to discuss their problems and how to overcome them, that is unity.
4. Expansion of towns. The factory system collected many workers with different skills from different regions to engage in production in factories in towns. Towns became centres of change because it's where workers suffered from unemployment, poor housing, transport difficulties and general poverty.
5. Brought economic crisis in the capitalist system. Economic depressions affected workers. Due to low production caused by under consumption, workers were laid off wages were lowered, these lowered workers' living standards.
6. Increased unemployment. The invention of machines moreover supported by engine power caused a great substitution of manual labour by machines leading to increase unemployment.

## **Phases of the Industrial Revolution**

### **Phase I, 1750 - 1850**

This was the initial stage of the Industrial Revolution. In this phase, Britain being the pioneer and inaugurator of the Industrial Revolution, monopolized and dominated industrial technology, manufacturing for the whole world and thus referred to as the Workshop of the World. In this period industrial technology had not spread much to other parts of the world

The phase was dominated by four industries; textile mills, iron mining, coal mining and transport industry. However, the textile industry was the pace maker of the Industrial Revolution. In the 1700s, practical minded individuals developed ways to improve the manufacture of cloth hence developed new several mechanical inventions which included the following;

In 1733 a mechanic named John Kay invented the flying shuttle, which replaced the hand held shuttle used in weaving. This invention speeded up the weaving process; in 1764 a textile worker, James Hargreaves invented a spinning wheel (spinning jenny) to speed up spinning. Using a spinning jenny, several threads could be spun at once. Both John Kay's flying shuttle and Hargreaves' spinning jenny operated by hand; in 1769, Richard



Mockwright invented the water frame. The machine used the water power from rapid streams in drive spinning wheels. The water frame was too heavy, holding up to 100 spindles hence could not be operated by hand so, it prompted the use of water power; in 1779, Samuel Crompton combined features of the spinning jenny and the water frame to produce the spinning mule. The spinning mule made a thread that was stronger, finer, and more consistent than earlier spinning machines.

All those invented machines were bulky and expensive, they took the work of spinning out of the house hence wealthy textile merchants set up the machines in large buildings called factories. It was this that gave birth to the factory system.

The development in the textile industry stimulated other technological advancements leading to the invention of the steam engine which made significant changes in the industrial technology. For instance, as the early inventions in the textile industry were powered by running water, with the steam engine, steam became the source of energy to run machines.

The steam engine also motivated other new inventions, especially in iron, coal and transport industries. Producing and operating the new machines including the steam engines required large amount of iron and coal. Then together the steam engine and the iron and coal industries revolutionized transport and communication. The steam engines ran ships and locomotives (trains), coal provided energy to run the engines and iron to make the carriers.

Harnessing the power of steam marked a significant step in technology. The introduction of the steam engine led to many new inventions, most notably in transportation and industry. Steam engines transfer the energy of heat into mechanical energy, often by owing steam to expand in a cylinder equipped with a movable piston. As the piston moves up and down (or alternatively, from side to side), an attached arm converts this motion into parallel motion that drives a wheel. Models of the steam engine were designed as early as 1690, but it was not until 70 years later that James Watt arrived at the design of the modern steam engine.

## **Phase II, 1860 - 1890's**

This phase is also called the second Industrial Revolution due to its tremendous scientific and technological advancements and a swift acceleration of industrialization in many countries beginning with Western Europe (to Belgium, France, Germany, and Italy), USA, Japan and Russia leading to high competition for industrial and capital demands. The phase was a shift from competitive capitalism to Monopoly capitalism.

The acceleration of industrialization in this phase was mainly accomplished by refining and expanding the techniques which had launched the Industrial Revolution in Britain in the 1750s and new inventions. The phase remarkable changes included; the succession of the age of iron and coal by the age of steel and electricity; discovery of oil (petroleum and making of chemicals; the use of oil and oil derivatives opened new perspectives in transport and industry. The most significant advance was the development of the internal combustion engine invented by Germany scientists like Rudolf Diesel (who invented the diesel engine which could power larger vehicles such as trucks, ships and locomotives) the engine was a substitute to the steam engine;

discoveries in the field of electricity improved communication as soon as the invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876, the wireless (radio) an Italian physicist Guglielmo Marconi followed.

Unlike the first phase, in this phase new inventions like chemicals originated in the laboratory and not the workshops; and the phase also produced vast new industries and gave rise to two departments in industrial technology and production the manufacture of both capital and consumer goods. By 1914, most of the products we know today were available or beginning to be available in different forms.

## **INDUSTRIALISATION IN BRITAIN**

England was the inaugurator of the Industrial Revolution, it was the first nation to experience and taste it. There are a number of factors to account for this;

### ***Factors for the (early) Industrial Revolution in Britain***

1. The British geographical situation. Britain enjoyed a geographical advantage that favoured her in several ways. Being an island she was separated from continent Europe hence free from continental conflicts. While wars and conflicts destabilize and limited progress in other European nations, England was safe and stable. Her position also made her enjoy trade since she had no continental barriers to be easily connected to different parts of the world especially to overseas sources of raw material and markets.
2. The English early political unification. By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> C under the Tudor monarchy England had a centralized state i.e. much earlier than others. This was of great importance for industrial development. It allowed trade to easily flow throughout the country unlimited by the tariff barriers that would have been found in England separated into numerous small states or feudal provinces. Additionally, a unified centralized England assured free labour movement, unity and stability. Also expanded domestic market which stimulated production.
3. Early termination of the feudal system. The feudal system perished earlier in England by the English Revolution of 1640-89 which introduced bourgeoisie dominated government. The bourgeoisie system created conditions for a capitalistic economic system in which trade, manufacturing, banking and farming could flourish. The new governments based on laissez-faire, systems promoted private enterprises. Such a situation made enterprising men to invent new methods in farming and industry and raise capital for industrial development.
4. The effectiveness and efficiency of the British state. The British government was much effective in passing favourable policies which helped to boost British economy. For instance, it abolished feudalism and distributed national wealth to its people in a proper way, encouraged, external trade by protecting its merchants and passed laws to protect private property something which encouraged inventions and innovations. Above all the state was politically stable and peaceful. All these were necessary preconditions for the British early economic advancements.
5. The Agrarian revolution. England was the first to develop highly modern agricultural skills. The revolution increased raw material production particularly wool and cotton

which boosted the woolen and textile industries. Second, increased food production which contributed to rapid population growth and domestic market expansion. Furthermore, the release of excess population on the land by the enclosure system provided enough cheap labour for industrial growth.

6. Early emergence of discoveries and invention. Britain was the first country to experience industrial technological advancement since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. She was the first to see a convergence of several technological processes in tool-improvement, use of coal (as fuel), great increase in use of iron, and use of steam power in place of power from water, wind or muscle (manual). She was the first to invent the steam-powered machinery by men like James Watts which was the most distinct feature of the Industrial Revolution. These inventions stimulated many new ones to give way for more advanced technological progress.
7. Britain had greater access to abundant cheap natural resources. These included coal and iron mainly at home and from her colonies. After 1660 Britain produced five times as much coal as the combined output of all European nations. Coal was a great source of energy to run engines (steam engines) and iron was important in making iron bars for machine making. On top of coal she had other sources of fuel in abundance like timber. Though nations like France and Germany states had enough coal and iron deposits, had not yet started exploiting them.
8. England's early acquisition of colonies. Britain was the first to acquire colonies and had more colonies than other European nations like France. By the 18<sup>th</sup> C she controlled almost  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the world's population in her colonies of India, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Caribbean. Colonies gave Britain several economic advantages like abundant raw materials like cotton, sugar, iron ore, expansion of market for her goods, accumulation of capital, and expansion of her trading zones.
9. Development of high entrepreneurship skills. By the 18<sup>th</sup> C, many English men had developed great enterprises and managerial skills. They could easily coordinate their I capital and use it to accumulate profits. They organized themselves in joint stock companies to carry out trade which added more managerial skills and capital to handle bigger businesses. Even many of the early industrial firms were small family concerns or partnerships of two or three friends who joined while injecting profits back into their businesses. All these were necessary conditions which gave Britain advantage over others.
10. British early development of an effective banking system. As early as 1694 the bank of England had been formed and acted as a private corporation with a huge capital and by 1780 Britain had an extensive net work of banks which had adopted a well systematic and a fair credit policy. Banks provided essential services to industry and trade by providing credits (capital) for industrial investment. Besides banks, Britain had also developed insurance services to provide security to English investors against risks in their industry and trade operations.
11. Development of efficient transport networks. The fact that England is small, relatively flat and an Island with good harbours, gave her transport advantage from the start. Raw material areas, manufacturing centres and sea ports were well connected with efficient road and railway networks supplemented with developed river and canal system. Above all, Britain had a highly developed marine transport system and by 1820 she had 40% of

the world's shipping which enabled her easily connect to various sources of raw materials and market in the world.

12. Mercantilism. Britain was the dominant mercantile power because of her highly efficient marine technology and possession of the largest number of colonies. Through mercantilism, Britain accumulated a lot of capital earlier than other nations. Furthermore mercantilism expanded her market and sources of raw materials which took part in stimulating technological advancements in a way to increase production hence early industrial development.
13. Early accumulation of abundant capital. By 1750, Britain had a high supply of capital to invest in industries. She had accumulated a lot of capital earlier through primitive means before industrial Revolution like plundering and slavery. Also through the enclosure system and mercantilism. Indeed by 1750's, there was so much capital that the owners were obliged to compete for the opportunity to invest it especially in industry.

### ***Britain as the workshop of the world***

The term 'workshop of the world' was associated with the British pioneering of the industrial revolution, dominance in industrial production and ability to dominate the world market. By then, the whole world largely depended on British manufactured goods because the British industrial manufacturing dominance.

### ***Why was Britain termed as "the workshop of the world"?***

1. Britain was the first nation to undergo industrial revolution from 1750's. She dominated the first phase of Industrial Revolution, 1750s-1860s. Other European states had not yet developed highly efficient industrial technology to march Britain.
2. She monopolized the world market. She was the first to taste the industrial revolution hence possessed many industries which enabled her produce enough to control the world. Above all, British manufacturers focused on a wider market by largely depending on production of cheap consumer goods like cloth than luxurious goods
3. Britain possessed the highest industrial technology in the world. Britain possessed the highest technology like the steam engines compared to her rival nations such as France with small and mostly cottage industries. On that note even her rivals depended on Britain for machines and manufactured goods.
4. Britain had the largest economy in the world. Between 1750 and 1870 she had reached an economy worth about 540m pounds, the largest in the world. Other countries like France with about 250m and Germany 212 could not fairly compete with her. This enabled the British invest in more industries than her rivals.
5. Britain had the largest colonial empire than any other nation in the world. She had colonies in America, India, Australia, Canada, and in the Caribbean which put about ¼ of the world's population under her control. This enabled her control the largest sources of raw materials and a wider market for her manufactured goods.
6. Development of efficient transport networks. Britain had developed a reliable transport system to support her industrial dominance. She had developed well connected rail-road networks which linked well with her developed river and canal system and importantly a

well developed marine transport system. This connected British producers, manufactures and market both domestic and abroad.

7. Development of high entrepreneurship skills. By the 18<sup>th</sup> C, many English men had developed great enterprises and managerial skills. They could easily coordinate their capital and use it to accumulate profits. They organized themselves in joint stock companies to carry out trade which enabled them access sources of raw materials and markets easily and raise huge capital which was also invested in industries.
8. Britain had abundance of cheap natural resources. Britain possessed huge iron and coal deposits and enough timber, iron for iron bars, coal and timber for energy to run steam engines. She also had abundant raw materials from her advanced agriculture. Though other nations like France and Germany had such resources, they had not yet started exploiting them.
9. Early accumulation of abundant capital. Britain had a high supply of capital for investing in her industrial development and trade. By 1750, she had already acquired a lot of capital through mercantilism and from the enclosure system. It was this capital that was invested in manufacturing industry.

### ***Factors for the industrial revolution in Europe***

1. Development of Mercantilism. Mercantilism played a big role for European industrial revolution. It enabled European states access sources of raw materials and market abroad. It also enabled European states accumulate abundant capital and stimulated technological inventions through marine technology and gunpowder which led to industrial revolution.
2. Colonial possession. European countries controlled colonial empires in the Americas the Caribbean and Asia in which they extracted cheap raw materials, market, new area for capital investment and enough cheap labour. All such were important for industrial advancement.
3. Early inventions and discoveries. These led to the improvement of technology from the 14<sup>th</sup> C. For example the discovery of gun powder and the spinning wheel from China the pendulum clock borrowed from Arabia and other inventions especially iron working use of coal and invention of steam engine and sheep building. Such early invention and discoveries gave Europe a chance to inaugurate the industrial revolution.
4. The Agrarian revolution. The revolution increased raw material production especially wool and cotton which boosted the wool and textile industries. Second, increased food production which contributed to population and market expansion for manufactured goods. Furthermore, the enclosure system provided more cheap labour for industrial by ejecting excess population from the land.
5. Population expansion. Europe underwent rapid population growth by the demographic revolution. Population growth widened the market and assured provision of abundant cheap labour for industrial development. Increase in population led to large numbers people with skills who engaged in technological inventions.
6. Emergence of financial institutions in Europe. Financial institutions like banks and insurance services came into existence from the 16<sup>th</sup> C. They propelled the industrial revolution in a number of ways like providing capital to European investors through loans and credit services and provided security against risks and losses hence encouraged capital investment. Early acquisition of enough capital. By the 18<sup>th</sup> C, Western European

states had acquired a lot of capital to invest in industries, trade and other related economic sectors which linked with industrial development. However, capital had mainly been acquired from mercantilism through European merchants who plundered other continents like Americas and Africa, and the agrarian revolution also contributed greatly.

7. Development of towns. Towns also were stimulants to industrial development. They collected people of different skills who involved in technological inventions by working in the guilds which were the basis of industrial revolution. Many landless peasants moved to towns to sell their labour in industries and thus, such groups expanded town populations which were reliable markets for industries.
8. Termination of feudal system. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> C many states of Western Europe had eliminated feudal systems for bourgeoisie political and economic systems which indeed created conditions for industrial development. They encouraged trade, manufacturing, banking, commercialized farming and promoted private enterprises, the situation which encouraged enterprising men to invent new methods in industry and raise capital for industrial development.

### ***How the industrial Revolution spread from Britain.***

The Industrial Revolution spread from Britain to other countries like Belgium, France, Germany, USA, Italy and Japan between 1850s and 1890s through a number of ways;

1. The London exhibition of 1851. England invited other countries to witness her technological and economic achievements. The participants sent their scientists and industrialists to learn from the English advancements. Other countries then borrowed/copied British technology which they modified to make more inventions to fit their demands and/or surpass Britain. Countries which sent representatives included France, Prussia, USA and Japan.
2. The role of British overseas trade. Britain traded in both consumer and capital goods. Countries with creative and innovative skilled men and manufacturers took the advantage of purchasing machinery from Britain to raise industries and also copy and adopt or modify the British technology to fit their demands. On that they were able to industrialise in the same line of Britain.
3. British foreign investments. This was by either colonization or economic ties with foreign countries. In the mercantile era, English merchants and industrialists heavily invested in America in industries like ship repairing and building, textile and food processing. This was the basis of American industrial progress. Other countries which benefited in British investments included Belgium. For example an Englishman John Cockerill set up his factories at Seraing as early as 1825 to deal with coke blast furnaces as well as puddling and rolling mills were built in the coal mining areas around Liege and Charleroi. More English invested in Belgian cities like Ghent, and Antwerp mainly in textile industries.
4. Labour mobility. This was of two kinds. English manufacturers hired cheap labour from other countries like Belgium. The hired labour carried home with them knowledge on machine making and industrial settings. On the other hand other countries like USA hired from Britain scientists and skilled labour to conduct scientific research and improve their industry.

5. Scientific research and technology. From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> C, states like Germany and USA were heavily investing in scientific and technological research. This brought new inventions by themselves and more modification of old technology. For example the invention of the internal combustion engine by a German scientist Gottlieb Daimler which substituted the steam engine. Daimler's engine was fueled by gasoline and could power a small vehicle. Two years later another German engineer Rudolf Diesel developed another internal combustion engine. (diesel engine) a more powerful one that could power larger vehicles such as trucks, ships, and locomotives.
6. Abundance of natural resources. The availability of natural resources needed for industrial progress by some countries also accelerated the spread of Industrial Revolution in the world. Countries like Belgium, France, Germany, USA and Japan possessed abundant natural resources like coal, iron ore, timber and land for the production of industrial equipment, energy and raw materials for industrial development. Also had enough populations for abundant cheap labour and wider domestic market.
7. Availability of capital. By mid 19<sup>th</sup> C a number of western countries had acquired enough capital to invest in industries. Countries like France, Portugal, Holland, Spain and USA benefited from mercantilism. More precisely, the mercantile powers like France and Spain benefited from the American and Caribbean colonies with cheap raw materials and markets and trade in slaves, capital was also available in their prosperous agriculture and internal trade.
8. State unification. After the unification Germany and Italy embarked on a serious industrial development program to catch-up with the older European industrial powers Britain, France and Belgium in specific. Relieved with unification troubles and setbacks brought by state divisions Germany and Italy consolidated their efforts for economic and technological progress. A lot of resources were injected in scientific research and industrial progress.

It started in Belgium, more precisely in the city of Ghent for the textile industry where a local entrepreneur Lieven Bauwens managed with great effort to smuggle a Spinning machine from England to Belgium

## **The effects of industrialization in Europe**

### ***Positive effects***

1. Technological advancement. The Industrial Revolution brought wonders in the field of science and technology. More efficient machines, engines and factory systems were invented and replaced the old domestic cottage and guild productive systems. The new technology added efficiency in the manufacturing field.
2. Expansion of towns. The industrial revolution accelerated growth of towns and cities. Towns such as Yorkshire and Lancashire, in England; Antwerp in Belgium; Marseilles, and Bordeaux in France expanded due to Industrial development. Their expansion was due to increase in buildings and social services to cater for industrial owners and workers. By 1900, between one third and one half of the people in industrialized countries in Europe lived in cities.

3. Rapid Population expansion. Industrial development was marked by population explosion. Between 1750 and 1914, the population of Europe had more than tripled. It had grown from 140 to 463 million people due to new medical discoveries and improved sanitation associated with industrial development. Also, industries provided jobs, essential goods and improved social services for the growing population.
4. Rise of Labour Unions. From the early stages of industrial revolution, workers formed movements to protect themselves against exploitation by factory owners like by low wages, long hours of work and poor working conditions. Such movements included Luddism, Chartism and the New Model Unions. They were formed as collective bargaining forces for workers demands like improvement in wages, working and living conditions.
5. The Revolution brought new developments in transport system. The invention of the steam engine led to the creation of new transport means, the steam locomotives like trains had revolutionalised old means like marine transport. Such changes made it possible to transport people and industrial goods in large quantities and at a fast speed. Later vehicles were also made to add efficiency on road transport.
6. Changing role for women and children. Traditionally, women helped to farm the land or worked in the domestic cottage industries. However, the factory system replaced domestic cottages and left many people including women and children, jobless and idle. So many women and children went to work in factories to help support their families. For the first time women and children worked outside their homes.
7. Expansion of trade. The Revolution was a forward gear to increase trade both locally and internationally. Producers of raw materials sold them to the manufacturers and at the same time manufacturers sold them manufactured goods. And due to the limited capacity of the local producers and market, manufacturers had to export manufactured goods and import raw materials such as cotton, wool and iron from abroad.
8. Contributed to the rise of socialism. Socialism raised as a solution to the evils of capitalism especially those brought by the Industrial Revolution and particularly the factory system. Socialist proponents like Karl Max and Fredrick Engels based on the exploitation of factory workers in forms of low pay, long hours of work, and poor working conditions by the bourgeoisie factory owners to build socialism. They looked at abolition of private property as a solution to end classes like of the bourgeoisies and the workers and exploitation.
9. Political changes. The industrial revolution strengthened the Bourgeoisie class and thus led the state apparatus falling under their control due to their wealth and influence. Parliamentary representation was changed to accommodate the bourgeoisie and defend their interests and old monarchies which depended on the feudal autocratic systems were overthrown
10. Contributed to the rise of European nationalism. Industrial development led to emergence of powerful industrial states like Britain, France and Germany. This went together with national pride and great need for national glory which required territorial expansion to control wider sources of raw materials, cheap labour, markets and new areas for capital investment.
11. Abolition of slave trade. Machines to a large extent replaced manual labour in that matter. Slave labour became less profitable as more work was done by the machines.<sup>1</sup> Machines were more efficient and profitable than human labour because they were driven by



engines which provided extra energy than muscles (men) and could perform more tasks than many labourers in a shorter period of time.

12. Contributed to the destruction of the feudal system. It necessitated the abolition of serfdom to provide enough cheap labour in factories, it led to the abolition of tithes to promote trade and encouraged rich landlords to invest in industries and commercial farming. These joined the bourgeoisie classes in towns.

### *Negative effects*

1. Unemployment and other social evils. With industrial revolution a lot of work was done by the machines. As a result many people were rendered unemployed since single machine could perform duties of many people. This contributed to the increase of evils like robbery, prostitution which many unemployed resorted to as means of survival.
2. Increased exploitation. Workers were exploited in factories by factory owners through low wages, long hours of work, poor working and living conditions. Producers of raw materials were offered low prices for their goods while consumers were exploited by high prices of manufactured goods. Exploitation focused on profit maximization.
3. Creation of new classes. The Industrial Revolution created mainly two new social classes; the rich class of factory owners (Bourgeoisie) who owned the means of production and the class of workers the proletariat class who were the exploited class. These were poor and only depended on selling their labour, they were exploited because of low wages and lived under poor working conditions.
4. Environmental pollution. This was due to the emission of bad and poisonous smoke and gases and other industrial wastes into the environment such as in water bodies and the atmosphere. This led to the outbreak of diseases such as bronchitis and other diseases like cholera caused due to congestion and poor sanitation in industrial towns.
5. Destruction of domestic cottages, home crafts, and the guilds. These were outcompeted and later died since factories produced better quality goods and in large quantities. Their participants became unemployed and joined to work in factories.
6. Intensified crisis in capitalism. It led to stiff competition among industrialized capitalist powers due to acute demand of cheap raw materials, labour, market and new areas for investment of surplus capital. This led to the scramble for and partition of Africa and also territorial dissatisfaction that led to the outbreak of the world wars one and two.

## **THE RISE OF WORKERS' CONSCIOUSNESS AND MOVEMENTS IN BRITAIN**

A worker (also referred to as a proletariat) is an individual who earns a living by depending on selling his labour for wages. Proletariats are majorly industrial workers. Working class is a group of wage earners.

Working class movements are organized associations among the workers formed to struggle for workers rights and protection against undesirable and exploitative working conditions. The movements were originally formed as reactions against exploitation of workers by industrial owners so as to improve working and living conditions in factories.

## **The origin of proletarianism in Europe**

Wage labour in Europe began with the introduction of the enclosure system of the 16<sup>th</sup> C when evicted serfs lost their land to the rich farmers and majority resorted to selling their labour for survival. Some remained to work in farms while others moved to towns where those with skills worked in the guilds and those without lived as casual labourers. The two groups came to form the rural proletariat and urban proletariat respectively.

The working class, however, came to full strength and recognition with the Industrial Revolution. The invention of machines and rise of factory system attracted many people to abandon other occupations to work in factories.

### ***Factors for the rise of working class (proletarianisation) in Europe***

1. The enclosure system. By the enclosure system, poor peasants were evicted from the land. This forced the majority of evicted serfs to sell their labour in towns where they migrated to and others remained in the countryside to sell labour on farms of rich farmers.
2. Population expansion. This contributed to land shortages which left many landless hence forcing the landless to seek for other alternative means of survival which forced them to migrate to towns to work in factories for wages.
3. Industrial revolution. This was the dominant factor in the rise of the working class. It created new forms of employment which served as an alternative to other employment like working on land (agriculture). Factories attracted many to work in them for wage and in so doing, two new classes of the factory owners and workers (proletariat) were created.
4. Rise of towns. Many landless peasants and those with different skills migrated to towns to seek for new alternative means by selling their labour for survival. Those with new skills joined the guilds and later factories where they worked for wages while those without skills turned to temporary jobs as casual labourers.
5. The collapse of feudalism. With the collapse of feudalism, many serfs who were tied to land were set free and many abandoned working on land and migrated to towns to work in guilds and other casual jobs for wages and to participate in other activities like trade in anticipation of better life in towns.
6. Development of trade. This necessitated increase in production to meet the market demands. Many craftsmen and the skillful men were attracted to sell their skills to the guilds in return for wages. Also many joined factories as production increased.
7. Rise of capitalism. Capitalism gave rise to new classes of people, like the bourgeoisie class who were the factory owners, financiers, and businessmen and the class of workers who worked for the bourgeoisie for wages in factories. The two classes depended on each other.
8. Development of new economic sectors. New commercialized sectors like mining and transport also increased demand for wage labour because they occupied the largest part of their workers' time then their workers had to entirely depend on their wages for a living.
9. Rise and development of workers' movements. These encouraged many for wage labour by fighting for workers' rights and against exploitation by demanding for fair payments, better working and living conditions.

### ***The effects of industrial revolution (factory system) and the rise of worker's movements and consciousness***

1. Low wages. The low wages paid to the industrial workers by the factory owners led to the rise of workers consciousness.
2. Poor working conditions. Like lack of job security, insurance and protective gears and also were not provided with transport facilities.
3. Long working hours. Workers were laboured for 14 to 16 hours a day.
4. Poor living conditions. Workers were accommodated in poor houses which were congested with poor hygiene.
5. Child labour. Children as young as 14 years worked in the factories. These in most cases were picked from orphanages and poor families. Children were preferred because they worked for a low pay.
6. Unemployment. The development of industries left many people unemployed as machines largely replaced manual labour because the largest part of labour was performed by the machines.
7. Juvenile delinquencies. Crimes by minors (children) increased due to child labour which attracted many children to industrial towns in search for employment.
8. Loss of land by the evicted serfs especially in the enclosure system.
9. Lack of political power and decision making. Workers were denied the right to vote or to be voted for because voting was based on property qualification yet majority of them did not possess the recommended amount of property to qualify for voting.

## **WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND**

### **LUDDISM MOVEMENT, 1811-16**

Luddism was a secret (underground) violent protesting and machine breaking working class movement in England of the early period of Industrial Revolution, 1811-17. The Luddites were handicraftsmen who waged a campaign of destroying machinery in the textile industries because the introduction of machinery made them lose their jobs. They believed that the problems faced by workers were brought by the new invented machines which largely replaced human labour leaving many unemployed hence the need to smash the machines so as to restore old life conditions. The movement began in towns like Yorkshire and Lancashire where early industrial revolution had a great effect.

#### ***The rise of Luddism***

The name Luddism came from the name “Ludd” the family name of Ned Ludd or King Ludd, the Luddites leader, who organized and spearheaded the attack of industries to destroy machines and factory equipment in protest of their existence.

The movement was organized from the shire wood forest, formed secretly by groups of workers bounded together through taking secret oaths to secretly and frequently attack the machines. By the oath, Luddites swore not to leak any information about their movement activities. Luddites moved in small but organized and disciplined groups to attack factories and destroy

machines. Mostly they operated at night whereby they attacked and ran to hide in the shire wood forest.

The movement reached the peak in 1812 when more than 1000 textile machines were destroyed by mobs during riots or by organized bands during nighttime raids

The English government however reacted in the same year by passing “The watch and work Act” which made riots and violence illegal. The parliament made the destroying of machines a capital offence and in the government’s most severe reprisal 17 men were hanged in Yorkshire in 1813

### ***Causes of Luddism***

1. Unemployment. The invented engines and machines largely replaced human labour and the factory system substituted the traditional domestic cottages which employed many at home. The movement aimed at reducing massive unemployment by destroying the invented machines.
2. Destruction of the English traditional life. The invention of machines and factories was undesirable to the luddites because they destroyed the old traditional English life through which English people lived in domestic cottage production units. As a result of the Industrial Revolution however, many families including women and children were forced to search for jobs in factories something which was against the old English life.
3. Exploitation of workers. Workers were subjected to excessive exploitation in form of low wages, longer hours of work of between 14 and 16 hours in factories which denied them time to meet their personal needs. On top of exploitation was disrespect by the employers.
4. Child and women labour. The factories especially textile industries mostly employed women and children because they could work for very low pay. Children as young as 14 years were recruited in factories, many of whom picked from orphanages and poor families and over worked to the extent that sometimes they were chained to their machines to make them toil more.
5. Poor working and living conditions of workers. Workers experienced untold hardships since they were poorly accommodated in congested slums with poor houses and sanitation. Conditions of work were also worse with lack of protective gears like gloves and lack of insurance against injuries.
6. Poor people’s need of relief. The low wage earners, the old, unemployed, orphans and all the needy wanted the government to rescue them from the miserable life of poverty, hunger and diseases. However, the government did not pay attention to them. In retaliation, the luddites responded by attacking factories from where they were exploited.
7. Hard task of operating the machines. Many workers faced the problem of operating the machines because many were unskilled. Besides many were reluctant to learn because they were against factories which replaced their domestic cottage to leave many unemployed.
8. Economic depression in Britain. The crisis was due to the Napoleonic wars, 1796- 1815 and economic blockade system introduced by Napoleon as his economic weapon to suffocate Britain economically by cutting her off from trading with continental Europe

after failing to defeat her militarily. The system denied British industries access to European markets leading to closure of many industries or forcing them lay off many workers the situation which increased unemployment, scarcity and poor living standards.

9. The Luddites were also against environmental pollution. Water, air and noise pollution. Industries polluted environment, by ejecting fumes, making noise and disposing of industrial wastes in water bodies, forests and other open places. Pollution caused diseases mostly air and water borne diseases.

### ***Achievements of Luddism***

1. Luddism was the first manifestation of workers' reaction against capitalist exploitation. Luddites are credited for their courage to be the first to take the challenge of defending workers' rights against exploitation.
2. Laid foundation on which future working class movements were found. Future movements like Chartism based on the experience, strength and weaknesses of Luddism to be formed. Thus Luddism showed the way for others to follow.
3. It was an essential method of workers demand for reforms. The use of force by the Luddites prompted factory owners to meet some of the workers demands in fear of losing their properties. To a certain extent wages and working conditions were improved.
4. They raised consciousness and awareness of workers. Through their reactionary character the Luddites exposed the evils of capitalism and raised class consciousness among workers by showing how much workers were exploited in factories. Secondly, workers came to know their rights like the right to bargain for better payment and discovered the different approaches to be used in demanding for their rights.
5. Reduction in child labour. In their struggle, the Luddites forced factory owners not to employ children anymore. Not like before when children as young as 14 years were employed in factories. That increased chances of men for employment.
6. Reduction of working hours. The Luddites forced industrial owners to reduce working hours. Hours of work were thereafter reduced from 16 to 12 a day. This meant that exploitation had reduced to a certain level.
7. Provided a good lesson to the capitalists. They learnt how workers could react due to exploitation and through violence, their properties would be destroyed. As a result exploitation reduced and workers were granted some liberties.
8. Contributed to the rise of socialism. This was mostly Utopian socialism. Utopian socialist thinkers like Robert Owen, Thomas More and St Simon based on the demands and experience of Luddism to design utopian socialist brand.
9. It was a good lesson to governments. The English government later introduced laws to control wages, hours of work, and working conditions to harmonise the relationship between workers and employers something which was not there before the rise of Luddism.

### ***Failure of Luddism***

1. The Luddites failed to recognize their real enemy. Luddites condemned and attacked machines accusing them of their problems like unemployment so believed that

destruction of machines would provide solutions to their problems. They did not recognize that the real enemies were the factory owners who exploited them.

2. The Luddites had a wrong conception of destroying the machines. They failed to understand that the Industrial Revolution was irreversible due to its great significance to man's life. So the right method was to demand for better changes and not to destroy machines. Also believing in destruction of machines as a solution to workers problems was wrong.
3. The movement was not nationwide. Luddism was small in scope, it operated in a few areas such as Lancashire, Yorkshire, Hampshire and Cheshire which were the only industrial towns much touched by the early stage of industrial revolution. This denied it mass support from other parts of the country making it easy for it to be destroyed.
4. Use of poor methods in their struggle. The movement was poorly organized, mostly operated in forests especially the Shire wood forests and mainly employed violence through which they surprisingly and mostly at night attacked factories to destroy machines. This made them lack proper coordination and more so the government took it as a chance to treat them like rebels to be crushed.
5. The movement was sporadic. Luddism lacked consistence and effectiveness, it was active during economic crisis when wages went down and when workers experienced hard conditions of work and was dormant during economic booms when industrial owners could improve wages and working conditions.
6. They lacked permanent members. Members of luddism were not registered neither were they certified so could join and leave whenever they wished. This weakened the movement because in such arrangement, it lacked committed members.
7. Financial hardships. Members were financially weak to smoothly manage their movement's activities. They mainly depended on their wages which indeed were not even enough for their sustenance. This limited their strength to pose a strong challenge to capitalist exploitation.
8. Immaturity and lack of enough experience. The movement was established at the time when workers had no enough experience in running mass movements hence lacked the needed organizational and mobilization skills in carrying out their duties effectively in this employed poor methods in the struggle.
9. The government supported the capitalists. The English government sided with the capitalists to crush the Luddites because it largely depended on the capitalists for state development as the capitalists contributed a lot to state revenue through tax payment.

However much Luddism did not last long, it is credited for having pioneered the formation of workers' movements. It was the first to show how the capitalist relations with workers needed urgent reform.

### **CHARTISM, 1838 —1848**

Chartism was a working class reform movement in England from 1838 to 1848. It was founded under the leadership of William Lovett (other leaders were Fergus O'Connor and Henry Vincent) with an objective of using parliamentary means in solving workers' problems and promoting democracy in Britain. The movement was therefore an attempt to win economic reform by political means.

Chartism succeeded Luddism and derived its name from its famous 'People's Charter' known in 1837-38 by a joint committee of workingmen and members of parliament. The charter contained six demands as a petition to the parliament. It was the first working class movement to be nationwide in scope and at the same time bearing strong political coordination.

***The six demands contained in the Charter were;***

- a) Universal manhood suffrage. They demanded that all men of 21 years and above be entitled to vote.
- b) Equal electoral districts. Constituents (districts) that could have equal number of voters. So the electorate should be determined by the number of people in the constituency and not the number of constituencies. This meant parliament representation according to population.
- c) Abolition of property qualification of members of parliament.
- d) Vote by a secret ballot. Purposely to ensure secrecy and to protect individuals.
- e) Members of parliament to be paid salaries and not only allowances so that even poor men could afford to serve.
- f) They also demanded for annual parliament. They demanded that general election for members of parliament to be held every year instead of the seven years term.

***The rise of Chartism***

Chartism started in 1838 and lasted up to 1848, originating from the meeting of the London workingmen's association founded in 1836 led by William Lovett, where radical members of this association led by Lovett joined with some members of parliament and other political unions like the Birmingham political union issued a charter which famously came to be known as "The People's charter" as a petition to the parliament.

The charter contained six demands for a democratic Britain to be presented to the parliament and to be passed into law. The charter was so famous that it aroused huge enthusiasm and meetings in many parts of England which endorsed the petition. However the rebel background was the terrible misery among the working class caused by the capitalism exploitation and the urgent need for reforms.

***Objectives of Chartism***

- 1. They wanted reforms in a way to reduce workers' exploitation by the capitalism. They demanded for improved wages and reduction in hours of work.
- 2. They also demanded for political power by having workers' representatives in the parliament (house of commons)
- 3. They wanted improved working and living conditions of workers. This includes better housing and provision of transport facilities etc.

## ***Causes of Chartism***

1. The economic depression of 1830's. The depression hit the capitalist economy forcing many industries and businesses to be closed. This decreased production and as a result many workers were laid off and remained unemployed those who remained at work were severely exploited. Such hardships aroused workers' discontent.
2. Low wages and poor working conditions. Terrible misery and want among the workers forced them to rise in Chartism. Workers were poorly paid yet were overworked and moreover under miserable conditions like lack of protective gears and poor housing. The poor pay increased workers misery to the extent that they were unable to purchase essential goods.
3. The collapse of the National Traders Union. Workers were not happy with the government act of suppressing trade unions and imprisoning their leaders. For example the Grand National Traders Union formed by Robert Owen with the aim of uniting all Trade Unions in one union was suppressed by the government. This forced people to rise in Chartism as a replacement of the closed Grand National Traders Union.
4. The Corn Laws of 1815. In this law, the English government prohibited the importation of food to England to protect capitalist farmers who wanted to monopolise the food market in England. As a result, food shortages increased which led to high food prices to the extent that the lower and working classes found it hard to meet daily food requirements.
5. The Reform Bill of 1832. The bill was introduced in the British parliament by Lord John Russell, a member of urban Bourgeoisie (Whig) and was passed by the English parliament by the Whig prime minister lord Grey. The bill was formed to make some changes in the British parliament of which the British people were not satisfied with their political representation. The bill was specifically an attempt by the bourgeoisie to gain much political power.

## ***Why were the chartists not happy with the reform bill?***

- a) The Bill did not extend voting rights to them. It rejected the universal franchise in which all men of 21 and above would have the right to vote as suggested by the workers. Voting remained based on property, yet workers didn't possess the required property. Hence forth, lacked representation in the parliament.
- b) The Bourgeoisie did not represent the workers' demands in the parliament. They only used the parliament to strengthen their capitalist interests and didn't think of the workers who had assisted them to represent their demands in the parliament.
- c) Through the bill, laws against the workers demand were passed. The parliament under the bourgeoisie influence passed laws to prohibit protests and strikes and also laws against the formation of associations.
- d) Workers were denied the right to participate in the politics of their country. Since the law of property qualification was not changed.
- e) It gave the Bourgeoisie much political power. This meant legalization of exploitation to the working class.
- f) The poor law amendment act of 1834. This was an amendment of the Poor law passed in 1601 by Queen Elizabeth to deal with the poor people in the English society. In this law



the government distinguished groups of people who needed assistance into three categories; the aged and the infirm, the idle and the lazy that could not work and that could work but could not find work and the low wage earners. Others were the orphans and the poor. Parishes were given responsibility for the aged and the infirm through government assistance. The second group of the idle and lazy was to work in houses of correction and not merely to be given assistance. The last group was of low wage earners which were to be assisted directly by the government through salary supplementation.

In 1834, the English parliament recommended that the previous law should be amended. The changes incorporated in the new law were as follows:

- Assistance was only to be given to the aged and the infirm who could not work.
- Work (correction) houses for the poor should be made unattractive to discourage laziness.
- The idle and the lazy should be given work to do or recommended to find work.

The effects of this act were much faced by the workers and were more serious in the economic depression of 1837-1838 when wages were lowered and contrary to the previous law of 1601, the new law did not provide any kind of relief to workers. As a result, the standard of living of the workers worsened.

#### ***How the chartists were affected by the Poor law amendment Act of 1834?***

- a) The poor were subjected to poor housing facilities. The amendment recommended that workhouses should be made unattractive to overcome laziness. Thus people in them lived in poor conditions.
- b) Separation of families to overcome population. The amendment also recommended for the separation of families for example husbands separated from wives so as to reduce population increase.
- c) Unemployment. The act recommended no more relief for the idle and lazy. Many people had to seek for employment so as to earn a living but due to their population some did not get employed and many were exploited.
- d) Child labour. Children were included in the category of the idle and lazy hence the bill recommended any work to be given for them to do or to find work. Also the bill did not recommend assistance for them.
- e) Workers were subjected to low wages. This was because after the amendment of law of 1834, many groups that needed relief had to look for work to do. Thus to accept work for low wages in factories so as to earn for survival.
- f) Occurrence of famine. Those in work houses, the poor, idle and lazy suffered from famine since the government reduced relief on the poor including food assistance.

#### ***Why the chartists organized their movement***

The Chartists had clear motives to pursue with their movement; they opened trade Union Organizations in different parts of England for example Trade Unions of all cooperative spinners in United Kingdom, the General Posters Union and the London Metropolitan Unions. These

unions were so active in fighting for workers demands through petitioning to the parliament and other means.

### ***Methods used by the chartists in pursuing their demands***

- a. Through presenting petitions to the parliament. They prepared written documents containing their demands and issued them to the government through the parliament. For instance in 1839 a convention was held by the chartists and drew up a petition which was signed by 1280000 workers, containing the six demands and was presented to the parliament. Other petitions were issued in 1842 and 1848.
- b. Through riots. These were like that of 1839 in Birmingham which was purposely to pressurize the parliament to accept the workers petition of 1839 which had been rejected. In the riots workers attacked factories and warehouses of the capitalists.
- c. Use of demonstrations and strikes. Demonstrations were mostly peaceful, involving street matching commonly in towns and cities like London, Liverpool and Birmingham led by their leaders like Robert Owen.
- d. Use of mass media. Through news papers, magazines and pamphlets which published the chartists, popularized their demands and mobilized workers for the movement's activities.
- e. Immense mass meetings. Chartists also organised mass meetings to discuss their problems and suggest ways forward. Through the meetings they drafted petitions and organised demonstrations and strikes.

### ***Significance of the chartists' movement***

1. The chartists achieved five of their six demands indicated in their charter. Five of the demands in the charter like the secret ballot, equal electoral constituents, payment of salaries to members, were accepted and constituted into law. Only the demand of annual parliament was rejected.
2. The movement went beyond demanding for only workers economic rights by also demanding for political rights. For example demanding for workers representation in the parliament.
3. It was the first workers movement which was operated country wide. Chartism was wider in scope than Luddism. It operated and mobilized workers country wide in demanding for workers rights.
4. It raised workers consciousness. Chartism awakened workers consciousness and desire for democratic rights by demanding for democratic reforms. It developed class consciousness among workers to know their rights and then struggle against exploitation.
5. It contributed to the foundation of future working class movements like the New Model Unionism. Future workers movements, borrowed experience from strength and weakness of Chartism to come up with more organized movements.
6. Chartism played a significant role in the improvement of working conditions. Capitalists were conditioned to improve working and living conditions of their workers due to fear of the chartists who were pressing for improved conditions in various ways like petitions and riots.

7. Contributed to socialist ideas in England. The chartists were influenced by Karl Man, socialist ideas which included social justice, equal sharing and fair payment to labour. Such ideas were adopted by the English society through respect of justice, human rights and freedom of workers.
8. The movement through its political agitations paved way for the formation of the Labour Party in Britain. Failure of chartists (workers) to win political influence in Britain pushed for the formation of the Socialist Labour Party through which workers could compete for political power and win representation in parliament.
9. Through their pressure, exploitation was reduced. Wages were improved and hours of work reduced from 16-12 a day and child labour was ended. Reduction in exploitation improved standards of living of workers.

### ***Weakness and collapse of Chartism***

1. The movement lacked strong leadership. When Fergus O'Connor was elected as Member of Parliament, the movement was denied of his active participation yet he was the movement's most dependent leader. As a member of parliament, he became voiceless in opposing the capitalist exploitation since the parliament was dominated by the capitalists.
2. Division among the chartists. Divisions were there over strategy and ideology to be applied in operations. Some led by Fergus O'Connor urged for application of physical force while others led by William Lovett were for peaceful means. Ideologically some believed in capitalism while others believed in socialism to solve workers' problems.
3. The chartists' activities were sporadic. They were not consistent in their operation. They were strong during economic depressions, when workers experienced high exploitation and suffering in low wages and increased unemployment. And were weak during economic booms as their employers improved wages and conditions of work. Consequently, the movement disappeared as working conditions in England improved.
4. Immaturity and lack of enough experience. The movement was established at the time when workers had no enough experience in running mass movements hence lacked the needed organizational and mobilization skills in carrying out their duties effectively.
5. The strong opposition by the capitalists. The capitalists were economically and politically stronger. They used their wealthy status to dictate state matters. On that ground, the government always supported them, by suppressing chartists' activities like strikes.
6. Lack of permanent members. Membership was voluntary because Chartism lacked binding principles for membership. Likewise, members did not pay membership fee and were not certified. Basing on that, members could join and leave the movement at any time of their wish.
7. Financial difficulties. Most of the chartists were financially weak and neither did the movement organize formulated means of raising funds. For example members did not pay membership fee. This failed the movement to operate smoothly leading to its collapse.
8. The government strong opposition to the movement. The government suppressed the movement. Using its armed forces it suppressed the chartists' operations like demonstrations and strikes and arrested many including their leaders like Fergus O'Connor. Additionally it rejected all the three petitions (1839, 1842, 1848 petitions) by the movement.

9. It was largely politically weak. Though the movement tried to achieve political strength, it failed to constitute an organized political party. It remained weak, lacked effective parliamentary representation, depending much on the assistance of the parliament, capitalists and the aristocrats yet these were their real oppressors.

## **TRADE UNIONISM IN BRITAIN**

A trade Union is an organization of workers formed purposely to improve working conditions like job security, good housing conditions and reduce exploitation of workers by employers like by low pay and long working hours through workers' collective bargaining.

Trade Unions can be general unions for workers different trades or can be specific for workers of a particular trade.

Trade unionism started in Britain after the collapse of Chartism in 1850's as workers' weapons to confront employers' exploitation. In most times they used industrial methods as opposed to political methods in achieving their goals. They employed methods like negotiations, riots and strikes. However sometimes they employed political methods like petitioning to parliament or to courts of law and holding public meetings. In more advanced stages sometimes unions turn or form political parties.

### ***Aims of trade unions;***

The major aims of the Trade Unions are economic;

- i. Improving working conditions for workers. In this, Trade Unions demand for job security, fair wages, insurance, better housing facilities, reduction of working hours etc.
- ii. Eliminate exploitation of the workers. Trade Unions do not seek for changes in the distribution of political power and also economic power. They aim at improving wages and fair hours of work.

## **THE NEW MODEL TRADE UNIONS (1850'S — 70'S)**

These came after the fall of Chartism. From 1850s, workers' organizations in Britain were transformed into New Unions called New Model Unionism. They were called so because they were formed by skilled and professional workers and used professional techniques in struggling for their demands. They were more industrial unionist in character than the former crafts unionism like Luddism and Chartism.

### ***Characteristics of New Model Unions;***

- a. New Model Unions focused much on economic wellbeing of workers. Their objectives were specifically economic for example fight for better wages and working conditions.
- b. They were professional unions. New Model Unions comprised of only people of particular skills (professionals) like engineers without involving unskilled workers.

- c. Membership was permanent. Members of NMU were registered and certified hence the movements were themselves permanent; membership was not voluntary.
- d. Payment of membership fees. Members of the NMUs were required to pay annual membership fee for the smooth running of their movements, and to win their members commitment. But also raise funds to educate them through magazines, news papers and seminars.
- e. In New Model Unions, leadership was elected and certified by their trade unions councils and paid salaries. In that case leadership was also not voluntary
- f. New Model Unions largely used peaceful methods through negotiations and bargaining with their employers, they discouraged violent methods like riots and strikes.
- g. New Model Unions had commonly defined documented goals and constitutions written by workers which were presented to the employers.
- h. New Model Trade Unions were not nationwide in scope like Chartism which was nationwide in scope.

### ***Achievements of new model unions;***

1. New Model Unions bargained with the employers to increase wages and improve working conditions of workers and thus helped improving workers' standards of living.
2. They planted seeds of professionalism in demanding for workers rights. Members were skilled and therefore used professional measures in demanding for workers rights for example through bargaining and documenting.
3. Raised workers class consciousness and awareness. NMUs provided education to their members to help them become aware of their rights and to know how they were exploited, also aware of the right approach to be used in demanding for their rights. This helped to create a strong self-esteem and confident class of workers.
4. They raised funds through payment of annual membership fees which helped in the easy running of their movement affairs, educating members on their rights like through seminars and for the welfare of their members.
5. They won government approval. The use of non-violent peaceful formal approaches like negotiations, petitions and peaceful demonstrations in their struggle for workers demands won NMUs government approval. Other than suppressing them, the government allowed them to be registered and operate legally.
6. New Model Unions drafted clearly documented constitutions which provided guidance in organization and operations of their affairs and also extended documents to their employers on basis of their demands.
7. New Model Unions had permanent members. Members were registered and certified. This enabled them have committed members and consistence in their operations unlike when membership is voluntary.
8. They laid a foundation for the creation of the British Labour Party found in 1893. By this, workers were able to participate in politics and even win seats in the parliament to be in a better position to defend their interests and through the party, were also able to hold government offices.
9. There was a remarkable growth of solidarity among workers. This was because the New Model Unionism was an amalgamation of different trade unions and also encouraged collective bargaining hence created a strong force to challenge exploitation of workers.

10. New Model Unions had centralized administration with elected leaders (not volunteers). This provided them with easy coordination and running of the union affairs under committed leadership.
11. Laid a foundation for the future working class movements which were the general unions built on the experience, successes and failures of New Model Unions. Future (present) Unions are indeed a revision of the NMU.

### ***Weaknesses of new model unions***

1. Division of workers. First only a few certified workers were the members and secondly, each trade had its own organization. Also the payment of annual membership fees eliminated the poor workers. Such arrangements did not favour unity and strength against exploitation.
2. NMUs accommodated only skilled and semi-skilled workers. This denied unskilled workers a chance to join the movements hence remained unprotected against exploitation.
3. New Model Unions majorly focused on only the economic matters of workers. They neglected the political matter yet in practical terms workers were to have both political and economic powers to possess stronger bargaining power.
4. It was not nationwide by coverage. It only operated in major towns and cities like Manchester, and Birmingham so this made the movement unpopular since it did not reach all parts of the country.
5. Ideological differences. Some members opted for violent means like riots, strikes, and others opted for peaceful means like petition and peaceful demonstrations.
6. The movement suffered from financial hardships. Members were poor to contribute enough funds for the smooth running of the movement. This made it difficult for their members to smoothly run movement affairs.
7. Lack of enough awareness among workers. Many workers were not aware of their rights and they were afraid of joining the movements in fear of losing their jobs if discovered by their employers.
8. The movement depended much on peaceful means. Such means like peaceful demonstrations and petitions were slow to realize the aims and could hardly attain quick success.

## **V. THE DEMOGRAPHIC REVOLUTION**

The Demographic Revolution is the rapid population growth. Europe experienced the evolution between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Population rapidly expanded, to other countries it doubled and others went beyond.

In the Middle Ages, population in Western Europe was static. It was expanding very slowly. However in the 18<sup>th</sup> century it grew very fast to realize the demographic revolution. For example, in England between 1801 and 1821 population expanded by 34% between 1821 to 1841 by 32% and between 1841 to

The revolution was marked by the enormous increase in child birth and life expectancy alongside reduction in mortality rate.

### ***Factors for the demographic revolution***

1. Highly developed medical techniques. Better medical care was discovered unlike in the past when effective medicine had not yet been discovered to fight diseases at length. The scientific discoveries in the field of medicine as a result of the close study of the human body led to improved medical care to improved health, reduced mortality rates and increased life expectancy. Also helped in combating epidemics.
2. Improved standards of hygiene and public health. This was very important in dealing with deadly diseases caused by poor hygiene like typhoid, diarrhea and cholera. Improved hygiene in public health was also due to proper sewage disposal, provision of clean water, better housing and clothing. Such measures reduced chances of disease contraction.
3. The disappearance of epidemics like plagues, cholera etc. Epidemics like the Bubonic plague of 1348 limited population growth since they could cause massive deaths. For instance the bubonic plague which claimed half of the European population.
4. Early marriages. This led to the early rise and expansion of families and more so increased fertility of women. Early marriages expanded marriage life span thus added chances of more child birth. In Britain for instance women produced children at an early age of 14 years and women had an average of 6 children in the 18th century.
5. The Agrarian revolution. The advanced changes in farming brought by Agrarian revolution, increased production and supply of food and other necessary raw materials like wool for cloth making. These improvements reduced instances of famine and malnutrition with its related diseases like kwashiorkor which used to kill many people. Additionally the revolution, improved standards of living by increasing employment in industries and farms.
6. Political stability. Between the 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Europe experienced a period of relative peace and stability especially in Britain where wars were very rare. This contributed to the expansion of population because political instabilities destabilise people and cause massive death.
7. The rise and growth of towns. Towns improved the living standards of the people by providing better housing and hygienic services hence reducing risks of diseases. Also there were higher chances for better employment, medical, educational and food services which are a prerequisite for better living standards and population expansion.

### ***The role of the demographic revolution in the rise of capitalism in Europe***

1. Increased supply of cheap labour. Population expansion increased the number of free labour which was exploited in farms and factories through low wages to assure profit maximization to the capitalists enabling them expand their capital.
2. Expansion of market. Population expansion as well, expanded both the domestic and foreign market for both industrial and agricultural goods. So producers and manufactures were now assured of a ready market for their goods.
3. Rise and development of towns. Population contributed to the shortage of land in the countryside the situation which forced many landless to migrate to towns where they could earn a living by selling their labour. So towns' populations were expanded.

4. Stimulated trade and commerce. Increase in population expanded the market of goods which attracted many people to join trade. Besides that, population increase caused a lot of pressure on land which forced many peasants to sell their land to rich farmers to acquire capital for trade.
5. Stimulated production. Population expansion increased the number of people with different skills in production. Many of whom migrated to towns to sell their skills in the guilds. Also the expansion of market encouraged manufacturers to produce more to meet expanding market demands. It was such technological skills that were developed to give way to the Industrial Revolution.
6. Availability of enough armies. Population expansion enabled European nations build large armies and navies which assured peace and order which are important for capital development. The armies and navies were also important in protection of merchants or high seas, plundering and colonizing other nations for wealth.
7. Contribution to political changes. The increase in the population expanded discontented groups like the landless peasants, serfs and the unemployed who were heavily exploited by the landed classes. These groups led by the discontented urban bourgeoisie formed revolutionary forces against aristocratic governments like in the cases of the English and French revolutions.
8. Population increase contributed to famine and other social problems like spread of diseases. It led to land shortage leading to food shortage, forcing many people migrate to towns to sale their labour or participate in trade for survival. Consequently, feudal lords were denied of their peasant labour in the country side.

## **VI. SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION**

Scientific Revolution was a major change in European thought, starting in the mid 1500s, in which the study of natural world began to be characterised by careful observation and the questioning of accepted beliefs. Scientific revolution involved scientific and technological changes/discoveries which revolutionised production and replaced the old and feudal backward economy.

*Some scientific and technological developments included the following aspects;*

1. The invention of ship making and compass which was a great advancement in marine transport technology led by Portugal and Spain. This technology spread to other parts of Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.
2. Introduction of Metric systems of weights and measures which were invented by a French professor Lagrange. This improved the efficiency and accuracy in the system of measurements.
3. Laplace devoted his chief attention to astronomy and published a book called “Celestial Mechanism” between 1788 and 1825 which gave convincing mathematical proof of Newton’s principle of gravitations.
4. Another French scientist Levee Ovier showed by mathematical calculations in I 845 that there must be another unseen planet in the solar system out beyond Uranus and he predicted its orbit.



5. In physics, the early 19<sup>th</sup> C witnessed a rapid development of thermodynamics, optics, magnetism and electricity. Thermodynamics, the study of the mechanical action of heat, became a subject of much interest as the use of the steam engine developed.
6. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> C electricity became invented as a source of energy. Personalities who contributed to this development included: Wheat stone and Michael Faraday from England and Morse from America. Michael Faraday in a series of brilliant experiments produced magnetism by electric currents and discovered the principle of the electric motor and the dynamo in 1831.
7. In the field of textile technology in Europe, Particularly Britain, made different discoveries as follows;
  - The flying shuttle invented by John Kay 1733.
  - The spinning jenny invented by James Hargreaves 1767
  - The water frame invented by Richard Ark Wright 1769.
  - The spinning mule invented by Samuel Crompton 1779
  - The power loom invented by Edmund Cart Wright 1785.
  - The cotton gin invented by Eli Whitney 1792 (U.S.A)
  - The cylindrical calico printing machine by Tomas Bell 1785.
  - Chemical bleaching and chemical dyes had been developed before the end of 18<sup>th</sup> c and early 19<sup>th</sup> C. The factory cotton industry grew by leaps and bound.
8. Meanwhile the steam engine was discovered in 1769 by James watt that is referred to as the benefactor of industrial revolution. Water could be pumped from marshy land by steam engine to create more land for agriculture.

### ***Contribution of the scientific revolution to the rise of capitalism***

1. Machines replaced human labour which improved efficiency and quality of products. Thus, it accelerated commodity production because of efficient technology.
2. It simplified transportation of industrial goods and raw materials. For example the invention of the Steam Engine improved marine transport and also led to invention of locomotives.
3. Collapse of feudalism because the scientific changes made feudal relations of production out of date.
4. Improved technology led to modernized agriculture and more increase of raw materials for the industries.
5. Industrial technology especially the textile technology led to the expansion of the towns and cities where the factory systems developed.
6. Technological changes also expanded the internal and overseas markets because commodities could be produced cheaply and therefore supplied at reasonable prices.
7. Scientific technology changes saved a lot of time which could be used for other economic activities.
8. The rise of the bourgeoisie class which owned the machine and factories profits generated were invested in other sectors of the economy.
9. It contributed to the demographic revolution. Scientific developments enabled the study of human body and invention of different medicines to control diseases which affected and killed people including epidemics.

## **Other factors for the rise of European capitalism**

### **VII. THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONETARY ECONOMY.**

The wide application of money meant that payments were valued for money including rent and labour. Peasants therefore had to sell their products in order to pay their rent. However, so as to acquire more money, they had to add value on their products. This gave rise to commodity production which meant that peasants had to transform parts of their products into consumer goods something which contributed to the development of productive skills. As a result, many changed attitude from depending on land to commodity production. Likewise rise of money economy led to the development of towns in which many peasants migrated into and lived by trade and selling their skills and labour rather than depending on the land. Such new changes made the traditional and feudal systems outdated.

### **VIII. THE RISE AND GROWTH OF TOWNS.**

From the 15<sup>th</sup> C, Europe developed recognizable towns due to expansion of overseas trade. Towns such as Birmingham and Cheshire developed as manufacturing centres, while as others such as Manchester, Bristol, Amsterdam and Lisbon as sea ports. Growth of towns was a shift of concentration of life from the countryside in the rural feudal lands to the freer town life. Towns Contributed to the rise of capitalism by developing trade, providing market to producers and laid ground for development of industries.

### **IX. THE BUBONIC PLAQUE (BLACK DEATH)**

The Bubonic plague was the outbreak of a terrible killer disease that entered Europe from China through Turkey, attacking Sicily, Greece, Italy, and Spain and by 1349 it had spread to England where it was referred to as the 'Black death'. The disease was severe and the medieval medicine could not combat it. It killed about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the European population, amounting to about 25 million people and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the English people. The plague led to labour shortages all over Europe hence landlords lacked enough labour to be exploited. As a result, feudal lords farms and livestock were left free in the field with no one to care for them and some landlords were compelled to sell or abandoned their lands and joined towns to participate in other economic activities. Also it stimulated peasant revolts as a few serfs who remained reacted against exploitation by the landlords. Many serfs who remained moved to towns to engage in personal initiatives.

### **X. POLITICAL REVOLUTION.**

A political revolution is a fundamental change by which a certain system of governance is completely over thrown and replaced by a new system adopted by those who were previously subjected to the old system. In a political revolution there is a struggle for state power through class struggle.

The English and French revolutions were the notable political revolutions which largely contributed to the rise of capitalist states in Europe. They are good examples of the Bourgeoisie

takeover of state power from the feudal aristocracies to create new capitalist states. The takeover of state power by the bourgeoisie meant discarding of feudal relations of production in favour of capitalism.

## **THE ENGLISH BOURGEOISIE REVOLUTION IN RELATION TO THE RISE OF CAPITALISM**

The English bourgeoisie revolution was the first major political revolution in the history of Europe and the world at large. It occurred in the 17<sup>th</sup> C as a bourgeoisie struggle which resulted into the overthrow of the autocratic rule. The revolution occurred in two phases; in 1640s when the puritans led by Oliver Cromwell overthrew king Charles I and introduced a Republican state and the second was the Glorious Revolution which overthrew king James II (monarch of Stuart dynasty) bringing into power the Bourgeoisie parliamentary democracy of King William marking the end of the feudal political power base in England.

### ***Contributions of the English revolution to the rise of capitalism in Europe***

1. Unification of England. After the revolution a stable government was created and close union of all English states like Scotland, Wales and Ireland which had been spoilt by King Charles I was restored. This expanded market and allowed free labour movement which stimulated production.
2. Development of a single currency. Development of a uniform currency all over England facilitated the development of trade by making transactions easy.
3. Land consolidation. The revolutionary government passed laws for land reforms which consolidated the Agrarian Revolution that boosted raw materials and food production. Laws were passed for land enclosure which transformed the traditional free hold open field system to consolidated enclosure system.
4. Confiscation of the church and the aristocrats' land. The church and the aristocrats land was taken by the government and redistributed to the capitalist farmers and landless peasantry who managed to put it under commercial farming.
5. The revolution contributed to the abolition of serfdom. By the new land reforms many landlords lost their land and consequently many serfs were freed. Many freed serfs and landless peasants were forced to move to towns to live by selling their labour for wages, this gave rise to a working class.
6. Power sharing. Sharing of power by the aristocrats and the bourgeoisie after the revolutions allowed the wealthy bourgeoisie dominate English parliamentary politics. By such influence, the bourgeoisie passed policies in favour of liberal capitalist economic policies like free trade and enterprises.
7. The revolution guaranteed constitutional freedom and liberties which contributed to the rise and expansion of the English middle class of merchants, bankers, financiers and professionals. It was this class, with wealth which crashed the feudal system in need of private property.
8. The revolution laid foundation for Industrial Revolution, It led to the rise of the strong middle class dominance of the economy, creation of a stable government which promoted measures to develop trade and industry.

## THE 1789-1895 FRENCH REVOLUTION

It was a complete political, economic and social change in France which involved the overthrow of the Bourbon Monarchical system under King Louis XVI and replacing it with first republic in France by the middle and the peasant classes who were the unprivileged and oppressed in the old regime. The overthrow of the conservative feudal aristocratic system was a gateway for new reforms which favoured development of capitalism.

### *Contribution of the French revolution to the development of capitalism*

1. It led to the emancipation of the serfs. During the revolution the landless peasants and serfs seized land from their landlords. Also after the revolution, the new government passed land reforms and land was redistributed to the landless classes. This was a heavy loss to the feudal classes of the nobles, the landlords and the church and as a result led to the demise of feudalism in France.
2. Abolition of the feudal privileges. In the revolution, peasants demanded for equal rights by the abolition of special privileges of the nobility and the clergy like exemption from taxation and public services and their monopoly in land ownership. All those were obstacles to the development of capitalism.
3. Nationalization of the church property and withdrawal from political affairs. By the 1790 Civil Constitution of the Clergy, church land was nationalized and distributed to the landless peasants and serfs, the church was withdrawn from political affairs and there was Establishment of an organized national code of commerce that declared that it was the state and not the pope who would be paying the clergy.
4. New commercial laws were made to encourage development of trade and commerce in France. Changes made included, creation of a uniform weight and measurement system and fair national taxation based on wealth possession.
5. The revolution led to the establishment of national treasury. This strengthened the French currency and set lines for the development of industrialization in France and at the same time gave room for the growth of financial institutions in France which availed capital to investors.
6. Completed national unification. The unification of semi autonomous political status of some French provinces by creating a strong central government. This facilitated development of trade and industry by abolishing internal custom tariffs, widened market and allowed free movement of labour and traders.
7. The role of the new revolutionary ideals. The new ideals of equality, liberty and fraternity formed the pillar of the constitution which protected people's rights and freedom. In the long run, they promoted economic liberalization and boosted industry.
8. The revolution laid ground for industrial development. It led to the rise of the strong middle class dominance of the economy, which promoted measures to develop trade and industry. The end of feudal autocracy meant freedom of mind which led to technological inventions.

By and large, political revolutions transformed feudal systems into Bourgeoisie systems. New created Bourgeoisie governments promoted capitalist interests like national unifications to

promote free trade and commerce, private property like industry and elimination of backward feudal systems which were against changes.

### **Sample revision questions**

1. Examine the socio-economic and political situation of Europe under feudalism
2. Explain the problems that faced agriculture in Europe under the Open Field system
3. Appraise four changes that were brought by the Enclosure system in Britain and asse four detrimental impacts of it in Europe.
4. Explain the five salient features of European mercantilism.
5. Discuss the mechanisms through Mercantilism operated
6. Examine six factors that led to the rise of Commercial Revolution
7. Show that Mercantilism has everlasting consequences on the Americas and Caribbean.
8. "Africa helped to develop Western Europe in the same proportion as Western Europe helped to underdevelope Africa during the mercantile era." Justify this statement.
9. "The rise of capitalism in Europe was contributed by the Tran-Atlantic Trade". Justify.
10. The preference of African slaves was based on the racial and economic lines. Analyse the notion by referring to the shipment of African slaves to the New World.
11. Highlight the problems encountered by European merchants in using the European labour in the New World.
12. Relate the exploitation of African slave labour in America with the development of capitalism in Europe.
13. Elaborate six reasons for the inevitability of the abolition of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the 9th Century.
14. Explain eight factors for the transition from cottage system to the factory system in Britain during 1750s.
15. Show the advantages Britain had over France for her early industrialization.
16. Trace out four reasons for the development of working class movements in Britain and four achievements in the struggle for workers rights.
17. Industrial revolutions of the 1750's -1850's and 1850's -1890's had a great influence towards the emergence of proletariat movements in Britain. Discuss with any six points.
18. Analyse the four losses and four gains of Luddites movements in the history of workers' consciousness in Britain.
19. Chartism was a successful failure in the history of working class movements in Britain. Comment
20. Discuss the nature and character of British working class between 1810s and 1840s
21. Evaluate the successes of the British working class movement in 1870s.
22. Place the important developments that led to the emergence of a capitalist society in Britain.

## TOPIC TWO

### THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

The word democracy is derived from two Greek words; demos meaning people, and Kratos meaning rule or authority. In that regard as per Greeks democracy meant (means) government by the people or rule by the people. Thus it is the government of the people by the people for the people.

In broad terms however, democracy means a form of government in which leaders are elected by the people and are responsible to the public (those who elected them) for their actions. It may also mean, a form of society in which there is no privileged class but people may rise by ability to positions of power and influence. It is in simple terms described as the government of the people by the people for the people.

In the actual sense, democracy is an ideal way of life that stresses equality, liberty, individual rights, tolerance, freedom of discussion and compromise.

#### *Forms of Democracy*

There are generally two forms of democracy namely direct democracy and representative democracy.

- a. **Direct democracy.** This was the first form of democracy that originated from ancient Greek states like Athens and Sparta by which all citizens congregated to form an assembly. The whole society collected together and people elected leaders and made laws. This system is best in small areas with small populations. For example the Greek city states comprised of only about 10,000 free citizens who were allowed to participate for democracy.
- b. **Representative democracy.** This is a form of democracy in which people choose a few to represent them in the assembly. The elected representatives form an assembly (parliament) which passes laws and decisions for them. The representatives are to represent the ideas of their people. However, in most cases the will of their people' does not sound or be represented since in the assembly decisions are passed by the consent of the members of the assembly. This form of democracy is practiced in vast areas covered with large populations.

#### *Origins of democracy*

Through the centuries, political philosophers, starting in ancient Greece with Aristotle and later others like the English philosopher John Locke and the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau have developed the democratic theory.

## *Ancient Greece*

Democracy began to develop in ancient Greece as early as 500 BC, Greek Political thinkers stressed the idea of democracy, through which the idea of rule by law was emphasized (by giving people power to be involved in their societies' affairs). However Athens (Greek) brand of democracy was different from today's democracy. It was direct democracy where the whole body of the citizens could come together and vote on the propositions put before them by their contending leaders; it was basically a simple majority rule whereby the whole society was gathered. This system suited them because the Greek city-states were small societies with, total free population numbered about no more than 10,000 people.

That brand was different from today's representative one (democracy) where the citizens elect representatives, who make the decisions on their behalf. This type puts a lot of power in the hands of the representatives other than the people as laws and decisions are passed by the representatives and not the majority. Representative democracy is second-best to direct democracy because the representatives' decisions, in most cases are not exactly the will of the people. However representative democracy is unavoidable today especially at the national levels due to expanded population and vastness of societies; countries or nation-states.

In other words democracy began in ancient times, during the 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC in which most of the city-states of Greece had direct democracy. Each city-state had its assembly, in which all citizens had the right to speak and vote.

The Ancient Romans experimented with democracy but they never practiced it as fully as did the Greeks. Roman political thinkers taught that political power comes from the consent of the people. The Romans statesman Cicero contributed to the idea of a Universal law of reason that is binding on all people and governments everywhere. He suggested that people have natural rights which every state must respect.

## **PRINCIPLES WHICH GOVERNED POLITICS IN EUROPE BEFORE THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY**

1. Absolutism of the monarchs. Monarchs held autocratic powers with all state authority rested in their hands. They were the chief law makers. The kings' words and wishes were laws. In a few words the monarch was the law and the state itself. It applied as if the state was a personal institution of the monarch.
2. The theory of divine rights of monarchs. By this theory, European Monarchs assumed Godly given powers by asserting that they are a subject to no earthly authority. They exalted themselves to the highest position of man claiming that they were appointed by God to rule and it was only God who could question their actions and were answerable to only God. It meant that monarchs were all the time right and no one had the right to question their powers.
3. The church. It enjoyed political powers, besides religious control. The clergy worked with the monarchs, enjoyed both state and religious powers and privileges, for example holding ministerial posts and were paid salaries by the state. State religions like. Catholicism for France and Austria and Anglicanism for Britain existed in which all the

citizens were by law obliged to belong. Respect to the state meant respect to the Church and the vice versa. The church owned estates and serfs/tenants to work on its land. It collected feudal dues such as rent, taxes, fines and free labour.

4. Kingship making. Monarchs' position was hereditary. Rulers ascended to the position by birth rights thus he/she succeeded the father or a close relative like a brother, sister or a cousin. That meant that the position of a ruler was not subjected to be elected or appointed by the public consent but by royal family. In most cases monarchs named their successors.
5. The feudal system. Under feudalism, European societies were stratified into antagonistic classes; the upper class consisting of the Nobility, the clergy and landlords enjoyed the privileged position of the state, they held political powers and owned property especially land and also were exempted from taxation; the middle class of the bourgeoisie consisting of merchants, industrialists and professionals. These, despite their wealth and education, were not included in the governance of the state. At the bottom was the poor peasant class subjected to all sorts of exploitation. They bore the whole weight of the tax, high feudal dues, liable to forced labour.
6. A weak parliamentary system. Parliamentary system had existed for many centuries but undemocratically. Parliaments were mainly consultation/advisory bodies and meetings of the monarchs with the nobles and the aristocrats and not a lawmaking institution. It was called by the king and not elected by the masses and served the interests of the monarch and nobility.
7. Weak constitutional monarchical system. With increasing demand for reforms, monarchs were pressed to allow some political freedoms which gave way to parliamentary politics and constitutionalism. However at the beginning though constitutions were put in place, Monarchs retained dictatorial powers with constitutions not limiting their powers for example they continued appointing officials and controlling the economic affairs of their states.

## **RISE OF OPPOSITION TO ABSOLUTISM**

***Rise of opposition from philosophers/intellectuals/encyclopes towards the principle of divine rule/absolutism.***

Philosophers were a source of enlightenment to European societies. They based on scientific principles in contradicting absolute monarchy and divine rights, aristocracy by birth and state churches. They were against such due to their lack of human concern.

They argued that maintaining order by forcing people into conformity destroyed the innate human potential for moral judgment. The state churches often used by monarchs to support corrupt regimes also undermined respect for traditional Christianity. Major political and democratic philosophers;

John Locke (1632-1704). Locke was an English philosopher and among the most influential political philosophers. In his writings, the two " *Treatises of Government* " Locke raised the claim that men are by nature free and equal. He argued that people have rights, such as the right to life, liberty, and property. He explained that the duty of government is to ensure stability,



comfortable enjoyment of peoples' lives, liberty, and property. He stressed that governments should exist by the consent of the people in order to protect the rights of the people and promote the public good and that governments that fail to do so can be resisted and replaced with new governments. Locke also defends the principle of majority rule and the separation of legislative and executive powers. He called for religious freedom and also denied that churches should have any coercive power over their members.

Baron Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755). He criticized monarchical absolutism and the church offending authorities. In his book "The Spirit of the Laws" advocated for a constitutional monarchy as the best system of government for a people who prized freedom and called for the need of sharing of sovereignty between different centres of power; the Crown, Parliament and the law courts to provide a permanent check on any one of them becoming despotic. By building such ideas, Montesquieu stressed on the end of (monarchs') absolute powers. He was a catholic who believed that people should think for themselves and called for the separation of church and state and for more religious freedom.

Francois-Marie Arouet Voltaire (1694-1778). Voltaire's main contribution to the enlightenment was freedom of speech, press and religion and opposition to monarch, militarism and slavery. The two things Voltaire felt the most strongly against were religious intolerance and absolutist government. He was a crusader against tyranny; he urged people take up arms against tyranny, called for liberal freedoms and stressed that a republic is superior to the monarchy. Like John Locke, Voltaire regarded the franchise as the ultimate security for personal liberty and the ballot box as another check on arbitrary government. Voltaire defended freedom of speech and religious tolerance and said that the ideal religion would teach more morality than dogma. State churches were special targets for his attacks. Voltaire's arguments as well as of other philosophers depicted churches as part of a vast conspiracy aimed at perpetuating injustices and tyranny that is unfair or cruel use of power.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). In his work "The Social Contract" Rousseau claimed that "All men are born equal" and there is no need for others to claim more right than the rest and outlines that the basis for a legitimate political order within the framework of republicanism. He further argues that sovereignty (or the power to make laws) should be in the hands of the people, he also makes a sharp distinction between the sovereign and the government. The government is composed of magistrates, charged with implementing and enforcing the general will. The "sovereign" is the rule of law, ideally decided on by direct democracy in an assembly. He also held the idea that the government that derived rights from the people and so could be replaced by the people. Unlike many of the more radical Enlightenment philosophers, Rousseau affirmed the necessity of religion but also called religious toleration.

Generally the 'Enlightenment thinkers did a lot to enlighten their masses on the authoritarianism of divine rule. By their addresses and writings they educated and instill democratic principles on their societies. For example they argued against the rigid grading of society into classes and stressed that equal rights and responsibilities should replace privileges and men should be developed through education and opportunity and not by birth rights. These ideas inspired the unprivileged lower classes to develop revolutionary spirit against absolute monarchs.

### ***Rise of opposition from industrialists and financiers towards the principle of divine rule***

The Industrialists and Financiers belonged to the middle class of the bourgeoisie with other business classes like merchants and the professional classes like teachers, lawyers, and doctors

1. The middle class was against their exclusion from the governance of the state. Despite their wealth and education status they were not directly involved in the political affairs of their states. Leadership in high state offices was occupied by the nobility whose positions were hereditary. Therefore, this class struggled for equal rights with the aristocrats.
2. They were against absolute rule and the feudal system. Absolutism was against personal freedoms. To them that limited peoples freedom of choice and creativeness. While the feudal system was detrimental to business progress as it tied serfs on the land and denied the bourgeoisie free cheap labour. Also it curtailed development of trade and industry.
3. The middle class was also against the unfair taxation system. While the middle class and the lower poor classes of peasants and serfs were over burdened by carrying the whole tax weight of the state, the upper wealthy classes of the aristocrats and clergy were exempted from taxation. Unfair taxation was a detriment against development of trade and industry.
4. The class was also against the slow parliamentary development. Besides their exclusion from it, the parliament served merely as a meeting point of nobles and consultation body to the monarchs it was not a law making body. It was called by the monarchs and he could dismiss it if it failed to serve his interest.
5. They were fed up with the actions of the nobility class who humiliated them. Financiers were overburdened with taxes set by the absolutists against them. This annoyed them so much to the extent of rising to oppose the Monarch's rule.
6. Financiers also rose to opposition due to other causes like the extravagance of the monarchs who used the taxes collected from them and the poor lower classes not to develop the state but to enrich themselves.
7. They middle class, particularly the Financiers were also against the system of the government borrowing money from them and not paying back. Their governments could borrow money from them but could either reduce interests on the loans or repudiate payment.
8. The class frequently presented their grievances to their state authorities like parliaments inform of petitions and letters. For example, a Scottish middle class wrote the "Lex Rex" meaning "The Law is King" an argument against the divine right of Kings and for the right of the people to replace the government.

### **MAJOR POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE**

A political revolution is a fundamental change or transformation whereby a certain system of governance is overthrown and replaced by a new system by those who were previously subjected to the old system. A political revolution is a struggle for state power, in most cases by class struggle where the subjected unprivileged classes overthrows the existing ruling class to establish a new government in their favour. A revolution might be peaceful or violent, however in most cases violent.

## ***Socio- political and economic life in Europe before the revolutions***

### ***Socio-Political;***

Europe was under centralized monarchies whose Monarchs assumed autocratic and divine powers not to rule by constitution. Though parliaments existed in many states, they were not elected but appointed by the rulers and not as law making bodies but merely served as advisory bodies to the monarchs.

Europe was a feudal Society. The Society was strongly stratified into classes i.e. the upper class, middle class and low class. State and economic powers were in the hands of the highly privileged feudal classes of the nobility and landlords. The lower class of serfs, peasants and tenants were landless and subjected to untold exploitation.

The church was not only a religious institution but also a political and feudal institution. It owned land and rented it to the serfs, peasants and tenants to work for them. The state and (state) church were inseparable.

Europe had no religious tolerance. There were state religions whereby all citizens were by law obliged to belong. For example in England, the Anglican religion, everyone had to belong to that religion. Also in France, Spain, Portugal where there was Catholicism.

### ***Economic life of Europe before the revolution***

Wealth was owned and controlled by a minority section of people, the aristocrats/ruling families and all the feudal classes. The majority were propertyless with no political powers or wealth. They lived on the mercy of the wealthy classes. There was unfair taxation with the lower peasantry class being highly taxed.

The bourgeoisie class was expanding. The classes of merchants, industrialists, financiers and professional classes like teachers, lawyers and doctors. The bourgeoisie class was gaining much influence on their societies due to their wealth and education status which put them in good position to criticize the evil practices of their rulers.

## **THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION, 1640-1689**

The English Revolution was the first bourgeoisie revolution to occur in Europe and the first notable political revolution in the world. The English Revolutions were staged by the English Bourgeoisie and the lower classes driven by the desire to strengthen constitutional governance in England. They came at the climax of the English peoples' discontent of autocratic rule of English monarchs. The aim of the revolutions in that sense was to establish a democratic system of governance by ending the absolute monarchical rule.

The English political revolution had two phases, overthrowing two different monarchs. The first revolution took place in 1648 led by Oliver Cromwell. In this revolution King Charles I was overthrown and publically executed in 1649 and thereafter the bourgeoisie republican (the

common wealth) state was established under Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell took over for some years and was referred to as a “Missioned ruler” because he did not come from a ruling family. The revolution was the apex of the English Civil war (1642- 49) sparked off with conflicts between King Charles and the parliament supported by the Puritans and the conflict between the king and the Scots over religious issues. The central role of the “Puritans” in struggle, made the revolution and the civil war appear in the form of religious conflict. That gives the revolution the name of the “Puritan Revolution”.

**Charles I** (1600-1649) (left) was monarch of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. He was the second son of King James I and Anne of Denmark. After an unsuccessful and unpopular attempt to marry a Spanish princess, he married a 15 year old daughter of King Henry IV of France, Henrietta with whom he had four sons including Charles who became King Charles II and five daughters. Charles ascended the throne at the age of 25 after enduring a weak, sickly childhood. His strong will and believe in the divine rights of kings, however proved to be his undoing mismanagement of affairs, forced a showdown with Parliament, which culminated in civil war and his execution in 1649.

**Cromwell** was an English political and military leader and later Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. He was born into the middle class family. After undergoing a religious conversion in the 1630s, he became an independent puritan. An intensely religious man - a self-styled Puritan Moses - he fervently believed that God was guiding his victories. He was elected Member of Parliament in 1628, in the Short 1640, and Long 1640-49 Parliaments. He entered the English Civil War on the side of the Parliamentarians. Even though he had no military experience, Cromwell was a brilliant cavalry leader to lead his forces to victory against the Royalist forces. The defeat and subsequent execution of the king left Cromwell as virtual ruler of the short-lived Commonwealth of England.

Cromwell died in 1657 and was succeeded by his son Richard who however resigned in 1659. Richard’s resignation gave way to the restoration of the monarchy when Charles II was proclaimed king. Charles II tried to please the majority English people by ruling through a constitution and a parliamentary government and by allowing religious freedoms.

In 1685 king Charles II died and the duke of York became James II. With the succession of King James II, however England again experienced a despotic rule because like King Charles I and other English monarchs of the past, James II was a firm believer in the divine rights of kings. He disrespected the constitution and parliamentary governance. In their reaction the English people abandoned King James II and peacefully he abdicated without bloodshed in 1688 and that’s why the second revolution is referred to as the Glorious revolution. After the abdication of King James II, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

### ***Aims of the English revolution***

- To establish the rule of law. Intention was focused on ending absolute rule of English monarchs.  
Introduce religious freedoms and tolerance. To allow people worship in religious beliefs of their own choice other than being tied on state religions.

- Introduce fair taxation-taxation based on income/property basis and not merely on class status by which the rich nobility class were exempted while the poor peasant carried the tax burden.
- Establish strong parliamentary system to allow fair representation. This would also consolidate the rule of law.

### ***Causes of the English political (the first/ puritan) revolution***

1. The theory of the Divine rule. The theory was adopted by English Monarchs like King James I, Charles I and King James II. To stress the doctrine of divine rights of kings king James I described kings as “little gods on earth” chosen by God to rule. Thus English monarchs asserted Godly given powers by assuming to be representative of God and answerable to only God. It meant that monarchs possessed absolute and unlimited powers leading to the people’s oppression, which instigated the revolution.
2. The oppressive, exploitative and conservative nature of the English feudal system. The system divided the English society into antagonistic classes; the privileged upper classes of aristocrats, clergy and landlords who enjoyed state power and wealth and the lower unprivileged classes of the poor peasants and serfs whose ‘birth right rewards’ were exploitation and oppression in form of high feudal dues such as rent, taxes and forced labour. Additionally, the conservativeness of the feudal system hindered the bourgeoisie development since the English feudal aristocrats were rigid and feared changes.
3. The stratification of the English society. The English society was divided into antagonistic classes; the upper class of aristocrats, clergy, and landlords enjoyed the privileges of the state while as the majority lower classes of serfs and peasants suffered from exploitation. For instance, they held state power, owned land and were exempted from taxation. Additionally, they exploited the lower unprivileged classes of the bourgeoisie and the peasants through heavy taxation and high feudal rents and denied them chance to participate in politics. Basing on such conditions, the lower classes rose to demand for equal rights hence the revolution.
4. The dismissal of parliament by King Charles I. Charles suspended the parliament for 11 years, from 1629 to 1640 because it refused to grant him money for his luxurious expenditures and instead he governed England as an absolute king. In 1640, he called the parliament again, but because it refused to grant him money to wage war against Scotland, he again dismissed it and planned to arrest members of the parliament. This time the English people could not forgive because they loved and much respected their parliament.
5. The extravagance of the English Monarchs. The English Monarchs like Charles I and James II, were extremely extravagant, they used a lot of state funds for their luxurious expenditures like parties, building lavish palaces and hiring many maids other than in developmental programs which could benefit their people. Making matters worse, the finances they used lavishly were from the taxes collected from the people. So by 1640’s the English people couldn’t stomach it anymore hence the revolution.
6. Expansion of the English bourgeoisie class. This was the commercial class of merchants, financiers, and professions like Doctors, teachers, lawyers and economists. This class was discounted by the aristocratic system which limited their freedom to participate in state governance. Using their wealth and education, the bourgeoisie influenced the peasants,

organized them into a revolutionary force and used them to fight for state power in a way to create a government in their favour. They provided leadership and funds for the success of the revolutions.

7. The role of philosophers like John Locke (role of literature). Philosophers and writers like John Locke enlightened and inspired English people to rise against the English undemocratic aristocratic governance. John Locke for instance argued that the government should rule by the wishes of the people. He stressed that governments are to protect peoples' lives, liberty and property and not to oppress them. In that way, philosophers challenged the autocratic system urging the people to fight against the government if it oppressed or didn't protect them. Philosophers revealed the evils of the ruling system and raised revolutionary spirit.
8. Religious intolerance. The English people also suffered from lack of religious freedom. All were bound to belong to the English Anglican Church while believers of other religions like Catholics and Jews were persecuted. Due to religious intolerance there emerged a revolutionary group of separatists referred to as the Puritans to campaign for religious and political freedom. Because their acts were against the state demands, the Puritans were persecuted. Making matters worse even the Archbishop of Canterbury, William supported the persecutions of the puritans. This act angered many hence the revolution.
9. The role of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell's role towards the English revolution cannot be under estimated. He was a powerful personality, courageous and charismatic; He was able to champion the revolution by organizing parliamentary members and the Puritans with the massive support of the bourgeoisie and peasants to overthrow King Charles I and his absolute rule. So King Charles I was overthrown and Oliver Cromwell took power after him as the head of the state, the position he used to proclaim himself Lord Protector of England.

## **THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR, 1642-1649**

The English civil war was fought between the forces of King Charles I (the Royalist/cavaliers) and those of the Puritans supporters of the parliament. From 1642, the relationship between King Charles and the parliament had worsened as the king wanted to exert his control over the parliament especially in the control of state finances. The war ended with the defeat of King Charles' forces and his execution in 1649 and the establishment of a Republican government (common wealth government) under Oliver Cromwell.

The civil war was as much the response to the effects of the Reformation on one side and on the other as the response to the needs of the middle class and the landed gentry to win political influence. The war itself involved the King Charles I, the English parliament, aristocrats, middle class, commoners, religious groups and the army. The war tested the prerogative character of the king and challenged the theory of Divine right of kings.

### ***Background to the English civil war***

Before the civil war, the English Monarchs ran the government with the aid of ministers who in most cases were appointed by the Monarchs. The parliament took a less important part in state

affairs. The first Stuart King James I who reigned from 1603 after the death of Queen Elizabeth to 1625 wanted to rule as an absolute monarch and the parliament did not share his views.

King James I died in 1625 his son Charles I called three parliaments between 1625 and 1628 but had trouble with each. After suspending the third parliament in 1629, he ruled without the parliament at all until 1640. This completely deteriorated the relationship between the king, the parliament and the general masses.

### ***Causes of the English civil war***

The causes of the English civil war were both long term and short term. However it's important to note that the irreconcilable relationship between the Crown and the parliament sparked off the revolution.

1. Economic crises before the civil war. England was hit by unbearable inflation which caused prices of goods including essential goods like food to go very high between 1630 and 1640. This drastically reduced the value of the Monarchs income and totally rendered the English masses into a miserable life characterized by scarcity unemployment and hunger. Unfortunately, the situation was worse in towns where the majority middle class and the landless lived.
2. Religious causes. Anglicanism had been declared a state religion and all those who were appointed for government posts had to be Anglicans. Other religions were not given chance and were condemned implying that all English people were bound to be Anglicans by faith. Believers in other religions were persecuted. This lack of religious freedom forced many to rise against the king. On the same ground king Charles I's marriage to a Roman Catholic, French princess Henrietta Maria, in 1625 got him at loggerheads with the parliament.
3. The role of Puritans. The Puritans were a group of religious men who rose in the English church seeking for reforms in the English church. They were against unacceptable affairs in the English Anglican church. They were also against the close attachment of church affairs to state affairs. They also sought to do away with the revision of the prayer book by king Charles I. Above all the Puritans accused Charles and the Arch Bishop William Laud of leaning towards Roman Catholicism since Charles' unpopular wife Henrietta Marie was a Catholic from France and sister to King Louis XIII of France.
4. The Extravagance of the English Monarchs. The English kings like James I and Charles I spent a lot of English finances lavishly. They spent the tax money on building huge palaces royal clothing, painting and employing many servants and parties other than on state development. Also they spent a lot of resources on royal wars. Such extravagancy did not please the majority.
5. The dismissal of the parliament of 1629. In case of any money shortages, the king could order the parliament to give him more money but in 1629 the parliament refused to grant King Charles the money he needed to facilitate war on the Scots after the failure of his first campaign against them in 1639. He responded by suspending and declaring war on the parliament, this was just only three weeks after he had called it.
6. The role of William Laud. William Laud was unpopular because he supported King Charles' belief of divine rights of Kings and to worsen the situation, king Charles I

appointed him the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. This aroused the discontent of both the English bourgeoisie and Churchmen, who saw him as an aide to the king and not as a man of God.

7. The war with the Scots. In 1638 the Scots rebelled against King Charles I when he tried to force a version of Anglican prayer book on their Presbyterian Church services. The Scots were so much angered that they invaded England in 1639. In response, King Charles I waged an expensive campaign against the Scots in the same year but it failed. The Scots then invaded Northern England and forced King Charles to buy a truce. So these acts annoyed the English people who sought for immediate change of the governance.
8. The role of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell's role towards the civil war was crucial. As a courageous and charismatic leader he organized the Puritans with the support of the bourgeoisie, parliament and peasants to fight King Charles government. At the end King Charles I was overthrown and executed and Oliver Cromwell took power after him as the head of the state, and the civil war was ended.

### ***Impact of the English revolution and civil war***

1. Overthrow and execution of King Charles I. The revolution ended with the public execution of King Charles, because he was found guilty. Oliver Cromwell who took over after him is one of the men who signed for his death warrant. The execution was the first ever, no king had ever been executed in England and it was not welcomed with joy.
2. Establishment of a republican government in England. Immediately after the overthrow of King Charles I in 1648, the monarchy was suspended and a republic called the commonwealth was established under Oliver Cromwell. The republic however was short lived because again the monarch was restored in 1660 when Charles II was proclaimed king.
3. Loss of lives and properties. In the course of the struggle and also after the revolution many lives perished and a lot of property was destroyed. Many royalists and supporters of the king were persecuted and many killed during and after the revolution.
4. Establishment of the Puritan Morality. Through the Puritan Morality, Cromwell and the Puritans sought to reform the English society. They made laws that supported puritan morality and abolished activities they found sinful, such as going to the theatre.
5. Exercise of little religious toleration by Cromwell's government. Although a strict Puritan, Cromwell favoured religious toleration for all Christians however with an exception of Catholics. He even welcomed back Jews, who had been expelled from England in 1290 during the reign of King Edward. Cromwell separated the church from the state and for the first time in England and in European history, the church and the clergy's powers were greatly reduced from the English politics and from taking parts in the control of the economy.
6. Establishment of the Bourgeoisie dictatorship. After the revolution, the bourgeoisie controlled the English politics and economy since they held the power of the state. They influenced state policies since majority of the English representatives in the parliament were the bourgeoisie and many served directly in Cromwell's government.
7. Confiscation of church land. During and after the revolution, the English middle class who led the revolution confiscated the church land and distributed it to the commercial



classes and peasants. This encouraged development of agriculture as land was basically utilized for commercial agricultural purposes. Also contributed to the end of feudalism.

8. Development of democratic ideas. The revolution/civil war played part in the development of democratic ideas in England and Europe. This was through people's demands with freedom of speech, expression, association, movement and free participation in trade. This was in demand for equality of man in all kinds. It was these ideas which later led to the rise of a new revolutionary force of liberalism.
9. Encouraged the unification of England. The revolution in England strengthened the understanding between Britain, Scotland and Ireland since King Charles I who had caused conflict among them was overthrown. His overthrow meant that controversies like the religious misunderstandings between the English Anglican and the Scottish Presbyterian churches were settled — King Charles was imposing Anglicanism on the Scots. On the economic point of view, the unification promoted trade through the formation of a uniform currency and removal of trade barriers.
10. Encouraged revolutions in other parts of Europe. With occurrence of the England revolutions in 1600's other peoples elsewhere in Europe were inspired and influenced. Later they came to learn lessons from the English revolution to rise against their autocratic rulers. So such revolutions include, the French in 1789.

## **THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, 1688-9**

The English Glorious revolution was the second episode of the English revolution. The revolution overthrew King James II and brought to power new monarchs, King William and Queen Mary. It's called Glorious because it was peaceful (without violence and bloodshed) and secondly ushered in a new era of lasting fundamental changes in the English sociopolitical and economic life spheres. Many factors are attributed to its occurrence but the largest responsibility lies on King James II who blundered a lot by intending to drive England in a reverse gear by reviving the despotic rule which had been ended by the 1640s revolution and King James' predecessor. King Charles II and more so his inclination to Catholicism.

### ***Causes of the Glorious Revolution***

1. The question of Religion. King James II did what was undesirable to the English Protestant people when he converted to Catholicism when he married a catholic French princess. To add salt to an injury, he offended the English people by flaunting his Catholicism. Violating the English law, he appointed several Catholics to high offices. When the parliament protested, the king dissolved it. To worsen the situation, King James' second wife gave birth to a son, by this; English Protestants became terrified at the prospect of a line of catholic kings.
2. The dissolution of the parliament. When King James got into disagreement with the parliament, he dismissed it. The parliament refused to grant his money for his lavish expenditures on top of disagreeing with him on his inclination to Catholicism and choices of ministers. King James favoured Catholics and close friends whom he appointed to high state official positions.
3. The economic depression of 1665. In 1665, an economic depression settled over England. It greatly affected the lives of the English people by increased unemployment and

shortages of food which undermined the health of the people and to intensify the problem the depression was accompanied by the outbreak of the great plague. All these undermined the credibility of the monarchy.

4. The Bloody Assizes. The Bloody Assizes was the retaliation measure taken by the government of King James II over the Monmouth Rebellion. The Monmouth Rebellion was an insurrection to overthrow King James by the persuaded Duke of Monmouth immediately after James became king in 1685. The move however failed, Monmouth was defeated, captured and executed (in July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1685). Then the Bloody Assizes followed when over 3000 people concerned in the rebellion were sentenced to death under circumstances of atrocious cruelty and nearly 1000 others were condemned to be sold as slaves. By such atrocities, King James was accused of not being uncompromising to his subjects.
5. The revival of absolute rule by King James II. In his reign, King James was driving England back to absolutism which his predecessor King Charles II had stopped by allowing some constitutional and parliamentary reforms which gave strength to the rule of law like the introduction of the 1679 Habeas Corpus Act which gave powers to the court and judges. The judge would decide whether the prisoner should be tried or set free and not the king. However when King James came to power, he disrespected the constitution and the parliament for example; when the parliament protested his much favour of Catholics for high offices he dissolved it.
6. Weakness of King James II. King James failed to make immediate political and economic reforms which could otherwise please the English people and save his rule from collapse in 1688. He was conservative with no need of reform from his ancient system of governance. Also he was foolish by offending the English people when he flaunted his Catholicism by appointing several Catholics to high offices which was a violation of English law, England being Protestant.

### ***Contribution of the Glorious Revolution to the development of democracy***

1. Limitation of the powers of the monarch. The revolution led to the end of absolute rule of English monarchs leading to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The monarchs (King William and Queen Mary) agreed to rule by law and recognized the parliament as their partner in governing state affairs.
2. Introduction of the bill of rights in 1689. The parliament drafted a bill of rights in 1689 to clear the limit of the powers of the monarch and to protect peoples' rights. The bill listed many things that the ruler could not do;
  - No suspending of parliament's law
  - No levying of taxes without a specific grant from parliament
  - No interfering with the freedom of speech in parliament
  - No penalty for a citizen who petitions the king about grievances
3. Development of parliamentary supremacy. Parliamentary supremacy was established through the development of the cabinet system (a group of government ministers). By the cabinet system, the king accepted the principle that in choosing the executive of parliament which is the cabinet he should only nominate members who were supported

by the majority parliamentarians and should dismiss them when they lost' their support. This also reduced the king's power as his decisions had to be approved by the parliament. Hence the real power lay with the ministers (cabinet) headed by the prime minister. The cabinet acted in the king's name but in reality represented the majority party in the parliament.

4. Establishment of a secular state. The glorious revolution led to a complete separation of church affairs from state affairs to a certain extent. Though Anglicanism remained to be recognized as state religion, the church was separated from direct state involvement and therefore some religious freedoms were guaranteed. For the first system in England and in Europe the church was withdrawn from direct politics and from taking part in the control of the economy. The church remained mainly for only religious matters and the clergy were to serve their masses in church.
5. Establishment of democratic practices like constitutionalism, free elections and multi-partism. The revolution gave foundation to multiparty democratic policies. The free election of members of parliament divided the English into different groups. For example the group which supported royalism gave way to the foundation of the conservative party and the group of workers later formed the Labour party.
6. End of feudal aristocratic exploitative system. Feudal exploitative systems like serfdom were abolished. This gave way to the collapse of feudalism taking into account that feudalism limited freedom of the majority serfs and peasants who were tied on the land by oppressive feudal laws. The revolution therefore, freed the majority of the English people from the bondage of serfdom.
7. Establishment of the Bourgeoisie democracy. After the revolution in 1689, bourgeoisies who had championed the struggle controlled the English politics and economy since they held the power of the state. They influenced government policies since they were the majority in parliament and passed policies which favoured them against the aristocrats. Besides, they strengthened parliamentary politics in which voting was based on property qualification.
8. Strengthened constitutionalism in England. The rule of law is the major aspect of democracy. It was reaffirmed by adopting a constitution which laid down people's rights and measures to protect them. Also liberal democratic reforms like freedom of speech and association were instituted to protect people's freedom.

## **THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1789 — 1795**

The French revolution was the complete socio-political and economic change in France which involved the overthrow of the ancient French Monarchical system of the Bourbon monarchy (family) under Louis XVI and the establishment of the first republic in France by the middle class (bourgeoisie) and the peasant majority who were unprivileged.

The French revolution is one of the greatest events in human history which indeed greatly affected man's ideas and conducts for many generations. Within a period of six years i.e. 1789 to 1795, the Ancient French regime, the Bourbon dynasty which had ruled France for over 400 years and the old privileged aristocracy were swept aside and a new state of republican system was established by those who rose to power from the middle class and the peasant class who previously were unprivileged or who enjoyed no political power.

### ***The Situation in France before the revolution***

- a) The French Lived under despotic rule of the Bourbon Monarchs who had ruled France for over 400 years. By the time of the revolution the monarchy was under King Louis XVI who came to power in 1774 and ruled as a divine King.
- b) France was predominantly a Feudal stratified society; Land was owned by a few aristocrats, the clergy and landlords who were only about 300000 out of 25 million. They were arrogant and lived an extravagant life, enjoying both state political and economic powers.
- c) The majority, were peasants and serfs who were landless and lived a miserable life. Though this class had no wealth, they carried the heavy weight of the tax burden on top of being subjected to high feudal dues that were to be paid to their landlords. As if that was not enough, they were compelled to share a big part of their produce with the church and to free compulsory labour on public service.
- d) The middle class of the Bourgeoisie was a small class due to little progress in industry and commerce. The class consisted of the Merchants, industrialists and professionals. This class despite their wealthy position, they were not allowed a chance to participate in state affairs hence did not hold any political posts.
- e) The church was more of a feudal, political and economic institution alongside a religious body. The clergy lived an extravagant life. They owned estates and exploited the peasants through rent, free labour and taxes. They fully participated in state politics by holding high political posts.
- f) France also started industrial development in the same style of British industry however the French industry was still weak. All the same, Industrial development did not only expand the bourgeoisie and workers' classes but also had created other related problems like mass rural-urban migration due to rise of industrial towns and unemployment which subjected many town mobs to a miserable life of poverty and hunger.
- g) Corruption. Corruption was the order of the day. Large parts of state incomes ended in a few government officials' pockets who embezzled funds for their own selfish gains and encouraged bribes for example in courts of law to pass judgment in favour of the rich. Worst was that most of the embezzled funds were spent lavishly.
- h) Lack of unified code of laws. Each district had its own different code of laws. Courts were controlled by inefficient and corrupt nobles who accepted bribes and mostly favoured the privileged nobility and clergy upper classes. Worse still arrests without warrant and imprisonment without trial were common but the most victims were the peasants and middle class who criticised the unfair systems of government.

### ***Aims/goals of the French revolution***

- 1) Equal opportunity in government and economy for all French for example through appointing officials by merit and not by their family background.
- 2) To end government corruption by firing corrupt officials and putting them on trial
- 3) Equal taxation by creating new taxation systems through which people are taxed basing on their income and not their social classes.
- 4) Create a stable economy through stabilization of currency to lower inflation and expand trade and commerce.

- 5) Reduce the powers of the Catholic Church to a mere religious body than a political partner.
- 6) Establish religious tolerance by giving freedom to choose religions of their own favour.
- 7) End despotic rule by establishment of a strong parliamentary and constitutional system.

**Louis XVI** was king of France from 1774 until his deposition in 1792. As a result of his father's death in 1765 who was heir apparent to King Louis XV, Louis succeeded his grandfather in 1774. On 16 May 1770, at the age of 15, Louis-Auguste (Louis XVI) married the fourteen-year-old Habsburg Archduchess Marie Antoinette the youngest daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Francis and his wife, Empress Maria Theresa. He succeeded to the throne in 1774, when he was 19 years old, at the time when he was immature and lacked self-confidence. He wanted to be a good king and help his subjects, but he faced enormous debt and rising resentment towards a despotic monarchy. His failure to successfully address serious fiscal problems dragged him to unexpected end of his reign and life. Louis lacked sufficient strength of character and decisiveness to combat the challenges before to improve France's government. He was executed on the 21st of January 1793.

### ***Causes of the French revolution***

1. The stratification of the French society. The French society was divided into three main antagonistic classes; the upper class of the Nobility, the clergy and the landlords which enjoyed the privileged position of the state. They owned about  $\frac{3}{5}$  of the land despite being very few, of about 300,000 out of a population of about 25 million French and were exempted from the main weight of taxation. Next was the middle class (the bourgeoisie). This class consisted of the merchants, industrialists and professionals. These were not contented with their exclusion from official positions of the government yet were wealthy and educated. At the bottom was the peasant class, which was poor and subjected to all sorts of exploitation and suffering. They paid several taxes like income, land tax, poll tax, and salt tax. As if these were not enough the peasant had to pay some of the produce of his land to the church and was also liable to forced labour on public service like roads and public building and on top of all that subjected to higher feudal rents. Such stratifications created unending conflicts which culminated into the revolution.
2. The despotic rule of the French monarchs. The king was absolute with all powers of the state concentrated on him. He claimed to be ruling by the grace of God hence he was to make laws, and above the law to mean that the monarchs' powers were unquestionable. For instance, King Louis XVI is reported to have stated; "The state is myself and myself is the state", and also once remarked. "The thing is legal because I wish it". Under such conditions, the king was dictatorial, the system which subjected the French poor governance.
3. The extravagancy of the monarchs and the royal court. French monarchs like King Louis XIV, XV and XVI spent a lot of state finances lavishly. Unbearable extravagance was seen in the royal palace, and royal ceremonies. For example King Louis XVI had 2000 horses and 200 carriages, while his Queen Marie Antoinette was the most extravagant. She had 500 servants and changed 4 pairs of shoes a week. Her lavish expenses accounted for  $\frac{1}{12}$  (a twelfth) of the whole state revenue. In the palaces, the Royal

family along with high government officials and selected nobles lived spending a lot of state funds in luxury, while the majority poor burdened with taxes were starving.

4. The costly wars of the French Kings. France engaged in many costly wars which worked against her political and economic stability. Such wars included the Seven Years War (1756— 1763) during the reign of Louis XV against England and Prussia in which France was defeated and as a result, she was forced to surrender her colonial possessions in Canada and India to Britain. Next was the American war of independence of 1776 in which she intervened to assist the 13 British colonies against the British to revenge for her losses in the Seven Years War. The wars had great repercussions on the French society to contribute to the revolution. France lost many soldiers which affected many families. The state lost heavily in terms of finances leading to bankruptcy and suffering.
5. Bankruptcy of the French Crown. For the whole century, the financial situation of France was getting worse and this was caused by the unfair taxation whereby only the poor peasants were taxed and the rich Nobles and clergy were exempted, also by the extravagancy of the royal palace, corruption by state officials and engagement in many costly wars like the Seven Years (1756 - 63) War through which the government lost a lot of resources. The situation was worse to the extent that the monarchy had no money to spend even on essential services and goods. The financial situation was enough to show that the monarch was doomed to expire.
6. Dismissal of the capable finance administrators. These were Jacques Turgot and Jacques Necker. Public pressure on the king Louis XVI to carry out economic reform forced him to appoint the two financial administrators. Unfortunately, following the advice of the Queen, the Nobles and the clergy the financial administrators were dismissed because they had suggested for the taxation of the Nobles and the clergy in order to save the financial crisis of the state. This annoyed the peasants and bourgeoisie because the financial advisors had gained popularity from them due to their financial reforms. Their dismissal indicated that the king was not ready to embrace reforms.
7. Unemployment. This was worsened by the failure of the French industry. Unemployment increased in 1789 when King Louis XVI signed a trade agreement with Britain to have a free trade between Britain and France. However, because Britain was highly industrialized than France, she flooded her cheaply sold goods into the French markets. This forced many French industrialists to close due to lack of market. As a result, thousands of the French who migrated to towns to work in industries were left jobless and suffering. It was this unemployed group that formed a strong revolutionary group in towns like the Paris mobs.
8. The influence of England. England had undergone revolutions earlier in 1640-88 which resulted into the formation of a democratic government under a constitutional monarchy with an elected parliament and a fair representation. To the French, life in England seemed to be better, serfdom had been abolished and the English middle class enjoyed a policy of Laissez faire practiced by the British government. All these changes attracted the attention of the majority French forcing them to demand for similar changes hence the revolution.
9. The influence of the American war of independence. The French anxious to revenge against the British for their loss in the Seven Years (1756 - 63) War, sent military assistance to the 13 American colonies in their fight for independence against the British. However, the war had great repercussions on the French political and economic affairs.

Economically, it contributed to the French financial crisis leading to bankruptcy and politically, the French soldiers who had served in America went back home with revolutionary spirits to fight against aristocratic exploitation and oppression of their government system. They borrowed democratic ideas of liberal freedoms and equality from the American war propaganda like “No taxation without representation”. Besides it was not by accident that Marquis de Lafayette, who led the French army in their campaign to America, was one of the revolutionary leaders.

10. The influence of the French Philosophers. Philosophers like Voltaire (1694 - 1778), Montesquieu 1689 - 1755) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 - 1778) were the then leaders of the French enlightenment. They widely wrote against the French ancient regime; they attacked the privileges of the nobility and the church, they advocated for a constitutional system of governance and democracy, the system similar to that of England. They demanded for the abolition of feudalism and the establishment of a free private enterprise, they also advocated for religious tolerance. With such intellectual influences, philosophers raised French political consciousness and discontent, equipped them with courage to criticize the dubious government system and demand for reforms.
11. The church’s involvement in political and economic affairs of the state. The church was both a religious and political body. It was a strong feudal institution, exploiting peasants and serfs through high feudal dues, levied higher taxes on them, depriving them of owning land, encouraged forced labour on its estates and the peasants were obliged to offer part of their produce to the clergy. Above all the church managed its own courts of law and denied the French their religious freedom as every French was to be a catholic. Hence instead of winning the loyalty of the people to God, it won their enmity and instead of creating harmony, it built discontentment.
12. The weakness of King Louis XVI. Indeed, King Louis XVI was a king in name but not in character. He preferred his personal interests like hunting than state duties and was incapable of making strong decisions, thus he failed to introduce any reasonable reforms which could have otherwise hindered the revolution. Worse of all, the king was influenced by his pleasure like loving wife Marie Antoinette who was much unpopular among the French as the representative of the hated Austria. For example, it was Marie Antoinette who misguided the king to dismiss the two finance administrations Turgot and Necker.
13. High prices, famine, bad weather and mobs. The rise in prices had taken place during the 18<sup>th</sup> C however it had not been accompanied by any corresponding increase in wages. The result was wide spread poverty and the situation in the countryside worsened as landlords exploited serfs even more so as to raise more incomes. Besides that, the weather of 1788, the eve of the revolution was disastrous due to severe winter. It destroyed crops which resulted in high prices of food leading to wide spread starvation. The winter worsened early 1789 when all the great rivers of France were frozen making the importing of food very difficult. This situation angered the French especially in towns like Paris leading to the rise of uncontrollable mobs hence contributing to the revolution.

**Marie Antoinette**, born an Archduchess of Austria, was the Dauphine of France from 1770 to 1774 and Queen of France from 1774 to 1792. She was the fifteenth and penultimate child of Emperor Francis I and Empress Maria Theresa of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1770, at age of 14, Marie Antoinette was married to a 15 year-old Louis-Auguste, Dauphine of France. She

assumed the title Queen of France still a teenager (at 18 years) when her husband ascended the throne as Louis XVI upon the death of his grandfather King Louis XV in 1774. She bore four children in total. The growing number of the population within France eventually came to dislike her and always referred to her as “the Austrian woman” due to her Austrian origin (many French hated Austria), extravagance and influence over the government.

### ***Contribution of the French revolution to the rise of democracy***

1. Emancipation of serfs. After the revolution the serfs were given freedom to own land, this was a terrible loss to the nobles and clergy. Above all the peasants declared their independence from their landlords. This meant the end of serfdom and freedom to the majority Frenchmen.
2. Planted new ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. The French revolution led to the rise of ideas of human rights of equality, liberty and fraternity whereby the French lived with these ideals that led to democracy. The three ideals are the basics of fundamental human rights up to now.
3. Abolition of an absolute monarchy. The French Bourbon Monarchy under King Louis XVI was put to an end. King Louis was overthrown in 1789 and later was executed in 1793 being accused of a traitor. The suspension of the monarchy led to the establishment of a constitutional parliament system by the revolutionaries.
4. Stimulated future revolutions in other parts of the world beginning with Europe. Nations like Belgium, Austria, Germany states were also heavily influenced by the French revolutionary democratic gains and ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity to rise against their despotic rulers. For example the 1820s revolutions in Naples and Sicily and the 1830 Belgian and 1848 Revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe were influenced by 1789 French Revolution. That developed a saying that “when France sneezes, Europe catch cold”
5. Development of Nationalism. With the establishment of a new constitution people felt having been protected by their government. This led to the rise of unity which brought people together. Also the abolition of the old feudal provinces in France unified the French in one consolidated government. Also played a role in the unification of other nations like Germans and Italians by its revolutionary ideals.
6. Establishment of a republican government. After the overthrow of the monarchy the French made a republican government with elected leaders among the revolutionaries. The ancient system of leadership by birth right was suspended in favour of leadership by merit and the consent of the people. This gave chance to men of lower backgrounds to rise to power. The republican government served by respect of the constitution and parliament.
7. Establishment of a secular state. The church was separated from political affairs of France to serve as a religious body only. Church properties like land were distributed to the landless the bourgeoisie, peasants and serfs and that also contributed to the end of serfdom. Such developments gave chance to religious toleration and freedom of worship as people became free to choose religions of their own choice and not merely being tied by law to belong to the Catholic Church like before.
8. Adoption of a constitutional governance system. In place of the Divine Right of Kings’ doctrine of the “will of the people” gripped the public mind. This led to a government by



constitution and parliament which swept aside absolute powers of the monarch. Several constitutional measures like the Civil Rights constitution were established to safeguard the rights and freedom of the people and to regulate government activities by a system of checks and balance among different organs.

9. Abolition of the feudal privileges. Before the revolution the upper class of the Nobility and clergy enjoyed all privileges like state power, exemption from taxation, owning land. To their dismay, all such privileges were discarded by the new government which introduced fairer systems like taxation by property, uniform custom duties and equality before the law. The positions of the Nobility and Clergy were taken by the Bourgeoisies and peasants who introduced systems in favour of majority.
10. Contributed to the abolition of slave trade in the world. This was due to the ideas of the French revolution of equality, liberty and fraternity for all. The slave trade and slavery abolitionists used these ideals to campaign for their abolition. They accused slave trade and slavery as abuse of human dignity and freedom.

## THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE

The 1848 Revolutions were a series of political struggles for political and socio-economic changes by the European masses against the conservative autocratic regimes in their respective countries. The revolutions were remarkable for their dramatic suddenness. They spread so fast, starting in January 1848 in Sicily, and by March the same year, they had swept through most of central and eastern European states causing sudden political and socio-economic changes.

The revolutions were basically reactions against the arrangements of the 1815 Vienna Congress, which aroused disorderliness through Europe, for instance its territorial rearrangements and restoration of unpopular regimes. On the other hand however was due to rise of new forces of change like liberalism, nationalism, socialism, and republicanism. The revolutions on that ground were demands for democratic social, political and economic reforms against the autocratic and conservative governments of the time.

The revolts began from the Italian state of Sicily on 12<sup>th</sup> January, 1848; France on 22<sup>nd</sup> February, causing the abdication of King Louis Philippe. By March the revolutions had spread to the Austrian empire starting with Vienna to Hungary, Bohemia and Galicia forcing Chancellor Metternich of Austria to resign by 13<sup>th</sup> March; then to Germany states of Prussia. Wurttemberg. Hannover, Bavaria, and Baden, to Switzerland and Turkish Territories of Transylvania, Moldavia, Walachia. Only a few states like Spain, Holland, Belgian, Russia and Britain survived these revolts going without disturbances.

Unfortunately, the revolutions, unlike in France got suppressed. Their failure rewound the tape to the old order of conservatism. Elsewhere the revolutions were either completely unsuccessful or partially successful.

**Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich (1773 - 1859)** belonged to an aristocratic class and received good education from the Universities of Strasbourg and Mainz. He was a politician and statesman and of the most important diplomats of his era, serving as the Austrian Empire's Foreign Minister from 1809 and Chancellor from 1821 until the liberal Revolutions of 1848

forced his resignation. He was a champion of conservatism, who helped form the victorious alliance against Napoleon I and who restored Austria as a leading European power, hosting the Congress of Vienna in 1814 - 15. He used the congress to secure Austria's predominance by forming two confederations, one German and the other Italian, with Austria as the leading power in both. His conservatism won him praise as the "Rock of Order". He disliked the new forces of change like liberalism and nationalism and used force to suppress liberal revolutions in the Austrian Empire and Italian and German states.

### *Causes of the revolutions in 1848*

1. **The Vienna Settlement of 1814-15.** The Vienna settlement was an international conference called by the major European states to remark Europe immediately after the downfall of Napoleon I. All European states were represented but the major decision makers were Britain represented by her Prime Minister Lord Castlereagh, Austria by Emperor Francis Joseph and his chancellor Metternich, Prussia by King Frederick William IV, Russia by Tsar Alexander I and France by Bishop Talleyrand. Only Turkey was not represented. In this congress European diplomats made many territorial decisions. The chief goal of the conference was to establish a balance of power that would help to maintain peace in Europe which had been destabilized by Napoleon (Emperor of France 1799-1815).

### *How the Vienna settlement/congress contributed to the outbreak of the 1848 Revolutions*

- a) Abused the principle of Nationalism. A number of European states were put under foreign domination for example, Italian, and Germany states were put under Austria and others were combined against their will for example Belgium was combined with Holland.
- b) Restored unpopular autocratic and conservative regimes. The restored monarchs were conservative and oppressive. They stood against reforms agitated for by the new forces of change like, liberalism and constitutionalism. Restored monarchs included the bourbons in France, Ferdinand I in Naples and Victor Emmanuel in Piedmont. These were a source of unrest to contribute to the 1848 revolutions.
- c) The balance of power created favoured only the big four. This was done by sharing the territorial gains from the Napoleonic Empire. However, there lacked equal sharing as Austria took a lion's share. Austria for example took the control of the Italian and Germany states and others in the Balkans like Hungary, and Bohemia; and Britain dominated all the major waters. Others like Russia and Prussia shared little and others like France were not considered.
- d) Gave birth to the Metternich and the congress systems. The two systems emerged to defend the conservative oppressive European regimes by standing against the new revolutionary forces like liberalism and nationalism. To protect conservatism Metternich employed a repressive police and spy networks to crush all liberal and nationalist movements all over Europe.
- e) The heavy punishment given to France and her allies. The heavy punishments administered to France and her allies like Belgium and Saxony did not create room for reconciliation and instead built hatred against the Vienna developments.

For example they built the spirit of revenge against the reinstated conservative autocratic rulers hence the 1848 revolutions.

- f) More concentration was put on the Further French aggression. That gave chance to the rise of other aggressors, particularly Prussia. Prussia filled the gap left by the Napoleonic France to destabilize Europe in the struggle to unify Germany.
  - g) Delayed the unifications of Germany and Italy. German and Italian states were put under Austrian domination. To maintain Austrian dominance, Metternich used his high spy networks and military to suppress revolutionary and unification movements - Austria fought against many unification struggles like the war against Piedmont in 1859 and Prussia in 1866.
2. **The demand for democratic reforms.** The rise and spread of new revolutionary force like liberalism and republicanism increased the quest for democratic development. In many states like the Austrian empire, masses demanded for constitutional reforms Freedom of press and expression, expansion of the franchise by abolition of property qualifications. Democratic reforms were suppressed by the autocratic regimes Metternich for example suppressed liberal parliamentary demands like freedom of press, and association.
  3. **The growth of Nationalism.** The desire for independence against foreign domination. For example in the Austrian Empire, which was much heterogeneous incorporating many nationalities, the Hungarians, Bohemians, Italians and German masses revolted so as to get rid of the Austrian domination. Furthermore, the Italians and Germans were in their struggle for unification which was seriously hindered by the Austria domination.
  4. **The growing influence of socialism.** The socialist ideology developed by Karl Max and Frederick Engels took advantage of socio-economic and political hardships like unemployment, exploitation of the workers and peasants and all social inequalities brought by the feudal and capitalist system to undermine the existing governments. Socialist agitators like Louis Blanc in France used socialist ideologies of equality to reawakened revolutionary moods in the masses to fight against social inequalities and exploitation of the lower classes.
  5. **The need to do away with despotic and inefficient rulers.** In the Austrian Empire for example, Prince Metternich and in France, King Louis Philippe and his Prime Minister Guizot were very conservative character who was against reforms demanded by the people. With such autocratic minded rulers, agitators for reforms and democracy suffered from punitive oppression. Besides, the rulers were inefficient and corrupt like in Austria the state treasury ran bankrupt due to corruption of officials and extravagancy of the emperor.
  6. **The effects of rapid population growth and its related economic hardships.** Many European governments failed to plan well for their rapidly growing populations which resulted into urban congestion, food and water shortages, growing unemployment, and diseases. It was this big population suffering from unemployment and other social-economic hardships that formed a revolutionary force in 1848.
  7. **Effects of industrial growth.** Industrialization created two major conflicting classes: the workers, who suffered in mines and factories with low payments, poor living and working conditions and; the bourgeoisie class of industrial capitalists who owned factories and other major factors of production and usually sided with their governments

to exploit the lower classes. It also increased urban population which formed a strong revolutionary force of the exploited workers and the urban unemployed and poor.

8. **The outbreak of epidemic diseases and bad weather.** Epidemic diseases like Typhoid, cholera, plague, tuberculosis, and influenza also instigated the masses to revolt. Besides suffering from diseases, Europe was also hit by a severe prolonged winter of 1847-48 which led to starvation, and total misery. The calamities mostly affected the poor masses, who died in great numbers and survivors were tortured physically and psychologically, leaving them in distorted moods. Failure of governments to provide practical solutions outraged the masses to revolt.
9. **The fall of Mettemich in Austria in March 1848.** This gave revolutionary hope and courage to masses in the Austrian Empire to rise without fear. Mettemich was a great symbol of conservatism and aristocratic rule. In the Austrian Empire which covered Austria itself, Italian states, Germany states, Hungary, etc, Metternich employed restrictive suppressive mechanisms of high spy and military networks and press censorship to quell down revolutionary developments. His downfall therefore was a blessing to the revolutions.
10. **The influence of previous revolutions.** Notable of all was the 1789 French revolution which gave a good lesson and spread revolutionary ideals of equality, liberty and fraternity all over Europe as a weapon against despotic rule. But also others like the Belgian revolution of 1830 against the Dutch foreign rule. Copying the example of France and Belgium, European nationalities like the Germans, Italians and in the Balkans revolted in 1848 against despotic rulers in demand for reforms, fair governance and independence against Austrian rule.
11. **Religious intolerance.** In the Austrian Empire and Italian states for example Catholicism had been declared state religion and only Catholics could be appointed for public offices yet due to Reformation people belonged to different religions. For instance, the Austrian empire being heterogeneous, different religious affiliation existed for example majority Slavs belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church and in Bohemia and Moravia to the Protestant Churches since the middle ages. Religious discrimination culminating to chaos which contributed to revolts in 1848.
12. **Grievances of the Bourgeoisie against the privileged position of the Nobility.** The Nobility monopolized states' wealth and politics in Europe hence regardless of their education and wealthy status, the bourgeoisie were not given equal rights to participate in the management of their states' political and economic affairs. More so, the nobility were inefficient in financial matters being highly corrupt and extravagant, and their systems kept industry and trade backward something which irritated the bourgeoisies.

### ***Common features of the 1848 revolutions***

Although the 1848 revolutions occurred in different countries, they shared a number of similar features and characteristics.

- a) All had a common desire of destroying the bad arrangement of the 1815 Vienna congress dictated over most Eastern and central European countries. For example Austrian foreign domination over Italian and Germany states, and the restored despotic rulers who were no longer popular

- b) All were characterized by divisions among the revolutionaries. Revolutionaries were divided along ideologies and strategies of struggle. For instance in the Italian states catholic groups under Gioberti agitated for a federation of Italian states under the leadership of the Pope, yet Mazzini and his group wanted a total Unitar Italian Republican government, in other states like German states, nationalists were divided along religious lines thus Catholics against Protestants.
- c) All were Urban-based. These revolutions were active in the major towns and cities where they originated and organized like in Paris in France, Budapest in Hungary, Milan in Piedmont, and Vienna in Austria. The upcountry rural masses were largely not involved.
- d) All were led by intellectuals. For example in German states the revolutions were spearheaded by University lecturers and students; in Hungary by Louis Kossuth who was a lawyer, journalist, and poet; in Italian states by learned men like Mazzini, and Prussia by Stephan. Due to this, the revolutions are referred to as intellectual movements of 1848-50.
- e) All took place in less industrialized but agricultural based economies. For example in Germany states, Switzerland, Hungary, Italian states, Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia and Austria. Being less industrialized agricultural states. That explains why the problem of bad weather and poor harvest was a point of bitterness to spark off revolutions in these European states.
- f) All lacked foreign military assistance. No state revolutionaries assisted others of a different state. This was partly because the revolutions occurred simultaneously, almost at the same time in different countries. Thus no possible assistance could be mobilized from one state to another so, the revolutionaries face their domestic armies single handedly with their weak military forces.
- g) Almost all the revolutions were crashed with an exception of only France. The revolutions in the majority European countries were suppressed totally leading to their failures. They failed to overthrow their conservative and old fashioned monarchs, neither were they able to win considerable reforms to improve their political, social and economic lives.

### ***Why the 1848 revolutions were mostly unsuccessful***

Generally the 1848 revolutions were a failure; they achieved very little. Within a few months from their start the revolutions were disastrously crushed and by 1850 they were no more. A number of factors are attributed to this;

1. Lack of reliable leadership. All were led and dominated by intellectuals whom in most cases are not reliable revolutionary leaders for instance in terms of bloody operations often withdrew or kept out of scene in fear of death. Indeed intellectuals are good idealists but not good militant strugglers. Unfortunately also other leaders whom the masses had relied on betrayed them for example; king Charles Albert in whom the Piedmontese and other Italian states had confidence, hesitated to attack Austrian forces. Also was Pope Pius IX whom the masses believed to be of a great help betrayed and frustrated the masses by allying with Austria.
2. Lack of foreign assistance. Revolutionaries faced their well prepared domestic armies single handedly with their weak military forces. The revolutions occurred almost at the

same time simultaneously so no countries' revolutionaries could assist the other Major Powers could not provide support due to different reasons. For example France which was always ready to support others was busy organizing her new republican government while Britain could not assist in respect of her Isolationist policy and also feared to spoil her relationship with the European monarchs who were fought against.

3. Lack of support from their national armies. Many political revolutions succeeded due to alliance with their domestic armies like the 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia hence that alliance was vital. The lack of support from national armies, the poorly prepared revolutionaries in various states became direct victims of suppressive action by their state armies which were well equipped like in Austria. This on the other side explains the success of the revolution in France where the National army fraternized with the revolutionaries against King Louis Philippe.
4. Economic hardships. In most of the countries where the revolutions occurred the masses were faced with economic insufficiency. In the urban centres where the revolutions originated, the masses were in most cases town dwellers who were hit by unemployment and hunger. This situation put the revolutionary forces in a bad shape to succeed. Because of economic hardships they could not acquire enough weapons and also carry out efficient operations
5. Effects of epidemic diseases and bad weather of 1847-48. These problems had contributed to the rise of the uprisings however again turned to contribute to their failure. The epidemic diseases like cholera and typhoid and the poor harvest which caused an acute food shortage and starvation claimed many lives. This destroyed the psychology and physical ability of the people since they caused severe misery and real turmoil. Indeed it was difficult for people operating on empty stomachs and poor health conditions to win.
6. Divisions among the revolutionaries. Revolutionaries were divided along ideological strategies to be employed in the struggle. For example in Italian states catholic groups under Goberti wanted a federation of Italian states under the leadership of the Pope, yet Mazzini and his group wanted a total unification of Italian states under a republican state. In Germany states revolutionaries were divided along religious lines, while others were Protestants who preferred Prussian leadership, others were Catholics and supporters of Austrian rule. Being divided they failed to co-ordinate effectively against their despotic rulers.
7. Lack of effective organization and mobilization. The 1 848 revolutions were remarkably known for their dramatic suddenness. They sprouted in almost the whole of Central and Eastern Europe in a very short time giving the revolutionaries a very short time to make effective preparation. This failed them to make a workable coordination for instance between the urban masses where they originated and the rural masses, and thus failed them to win support of majority peasantry masses that are always a strong revolutionary force. The revolutionaries also had no enough military training and weapons to combat their state armies.
8. Military weakness of the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries lacked strong revolutionary armies which could seriously combat their states armies. Lacked enough military experience on top of being poorly trained and armed to march the highly disciplined and equipped and much experienced conventional state armies. This made them much vulnerable to easy and quick defeat.

### ***Contributions (effects) of the 1848 revolutions to the development of democracy in Europe***

Although 1848 revolutions were crushed, they played a significant role in the development of democracy and indeed left remarkable socio-economic and political changes on the European continent. It was these changes that qualify the year 1848 to be called a year of a turning point in the history of Europe. The effects included the following;

1. Establishment of constitutional governance in many states where the revolts occurred. In states like Hungary where a constitutional system had never existed, the constitutions were introduced with other associated freedoms and liberties which guaranteed people's rights and freedom of press, meeting, association etc. Also (in Hungary) a more democratic form of election to the Diet (parliament) was arranged which gave the vote to the middle class and a section of the peasantry.
2. Overthrow of some conservative rulers. In France for example, the revolt showed King Louis Philippe the exit and it was the final burial of monarchism in France as thereafter a more democratic Republican system was reinstated under Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III) as its elected president. In Austria, Metternich and his autocratic, conservative and oppressive system were thrown out of European politics to speed up the development of democratic reforms.
3. Abolition of serfdom and nobility privileges in some states. In some states, especially Hungary and Croatia serfdom and nobility privileges were thrown in a deep pit of destruction. This went together with lowering the taxes to the people. Land was afterwards distributed to the peasants and serfs who previously were seriously economically marginalised were freed. Also a fair taxation with nobility also not exempted from tax payment.
4. The revolutions were a stepping stone to the creation of independent democratic states. They enabled the further spread of democratic and revolutionary ideals like liberalism, republicanism and nationalism. It was these forces which were a great source of enlightenment and greater changes like the Unifications of both German and Italian states and agitation for more democratic changes through constitutionalism.
5. Development of religious tolerance. Absence of religious freedom was an abuse to people freedom of choice and worship. Many states had adopted state religions like the Austrian empire where Catholicism had been declared a state religion and thus only Catholics could hold public office while other religions were outlawed. However with the outbreak of the revolts many states accepted to allow religious freedoms allowing people to choose religions of their own choice.
6. Rise and spread of European nationalism. The revolutions reawakened European nationalist feelings with many nationalities under foreign dominance demanding for independence and others raising the need for national unifications. For example German and Italian states intensified nationalist struggles against Austrian dominance and need for unification. Also Balkan states such as Hungary attempted to declare their independence from Austria.
7. Social economic reforms were made in some states. For instance in France there was the formation of national workshops after the fall of King Louis Philippe regime. The National Workshops were purposely to cater for the unemployed and provide welfare to the needy. Though they were short lived, they also helped in providing employment to many.

## Sample questions

1. The principles which governed European states before the rise of democracy served the interests of the minority upper classes. Analyse.
2. Trace the rise of opposition to absolutism from the philosophers in Europe.
3. Show four aims and four impacts of the English Puritan Revolution.
4. Analyse six causes of the Glorious revolution of 1680's in Britain.
5. Analyse the four objectives of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 and assess four impacts on the development of democracy in Europe.
6. "Before the French Revolution of 1789, the French state was full of malpractices Trace six malpractices and their contribution to the decline of the old regime.
7. Discuss the responsibility of King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI towards the outbreak of the French Revolution.
8. "The 1789 French Revolution was a consequence of the mismanagement of state affairs by the French king and queen. Discuss.
9. "The French revolution of 1789 is one of the great events in human History." Assess the statement focusing on six impact of this revolution on Europe.
10. Assess the contribution of the French Revolution to the development of democracy in Europe.  
Assess seven socio-economic conditions leading revolutions in Austria, Italy and the Balkan region in 1848.
11. The 1848 revolutions are known for their dramatic nature. Discuss four characteristics and four achievements of the revolutions.
12. Examine four losses and four gains of the 1848 revolutions.
13. Kings' extravagance has been historically named as one of the key causes of many political revolutions in Europe. Highlight other political, economic and social factors responsible for forceful political changes in Europe.
14. In the long run, the European revolutions were democratic revolutions which ensured liberty, equality and fraternity to the people. Justify



## **TOPIC THREE**

# **IMPERIALISM AND THE TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF THE WORLD**

### ***The concept of imperialism***

According to the Marxist proponents, I.V. Lenin in particular, imperialism (modern imperialism) is the highest stage of capitalism; a stage in which capitalists' investments within the borders of their countries are overripe i.e. no longer making super profits and as solution capital is to be exported across the borders to be invested in backward societies for profit maximization. It involves conquest of weaker (backward) societies by stronger industrialised countries so as to control them for exploitation (their national interests).

Lenin calls it "Modern Imperialism" because imperialism is not new. Before the Modern Imperialism, was "Classical" Imperialism which occupied the first phase of capitalism the mercantile stage in which Western Europe was in the stage of capital accumulation by majorly attracting themselves to the collection of billions through unequal exchange and acquiring informal colonies.

Modern imperialism is what was divided into; colonialism from the 19<sup>th</sup> c and Neo-colonialism in which the Third World countries are still strongly subjected to.

### ***Features of imperialism***

According to I.V. Lenin, imperialism has got five main features;

1. Concentration and centralization of capital in fewer hands. At this stage, capital and production are controlled by only a few individuals. Owners of capital combined (merged) capital to form stronger monopolistic enterprises. This resulted into emergence of few richest capitalist monopolies that controlled production, market and all business activities. Weak capitalists firms were either engulfed (swallowed) by bigger ones or were phased out due stiff competition. As a result, production is left to be monopolised by a few rich capitalist enterprises.
2. Formation of Finance Capital (the dual capital). Finance capital was formed by merging the bank and industrial capital. The increasing profits and investments of industrial monopolies led to the establishment of powerful banking and industrial monopolies leading to the emergence of Finance Capital which was owned by a few rich capitalists who came to be known as "Financial Oligarchy". The many financial capitalists came to form tinny groups of financial controllers (financial oligarchy magnates) that controlled the economy. At this stage banks held an upper in controlling nations' economies since production was determined by Finance capital.
3. Export of capital to the backward societies. At this stage, greater preference was given to the exportation of capital itself rather than industrial commodities. Capital was now to be exported for investment abroad in backward societies because it in surplus in the

advanced industrial nations and no longer making super profits due to stiff competition. For profit maximization, monopolistic corporations had to export capital to weaker societies where competition was low. It was on this reason that, colonisation was done on weaker African and Asian societies

4. Formation of international monopolistic corporations. Monopolistic corporations were a result of merging capital and Finance Capital. Basing in their mother countries, monopolistic enterprises competed to control the world economy by monopolizing production. They divided the world among themselves to secure markets, sources of cheap raw materials and wider areas for assured profitable investment. This resulted into dominance of the world by the international monopolistic corporations which appeared in forms of trusts, syndicates, and cartels.
5. Territorial division and re-division of the world among the imperialist powers. The world was divided into spheres of influence by imperialist powers. Advanced industrialised states were pressed by their monopolistic enterprises to secure for them spheres where they could invest their excess capital for super profits, secure markets and cheap raw materials and labour. In this regard, colonies were acquired as monopolistic entities of imperialist states.

## **THE RISE OF GERMANY AND ITALY (UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND ITALY)**

The Germany and Italian unifications refer to the amalgamation of different German and Italian states that came to form the nation-states known today as Germany and Italy. Germany and Italy are fairly recently created states. Before 1871, the Germanic and Italian regions were a patchwork of several independent states which were not unified, though the German and Italian peoples respectively shared common backgrounds, cultural identity, language and other institutional frame work. Germany was once divided into over 300 independent states and Italy into about 10 states. It was until 1871 when these divided states were unified to become powerful nationalist powers. The rise of the two states was due to the rise of nationalism among the Italian and German peoples.

### **THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY**

The unification of Italy was the amalgamation (union) of different Italian states to form a nation-state known as Italy which was achieved in 1870. It is when the once small and separately independent Italian states that included Lombardy, Venetia, Piedmont-Sardinia, the Papal States, the central Italian Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany, Naples, Sicily, Nice and Savoy were unified to form one state called Italy.

Though the Italians were confined in one locality with clear demarcations in the Italian Peninsular and easily identified from other peoples neighbouring them like the French, the Swiss, Austrians, were (Italians) divided into several states with no political-economic and diplomatic co-operation and the worst some of the states with exception of Sardiniae Piedmont were even under foreign rule particularly under Austria.

The idea of unification among Italians was an old one, raised since the 7<sup>th</sup> C by Italian philosophers like Machiavelli. However, the first bid and major changes came with the French

Revolutionary and Napoleonic activities in the late 18<sup>th</sup> C and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (from 1796 to 1815). In 1796, Napoleon I militarily drove Austria out of Italy, spread the French revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, broke down the Catholic Church powers and monopoly and made new arrangements. He wiped out many of the Old Italian divisions by grouping the fragmented 13 Italian states into only three divisions for easy administration. This inspired the Italians to closely and widely interact, working and living together as one people. Ultimately, Italians began perceiving deeply the idea of unification. On the other hand however, he also aroused the Italians' hostility towards foreign domination by his repressive policies like taxation, forceful conscription.

However, Napoleon's reforms were temporary; his organization lasted only until his downfall in 1815 since thereafter fresh disillusionment came, through the Vienna settlement which handed the Italian states back to Austrian rule. For easy administration Austrians employed the policy of divide and rule by which she restored the old political divisions to delay the unification.

### ***Obstacles/hindrances of Italian unification***

Despite holding the idea of unification by the Italians for a longer time than even the Germans, unification struggles were delayed only to be realized in the 19<sup>th</sup> C. A number of barriers both internal and external accounted for the delay as follows;

1. Foreign interference. Intervention was from powerful European states like Austria and France which held Italian states as their area of influence and exploitation. For example, Italian states fell under French rule from 1796 to 1815 when Napoleon was overthrown and from then under Austria which was officially given direct control of Italian states of Lombardy and Venetia and the general Italian affairs by the Vienna congress of 1815. Such foreign powers employed repressive measures to suppress Italian unification struggles.
2. Economic backwardness of Italian states. Most Italian states such as Naples, Sicily and Parma were very poor economically and Sardinia (Piedmont) the largest Italian state was a barren Island. Indeed most Italian states were poverty stricken, rocky and barren with poor agricultural economies. Also lacked important natural resources like coal and iron for industrial development. Besides, they lacked efficient communication means like roads, railways and telegraphs. This left Italian masses isolated in remote areas with individualistic thinking, uniformed and therefore less concerned about the unification struggle.
3. Divisions among the Italian nationalists. Italian nationalists differed in strategies to be employed for unification and ideology for the future Italy. For example, Giuseppe Mazzini and Garibaldi agitated for a united liberal and republican Italy and the use of force by popular mass uprising against foreign assistance in the unification struggle. Count Cavour campaigned for a united constitutional Monarchical Italy under leadership of Piedmont and called for foreign assistance. Such differences undermined unity and delayed the unification.
4. Military weakness. The Italian nationalists lacked a strong revolutionary army of their own, which was badly needed for easy success. They heavily relied on secret movements like the Carbonaris, organized by Charcoal burners that were ill equipped and ill trained.

Similarly, the Red Shirts of Giuseppe Garibaldi were not well equipped. With such shortcomings. Italian nationalists could not easily overcome unification obstacles especially Austrian foreign rule sustained with well trained, equipped and experienced Austrian army.

5. Power struggle among different Italian (states) rulers. Different independent Italian rulers and their people had different vested interests against the need for unification. They opposed the unification, seeing it a threat to their sovereignty which they were not willing to surrender to a unified Italian government. To this note, many did not cooperate and hence delayed the unification and as a solution force had to be used.
6. The papacy. The Pope was a highly respected figure to most Italian Catholics as their spiritual leader as well as a sovereign ruler of the Papal States. Besides, until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> C many Italians still maintained a belief that the Pope's powers were indivisible hence delaying the unification in different ways. Unfortunately, most Popes were, conservative and anti nationalism. For instance, they defended the Papal States against the claims of unification in fear of losing their wealth and sovereignty. Additionally, they were strong allies of Austria, hence helped to strengthen Austria's control over Italians. Pope Pius IX for example called for the interference of Catholic powers like France to restore him in 1949, when he was overthrown by the Italian nationalists Mazzini and Garibaldi in their bid to unite Italians.
7. Lack of capable and specific leadership. Before 1850 Italians lacked capable and reliable leadership to champion the unification struggle: the King of Piedmont, Charles Albert whom many had put confidence in, was anti-unification by hesitating to attack Austria: In the Papal states, Popes like Gregory XVI and Pius IX were conservative and supporters of Austria: the Carbonari movement was dominated by Charcoal burners who lacked serious political agenda, they were ever hidden in the forests, lacked specific leaders and operated in isolated groups. In this way Italians lacked focused direction for unity.
8. Low sensitization of many Italians. Majority Italians were illiterate and ignorant about the world outside their village communities. This made political sensitization and mass mobilization extremely difficult. By 1850 for instance, only 2% of the rural population in the Papal States could read and write. On top of that, majority Italians were peasants and rural. Basing on such ground majority could hardly understand the need for of unification. This left the unification struggle much confined to urban centres and main among intellectuals leaving the majority masses passive.

### ***Factors that favoured Italian Unification 1850-1870***

The period 1850 - 1870, witnessed the raising of great events in favour of the Italian Unification. The unification which had been a dream came to reality as the hurdles which had stood against it were lightened. The factors included the following:

1. Common historical and cultural backgrounds of the Italians. This was a strong unifying factor to favour the unification. Though Italians were divided into different states they shared the same culture and spoke the same language, Latin which was widely spoken. And historically, all the Italian states were under the ancient Roman Empire whose capital was at Rome. Common historical background inspired the Italians to strengthen their unity.

2. The 1789 French Revolution and Napoleonic rule. The revolution and Napoleon spread the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity which raised Italian nationalism. To rule over Italian states, Napoleon drove Austria out of Italian affairs. By so doing he gave Italians lesson on how fight foreign rule. Besides, he grouped the 12 Italian states into only three divisions for easy administration, this made Italians taste the benefits of unity something which they had to fight to retain in future.
3. Role of Philosophers and Writers. Intellectuals like Machiavelli, Alessandro and Giacomo Leopardi, contributed much in enlightening the Italians, raising their patriotism making them aware of the need for unification and also about their oppression by foreign powers. For instance Alessandro in his book "The Betrothed" and Giacomo Leopardi in his book "My prisons" exposed how the Austrians were mistreating and exploiting the Italians. These ideas aroused the spirit of nationalism among the Italians hence the unification.
4. Rise of dedicated and capable leaders. From 1850s, Italian unification had a number of great revolutionary leaders who worked for its success. Most important was King Victor Emmanuel II and his Prime Minister Count de Cavour of Piedmont-Sardinia who provided unification leadership and made economic reforms in industry, agriculture and infrastructure that enabled Sardinia to shoulder the unification costs; also worked together with other revolutionary leaders particularly Mazzini and Garibaldi to re-organise Sardinia's armed forces which eventually defeated Austria. He also won foreign assistance like the French military assistance in the liberation of Lombardy from Austria in 1859.

**Count Cavour**, born in an aristocratic family in Turin in Piedmont was an Italian statesman and a leading figure in the movement towards Italian Unification. He is considered, with Victor Emmanuel and Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, as Italy's "fathers of the fatherland": During the 1848 Revolutions he founded the political newspaper "Il Risorgimento" which was a vital tool for mass sensitization. He became Prime Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia in 1852 the position he used to put forth several economic reforms needed for the Italian Unification developing railroads and agriculture. Also, as prime minister, Cavour successfully managed to maneuver Piedmont diplomatically and win alliance of great powers like France and Britain. After the declaration of a United Kingdom of Italy in 1860, Cavour took office as the first Prime Minister; he died after only three months in office, and thus did not live to see Venetia or Rome added to the new Italian nation in 1866 and 1870 respectively.

5. The role of secret societies (movements). The most notable were the Carbonari (literally charcoal - burners) and the Young Italy Society founded by Mazzini in 1831. Such movements stimulated the spirit of nationalism through their political philosophy of unity, freedom and independence. Also they fought Austrian foreign rule and conservative regimes. For instance the Carbonari revolt fought against King Ferdinand of Naples, influenced revolts in Papal States, Modena, and Parma in 1830 and overthrew the Pope in 1849. Although they were suppressed by Austrian military forces, they did a lot in sensitizing Italian Masses to raise nationalist spirits.
6. Foreign assistance. The role of foreign powers can never be underestimated for the unification of Italy. For example, France gave assistance of 2000 troops to Sardinia in driving Austria out of Lombardy in 1859: Prussia militarily helped Sardinia in liberating

Venetia from Austria in 1866, and the liberation of Rome in 1870 during the Austro-Prussian war. Also, Britain and France supported a plebiscite vote for annexing Modena, Parma, Papal States of Romagna and Tuscany to Sardinia in 1860. Indeed without foreign assistance, Italian unification would have delayed.

7. The role of Il Risorgimento (Resurrection). The Il Risorgimento was a revolutionary news paper founded by Cavour in 1847. It was instrumental in spreading the unification information to help in the sensitisation and mobilization of the Italians for unity which re-awakened the nationalistic desires. Indeed it strengthened the spirit of the struggle at the time when Mazzini's Young Italy movement" and the Carbonari had collapsed from 1848-49.
8. Role of the 1848 revolutions. The revolutions exposed the weakness of the Italians like lack of a strong army and their disunity. They also exposed the hypocrisy of the Pope as he sided with the enemies of the unification like Austria and that is why his supporters like Abbe Gioberti lost trust in him to support King Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour. Therefore, Italians learned the need for a strong army and economy. Above all the revolutions contributed to the fall of Metternich who was also a stumbling block to the unification.
9. Clear frontiers. Unlike the Germans, Italians were confined in one locality - the Italian Peninsula with clear demarcations to separate them from other European nations. Moreover Italians were easily identified from other peoples neighbouring them like the French, the Swiss and Austrians. Such advantages, made it easier for the Italians to be drawn into unification.

**Giuseppe Mazzini**, (1805 - 1872), was Italian activist, propagandist and revolutionary leader and a champion of the movement for Italian unity known as the Risorgimento. He worked tirelessly for the unification of Italy. Mazzini earned his degree in law at the University of Genoa and began his life as a revolutionary. In 1832 he founded the secret revolutionary society "Young Italy", a specific group consisting of liberal intellectuals vying for a free, republican and unified Italy. In 1848, he participated in the revolutions against Austrian rule in Italy. In 1849, he took part in the revolutions, first in Tuscany and then in Rome where a revolution drove out the Pope and proclaimed a republic under his leadership. His rule was however short-lived as the pope was reinstated by the French.

### *The unification phases/stages/processes*

1. Napoleonic era. Napoleon's invasion of the divided Italian region awakened the spirit of nationalism. Napoleon militarily enforced Italian Nationalism and unity by reducing Italian divisions as he grouped the fragmented 13 Italian states to only 3 divisions for his easy administration. Also his oppression and exploitation increased hatred for foreign rule. But the congress of Vienna made Italy a mere geographical expression" by breaking it into seven main states.
2. Between 1815 - 48, there were three bids for unification, but all failed
  - Secret societies, especially the Carbonari
  - The young Italy movement founded by Mazzini in 1831.

- The several 1848 uprisings in Italy. Though defeated by Austria, Sardinia issued her prestige among nationalistic minded Italians.
3. From 1849, Sardinia's Count Cavour worked hard, with the backing of King Victor Emmanuel II, to prepare Sardinia economically and politically to eliminate Austria and attain the unification of Italian states.
  4. Largely as a result of Cavour's work, Unification was achieved between 1859 and 1870 in three major sweeps/steps
    - In the North, between 1859 and 60, Lombardy, then Parma, Modena and Tuscany and the upper half of the Papal States was joined to Sardinia.
    - In the South 1860 — the great patriot — soldier, Garibaldi and his 1000 Red shirts men (1000) made an astonishing conquest of the kingdom of the Two Sicily. Basing on these achievements, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed “King of Italy” only Venetia and Rome remained outside his kingdom.
    - 1866-70, unification was completed. This was through the assistance of Prussia, in 1866 (in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 in which Austria was forced to leave Venetia) and in 1870 Rome was gained during the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 — Napoleon III was forced to withdraw his soldiers from Rome.

## **THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY, 1815—1871.**

The Germany unification was the amalgamation (union) of different Germanic states that came to form a nation state known as Germany from 1871.

Germany as a nation-state came into being recently from 1871. For many years, Germans here divided into over 300 independent States of different political, economic geographical and institutional series. The states included Prussia, Wattenberg, Hanover, Frankfurt, Saxony, and Bavaria. However, by 1871, this divided region had been unified to become an aggressive nationalist power, which changed the European affairs by its destabilisation of the old European balance of power and being the strongest force for the outbreak of the World wars.

### ***Background to the unification***

Before 1807 (Napoleon's invasion of Germanic states) the present Germany was the most fragmented nation in Europe. It existed in form of over 300 (390) fragmented and semi-independent states once under the Roman Empire. Of all the 390 states, Austria and Prussia here the largest, more developed and strongest and usually rivaled for leadership and influence over Germany affairs.

Modern Germany nationalism began after Napoleon I - the emperor of France had defeated Austria in 1806 and Prussia in 1807. He merged the 390 fragmented Germany states into 39 bigger states and later grouped the 39 into three (3) divisions for easy French control. Such a reform was a vital step for German unification since it strengthened unity and raised German nationalism as Germans interacted more closely; also raised the nationalistic spirit through the

French revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. Besides, Napoleon's rule was exploitative and oppressive towards the Germans to increase sentiments against foreign rule.

In 1815, after Napoleon's overthrow, the congress powers (the Vienna settlement) preserved the 39 bigger German states forged by Napoleon, however frustrated the Germans bid for unification by putting German states under confederation parliament at Frankfurt headed by Prince Von Metternich (Austria). Metternich being fearful to nationalism and liberalism, used different mechanisms to destroy them to silence German hope for unification.

It's against such a background that the unification struggles gained more strength from 1815. However, it was until the rise of Otto Von Bismarck from 1862 when the unification was systematically handled by his new domestic and foreign policies.

### ***Hindrances to the Germany unification***

1. Power struggle among the different German states. Individualistic tendency of most Germany states delayed German unification. Austria and Prussia which were the strongest German states conflicted for leadership over Germany affairs and the other small states were divided along their sides. Worse still Austria which was the head of the Germany confederation was determined to keep Germans divided so as to maintain her supremacy over German states hence suppressed all efforts geared towards unification.
2. Economic hardships of most Germany states. Most Germany states were economically weak and could hardly finance the costly unification struggles. Most states apart from Prussia had no organized trade until the Zollverein from 1830s but only depended on poor agriculture, and lacked efficient industries. Worse still most of them such as northern states like Hanover and Saxony were remote with no developed roads, railways and telegraphic system. This hindered mobility of nationalists and spread of ideas needed to propel the unification process.
3. Military weakness of Germany states. Before 1860s, Germany states could not raise a strong army that could crush opposition to the unification. That situation provided an opportunity to Austria to prolong her dominance over the German states and continue suppressing unification attempts. For instance military weakness is among the reasons for the failure of the 1848 revolutions which were clear attempts for unification. It was until 1860s when Prussia came to clear the way, with her military supremacy.
4. Unreliable and weak leadership. The leaders of Prussia who should have spearheaded the unification were weak before 1862. For instance, Frederick William IV was an Austrian ally and a close friend of Metternich; he was quoted saying that "Germany without Austria would be worse than a face without a nose" hence could not attack Austria which was an obstacle to the unification. For example in 1848 he suppressed the revolutions which were against Austrian foreign rule. Likewise, even leaders of other German states could not dare attacking Austria.
5. Lack of a clear and common ideology and strategy. Before 1866s, Germany nationalists had failed to agree on a common program in the struggle for unity. For example, the conservative Prussian group in the north wanted a Germany without Austria and headed by Prussian King while the Catholic groups of the Southern states wanted a big Germany Empire with Austria as the leader. Others wanted a republic government after unification.



Also while others wanted the use of peaceful means, others agitated for use of force. Such divisions left Germans static with no serious practical step for long.

6. Religious differences. Since the reformation Germans were divided along religious lines, making unity difficult; Northern Germany states especially Prussia and others like Saxony, Holstein, Brunswick and Hanover were Protestant while the southern states like Bavaria, Wurttemberg and Baden were Catholic dominated. This hindered the desired unity. The protestant states were more inclined to Prussian leadership while Catholic predominant states greatly opposed Prussian leadership in favour of the Catholic Austria and on the other hand Catholic Church opposed to attack Austria by the Protestant Prussia yet Austria was an obstacle.
7. Poor politicization and mobilization. German masses had not fully been politicized about the need for total unification. They retained the backward belief in their individualistic interest, for long they considered the confederation parliament as the ideal ruling organ for all the Germany states. They took long to realize that the confederation had a political disadvantage of maintaining Austrian supremacy over Germany affairs and consequently delay unification.
8. Lack of clearly defined natural boundaries. The area occupied by the Germans was too vast and lacked clear demarcations to separate Germans from non-Germans, besides Germans had mixed with their neighbours like the, French, Dutch, and Poles, especially at furthest areas. This was a problem to the unification process. It meant that creation of a small Germany would leave other Germans outside the unified Germany and on the other hand the creation of a big Germany would incorporate other non-Germans.
9. Foreign opposition. For a long time, countries like France, Denmark and Austria, hindered the Germany unification for their selfish interests. For example, France exploited Germans since the reign of Napoleon from 1807 to 1815 hence weakened Germans. She also had claims over the southern Germany states and the Rhinelands up to 1871; Denmark was holding two Germany states of Schleswig and Holstein; and Austria dominated Germans through the Confederation. These opposed the unification of Germany for fear that it would deny them their exploitation zones and that it would disturb the existing balance of power which worked in their favour.

### ***Factors that favoured the unification of Germany 1862-71***

The unification of Germany witnessed rapid successes from 1860s (from 1862) to be completed in 1871. The entire process was largely achieved by one man, Bismarck and one state Prussia. The unification struggles were favoured by a number of factors;

1. The growth of nationalism among the Germans. This stemmed from the French revolution of 1789 and foreign control of the German states. The French through their revolutionary ideals of Liberty, equality and fraternity spread by Napoleon, inspired the Germans for nationalism which raised in them a strong sense of unity and a great need for political, economic and social sovereignty. With such feelings the spirit for unification was consolidated.
2. Common race culture and historical background. Germans, though were divided into different independent states, were closely connected by sharing the same race, and

culture, ancestral attachment and language. Above all, they had memory of unity of the medieval times hence it was quite easy to restore their lost unity.

3. The role of German scholars and their literature. Scholarly works played an enlightenment role vis-à-vis planting the spirit of unity and belief of superiority race among Germans. More so, raised the spirit of resistance against foreign control. For instance Hegel is credited for his written work entitled “The concept of the state and the historic role of the Teutonic race” through which he praised Germans as a superior race; Steuben founded “Monumenta Germanieac” to educate Germans about their past glory; others included Johann Gottfried and Von Herder who also enlightened the Germanic societies on the problems pertaining them.
4. The role of Napoleon I. Napoleon Bonaparte who was the emperor of France conquered German states in 1807-1815; he amalgamated them from over 300 to only 39 states and again grouped those 39 states into only three divisions for his easy administration. This was a step forward for unification; it strengthened the spirit of unity because in one government Germans interacted more closely. Above all Napoleon abolished feudalism and preached the French revolutionary doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity, which raised Germans’ nationalistic feelings.
5. Rise of dedicated and capable leaders. The change in Prussian leadership with coming to power of King William I was a blessing to the Germany unification. King William I appointed men of work to make a quick progress and that solved the leadership problem of the past. His best appointment was Otto Von Bismarck as the chancellor who worked with others like Von Roon as Minister of War and Von Moltke as chief of the General staff of the Prussian army. These men made remarkable reforms which eventually won the unification. They reorganized and improved Prussian economy and military to champion the unification. Bismarck laid down “blood and iron” policy that won the unification by eliminating all the internal and external obstacles like wars against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France in 1870-71.

**William I** also known as Wilhelm (1797 - 1888) was the King of Prussia (1861 - 1888) and the first Germany Emperor (1871 - 1888), as well as the first Head of State of a united Germany. William served in the army from 1814 onwards. Like his father he fought against Napoleon I of France during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1815, he was promoted to Major. On 2 January 1861 Frederick William died and William ascended the throne as King William I of Prussia. Under the leadership of William and his Minister President Otto von Bismarck whom he appointed and supported, Prussia achieved the unification of Germany and the establishment of the German Empire. During the Franco-Prussian War, on 18 January 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles Palace, William was proclaimed German Emperor.

6. The contributions of the Zollverein (1834). The Zollverein was an economic union started by Prussia in 1834 and by 1860 had covered the rest of the German states. The Union gave Germans a chance to interact more closely to build unity and cooperation which strengthened a sense of a ‘united Germany’ state as a way of solving their economic and political problems. Additionally since it was initiated by Prussia, it revealed that Prussia had the necessary drive and abilities to champion the cause of Germany unification hence many German states rallied behind her.

7. The role of Prussia. Prussia's contribution towards unification was great; she was the strongest and much developed with a stable industrial base compared to the other Germanic states. Using her highly respected position in Europe, economic and military power and determination to offer leadership in the struggle, Prussia provided whatever was necessary to realize the unification of Germany. Using her economic and military muscles Prussia crashed all the obstacles in the way of the unification by beating Denmark (1864), Austria (1866) and France (1870-71).
8. The role of the German Confederation. The Confederation was a single parliament of all German states with head quarters at Frankfurt. It was created by the Vienna Congress in 1815 through which Austria would control Germany affairs. However, it turned into a favour for unification as it brought the Germans together, giving them an opportunity moment to share ideas about their problems and needs like unification. It was from this parliament that also anti Austrian and all sorts of foreign control sentiments were aroused and spread to many Germans.
9. The role of the 1848 revolutions. The revolutions exposed the weakness of the German nationalists like, divisions, lack of a strong army and reliable leadership. They also exposed the hypocrisy of King Fredrick William IV who allied with Austria to suppress the revolutions. Most important however was the downfall of Prince Von Metternich and his suppressive system which he used to quell down Germany nationalism. Metternich the Austrian chancellor was a proven stumbling block to the unification to maintain Austrian rule, so his downfall was a removal of a strong foreign obstacle.
10. Co-operation and assistance of foreign powers. The Germans also won the assistance of other powers for unification. For instance in the liberation of Schleswig from Denmark (1864), Prussian allied with Austria, to liberate Holstein and the unification of northern Germany states, Prussia fought alongside Italian troops to defeat Austria (1866). In the Franco-Prussia war (1870-71) Bismarck diplomatically got into understandings with European powers such as Britain, Russia and Austria by asking for their neutrality to isolate France and consequently defeat her to close the chapter of German struggle for unification.

## **Phases/stages in the unification of Germany**

### ***Phase I, Napoleonic era, 1807— 1815.***

German nationalism began during the Napoleon's rule over German states (1806-15). For easy administration, Napoleon merged the over 300 Germany states into 39 only states. This was the first step in the unification since it developed the German sense of unity and desire for unification as Germans interacted more widely than before. Also, Napoleon introduced some progressive reforms such as universal Education and constitutional Parliamentary system and preached the French revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. Such development raised nationalistic feelings among Germans which were seen in the great desire for unification.

### ***Phase II, the Revolutionary era 1817— 1848.***

After Napoleon's downfall, in 1815, the Vienna Congress (of Prussia, Austria, Britain and Russia), placed German states under Austria. Austria controlled them through the confederation

Parliament, to which all the 39 states sent representatives. To a certain extent the confederation Parliamentary system enhanced the revolutionary spirit for unification because it became a meeting point where, German nationalists hatched plans for unification.

It was a platform used to raise anti-Austrian feeling and organize revolutionary uprising like the 1848-49 revolutions.

### ***Phase II, Bismarck an era 1850 — 1871. (Bismarck and the Germany unification process)***

Otto Von Bismarck was the key figure for the unification of Germany. Bismarck rose to power as a chancellor of Prussia in 1862 and with his remarkable role, the unification of Germany became reality. Indeed the whole unification struggle was largely of his practical political skills and his “Blood and Iron” policy which he stressed in his famous speech immediately after his appointment as the Prussian Chancellor thus;

“Germany has its eyes not on Prussia’s liberalism but on its might. The great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and resolutions of majorities, but by blood and iron”.

Bismarck’s success was mainly in three phases: War with Denmark 1864; War with Austria 1866; War with France 1870-71 and profound domestic reforms.

**Bismarck** was born in an aristocratic wealthy family in the Prussian province of Saxony. His father, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand von Bismarck, was a Junker estate owner and a Prussian military officer. Bismarck was a typical Prussian Junker an image which he encouraged by wearing military uniforms. He was well educated and cosmopolitan, with a gift for conversation. In addition to his native German, he was fluent in English, French, Italian, Polish and Russian. He studied law at the University of Gottingen and then enrolled at the University of Berlin. In 1838, while stationed as an army reservist in Greifswald, he studied agriculture at the University of Greifswald. In 1847 Bismarck, was chosen a representative to the Prussian parliament. In 1851, King Frederick William IV appointed him as Prussia’s envoy to the Confederation Parliament in Frankfurt where he battled with Austrian representatives. In 1859, Bismarck was made Prussian ambassador to Russia and in 1862 to Paris, France. In September 1862, the new king, William I appointed Bismarck Minister President and Foreign Minister. Over the next 12 years, Bismarck and his close generals, von Roon as Minister of War and von Moltke as Chief of Staff of the Prussian Army reorganized the Prussian army and economy. By their efforts, the unification of Germany was attained.

### ***Domestic policies of Bismarck***

Bismarck started by addressing the Prussians’ past internal problems that had hindered the unification before 1860s. He aimed at making ideal reforms that would strengthen Prussia politically, economically and militarily to make it fit to spearhead the unification struggle.

1. He restored confidence in the king. King William I was about to resign due to fear of parliamentary Liberal opposition to his reforms. Bismarck persuaded the king not to resign but to carry on the struggle to a finish. He crushed the Liberals’ opposition to

king's plans to expand Prussian armed forces, and increase taxes to expand revenue to facilitate the unification process. This provided a firm program of action since lack of practical advisers to the king had always provided room for weak politicians to delay the unification in the past.

2. Bismarck suppressed Liberal opponents. German Liberals were an obstacle to the unification by agitating for impractical diplomatic strategies and opposing King William's military reforms and use of forceful means in unification. As a chancellor, Bismarck silenced them in different ways like imposing press control and dismissing prominent liberal figures from public offices.
3. Reorganized and improved Prussian Military. Bismarck introduced new Military reforms to facilitate his 'blood and iron' policy. Working together with King William I, and military commanders like Von Roon and Von Moltke, Bismarck expanded Prussia's armed forces from 500,000 to 750,000 soldiers who were fully equipped and motivated. By 1864, the Prussian army was fit to eliminate internal and foreign unification opposition like the way it became with wars against Denmark in 1864. Austria in 1866 and France in 1870-71.
4. He carried out fundamental economic reforms in Prussia. Bismarck improved Prussia economy. He did efforts to improve trade, industry, agriculture and transport and communication systems. He also signed free commercial treaties with industrialized countries like Britain and Belgium. In doing so Prussia was empowered to bear the economic burden of the unification.
5. Won diplomatic alliances with other powers. Bismarck secured foreign alliances with major European powers not to interfere with his unification plans. For example, he signed an agreement with the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, in 1863; he won Russia friendship by handing the Polish rebels who had fled to Prussia back to the Tsar Alexander II and signed an agreement with Emperor Napoleon III of France in 1866 before the Austro-Prussian war.

### ***Bismarck's foreign policy (major stages) for German unification***

Before 1864, a number of attempts had been made to bring about the unification of Germany like the Zollverein (a common custom union) created by Prussia in 1834 to unite all Germanic states for economic cooperation; the 1848-49 revolts and finally the confederation Assembly. Unfortunately however, all such attempts did not fully succeed. It was until 1864 through Bismarck's "Blood and iron" policy in combination with diplomatic skills that the German unification became a reality. Three major stages were passed through.

1. War with Denmark 1864. The war against Denmark was for the liberation of Schleswig and Holstein. It was the first major step in the unification of Germany. The King of Denmark had for centuries ruled over Schleswig and Holstein against their will. To liberate them, Bismarck concluded an alliance with Austria agreeing that Prussia and Austria would fight Denmark and that the future of the duchies would be decided by both of them. In 1864, a joint Austro-Prussian army invaded and expelled Denmark from the two duchies. After the war, in the treaty of Vienna 1864, Denmark gave up all claims over Schleswig and Holstein and the two duchies were to be administered jointly by Prussia and Austria. Eventually, after they had quarreled over the joint administration,

they agreed in 1865 that Austria should administer Holstein and Prussia Schleswig. Bismarck tactfully gave Austria a fully German Holstein to make it easy to scheme a war and finally eliminate Austria out of German affairs. He knew that Germans in Holstein could easily be incited to revolt against Austrian rule in favour of Prussia.

2. The Austro-Prussian war, 1866. This war was to throw Austria out of Holstein and the general Germany affairs. Bismarck first ensured total isolation of Austria to deny her any foreign assistance, for example he held a secret meeting with Napoleon III of France at Biarritz in October 1866 and verbally promised him the southern German states in case France remained neutral in the Prussian war against Austria. He then secured Italian alliance by pledging to help them to drive Austria out of Venetia. After all that, Bismarck provoked Austria for war. He incited the Germans in Holstein to rebel against Austrian governance. When Austria violently quelled down the rebellion leaving many dead, injured and imprisoned. Bismarck then appealed to the confederation Parliament to declare war on Austria and to expel her from German affairs forever. Austria was defeated and a treaty was concluded at Prague 1866 from which Austria was forced to surrender all her claims over Germany affairs; and to surrender Holstein to Prussia. Prussia also annexed all the northern German states of Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel and Frankfurt that had supported Austria in the war.
3. Franco-Prussian war December 1870-January 1871. This was the conclusive stage for German unification. After elimination of Austria from Germany affairs, Bismarck then turned his attention to France which was also an obstacle. France had influence over the Catholic, southern German states including Baden, Bavaria and Württemberg. They therefore had to be tactfully withdrawn but this still meant war against France. To provoke France for war, Bismarck refused to grant the territories promised to the French emperor. Napoleon III at Biarritz instead he encouraged him to put the demands in writing and when he did so, Bismarck published the claims to win support of Catholic southern German states. And internationally to isolate France since the claims included annexation of Belgium and Luxemburg. Secondly he exploited the Spanish succession disputes between Prussia and France in 1870 after the Spanish Revolution (1868-69) which had overthrown Queen Isabella. When, Napoleon protested the Prussian candidature of King William's cousin Leopold and forced King William I to withdraw the candidature for the Spanish throne, King William accepted. He then sent the French ambassador Vincent Benedetti to meet King William I. King William then sent a report to Bismarck in Berlin, informing him of what had happened through EMS telegram. To provoke France, Bismarck edited the telegram to appear that the Prussian king had insulted the French Ambassador, warning him never to see him again due to unacceptable nature of French demands. Insulted by Prussia, France declared war on Prussia. France was defeated and humiliated. The war was officially ended in January 1871 by the Frankfurt Treaty. The southern German states were merged to Germany and France was also forced to surrender her mineralized provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to German. The unification process was now over.

Finally on 18th January 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles (Paris), the New German state was proclaimed, with King William I of Prussia as its first Emperor with a new title- the Kaiser and Bismarck as chancellor.

## **AIMS AND STRATEGIES USED TO ACHIEVE THE GERMANY AND ITALIAN UNIFICATIONS.**

### ***The Aims;***

1. The Italians and Germans each wanted to have one united strong state like other strong states such as France and Britain. Each nationality independent states i.e. Germans and Italians were sharing the same historical background, culture and language hence could easily form strong unified states. They believed that in unified states they would be strong like the other European powers such as like Britain and France.
2. The need to get rid of foreign influence. Many Italians and Germans were driven by a strong desire to have sovereign states of Italy and Germany. By doing so they believed that they would expel exploitation, oppression and subordination by foreign powers like Austria and France after unification.
3. The desire for economic development like other great powers like Britain. Italian and German middle class hoped that in unified states there would be collective and full exploitation of resources all over their states to enable rapid economic development. They believed that their unifications would boost industrial, agricultural and infrastructural progress. Unification would end the obstacles that hindered development in fragmented states like trade barriers.
4. The desire for the revival of the past glory and pride among the Italians and Germans. Italians could still remember how they were a leading people in the field of art and literature during the Ancient Roman Empire which had its capital at Rome. This also inspired them to unite in order to become strong again. Germans were a strong people in the Roman Empire.
5. The need for expansion. This was the desire by the Italian and German middle class of industrialists who urged that unified states would be strong enough to expand by acquiring foreign territories which would be vital for industrial progress as sources of raw materials and markets.
6. The desire to strengthen unity and solidarity by Italians and Germans. Many Italians and Germans believed that unity could only be attained if they were accommodated in single states under single governments. They further believed that unity would strengthen their nationalism and raise their patriotism.

### ***The Strategies employed;***

1. Military approach. This was employed against both internal and external oppositions. Bismarck through his policy of "blood and iron" militarily waged three major wars against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France in 1870-71 to liberate German territories like Schleswig and Holstein. For Italy, Piedmont applied force against Austria in 1859 in the liberation of Lombardy and in 1860 Garibaldi acquired Naples and Sicily using his 1000 Red shirts military men.
2. Diplomatic approach. Diplomatically, Bismarck and Cavour secured treaties with major European powers in the unification course. Treaties secured by Bismarck mainly looked at isolating the enemy from his possible allies before provoking them for war. For instance he reached a secret agreement with Napoleon III in 1866 before attacking

Austria to withdraw her from German affairs and finally made a treaty at Prague with Austria through which Austria surrendered all her claims over German affairs and to surrender Holstein to Prussia.

3. Formation of Alliances. The approach involved making combined forces against common enemies and/or seeking foreign assistance. For example in 1859, Cavour the premier of Piedmont secured an alliance with France to beat Austria and liberate Lombardy from her rule. In the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 a combined Prussian- Piedmont forces fought Austria. Austria was defeated and forced to surrender Venetia to Piedmont and Holstein and to Prussia.
4. Expansionism approach. The leading states, Prussia and Piedmont-Sardinia for Germany and Italian states respectively, expanded over the other weaker states forcing them to surrender their sovereignty to them in the unification process. It looked like their imperialist moves to expand influence over their fellow Italian/German states. That is why after unifications leadership of these states took charge of the new unified states. The Prussian King, William I became the Kaiser and Bismarck the chancellor of Prussia became the chancellor of Germany and king Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont Sardinia became the king of Italy after unification.
5. Economic approach. The leading economic power among the Italian and German states used their economic influence to lure weaker states for unification. Both Prussia and Piedmont had to strengthen their economies; developing industries, infrastructure and agriculture so as to shoulder the unification costs. More so before 1850s, Prussia had established the Zollverein since 1834 as a common custom union to build unity and co-operation in preparation for unification.
6. Mass sensitisation and mobilisation. This was in the form of ideological approach for the unification of the Italian and German states. It involved use of secret societies, such as the Carbonari and the young Italy movement founded by Mazzini in 1831 and the mass media like news paper, the *Il Risorgimento* founded by Cavour in 1847. These were important measures for popular mass mobilisation and sensitisation in support for unification of Italy.

## **IMPACT OF GERMAN AND ITALIAN UNIFICATIONS AND IMPERIALISM IN EUROPE**

The Germany and Italian unifications were one of the remarkable events in the history of Europe and the world at large. After their unification in 1871, the two states, more especially Germany became great imperialist powers hence the unification was a stimulating power for both countries and also Bismarck emerged as the most prominent political figure (statesman) of both Germany and the whole of Europe. The unification impacts include;

### ***Impact on Europe***

1. The unification stimulated rapid industrialisation in both Germany and Italy. After unification the two states embarked on serious industrial programs to march with great industrialised powers like Britain and France. In unified states, they were able to maintain mobilize resources, remove trade barriers like internal custom duties and expand market and sources of raw materials for industrial progress. Their industrial progress speeded the



pace for technological inventions and raised stiff competition for industrial demands and thus led to Monopoly capitalism from 1870s.

2. Balance of power problems. As the unification raised Germany and Italy as new great powers in Europe, it brought down the traditional great European states which were greatly respected as European land Masters particularly Austria and France after their respective defeats in 1866 and 1870-71 by Prussia. After unification, power tilted in favour of Germany as the new land master. Such a situation created balance of power problems leading to power struggles which escalated rivalries as the old great powers struggled to regain their lost positions and glory.
3. Increased Militarism. The Unifications increased fear and tension among European imperialist powers with most of them being suspicious of the new states, Germany and Italy. For instance, the British, fearing that they would be the next on the list of German attack, started strengthening their military. Also countries like Russia involved in arms race in getting prepared for Germany moves. France also joined them in preparation for revenge against Germany. In the same way Germany was conditioned to strengthen her army in fear of any possible attack by her rivals.
4. Emergence of France as the greatest enemy of Germany. The unifications were attained at the expense of French prestige. For long the French in favour of German and Italian unifications in fear of emerging of strong powers that would challenge her position as the European land master. Making matters worse the unification was attained with her defeat and humiliation in the Franco-Prussian war, 1870-71, after which her mineralized provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were annexed and she was forced to pay huge reparation of 200,000,000 pounds by Germany. Since then France became the arch rival of Germany, seeking for all possible ways to revenge.
5. Alliance system. This was Bismarck's design aiming at avoiding a war against Germany especially by France. Bismarck formed alliances to isolate France by winning many allies for Germany so as to hamper the French preparation for revenge against defeat by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war. In response France also sought for allies from other Germany rivals. In the end two complex alliances were formed; the "Triple Alliance" of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy in 1882 and the "Triple Entente" of France, Russia and Britain in 1907.
6. The unification stimulated the growth of European nationalism. The unifications started a new phase in the development of European nationalism characterized by strong hatred of foreign control, and greater feelings of national pride, need for territorial expansion and racial superiority which started among Germans but later spread to other European nationalities. Nationalities that were still under foreign domination were inspired by German and Italian successes to fight for their liberation for example the rise of Pan Slavism which aimed at unification of all the Balkan Slav nationalities and eliminate foreign dominion especially from Austria-Hungary.
7. The rise of Otto Von Bismarck as the most prominent Germany statesman and an outstanding international diplomat. German unification was indeed a great success for Bismarck and a proof that he was the master political tactician and diplomat of the 19<sup>th</sup> C. since on his plans and terms it was successfully achieved. After the unification, he started the alliance system and managed to use the system to maintain European peace in his life time. He also became the major conflict resolution master for example by summoning the

1884-85 Berlin conference which largely resolved the European imperialists' conflicts over the scramble for colonies in Africa.

8. Germany unification and imperialism also contributed to the rise of expansionism. The rapid industrialisation brought by the unification created a stiff competition for industrial demands which led to monopoly capitalism which demanded for outlets in form of external colonies to serve as sources of raw materials, markets and areas for capital investments. It was on this reason that the European imperialist powers like Britain, France and Germany scrambled for colonies in Africa and influence in the Balkans.
9. The unifications and imperialism largely contributed to the outbreak of the World Wars. The great imperialist global wars were indeed caused by the growing Germany power and dominance over the European affairs. Having assumed a greater position, Germany wanted to dictate her imperial terms on the entire Europe through her own initiated alliance system. Consequently, rivalries and counter rivalries between the antagonistic alliances escalated leading to arms race and eventually led to recklessness which sparked the two great world wars.
10. National consolidation. The new states; Germany and Italy, undertook serious administrative measures to consolidate national unity. New constitutions were designed by which the rule of law was ensured and strong institutions like police were developed to ensure peace and stability. Economically, state central economic planning was developed for balanced development.

### ***Impact on Africa***

Africa was also affected by the Germany unification and imperialism in one way or the other, directly or indirectly as follows:

1. The unification led to the flow of Germany agents of capitalism in Africa. These included explorers, missionaries and Traders sent to search for vital information about Africa specifically areas of great economic potential like fertile soils and mineral deposits. They prepared Africa for colonization for example by signing treaties with local chiefs like the treaties made by Karl Peters in Tanganyika with local chiefs such as Mangungu of Msovero
2. Intensification of the scramble for and partition of Africa. Germany and Italian unifications stimulated industrial development and competition which led to the rise of monopoly capitalism. This development led to increased capital accumulation which demanded for outlets in form of colonies abroad. So ignited the rush for colonies by imperialist powers in Africa.
3. Summoning of the Berlin conference of 1884 - 85. The conference was convened and chaired by the Germany chancellor, Bismarck. It was purposely to draw guidelines and strategies on how peacefully Africa could be divided and end rivalries among the imperialist scrambling powers.
4. Increase of exploitation on Africa. For the French intensified exploitation in their colonies for the compensation of their loss of Alsace and Lorraine as well as for the revival of their economic strength so as to be in a good shape to revenge against Germans. The Germans also did exploit their colonies much to be in a good position to prepare for the French war of revenge.

5. Also contributed to the outbreak of the First and Second World Wars. In both wars, Africa was directly and indirectly, morally and materially involved. It provided Askaris to fight on behalf of their colonial masters who also intensified exploitation of their colonies to sustain the wars.

By large scale, the unification of Germany is an outstanding remarkable turning point in the history of Europe and a remarkable episode in world's history and affairs. It created the most aggressive European nationalist power, which changed the European affairs by the destabilization of the old European balance of power and being the strongest force for the outbreak of the World Wars I and II. It marked a new era in Europe with Germany as the centre of European affairs until the outbreak of the First World War.

## **MANIFESTATIONS OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

Manifestations of European imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> C. were the clearly indicated signs that showed that capitalism had taken deep roots and reached the highest state of uncontrollable competition, leading to constant rivalry and destabilization of the European continent. The manifestations include; Alliance system, Arms race and militarism, the Berlin congress of 1878 and the formation of the International Court of Justice at Hague.

### **THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE SYSTEM (MILITARY ALLIANCES/ARMED CAMPS)**

The Alliance systems were military unions (camps) by the big European imperialist powers for mutual benefits like fighting against common enemies together. They were bands of cooperating European big powers in order to achieve common goals and for mutual benefit for all member states like fighting against common enemies together from 1871.

#### ***Origin of the Alliance System***

The Alliance System was a master mind of the Germany Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck traced back to his struggle to win unification for Germany. The unification was achieved at the expense of other big European powers particularly Austria and France. To attain the unification, Bismarck relied on both diplomatic and military approaches. Before provoking the enemy for war, Bismarck could isolate him by concluding alliances with all his possible powerful friendly states like the secret alliance he made with French in 1871 before invading Austria.

After unification, the Alliance System became the basis of Bismarck's foreign policy and his central problem was the attitude of France on Germany after the Franco-Prussian war in which France was defeated and terribly humiliated when her provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were annexed to Germany and heavy war indemnity of €200,000,000 was imposed on her. This left the French determined to revenge against the Germans and turn revive her lost provinces. To overcome danger Bismarck formed alliances with other strong European powers to avert the French revenge. His cardinal aim was to protect his new created Germany not to be destroyed.

### *Factors for the formation of the military alliances*

The causes behind the alliance system were a result of economic, political and military ambitions of the European imperialist powers.

1. Bismarck's central reason was to isolate France. Bismarck was determined to keep France isolated by winning more allies for Germany and rivals for France. By doing so he believed that France alone would not be in position to wage a war of revenge against Germany without assistance of other European big powers such as Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy.
2. To maintain peace in Europe. Bismarck formed alliances to ensure peace for Germany. The Germany Empire had been largely built by his diplomatic skills so by the same skills he projected to preserve it. The intention of Bismarck was to scare France and her allies from attacking Germany and that would ensure peace. Also, the other European powers like France and Russia formed alliances to check on the imperialist Germany from endangering European peace.
3. The need for protection. The alliances were also protective in nature. The agreements reached by alliances member states were principally defensive. Members focused on joining forces in case an ally (alliance member) was attacked or remaining neutral. And if any conflict arises among member states, matters would be amicably solved among members themselves.
4. The French need for revenge. The French after their defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 by the Germans, they became restless and ever longing for revenge on Germany and to regain Alsace and Lorraine and their lost respect as a major determinant of European balance of power. However, the war against Prussia (1870-71) weakened that she was not in position to face Germany alone hence the need of collaboration with others. This ultimately led to the formation of Dual Alliance of France and Russia in 1894, the Anglo-French (Dual Entente) in 1904 and finally the Triple Entente of France, Britain and Russia in 1907.
5. Great Nationalistic ambitions. Imperialistic nations like Germany, France, Russia and Britain had raised long term ambitions of nationalism through which they wanted to achieve their goals. The rise of nationalism in European political affairs created rivalries among the big European states in a bid to win great respect over others, with each power demanding higher authority over others. The end of it was the formation of alliances through which members would be secure to claim glory and prestige.
6. The rise of imperialistic ambitions. The unifications of Germany and Italy marked an off-set of rapid industrialization which led to stiff competition for industrial demands like raw materials and Markets among imperialist powers which necessitated territorial expansions. Competition for foreign territories created dangerous rivalries among the imperialist nations like Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Britain and France. Alliances were sought to solve the problem. They would assure assistance in case of expansionist struggles like how it was in the Balkans.
7. To maintain a balance of power. The unifications of Germany and Italy destabilised the old European Balance of power by creating a more powerful continental power in Germany after the defeat of other European big powers especially France in 1871. To preserve her dominant position, Germany resorted to making alliances like the Triple

Entente. In response to Germany growing influence, her rivals France, Britain and Russia formed the Triple Entente as a counter check to match with the growing power and influence of Germany and Triple Alliance.

8. Bismarck's aim for self aggrandizement. Through the alliance system, Bismarck also wanted to elevate himself as a man of diplomacy, peace and as a political master tactician. He wanted peace in a Europe where Germany was supreme and the entire main strings of European affairs and diplomacy in his own hands. In other words, he wanted to turn Berlin into the centre of European affairs with himself assuming the role of the chief European diplomat and arbitrator.

### ***The outstanding military alliances***

Very important to note is that the alliances in which Germany or France involved aimed at isolating the other by winning more allies (friends) on one side and more enemies for the other. Major alliances included the following;

1. The league of Three Emperors (Dreikaiserbund), 1873. This alliance was of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. In this Bismarck succeeded in isolating France by capturing the friendship of Austria-Hungary and Russia. All the three were conservatively inclined monarchies yet France was a republic. The alliance based on, general friendship and consultation between the three powers. They agreed to suppress socialist revolution if they arise; to give common assistance if necessary for example, if one was engaged in war: and to consult one another on all important international matters and to attempt to settle the Eastern Question. The alliance broke after the congress of Berlin of 1878 when Russia accused Germany and Austria-Hungary of not supporting her gains in the war she had fought with Turkey.
2. The Dual Alliance of 1879. Following the collapse of the league of the Three Emperors in 1878, Germany and Austria-Hungary concluded what came to be known as the Dual Alliance. In this arrangement, Germany and Austria-Hungary agreed to join forces for each other in the event of an attack by Russia, and to keep neutral in case of an attack by any other power, France for example. They further agreed that if Russia and France combined for an attack on Germany or Austria-Hungary the two (Germany and Austria-Hungary) would join forces to fight the enemies. Also Austria agreed to assist Germany only if Germany was attacked.
3. Triple Alliance, 1882. This was an alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Bismarck was still not contented with having only Austria-Hungary as Germany ally; he therefore planned to draw Italy into Dual Alliance network. To achieve his aim, he created a conflict between France and Italy by secretly encouraging French ambitions in North Africa in Tunis where Italy also had similar ambitions. He also used that situation to divert France from scheming a war for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine. He also knew that French expansion in North Africa would spoil further French relations with Britain who were already competing for the control of Egypt. In 1881, Bismarck attained his goal, the French expanded to Tunisia. Angered with the French actions Italy was disappointed and eventually joined the Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary, to form the Triple Alliance in 1882. The terms of the Alliance were again defensive; the

three powers agreed to help each other if one was attacked by France and her allies. However, Italy couldn't be required to fight against Britain at any circumstances.

4. Franco-Russian Alliance (Dual Alliance of France and Russia), 1894. This was a diplomatic and defensive alliance directed against Germany and the Triple Alliance in general with Russia pointing a finger at Austria-Hungary. In this France and Russia reached defensive military agreements, promising that each would come to the other's help if attacked by Germany or Austria-Hungary. It was signed in 1892, and confirmed in 1894. The alliance was easily made because the two found themselves at loggerhead with members of the Triple Alliance.
5. Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902. Britain made unexpected Alliance with Japan in 1902. The main objective was to safeguard the independence of China and Korea. This meant among other things, limiting Germany, Russia and France from further "pickings" in their commercial zones in the Far East. The agreement reached was also diplomatic and military. The two powers agreed for neutrality if either of them became involved in war in the Far East or for active help if the attack was with two or more powers. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance made it possible for Japan to attack Russia in 1904 without fear due to assured British assistance if Russia was assisted.
6. Anglo-French Alliance (Dual Entente/Entente cordiale. In 1904, Britain also found herself at loggerheads with Germany to be drawn towards an alliance with France. The British were conflicting with Germany over naval and military expansions and upset with the Kaiser's refusal of an alliance with them. The two agreed to settle their previous conflicts over colonial acquisition as France recognised the British possession of Egypt and Sudan and Britain recognised French possession of Morocco. This was against the wishes of Germany that had similar interests in Morocco and had for long worked hard to isolate France. They agreed to support each other in their advances in Egypt and Morocco against the objectives of any other power especially Germany and for regular naval and military consultations.
7. Triple Entente, 1907. This was formed by France, Britain and Russia. It was at last a substantial counterweight of the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. It was logical and quite easy for France to bring Russia and Britain together to form the Triple Entente given that France was in alliance with both countries, the Franco-Russian from 1894 and Anglo-French from 1904 alliances respectively. For years the British had viewed Russia as a major threat to their interests in the Far East and India, but by 1907 the situation had changed for the better when Russia pleased the British by making an agreement with British ally, Japan by which the two guaranteed the independence of China. Similarly, the Russians were anxious to attract British investments for their industrial modernization programs. The Triple Entente was formed because Russia, France and Britain were all linked by certain important official understandings, with all of them into misunderstanding with Germany. The agreement reached was for a combined effort if any of them would engage in war with members of the Triple Alliance.

### ***Impact/implications of the Military Alliances***

1. Increased militarism and Arms race. The alliance system was accompanied by increased militarization. They looked at protection and provide challenge to the rival alliances. Alliance members were obliged to be fully armed to be in a good position to defend

themselves and their alliances in case the alliance members were engaged in war. Also the alliance system created a war atmosphere which demanded all states to defend themselves.

2. The alliance system raised Tension. With the creation of the alliances, tension carried with suspicion and fear intensified. There developed a life of uncertainty to the entire Europe. Tension rose due to the dragging fear when it seemed that any time the rivaling alliances would go to war. Even small states were touched leading to the making of counter alliances for example Romania signed secret treaties with the Triple Alliance (1883-1888) and Serbia with Russia.
3. The Alliance system encouraged Recklessness. Recklessness was due to assured support from alliance members in case of attacks. Some states developed strange attitudes, lacking fear for any possible danger from their actions, It was on such attitude that Serbia, a small Balkan state, murdered the Arch Duke of Austria (on 28<sup>th</sup> June. 1914) and went on to refuse to sign the Ultimatum issued to her by Austria because she was a secret member of the Triple Entente and assured of help especially from a fello Slav Russia. Also because of the same, Austria-Hungary invaded Serbia due to assured assistance from members of the Triple Alliance in case Serbia was assisted by other European states. At the end of it, the World War I was sparked.
4. The alliance system also encouraged aggression and annexations. Because of assured assistance in case of an attack, Germany never bothered to withdraw from the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and also encouraged Austria-Hungary to expand into the Balkans. Russia as well was motivated to expand into the Balkans by invading Turkey because she was in alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary (the League of Three Emperors).
5. The Alliance system created strong divisions among European powers. The climax was the creation of the two complex alliances of the Triple Alliance in 1882 of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy and the Triple Entente in 1907 of France, Britain and Russia. This grouped the major European powers into two antagonistic camps which could hardly agree with each other. Even the small states were divided along the lines of either the Triple Alliance or Entente.
6. Creation of the New Balance of Power. With the alliances, the old form of balance of power which depended on individual states like France and Britain changed and instead the responsibility was taken by the alliances. Surely for over 30 years the alliances system managed to balance power among the European powers as no alliance between the Triple Alliance and Entente seemed more powerful than the other to cause disturbances or dominate others.
7. Maintenance of peace. The alliances scared war and for at least 30 years peace prevailed in Europe. The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente seemed balanced with no one able to challenge the other hence could not easily dare to attack each other since all were ever prepared to defend themselves. Consequently, peace was maintained from 1873 when the first alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia was formed in 1914 when the World War I broke out.
8. The alliance system contributed to the outbreak of the World War I. The continued rivalries of the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente due to their members' unsatisfied imperialist ambitions like territorial expansions resulted into World War I. For example Austria-Hungary expansionist policy towards the Balkans supported by Germans

culminated into the double murder of Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, the state of affairs that drifted the world into the war.

## **MILITARISM AND ARMS RACE IN EUROPE**

Militarism is the belief that a country should possess great military strength in order to be powerful. It's a belief in military might as the major thing than other issues. In this countries came to believe that in order to be respected and feared, a country should be militarily more powerful than others. To attain this, countries engage themselves in mass weapon acquisition and increased conscription.

Arms Race is the situation in which countries compete to acquire the most powerful weapons than their rivals. This is a result of militarism which necessitates increased possession of weapons and increased (army) conscription.

Militarism in Europe is traced from the development of capitalism. It is a major means capitalist powers acquire wealth thus by subduing weaker nations and then robbing them of their wealth. Since mercantilism to monopoly stage, capitalism depends on coercive means of amassing wealth through plundering, looting and raiding, labour exploitation (slavery) and colonial acquisition on which exploitation for wealth would be carried out. All these necessitated the use of a powerful military. Militarism however is seen as a means of commanding respect.

By 1914 Militarism and Arms Race had increased as well as the spirit of violence. Such developments raised war temperatures and war psychology higher as the major European powers were spending huge amounts of their resources on acquisition of deadly weapons which included sea cruisers, destroyers and submarines, war planes bombers, machine guns, tanks, and poisonous gases. Countries which involved themselves arms race were mainly Germany, Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Austria-Hungary. For instance by 1914 Germany had 1.5 m, Austria - Hungary 0.35m, Italy 0.35m and France 0.9m, Russia 0.8m and Britain 0.5 military personal and all were indeed fully armed.

### ***Reasons for militarism and arms race***

1. The development of science and technology. Advancement of industrial technology, increased production of steel, chemicals and gases, accelerated military advancement to enable European major industrial powers easily produce more modern sophisticated weapons which included long and short artillery guns, sea cruisers and submarines. Such advancements propelled Arms Race.
2. The quest for expansionism. Imperialistic ambitions to expand outwards necessitated for strong militaries. Competition for external territories needed strong well trained and equipped armies that could conquer territories and also challenge others with the same intentions. A clear example was the colonial conquests in Africa where African anti-colonial resistances were easily crashed by the European imperialist well trained and equipped armies.
3. The need for defense. The increasing international tension from 1870s escalated with increasing rivalries among nations forced many states to resort to militarism aiming at



protecting themselves against any possible enemies' attacks. For example, Germany was compelled to strengthen her military in preparation for French revenge after the Franco-Prussian war defeat.

4. Alliance system. Alliances like the Triple Alliance and Entente were militaristic and defensive in nature. More so, they increased rivalries among nations which raised war atmosphere which automatically resulted to militarism as their members were obliged to be fully armed to defend their camps.
5. The influence of European Nationalism. The development of extreme nationalism raised great urge for national glory among European powers which needed support of strong militaries. With such, militarism became a symbol of nations' greatness. The rise of Pan-Germanism, for instance called for the creation a greater German Empire by incorporating neighbouring states like Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, and Poland.
6. Revenge Motives. Some European nations developed militarism to facilitate their revenge plans. The best example here was France. Having been defeated in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), France embarked on serious armament in preparation for revenge against the Germans and to recover confiscated Alsace and Lorraine. Such agenda, threatened the Germans who also resorted to arms building hence started the arms race.
7. Need to balance power. European powers had come to believe that the major means to balance power was through strong military. However due to great mistrust for each other, it was not easy to determine the military strength of rival nations, hence the solution was to produce more and more arms so as to be on a safe side hence the arms race.
8. Rise of ambitious politicians. The rise of ambitious Nation leaders who were determined to create big names and glory for themselves and their states for example by expanding their spheres of influence both within Europe and abroad. For example the aim of Kaiser William II to expand German forces was to challenge the British Naval superiority which had enabled her acquire many colonies overseas.
9. The influence of Darwinism. Charles Darwin in his theory of "Evolution of Species" raised the notion of "Survival for the fittest". Europe came to be influenced by the Darwinian Theory to contribute to militarism and arms race. As a result military strength was seen as the major means to prove fit and war became the only test for the strong/fit for survival.

### ***Impact/implications of the Militarism and Arms Race***

1. *Intensified the Alliance system.* Military rivalries were responsible for the formation of Alliances and making alliances firm to European affairs. Germany was compelled to embark to stronger alliances in fear of the French military preparation for revenge against the Franco-Prussian war defeat-alliance members would defend her against the French. But also, alliances grew dangerous by becoming reckless due militarism. With all alliance members feeling fully armed, the alliances developed false confidence and bullying attitudes.
2. *Militarism and Arms race raised Tension.* They created a war atmosphere which worried many nationalities. As was temperatures were raising higher, a life of uncertainty featured by suspicion and fear covered Europe. Indeed militarism put Europe on the brink

of a deadly war as it seemed that soon or later the rivaling powers would be engaged in war. The pending war ultimately broke out in 1914.

3. *Growth of Ultra nationalism.* Militarism became the test for prestige and national pride. It was a determinant of power and respect. Stronger militaries could command respect than the weaker ones. It was as well meant to attain national goals hence people pressed their governments to strengthen their militaries. For example, Germany was more determined to build a large empire in Europe by annexing her neighbouring countries like Denmark and Holland. Also she wanted to control overseas territories like Britain and France. Russia wanted to expand her control to Balkans but also to liberate Slav speaking Balkan states like Serbia from foreign control.
4. *Encouraged aggressive foreign policies.* Stronger European militaries like Germany, Britain, France, Russia and Austria-Hungary felt confident to carry out expansionist policies to weaker nations due to superior military capabilities. For instance, Russia confidently expanded to the Balkans by invading Turkey because she was militarily stronger than Turkey. As well Austria was determined to maintain her control over Balkan states due to her stronger military. Colonizing powers were as well motivated by their superior militaries to expand to Africa.
5. *Balance of Power.* As all great European powers; Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria and Italy happened to be greatly armed, a balance of power was created and maintained. It seemed that no single state appeared more powerful than the other to be in good position to bully or control others. All were armed to command same respected and defend their prestigious positions.
6. *Maintenance of peace.* Militarism scared war for at least 30 years in Europe. With all major European powers fully armed dangerous confrontations were largely avoided. No country dared striking at its rival in fear of similar or greater retaliations. Greater European powers seemed balanced in military strength the situation which scared attacks and war between 1873 and 1914.
7. *First World War 1914-18.* Militarism and arms race played a major part for the outbreak of the First World War. It created strange confidence to aggressive politicians like Kaiser William II and encouraged them to attempt bullying rival nations like Britain. More so the strange arms race created dangerous rivalries. To note was the Anglo-Germany naval rivalry which was intensified by the Kaiser's determination to overtake Britain the naval supremacy. Such misunderstanding climaxed into war in 1914.
8. *Environmental destruction and loss of lives.* Environment suffered from ruination by weapon testing and wars and in the process lives were lost and property destroyed. Weapons testing usually done in the atmosphere, water bodies and forests. In so doing the environment destroyed, polluted and lives are lost.
9. *Stimulated further technological advancements.* Other technological developments were reached alongside military technology mainly in the fields of space technology transport and chemical industries. Such advancements helped in further technological advancements contributing more in modern industries like spacecraft, marine, car and chemical industries.

# **THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF 1878 AND THE CREATION OF THE HAGUE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRATION**

## ***THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF 1878***

The Berlin congress of 1878 was a European diplomatic meeting held at Berlin the capital of Germany from June to July 1878, chaired by Bismarck the chancellor of Germany to settle territorial disputes of the Great European powers over the Balkan region. Powers like Germany Britain, France, and Russia signed the treaty. The meeting was convened mainly to settle the Eastern question particularly the problem of the "Big Bulgaria" and to revise the treaty of San Stefano.

The San Stefano treaty was imposed on the Sultan of Turkey Abdul Hamid II by Russia in March 1878 after Russia and her ally Romania had defeated Turkey in war. The treaty created a new Bulgaria (the 'Big Bulgaria') state independent of Turkey by enlarging Bulgaria through annexation of territories from Turkey like the district of Macedonia so as to cut off Turkey from her remaining possessions in the Balkans. Many Greeks and Serbs, besides the Bulgarians were to be included in it. It was to be self-governed, but advised in its first years by Russia. The terms of this treaty aroused hostility of the other European great powers especially Britain, France and Austria-Hungary for it meant Russia having greater influence in the Balkan region something which was dangerous to their interests in the region

### ***Aims of the congress***

- a. To review the treaty of San Stefano that Russia had imposed on Turkey in March 1878.
- b. Reduce the size of the Big Bulgaria by removing from her the territories she had acquired through the treaty of San Stefano.
- c. Remove the Russian control over Bulgaria and Turkey and the general Balkan region. One of the terms of the treaty of San Stefano stated that Russia would control the Big Bulgaria for at least 10 years.
- d. To give independence to the nations under the Turkish Empire's control for example Bulgaria, Romania, and Montenegro.
- e. To end diplomatically the conflicts between Britain and Russia over commercial interests in the Turkish Empire as the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli was threatening war with Russia.
- f. To find a diplomatic solution over the commercial and territorial interests in the Balkan region by European great powers.

### ***Reasons for the signing of the Berlin Congress of 1878***

1. The need to check the threats of Russian imperialism and create an effective European Balance of power. The growing influence of Russia in the Balkans evidenced by her desire to dismantle the Ottoman (Turkish) empire was a threat to the European balance of power. Fear developed among the other European powers like Britain, France and Germany that if Russia won sole influence over the Balkan region, she would be too powerful by winning the confidence of all Slav speaking nationalities in the Balkan

region. Therefore at the congress, the Great powers raged against Russia and decided to bolster the Turkish Empire and Austria to strengthen their positions in the Balkans to check on Russian growing power in the region.

2. To effect territorial re-adjustments in the Balkans. The desire for greater territorial gains was the main source of conflicts among great powers of Europe Russia, Turkey and Austria in particular. The three rivaled with each determined to win greater control over the Balkan states like Serbia, Bosnia. Montenegro and Bulgaria. The Berlin congress was to address such conflicts.
3. To save the Ottoman Empire from disintegration. Russian imperialist was bent on destroying the Ottoman Empire which was an obstacle to her desire of taking control of the whole Balkan region. The destruction of the Ottoman Empire was however, a threat to the other European powers like Britain and France. The Empire helped Britain check on Russian imperialism that was a threat to her trade zones in the Balkans. Also it helped in checking raise of Slav nationalism in the region which also was a threat to great powers' interests
4. The call to revise the San Stefano Treaty. The treaty had been imposed on Turkey by Russia in March 1878 after the war between the two parties in which Turkey was defeated. In the treaty Russia forced Turkey to reduce some of its provinces from which she formed the "Big Bulgaria" for her own imperialist interests. To revise the treaty the congress dismantled the 'Big Bulgaria" which was a threat to the British and Austrian economic and political interests in the Balkans.
5. The need to address the contentious nationalism issues in the Balkan region also propelled for the calling of the Berlin congress. Balkan nationalities like Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians and Bosnians were struggling for their independence to free themselves from Turkish and Austrian rule. So the congress was called to see how their problem would be addressed amicably.
6. Religious conflicts in the Balkan region. The congress was also an attempt to address religious conflicts in the region between the Turkish Muslims and Orthodox Christians Persecution of Orthodox Christians by the Ottoman government had always been a cause of conflicts and the reason for Russia to intervene in the Balkan affairs.
7. The desire to avoid a war and maintain peace in Europe. The European powers were on the verge of going to war against each other in their struggle to control the Balkan region. Britain and France were almost declaring war on Russia in their bid to end Russian influence in the Balkans since Russian influence was a threat to their economic interests in the Balkan region.
8. Bismarck's need for self aggrandizement and desire to consolidate Germany supremacy in Europe. Bismarck aimed at being credited as a man of peace, an international broken and great diplomat at the centre of solving European problems. Besides wanted to consolidate Germany power by making Berlin the centre of European affairs and also preserve the Germany, Russia-Austria-Hungary alliance by getting Russia and Austria-Hungary into understanding again.

### ***Results/significance of the Berlin conference***

1. Territorial readjustment was done to avoid war among the powers. Russia was recommended to retain Bessarabia however was to abandon the Big Bulgaria". Austria

was given administrative control over Bosnia and Herzegovina plus the small strip of land Sanjak separating Serbia and Montenegro. Britain was given control over Cyprus Island as her base to monitor her economic bases. France was recommended to take over Tunisia in North Africa. By such readjustment Russian imperialism was greatly checked.

2. Nullification of the San Stefano treaty that was forged by Russia leading to the formation of the “Big Bulgaria”. The congress destroyed the San Stefano treaty by breaking up the Russian created Big Bulgaria into parts. In doing so, the former Bulgaria was granted independence and some of its parts like Macedonia and Eastern Rumelia were given back to Turkish control.
3. The congress stimulated the scramble for colonies in Africa and Asia. The congress made the final territorial re-adjustment in Europe which made it difficult for further territorial expansion in Europe hence European imperialist powers’ attention turned to Africa and Asia to compete for territories. Russia for example fought with Japan (1904-5) for Manchuria while others like Britain, France and Germany put much of their attention on Africa.
4. The congress averted the war which was about to occur between European great powers. The territorial adjustments made, assisted to normalize relationships among the conflicting powers over the control of the Balkans. The congress guaranteed a period of peace in Europe for the next 30 years, till 1908 when Serbia went to war with Austria in her struggle for independence.
5. Collapse of the Dreikaiserbund. An alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia which had been formed in 1873 collapsed due to the Berlin congress. Russia was disappointed with Bismarck’s support of Britain and Australia against her claims in the Balkans like in the destruction of the “Big Bulgaria” to withdraw from the alliance.
6. The congress contributed to the rise of Balkan Nationalism. The repartition of the Balkan states among the European imperialist nations at the expense of their freedom gave rise to the Balkan nationalism. For example Bosnia and Herzegovina were put under Austrian control yet previously were under their fellow Slav Serbia. This gave rise to Pan-Slavism a nationalist movement headed by Serbia to fight for the Balkans Slavs’ independence.
7. The congress saved the Ottoman Empire from disintegration. Russia had conquered the Empire, split it into parts in forming the Big Bulgaria from her and offered independence to states like Romania through the treaty of San Stefano. However the congress nullified the treaty and Turkey regained her territories like Macedonia.
8. The congress raised respect and elevated German’s status in Europe. Holding the congress at Berlin the capital of Germany and the chairmanship of Chancellor Bismarck demonstrated how Germany had become the centre of European peace. This helped Germany control European affairs and that tells why the Berlin conference of 1884-5 for the portioning of Africa was also held in Berlin and Chaired by Germany chancellor Bismarck.
9. The congress assured independence of some Balkan states. Some Balkan states were guaranteed independence by the congress makers from Turkish and Russian rule. For example Romania which had been part of the Turkish Empire was declared an independent state in 1881 and Serbia in 1882. This gave Serbia a chance to champion the independence struggle of the Balkan states.
10. The congress laid a foundation for the Balkan Crisis. Subjecting some Balkan states to foreign control like Bosnia and Herzegovina under the hated Austria created unending

conflicts in the region, thus the Balkan crisis. The 1908 war between Serbia and Austria for example was a struggle by Austria to liberate fellow Slav states like Bosnia from Austrian rule. Such conflicts climaxed to the outbreak of the First World War.

## **CREATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRATION AT HAGUE, NETHERLANDS**

The International Court of Arbitration also called the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) is an international tribunal set up by the Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907 to facilitate the settlement of international disputes. The body was commonly called the Hague Tribunal. The PCA encourages the resolution of disputes that involve states, state entities, intergovernmental organizations, and private parties by assisting in the establishment of arbitration tribunals and facilitating their work.

**Note;** The PCA is different from the International Court of Justice which is also housed in the same building, the “Peace Palace” with the PCA in The Hague.

The International Court of Arbitration was created by the convention for the Pacific Settlement of international disputes which was drafted by the 1899 conference and revised in 1907. Each member country appointed not more than four judges for six year terms. This court never sat together as a collective body but was a panel of judges available whenever countries agreed to submit cases for arbitration. Each tribunal usually had five judges, who were selected by agreement of the countries involved in the arbitration.

Nearly every country in the world signed the convention, but some later withdrew. Between 1902 and 1914, tribunals drawn from the panel of judges decided 14 cases. Some cases were decided between 1914 and 1932 but none after 1932.

### ***Background***

The court was established in 1899 as one of the acts of the first Hague Peace conference, which makes it the oldest institution for international dispute resolution. Its creation is set out under Articles 20 to 29 of the 1899 Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which was a result of the first Hague Peace Conference (1899).

The Hague conferences were two international conferences held at The Hague, Netherlands, in 1899 and 1907 which revised the first conference of 1899. They met at the call of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia to reduce armaments by international agreement but mainly with the object of seeking the most objective means of ensuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and lasting peace. The meetings were called “Peace Conferences” but their major accomplishment was to formulate the existing laws of war. The most concrete achievement of the Conference however was the establishment of the PCA: the first global mechanism the settlement of disputes between states.

### ***Objectives of the conferences***

- a. Settlement of international disputes among states
- b. Reduce armaments by international agreement
- c. Find means to ensure lasting peace through arbitration for mutual understanding.
- d. To design laws and customs of war and treatment of prisoners of war
- e. To design the laws protecting the rights of neutrals in cases of wars.

The 1899 conferences of 26 countries drafted three conventions (agreements) and three declarations. It set up the Permanent Court of Arbitration, formulated the laws and customs of war on land: and dealt with maritime warfare. Most countries ratified the three inventions.

The 1907 conference of 44 countries drew up 13 conventions and one declaration, most of which dealt with the laws of war. Among the conventions were those dealing with the humane treatment of prisoners of war, the protection of the rights of neutrals, and the nature of Maritime warfare. One also renounced the use of force in the collection of international debts. Disarmament discussions failed, as did an attempt to establish a world court.

The Permanent Court of International Justice, established in 1920 under the League of Nations eventually took the place of the Hague Tribunal. Nevertheless, the Hague Tribunal countries formerly to exist and has a minor role in election of Judges to International Court of Justice, successor of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

## **TRANSITION FROM COMPETITIVE TO MONOPOLY CAPITALISM**

### **COMPETITIVE (INDUSTRIAL) CAPITALISM, 1750s - 1860s**

Competitive capitalism was the second stage in the development of capitalism described by free competition among the industrial enterprises with none strong enough to out-compete others and eliminate them from production. It's the stage when the Industrial Revolution took place and industrial firms fairly competed as large-scale enterprises and monopolies had not yet emerged.

### ***Characteristics of competitive capitalism***

- a) There were minimal trade barriers. Trade restrictions (protectionism) in form of higher tariffs were not enforced. It was the time when free trade existed whereby countries traded with each other without high trade barriers. In this period Britain was the only most industrialized state hence absence of competition for industrial demands like raw materials.
- b) Most enterprises were still small and competitive in nature. The enterprises fairly competed since most of them were still at the initial stage of development. Monopolies had not yet emerged to eliminate others from production. On that note at this stage there was no stiff competition among (industrial) enterprises.
- c) There was exportation of goods and not capital. At this stage, industrial capital had not over accumulated and also, it was only Britain that dominated industrial technology and production as other countries had not yet much industrialized to challenge her. As a result

Britain as a sole workshop of the world enjoyed unlimited market world wide - she did not need to export capital

- d) Banks were not controlling production. During the competitive stage bank capital was not directly involved in production. Banks served only as agents of payment and also provided credits and loans on small scales.
- e) Absence of formal colonies. Formal colonies were not yet necessary since Britain only was the major workshop of the world hence easily explored the world acquiring cheap raw materials and dominating the world market without any strong competition.
- f) Minimal role of the state in production. There was little government intervention in production. Production was largely left in the hands of individuals (*laissez faire*) and dictated by the market forces of demand and supply.

### ***Effects of competitive capitalism on African***

1. Abolition of slave trade. The major mark of competitive capitalism was the Industrial Revolution which started from Britain. With the revolution taking place, slaves became insignificant as a large part of human labour was substituted by machines. On the other side the demand of raw materials and market for manufactured goods increased. Africans could cheaply provide such demands if they stayed in their continent and exploited as cheap labour.
2. Introduction of legitimate trade. This trade was a new form of exploitation which substituted slave trade which no longer fitted the new demands of capitalism of the Industrial Revolution. It was a new form of exploitation through which Africans were integrated in the European capitalist system as cheap producers of raw material and reliable market of manufactured goods.
3. Influx of trading companies in Africa. European trading companies came to operate in Africa aiming at widening European trading zones. They came to exploit cheap raw materials and expand market for European manufactured goods. Notable examples are Basal trading company and the Royal Niger Company which operated in West Africa.
4. Penetration of Colonial Agents into Africa. Explorers, missionaries and traders flowed to Africa in large numbers after the Industrial Revolution. They came purposely to investigate and discover potential areas for exploitation (fertile soils, minerals deposits, huge population for cheap labour) and then prepare Africans for the propagation of the European industrial demands
5. Technological stagnation. Increased importation of European manufactured goods, increased competition on the African local industries and because goods imported were much superior in quality than those produced locally, local industries died as their goods lost market.
6. Introduction of cash crop economy in Africa. Cash crops like coffee and cotton were introduced mainly by the agents of colonialism in areas where they were lacking. Cash crops were needed as raw materials and a means through which African labour would easily be exploited as reliable market for the European manufactured goods.
7. Intensive exploitation of Africa's resources. Africa's land and labour human resources were intensively exploited through means like cash crop production, mineral extraction and as reliable market for the European manufactured goods. Besides, unequal exchange



continued as larger quantities of raw materials were exchanged for little industrial manufactured goods or cash.

8. Introduction of money. Industrial powers consolidated the monetary system in Africa by introducing money to handle the increasing volumes of trade in raw materials and manufactured goods. Money consolidated the capitalist system in Africa and served as the best means to exploit African cheap labour.
9. Paved way for the eventual colonization of Africa. Competitive laid strong foundation for total colonization of Africa. Agents of colonialism lured Africans, winning their hearts for colonial occupation, infrastructures were laid and knowledge on cash crop production instilled. Colonies were acquired by capitalist to serve as permanent and reliable sources of industrial demands. Colonisation was a new form of enslaving Africans, this time in their homeland.

## **FREE TRADE**

Free trade was an economic system whereby commerce was conducted between nations without restrictions or barriers such as tariffs and quotas. In other words, it is when trade is carried out between countries without protectionism in form of tariffs.

Free trade existed immediately after the Industrial Revolution, when Britain dominated industrial technology. She plundered the world collecting selling manufactured and collecting raw materials cheaply without competition the world depended on her for manufactured goods (workshop of the world). The trade collapsed with the rise of Monopoly Capitalism in 1870's when Industrial Revolution spread to other countries like France, Germany and USA leading to the rise of competition for industrial demands the situation which necessitated for protectionism.

### ***Factors for the rise of Free trade***

1. Industrial Revolution. Britain being the first to undergo Industrial Revolution and for a long dominated industrial technology served as the workshop of the world. She enjoyed the world market and sources of raw material without competition. No trade barriers placed against her goods as the world depended on her for manufactured goods.
2. The development of transport systems also favoured the existence of free trade. Transport systems like marine transport and rail-road transport networks easily linked many places and countries for trading contacts. They facilitated easy movement of manufactured goods to the markets and raw materials to the industries mainly to Britain.
3. Absence of stiff competition. Free trade existed when Britain was the only country that had undergone Industrial Revolution and for quite long (1750s-1860s) dominated industrial technology. In such a situation no country could stage strong competition against British manufactured goods.
4. Rise of private capital. After accumulation of wealth particularly in mercantilism many European merchants especially the British acquired enough capital for trade. Capital was invested in new industries, transport means and trade itself. Trading companies were formed to trade in both manufactured goods and raw materials.
5. Napoleonic wars 1795 - 1815. Napoleon the emperor of France waged many wars in the struggle to conquer the whole of Europe. His wars caused much suffering and

destabilization in Europe leading to low production. The wars however were advantageous to Britain because she was not much affected by them due to her advantageous geographical position being an island separated from continental Europe hence remained producing more and enjoying unlimited trade.

### ***Factors for the collapse of Free Trade***

1. The rise of Monopoly Capitalism. Monopoly capitalism is characterized by stiff competition for industrial demands which were getting scarce and the market narrowing as many countries industrialised. Rise of competition resulted into protectionism to safeguard domestic manufacturers.
2. Over production versus under consumption. Increased industrialisation in Europe led to over production beyond their markets ability to consume. To bar foreign competition countries introduced protectionism to preserve their domestic markets for local industries.
3. The economic depression of 1873. The depression was due to unplanned economy which led to excessive production beyond market demand. The depression led to monopoly capitalism as some enterprises merged capital to form monopolies so as to dominate market and led to protectionism in protection of domestic producers.
4. The rise of other industrial powers. From 1870s new strong industrial powers like Germany, France, Belgium, USA and Japan had emerged due to the spread of Industrial Revolution from Britain. The new industrial powers stiffened the competition for industrial demands like raw materials and markets thus giving way to protectionism and consequently collapse of Free Trade.
5. The Napoleonic Economic policy of Blockade. After failing to defeat Britain militarily, Napoleon declared an economic war against Britain. He designed an economic policy, referred to as the Continental System by which he blocked British goods to be sold to continental Europe. This hampered Free Trade as British goods could not freely be exported to British markets in Europe.
6. The unification struggles. Unification struggles like the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1, were also a blow to Free Trade. The wars hampered trade by destabilizing European peace and the old political and economic order. Moreover, after the unification, Germany and Italy embarked on serious industrial programmes. Consequently industrial development intensified in Europe and many countries resorted to protectionism

### **MONOPOLY CAPITALISM**

This is the highest stage in the development of capitalism when stronger capitalist enterprises (corporations), the “Monopolies” emerged to dominate production (market). Monopolies emerged by the small competing firms merging their capital or by swallowing weaker firms which could not withstand the competition by stronger firms. The aim was form stronger enterprises which could withstand the increasing competition by out-competing weaker enterprises.

The monopolistic enterprises invested in modern and efficient technology that increased productivity of industrial goods. It was a period in the industrial development (second phase Industrial Revolution) supported by new and more efficient technological inventions

and discoveries like the new forms of energy like electricity and petroleum, new industrial chemicals and metals like steel. By such inventions and discoveries, industrial productivity intensified and was followed by intense competition for industrial demands. On the other side however, the new technology was expensive for small enterprises to purchase on top hiring its skilled labour. To survive the situation many enterprises merged their capital hence the formation of monopolies.

The increased efficiency in industrial production with its subsequent intense competition for industrial needs like raw materials, market, cheap labour and areas for investment, ultimately necessitated for outlets in form of colonies hence imperialism.

### ***Features of Monopoly Capitalism***

The features of Monopoly Capitalism are the same for Imperialism

### ***Stages to the rise of Monopoly capitalism***

The transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism went through three stages:

1860-1870; this was when competitive capitalism reached its climax. It was a stage which competitive capitalism could not survive any longer but started to phase itself out. However still there were hardly any monopoly enterprises as almost all enterprises were the same status except a few which had started to become too powerful over others.

1. **The crisis of 1873.** From 1873, capitalist states went through a depression due to increasing production among enterprises which resulted into over production against their market ability of consumption. The crisis increased competition among the existing enterprises for market. From the competition, some enterprises acquired a lot of capital to become too powerful the position they used to dominate production. Weak enterprises were out competed and others collapsed while others were forced to merge their capital to be stronger to withstand the competition. As a result, only few enterprises were left into business. It was such few enterprises which acquired monopolistic powers to dominate market.
2. **The boom at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.** This increased capital accumulation and its centralization into fewer hands leading to emergence of monopolies. From the boom stronger enterprises were assured of profit maximization and accumulated more capital to control production and market.
3. **The crisis of 1900-1903.** This was very hard to be handled by weaker enterprises. In this crisis there was a drastic fall in production because capitalist economies were hit by severe inflation, unemployment and low market consumption. Due to the crisis weaker industrial enterprises could not continue with production due high operational costs, some laid off their workers because they ran on losses, and this made them to be outcompeted, leaving the stronger ones acquire monopolistic powers.

### ***Factors for the rise of Monopoly Capitalism***

1. Development of science and technology. The period from 1870s, marked a tremendous advancement of science and technology to lead to massive industrial development. New sources of energy like petroleum and electricity, new metals like steel and zinc and new industrial chemicals like brass were discovered. The new inventions and discoveries increased industrial efficiency leading to increased quantity and improved quality of Industrial output which caused over production hence the need for expansion markets domestically and abroad.
2. The economic depression of 1873. The depression was due to unplanned economy which led to excessive production against low consumption. The depression led to many changes which led to monopoly capitalism for instance; some enterprises merged capital to form monopolies so as to dominate market; it led to protectionism (end of free trade) and consequently the need for external markets for excess industrial output abroad in form of colonies.
3. Industrialization of other countries. The spread of Industrial Revolution from Britain to other countries like Belgium, France, Germany, USA and Japan by 1870s, led to the rise to a stiff competition for industrial demands like market and raw materials, but also called for new areas for capital investment. To withstand international competition, industrial enterprises merged their capital to form monopolies to conquer market. More so, demanded for outlets in form of colonies as reliable external markets, sources of cheap raw materials and new areas for capital investment for assured maximum profit making which Europe alone could no longer handle.
4. The Increasing competition among small enterprises. Competition among enterprises increased as they continued gaining more capital. As competition increased, enterprises sought solution in merging capital to form monopolies so as to dominate production by out-competing the weaker ones. Monopolies also engaged in a still completion for market and capital investment to the extent that European markets could not satisfy them. Such contradictions pushed monopolistic enterprises to press their home governments to secure them colonies for market expansion, cheap raw materials and labour and investment of excess capital for profit maximization.
5. The Unification of Germany and Italy. After their unification the two new states especially Germany embarked on a serious industrial developmental programme which enabled her emerge as the most powerful industrial power to rival the old industrial powers particularly Britain and France. The high industrial status of Germany stiffened the competition for industrial demands and many countries embarked on protectionism and monopoly capitalism developed.
6. The rise of philosophical ideas on education and research. New philosophical ideas found out that, if enterprises merge their capital, it would be more profitable than to run their businesses separately. They argued that if capital was merged, monopolies could be formed and easily control production, reduce unnecessary competitions and production costs and consequently ensure profit maximization. Such ideas influenced the merging of capital to form monopolies.
7. Influence of Darwinism. Ideas raised by British scientists, Charles Darwin (Darwinism) in his work 'The evolution of species' raised the notion of survival for the fittest. In expounding this, Charles Darwin notes that the fit ones will survive and the unfit would

vanish in the process of evolution. Such ideas come to conquer the minds of imperialist minded Europeans who Formed monopolies to be the fit-ones to survive. Monopolies then engaged in uncontrollable industrial competition to win outright powers which necessitated outlets as external exploitation zones.

### ***Contradictions in capitalism due to the rise of Monopoly capitalism***

1. Stiffer competition among the industrial enterprises. The increasing capital accumulation by enterprises raised competition higher and conditioned enterprises struggle to win monopolistic powers. To withstand the competition and push rival enterprises out of business, some merged their capital to form monopolies which could control production. It was such monopolies that managed to cross their borders to backward societies to invest their capital for super profits.
2. Overproduction versus under consumption. Increased industrialisation and great need for profits by industrial enterprises resulted to over production against the market consumption ability. Also, increased exploitation of industrial workers through low wages by factory owners contributed to low consumption since workers are the dependable consumers of industrial manufactures. To widen market, industrial enterprises called for external markets.
3. Protectionism. Protectionism was a measure adopted by the industrial powers to safeguard their domestic producers from external competition for market. Higher tariffs were imposed on imports to discourage local consumers from purchasing foreign goods. To that effect, Free Trade collapsed and enterprises suffering from high production and determined for further capital investment pressed their government to acquire colonies.
4. The struggle between workers and industrial owners. To maximize profits, bourgeoisies increased exploitation on workers by lower wages and long hours of work. This raised workers' discontent and through their unions, workers resisted demanding for improvements in wages and conditions of work. However, because such demands in Europe did not favour capitalists' interest of profit maximization, the capitalists had to look for backward areas where labour was cheap and lacked class consciousness so the need for colonies.
5. Problems of over capital accumulation at home. Capital was overripe (in surplus) in the advanced industrial European countries i.e. it had been over accumulated by the capitalists and could not find more room for profitable investment within the boundaries of their countries. The solution was sought in finding outlets in form of colonies where competition was low as expansive rooms for investment of surplus capital.
6. Determination and interest of capitalists to attain monopoly powers. Their determination pushed them to merge their capital and stiffened competition through which weaker enterprises were to be phased out. Also, it was their determination that propelled monopolistic enterprises to take the risks to export their surplus capital to backward societies (colonies) for further profit making.
7. The economic slump of 1873. This was due to poor economic planning which resulted into over production against low consumption. The slump affected many industrial enterprises; some closed down and thus laid off workers hence increased unemployment and low purchasing power. All these brought problems and forced enterprises to merge their capital to reduce production costs and monopolise production.

8. The problem of expansion of production. The capitalists needed to increase production so as to maintain profit maximization. However the increasing competition of industrial demands brought by the monopolies had raised costs of running firms. In order to manage the competition, firms had to spend a lot on efficient technology and labour, but also raw materials had become expensive due to high demand. The solution was then to invest capital elsewhere where competition was less, and raw materials and labour were cheap to assure super profits.

## **FINANCE CAPITAL.**

Finance capital was a form of capital that came into existence with monopoly capitalism, formed by merging the Bank and Industrial capital.

It was this capital that exceeded (over-ripped) and could not find enough room for more investment at home for more profits hence had to be exported, to be invested in backward societies where profit maximization would be assured because of less competition, cheap labour, raw materials, and abundance of land. It was during this period when banks were introduced in the control of production hence availing excess capital for investment.

### ***Forms of exported capital***

Exported capital appeared in two forms;

- a. ***Private Productive Capital.*** This form of capital was owned by private monopolistic enterprises which invested in the backward societies in their own private ventures. It was invested in plantation, industries, mining, transport and institutional facilities owned by monopolistic companies which had to send their agents as managers in the colonies.
- b. ***Public Finance Capital.*** This was in form of loans and grants, invested in the colonies by the colonial state primarily to consolidate colonial rule and accelerate colonial exploitation. It was invested in ventures like transport infrastructure, state plantation and mining and in provision of social services like health, education to facilitate exploitation.

### ***Why was this capital preferred to be invested in backward societies (colonies)?***

1. Absence of high competition. Backward societies were not yet industrialized to pose any kind of serious competition. The less competition in backward societies assured profit maximisation to foreign capital investors.
2. Availability of enough supply of cheap labour. The monopolistic enterprises were facing high costs of labour in Europe. Labour in Europe was expensive, demanding higher pay and better conditions of work which minimized profits. Colonies would provide cheap labour.
3. Enough areas for Investment. Backward societies (colonies) possessed abundant unutilised cheap land. The imperialists having no enough room for investment within their borders had to export the capital to the backward countries where land was not only cheap, but also abundant.

4. Assurance of protection. The colonial state through its military apparatus could offer enough protection to capital investors since it needed them for colonial development exploitation and support financially. This also encouraged monopolies to export capital to the colonies.
5. Availability of a ready market in the colonies. The monopolistic countries were suffering from overproduction at home. The situation was worsened by protectionism policy adopted by industrial countries which narrowed the market even more. Colonies would provide a solution since they lacked strong industries to challenge the advanced European manufactured goods.
6. Low taxation in the colonial states. Monopolistic enterprises were facing high taxation in their metropolitan states which reduced their profits. Thus they were attracted to the colonies where they could dictate terms by either completely avoiding taxation or paying low taxes.
7. Availability of surplus (over ripening) capital. The capital in European industrialised countries was in excess and redundant since it was lacking enough room for investment in Europe hence the need to be exported in backward societies where no capitalist investment had been done.

### **Effects of export (finance) capital to backward societies (Africa)**

1. Colonization of backward societies through which exploitation of resources was effectively done. Maximum exploitation of physical and human resources was exercised. For example through land appropriation, monopolists established plantations, industries and mines on which exploitation of both labour and land resources was fulfilled.
2. Integration of the colonies into the capitalist system. The creation of the centre periphery relations based on exploitation Africa as the exploited and Europe as the exploiter.
3. Technological stagnation. Backward societies were made a dumping place for the European manufactured goods.
4. Increased dependency. For example Africa depended on Europe as market for her manufactured goods for consumption and for exportation of raw materials.
5. Establishment of transport infrastructure like railways and roads to tap raw materials from Africa to Europe and get potential markets connected. And also other social services like education and health were established to facilitate exploitation.
6. Introduction of cash crops which served as raw materials and also a means of exploiting land and labour resources.
7. Influx of monopolistic companies. Like IBEACO and GEACO in Eastern Africa and RNC in West Africa.
8. Influx of European settlers who were mainly fortune and employment seekers.

### **COLONIAL RIVALRY IN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE FAR EAST**

Colonialism is an old historical phenomenon. European countries began exploring and seeking to dominate the world during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries. They were aided by their ability to control sea routes and the discovery of the Caribbean lands and the Americas. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, energised by the Industrial Revolution and under pressure from a rapidly growing population, Europe launched a new period of colonial expansion, towards Africa, the Far East and the

Middle East inspired by the discovery of new sources of valuable resources, new markets, new areas for capital investment and new areas for the settlement of poor populations. New territorial expansion by European countries and intervention by new imperialist powers was done between 1860 and 1939.

At the Monopoly stage the contradictions within the capitalist system were so tense that outlets in forms of colonies became a necessary must. Uncontrollable competition for the scarce industrial demands like raw materials and markets emerged after the spread of the Industrial Revolution to continental Europe and other powers outside Europe like Japan and USA. That was followed by the scramble for and partition of Africa, the Far East and the Middle East. Colonies were looked at as a remedy for the problem.

### ***Colonial expansion in Asia;***

Colonial expansion in Asia encouraged rivalry among the Powers, particularly Britain, Russia, and France, but also the United States and Japan. The regions engulfed were the Far East, Middle East and Central Asia.

### ***The Far East;***

- a) **France;** the French colonial empire in the Far East consisted of Annam and Paracel Islands, Cochinchina, Laos, Cambodia and Tonkin. All these territories were united into the Indochinese Union. They later became the independent states of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The French also possessed large concessions in China, such as in Canton, Nanking (Shanghai), and other Chinese territories, such as Hankéou, His-men, Kouang Tchéou-Wan or Tien-Tsin.

The French also possessed various smaller territories and enclaves in India which remained under French rule until the 1950s (since 1742) they included the towns of Pondichéry (1673-1954), Chandernagor (1686-1951), Mahé (1721-1954), Karikal (1738-1954) and Yanaon (1751-1954), and the enclaves of Balassar, Cassimibazaz, Calicut, Dacca, Goréty, Jouqdia, Masulipatam, Patna, and Surate.

- b) British possessions; British India (split into India, Pakistan and Burma at independence, in 1947. The British competed for India with the French and Portuguese. Other British colonial territories included North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak, Malay States, Singapore and Hong Kong.
- c) Japanese colonial territories included; Korea, and the Chinese provinces of Manchuria (which she competed with Russia) and Taiwan.
- d) USA possessed the Philippines.
- e) Holland won control over Indonesia and Malaysia which she competed with the French and Japanese.



### ***The Middle East;***

Imperialist expansion into the Middle East came after the First World War. The war weakened the Ottoman Empire which was the main imperial controller of the Middle East and which Western European powers had rivaled for long over the Middle East region without success. With the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, European powers carved the region into mandates, protectorates, colonies, and spheres of influence.

- a) French colonies; the French controlled the territories included today in the modern states of Syria and Lebanon.
- b) The British possessed Jordan, Iraq, Palestine, Egypt, and Yemen. She also exercised influence over the New Gulf States recently created like Kuwait and the Emirates

### ***Colonial expansion in Africa;***

- a) Belgium; the Belgium Congo (present day Democratic Republic of Congo). Ruanda-Urundi (mandated to Belgium after the First World War)
- b) **Britain;** Sudan, Lesotho, Botswana, Kenya, Egypt, Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Uganda, and Zanzibar, British South Africa, the British Somaliland (northern Somalia) and Togoland, British Cameroon. Namibia and Tanganyika mandated to her after the First World War.
- c) **France;** Benin, Albreda (in Gambia), Algeria, Chad, French Congo (Republic of Congo), French Guinea (Guinea), Upper Volta, Burkina Faso, French Somaliland (Djibouti), Mali, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Morocco. Niger, Senegal. Central African Republic, Tunisia, French Cameroon and French Togo mandated to France after the First World War.
- d) **Germany;** Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, Namibia, Cameroon, Togoland, and Wituland.
- e) **Italy;** Eritrea, Libya and Italian Somaliland.
- f) **Portugal;** Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe.
- g) **Spain;** Spanish Morocco, and Western Sahara.

### ***Factors for the scramble for and partition of African.***

The debate on the European imperialist colonization gave rise to two “Schools of thought”; the Marxist (Afro-centric) and bourgeoisie (Euro-Centric). The Marxists’ views point out that colonisation was specifically due to economic consideration and nothing else and thus was for the benefit of only the colonising powers. In contrast the Bourgeoisie view, justifies colonialism arguing that, it was for the benefit of the colonised peoples. They purport colonisation was for humanitarian reasons; spreading civilization and Christianity and abolishing slave trade.

### ***The Marxist-Economic factors;***

1. The rise of economic imperialism. This was the most significant factor for the colonial rivalries. The rivalries were a response to the effects of Industrial Revolution particularly from 1870s when capitalism transformed to monopoly stage. The stage is characterised by a stiff competition for essential industrial demands due to the spread of Industrial

Revolution from Britain to other European nations such as Belgium, France, Germany and Italy and also to other countries like Japan and USA. Colonies were needed as permanent monopolistic entities for satisfaction of industrial demands which were highly competed for;

- a) Markets for manufactured goods. The spread of industrial revolution to other countries brought a problem of over production. Factories were producing goods in surplus, beyond their domestic markets' capabilities. With the domestic markets saturated, industrial nations had to look outside their borders for market.
  - b) The increasing demand for raw materials. The increasing industrialisation was followed by scarcity of raw materials to feed the factories and markets. As industrial nations could not produce enough raw materials from within their borders, they turned attention to colonial acquisition to secure reliable raw material sources.
  - c) Need for cheap labour. Labour in Europe was expensive and protected by Trade Unions to resist exploitation by the bourgeoisies. They demanded for better pay and working conditions. Such demands were against the bourgeoisies' maximum profits realisation. Labour in the colonies was cheap.
  - d) Desire to expand areas for capital investment. The imperialists were driven by insatiable desire to increase investments overseas, where there was no competition. Capitalism at the monopoly stage thrives on the export of capital derived from huge profits amassed by the banks and industry.
  - e) Need for areas to settle surplus population. The pressure from rapidly growing populations in the industrialised Europe conditioned capitalist powers to search for new areas to settle their surplus and poor populations. The idle and poor masses in Europe could be transferred to the colonies and be made productive.
2. The economic depression of 1873-1895. Between 1874 and 1895, the capitalist's world was hit by an economic slump due to overproduction. Trade declined and unemployment increased as many factories closed down due to bankruptcy. As the depression persisted into the 1880's European businessmen turned their attention to colonial acquisition. Colonies were now regarded important to solve the problems of the depression, by providing cheap raw materials and wider market. Unlike before when trade was flourishing, European businessmen were opposing colonisation to escape payment of colonial custom duties and administration costs.
  3. Attracted by economic endowments. The great economic potentials and investment opportunities enticed capitalist powers. For example the discovery of diamond (1867) and gold (1886) in South Africa heightened expectation for the whole African continent. These discoveries were followed by the discovery of huge copper deposits in the Katanga region. More so tropical forests of Western Africa were already approved valuable sources of vegetable oils, timber and rubber. The Middle East is rich in oil resources and the Far East high populations were attraction for cheap labour and market besides agricultural capabilities.

### **The Euro-centric/Bourgeoisie Views;**

4. Emergence of extreme nationalism in Europe. It is argued that colonisation was basically a nationalistic phenomenon. From 1870's, a new wave of nationalism developed in Germany, Italy and France. The unification of Germany and Italy in 1870s intensified

nationalistic quest with the two new states ready to go extra mile beyond the older powers. After defeat in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), France turned to colonisation to prove her greatness. Nations glorified their culture and proclaimed the mission to civilize the backward parts of the world. Basing on such demands colonisation symbolized a nation's greatness.

5. Need for National Prestige. The period from 1870s witnessed the emergence of nation pride never seen before in Europe. Possessions of colonies became a test and proof of a nation's superiority before others. It is purported that it was just prestigious to have colonies whether they were rich in resources or not. For example, it was prestigious for Belgium, a small country to colonise the Congo a big country. Also the British have acquired more colonies raised a saying Rule Britannica rule the ocean's to praise themselves.
6. European balance of power problems. It is also argued that European powers demanded for colonies to set their power at equilibrium. The unifications of Germany and Italy had distorted the European balance of power by creating new great powers at the expense of the old balance of power determinants, France and Austria. Following the defeat in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) the French turned attention to Africa and Asia for colonies aiming at the revival of their power and compensation for the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The British also looked at it as a means to march the growing power of Germany and France.
7. Strategic Reasons. Exponents of this view, maintain that the European interests for colonies were a matter of strategic reasons, not economic. For instance, it was argued that the contest for Egypt between Britain and France was a struggle to win control over the Suez Canal which opened an easy and short route to India, the Middle and Far East and Africa where the two powers had vested commercial interests. Other areas strategically located included the Cape of South Africa which connected Europe, Africa and India via the Atlantic and Indian Ocean and also easy access into the interior of South and central African regions.
8. Racism and the white man's racial superiority beliefs. The Europeans believed that they were a superior race and hence justified to rule over other races. Such a belief based on different grounds, like the "development theory". The European advancement in industrial development than others made them believe that they are a superior race; and social Darwinism. Charles Darwin stressed on the theory of "survival for the fittest" in which he pointed out that the fittest European race should help the unfit races to survive. Such beliefs justified the conquest of what they called backward races by the European "master" race.
9. Evangelical Christianity and humanitarian reasons. In this theory it is argued that the colonial rivalries were a race to broaden Christian missionary and humanitarian motives; spread Christianity, stop slave trade, provide education and civilize the world. European imperialists for example argued that Africans were unredeemed savages and bloodthirsty uncouth creatures. They despised Africans as a very low people and their culture as a total outcast. To them colonisation was, a godly mission to regenerate the African and Asian peoples to acceptable civilized standards.
10. The role of agents of imperialism. Men on the spot also contributed to the colonial rivalries. These included explorers, missionaries and traders. They sent to their countries vital information on areas of economic importance, they scrambled for and persuaded

their mother countries to occupy those areas. Some of these men on spot made individual initiatives to occupy areas of need. For example Cecil Rhodes was self motivated to conquer the whole of southern and central Africa for his British South African Company and his mother country (Britain). In the same way a British soldier, Thomas Edward Lawrence was instrumental in the partition of the Middle East for Britain and France.

### **Sample questions**

1. The basis of imperialism is exploitation. Show its operational mechanism in fulfilling its objective.
2. The unifications of Germany and Italy stood on similar aims and employed the same tactics. Substantiate the statement.
3. Why were the attempts to bring about the Italian unification successful between 1850s and 1870?
4. The Italian unification remained a dream for long, account for that situation.
5. Examine four reasons and four impacts of the Italian unification of 1860s-1970s
6. Trace the genesis of Germany Unification and its impacts to African continent.
7. Examine the bottlenecks that complicated the unification process in Germany from 1815 to the 1870's.
8. Substantiate the role of Otto Von Edward Bismarck in the unification of the Nev. state of Germany
9. Examine the outcomes of the Germany unification in Europe.
10. Assess six impacts of the rise of Germany imperialism on the colonization the African continent.
11. With six evidences, relate the rise of Germany nationalism of 1870s with the colonization of Africa.
12. The Alliance System brought the World into trouble. Substantiate in six arguments.
13. Evaluate the circumstances which accelerated the rise of militarism and arms race in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.
14. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century Alliance systems and Arms Race had similar outcomes. Justify h using six arguments.
15. The circumstances behind the 1878 Berlin congresses were imperialistic. Elaborate in support of the idea.
16. Trace the genesis of Monopoly Capitalism in Europe and its effects on Africa.
17. Examine the transition from Competitive Capitalism to Monopoly Capitalism.
18. Although both Competitive and Monopoly capitalism were capitalist systems, their approach was heterogeneous. Justify
19. The question of European scramble for colonies had been given different connotations by different scholars". Discuss the causes of the scramble for and partition of Africa by European powers in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.
20. Basing on the Marxist view point, explain the extension of European imperialism towards Africa

## TOPIC FOUR

# THE RISE OF DICTATORSHIPS IN GERMANY, ITALY AND JAPAN

Dictatorship (state) is a government by a dictator who rules by decrees and his interest without obeying the law. In such states, state power is vested in the ruler whose word is law and there is no room for democracy or criticisms.

Dictatorship (totalitarianism) also means the restriction of the freedom of the individual citizens by a socio-political system dominating all aspects of their lives and regulating all their actions. A dictatorship government operates through one party system with the ruling party controlling the state machine and all organs like education, mass media, Trade Union and mass meeting which can change public opinion to challenge the state absolute rule. Such organs are instead taken under the party rule and used for propaganda to strengthen the party ideologies and suppress opposition or are entirely suppressed. In the post World War I period, dictatorship states emerged in a number of European states, beginning with Italy when Mussolini established the first Fascist state in 1922.

### FASCISM

The term Fascism was derived from a Latin term “Fasces” which refers to a bundle of wooden rods tied around an axe handle a symbol used in the Ancient Roman Empire signifying the magistrates’ emblem of power and the authority of rulers over life and death. The rods (sticks) tied together magnified unity and the axe stood for power.

In modern history however, fascism means a political system that promotes an extreme form of nationalism, denial of individual rights, and a dictatorial one-party rule. In that sense, Fascism was the autocracies and totalitarian (dictatorship) system of government developed in Italy under Benito Mussolini after World War I in 1922 and later spread to Germany as Nazism under Adolph Hitler, to Spain as Falangism by Francisco Franco as well as in Portugal and Japan. Other states in Europe that also formed dictatorship included Lithuania in 1926, Greece and Estonia followed suit in 1934: Yugoslavia in 1929, Greece in 1936, after the Metaxas coup, Poland from 1926 by Pilsudski. Generally, Fascism is the name that symbolizes all dictatorship states that existed in Europe in the post World War I period.

### *Characteristics and principles of Fascism*

1. Totalitarianism. Is a Dictatorial system of government with no provision for democracy and any form of opposition. The ruler is final and rules through decrees. He is above the law and has full control of the army and civil service.
2. Extreme nationalism. Creation of extreme nationalism based on beliefs such as superiority complex, that one’s own nation is superior to others; that the nation is the highest form of society ever evolved by the human race, it has a life and soul of its own

apart from the lives and souls of the individuals who compose it; and that a nation must be made great through self- sufficiency, powerful army and a big population.

3. Preference of the state to individuals. Fascism emphasizes loyalty to the state and therefore stressed the duties of the citizens to the state and not the rights of the individual. The implication is that the state is above individuals or an individual, there must be nothing above the state and nothing against it and its greatness is considered more important than the interest of its citizens.
4. A single party system. Fascists belied in single party state system - no provision for multiparty system. Citizens of a fascist state have got only one choice and that is to support one nation, one party and one leader. Existing opposition parties were suppressed and citizens were bonded together to respect the fascist party and its leader.
5. Idealism. The philosophy of idealism by Fascism was developed as a protest against the idea of defeatism of early Italian rulers, who argued that since their country had no coal it was doomed to remain a third rate power. Therefore the philosophy of idealism denounces the materialistic interpretation of history. According to Mussolini a nation can become anything it wished because its fate is not sealed for all time by its geographic position or extent of natural resource.
6. Authoritarianism. Fascists hold it that the sovereignty of the state is absolute. That the citizens have no rights but duties. What the nation needs is not liberty but work, order, prosperity. Liberty for them is a “putrefying corpse”, an outcome dogma of the French revolution. Above all, the state should be governed by the elites who have demonstrated rights to rule by their strength and superior understanding of the national ideals.
7. Militarism and emphasis on use of violence. The fascists believed in the cult of violence and war as the highest court of appeal. On this issue Mussolini is reported to have stated that “peace is absurd, fascism doesn’t believe in it”. In respect of that belief, fascist relied on violence other than dialogue in handling crisis situation. They believed further that a nation that doesn’t believe in militarism does not expand and is most likely to wither out and eventually die.
8. Establishment of a self sustaining economy. In this the Fascists government was to be in charge of directing economic programs of the nation. However this never necessarily meant that the factors of production were to be nationalized.
9. Romanticism. Fascists believe that reason can never be adequate instrument for the solution of great national problem but rather reason (intellect) needs to be supplemented by mystic faith in worship of heroism and strength.

### **ITALIAN FASCISM (Fascism in Italy)**

The Italian Fascism or version of Fascism is derived from an Italian word Fascio which means a group of a few courageous, determined and superior men. After World War I fascism in Italy, used to refer to the groups of courageous and superior men fighting for the revival of Italy’s glory. In that sense Italian fascists portrayed themselves as a symbol of authority and power responsible for the building of a greater Italy.

The Italian Fascist Party was founded by Benito Mussolini and composed of fighting groups called Fascio di combattimento, a group of courageous and determined men as a symbol of power

and authority. The Fascist party was sponsored by Italian capitalists who wanted to put an end to communism in Italy.

### **Origin of Fascism in Italy**

The fascist experience in Europe and the whole world was first tasted in Italy after the First World War, from 1922; hence Italy became the first nation to abandon a democratic government.

However Italian Fascism had deep roots in an extreme nationalism nurtured in the Risorgimento. In this, it's clear that the violent, social struggles after unification in part explain the weakness of constitutionalism and at the same time the strength of antiparlamentarianism.

The First World War also provided a strong ground for Fascism to thrive. The war precipitated a crisis in Italian politics and society by creating much greater financial and economic strain on the Italian society. War budgets had brought heavy taxation but also heavy government borrowing and a hyper inflation. More so, the Military records were disillusioning and these grievances helped fascism to turn the masses against the government.

The post war unrest also prepared the place for Fascism. Italy faced severe political and economic problems in the years during and after World War I. During the war, the Italian government had promised social changes and land reforms. Its failure to fulfill the promises stirred protests. Dissatisfied workers went on strike and occupied factories. In the countryside, landless peasants seized the property of wealthy landlords. Many Italians, especially middle class property owners, were deeply troubled by these outbreaks of lawlessness.

### ***Factors for the rise of fascism in Italy***

1. Impact of the World War I. The World War I had drastic effects on Italy: Italy lost about 600,000 people; the economy was severely ruined, the government went bankrupt by financing the war leading to unbearable public suffering by increased inflation, unemployment, taxation and scarcity. The fascists led by Benito Mussolini, capitalized on such problems to challenge the existing government by promising solution and creating a better Italy. The war also shaped Mussolini's life helping him to become more popular because he joined the army and participated in the fighting hence it also increased in bravery.
2. Disappointment by the terms of the Versailles treaty 01 1919. The terms of the Versailles were unfair to Italy. Italy which was a member of the Triple Alliance joined the Triple Entente in the course of the war because she was promised territorial rewards from German, Austria and Turkish territories after the war. However, the promises were not fulfilled in the Versailles treaty to the Italians' expectations, as Italy only acquired small and poor territories like Tyrol and Istria. She was not even given a single mandate territory in Africa as she wished, instead were handed over to France, Britain and Belgium. The Fascists accused their government for failure to secure better terms. To win popular support, Mussolini denounced the treaty and promised to revenge.
3. Fear of communism. After the successful Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia, Socialism started spreading in Europe, popularizing its demands like nationalization of

property and elimination of classes. In Italy, it encouraged radical workers and peasants for strikes in a bid to seize factories and land for example in 1920 in Milan. By that, the Italian bourgeoisies like factory and land owners feared losing their wealth to the workers and peasants if a socialist revolution took place as of 1917 in Russia. Mussolini exploited the situation to win support of Italian wealthy classes and all anti- communists by promising to eliminate communism.

4. Weakness of King Victor Emmanuel III and his government. King Victor Emmanuel's government was led by incompetent leaders who failed to make sound economic improvements to reduce unemployment, inflation and the general poverty, and to stop political unrests caused by rival political groups like the Fascists and the Socialist parties. Mussolini exploited such negligence and violence to weaken other rival political groups and the same time to undermine the government by presenting himself as a liberator of the Italians to win mass support.
5. The weakness of the League of Nations. The League of Nations was formed to ensure that peace and stability prevail in the world. The league however, failed to address grievances among member states like dissatisfaction of Italians over territorial allocations of the Versailles Treaty; it failed to protect the legal government of King Victor Emmanuel III against the Fascist developments and failed to address the Socio-economic hardships of the World War I like hunger and disease among member states. It was in such loopholes that the Fascists excelled in attaining their goals.
6. The general poverty of Italy. Italy was generally poor, lacking essential natural resources like coal and enough raw materials to support her industrialization. She was still largely depending on her agriculture, and making things worse the over cultivation had exhausted the agricultural soils resulting into poor yields leading to serious outcry of the majority peasants. She needed to buy grain abroad but had few exports except agricultural produce to sell in return. The Fascists used such hardships to promise better changes that would rescue Italians from poverty.
7. The role of Benito Mussolini. He was gifted by nature in making sensational appealing speeches. As an accomplished demagogue, he always presented himself in all possible ways to please his audience and win support. Besides Mussolini was too ambitious and had a wide experience as a casual labourer, teacher, journalist and soldier. His ambition ragged him to form the Fascist party and Facio di combatimental (black shirts), the militia he used to eliminate his rival political groups like the Communists. The same ambition drove him to organize the Fascist march from Milan to Rome that became a turning point in the Fascist revolution because it scared King Victor Emmanuel III which immediately invited Mussolini to form the government.

## **MUSSOLINI AND THE RISE OF FASCISM**

Benito Mussolini was born on 29<sup>th</sup> July at 1883 Dovia in northern Italy to a blacksmith. He had varied career and experience. He was a teacher by profession but soon changed to journalism and became the chief editor of a Socialist newspaper Avanti (Forward), in 1914 he abandoned Avanti and started his own paper "Il Popolo d' Italia" (the Italian people), in 1915 he joined the army and fought in World War I. In 1919, he started to publicly criticise the government and in November 1921 Mussolini founded his party the National Fascist Party at Milan.



From his childhood, Mussolini was cantankerous (bad tempered) in character. He preferred force to diplomacy in setting arguments or disputes. For instance, he once stabbed his classmate to death and was given an indefinite suspension from the seminary where he was schooling.

Mussolini was disgusted by the betrayal of Italy at the Versailles, arguing that Italy not fairly rewarded by the Victor powers. To him, it was due to the weakness of the Italian democratic government that Italy was poorly rewarded in the Versailles treaty.

He was also disgusted by the inability of the government of King Victor Emmanuel III failing to handle the past war problems such as unemployment. Inflation, poor production rehabilitation and resettlement.

### ***The role of Mussolini in the rise of Fascism in Italy***

- Formation of the Fascist party in November, 1922. Mussolini founded his party, the National Fascist party at Milan. The party popularized his fascist ideas to won him many supporters to emerge a great threat to both the government and his political opponents.
- Mussolini enabled his party participate in the 1922 general elections. In the election the national Fascist Party won 22 seats in parliament and using that chance he demanded for direct representation in parliament. The government rejected the demands something which forced the fascists and their supporters to march from Milan to Rome on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1922.
- Found the Fascist Militia, the Fabio combattimento famously known as the Black Shirts because of their black uniform shirts. The Black Shirts numbering about 5000 were a terrorist squared recruited mostly from the ex servicemen of World War I and the jobless hooligans and thugs. The group was instrumental in intimidating the government and destroying the Fascist opposition groups through assassination of leaders and members of opposition parties
- Mussolini's character and abilities. This was much resourceful to rise to power of Fascism and its dominance in Italian politics. Mussolini was a gifted demagogue fully equipped with oratory will. His geomantic, relational, and appealing speeches accompanied with his semi-comic and gesticulating characters attracted many people of different classes like the bourgeoisies, unemployed, youth, and ex-soldiers. He organised political rallies through which he used to spread the fascist propaganda through the Fascist patriotic slogans.

Through his propaganda Mussolini promised the following among others: That Italy would be a great nation once more hence the revival of the Italian past glory.

- To end the strikes directed to business people and industrialists.
- To reduce the demands and activities of trade unions
- That workers will have shorter working hours, higher wages
- That he will raise/build more schools for children
- That the army will be happy with better payments and other special favours.

- That he eradicates socialism and communism pleased the capitalists with these promises, Mussolini had support from the majority classes like the army, business men, workers, the church the majority Italians except the communists.

Hatred towards socialism and communism. Though once a socialist and worked with a socialist newspaper the Avanti (forward) as a journalist and chief editor, he changed his attitude against socialism from 1915. He hated it due to the fact that the socialists didn't support Italian participation in the World War I. Yet for Mussolini, war could win Italy glory and territories. His anti-socialist stand won him support from the Italian wealthy classes.

- The fascists' march to Rome. On 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1922, Mussolini mobilized Fascist supporters and his Black Shirts (Fascist militia) to march from Milan to Rome to threaten King Victor Emmanuel II to give him power. He succeeded without resistance from the king and the army who were fed up with war and violence. The Prime Minister Goliath resigned and Mussolini was immediately called upon to form a government.
- This was a remarkable victory for fascism. Mussolini immediately appointed majority fascists in the cabinet and forced the parliament to give him dictatorial powers for one year, the powers he ended up retaining forever. He used his dictatorial powers to establish a clinical Fascist state in Italy.

### ***The role of Mussolini in building a fascist state in Italy***

1. Establishment of a single party state. Mussolini incorporated all opposition political parties into the Fascist party. All opposition political parties like the Socialists, Communists and the Catholic Centre parties were banned and most of their leaders were either incorporated into his government or imprisoned or exiled to L'Isola d'Elba in the Mediterranean Sea, or killed like when Matteotti, the socialist leader was murdered on Mussolini's order for criticizing Fascist conducts in the 1924 elections. This scared the opponents and left Mussolini unchallenged.
2. Censorship of the press. Mussolini rigidly censored the press purposely to control public opinion against Fascist government interests. The media was put under the Fascist control; radio broadcast were done by only Fascist supporters and all anti-Fascist newspapers and books were banned. This kept the voice of potential Fascist opponents silenced.
3. Employed a high spy network. Fascist armed Spies were employed to identify, capture and terrorize Fascist opponents throughout Italy. This program was operated by the Fascist party secretary general, Feranacci. By 1930, all known anti-Fascist elements had been hunted down, leaving Mussolini's government free of opposition.
4. Establishment of the Fascist Grand Council. In 1925 Mussolini introduced the Fascist political organ known as the "Fascist Grand council" consisting of carefully selected Fascist hard-liners. It became the supreme political organ over and above parliamentary powers. It was granted powers to pass laws and was only answerable to Mussolini. This made the parliament powerless and only worked according to Mussolini's order through the Fascist Grand council.
5. Establishment of a Corporate State system. In 1926, Mussolini, through the Fascist grand council passed a law to transform the parliamentary government into a Corporate State

system. Under this law, people were grouped according to their occupation in corporations. Each corporation sent representatives in parliament to forward their individual corporation interests. All together, the country was divided into 22 corporations of; industrialists, workers and peasants. Corporation representatives replaced the former parliamentary members. The aim was to bring the forces of industrial capitalists, workers and peasants under Fascist control. He later based on this to declare workers' strikes and lock-outs by employers illegal. This left his government free from socialist or capitalist threats.

6. The Lateran Pact. In 1929, Mussolini entered an agreement known as the "Lateran pact" and the Pope. Mussolini's target was to solve the long-term conflicts between the Catholic Church and the state (since the time of unification) so that he could win majority catholic support to his government. Secondly, to bring Catholic Church activities under Fascist control. Among the terms reached, Mussolini made catholic religious teaching compulsory, recognized Catholicism as a state religion and the independence of the Pope's Vatican state. In return, the Pope recognized Italian kingdom and the Fascist government of Mussolini.
7. He undertook public works programs which created Job opportunities to the unemployed. Mussolini used this as a tool to prove his Fascist propaganda of providing employment to all. This captured great support to his government. Massive public works projects like construction of new bridges, roads, canals, railway lines and stations, hospitals, schools and land reclamation. Even if the situation was not perfectly normal as judged by circumstances of 1930, the strategy worked for Mussolini's power consolidation.
8. He undertook foreign policies centred on reviving Italy's status and prestige in Europe. This attracted greater support to Fascist government from Italian nationalists and lovers of glory. For example the invasion and occupation of Cofu in 1923, Ethiopia in 1935 and Albania in 1939 for Italian expansionist policy. He also allied with Hitler by forming the Rome- Berlin axis to join hands in their aggressive foreign policies, to destroy democracy and socialism. Also, he intervened in the Spanish Civil War 193 1- 1939 and successfully set up a Fascist government under General Franco in Spain. All this won him his government strong support from Italians.

## **NAZISM IN GERMAN**

### **BACKGROUND TO THE RISE OF NAZISM IN GERMANY**

#### ***The birth of the Weimer Republic, 1919-1 933***

As Germany drew towards defeat of the First World War in 1918, with her allies defeated and her own armies fast retreating, she had no alternative but to sue for peace. Public opinion turned against the Kaiser, William II, and with increased political unrest among the people, the Kaiser, in a desperate manner, appointed Prince Max (of Baden) as chancellor to assist him, but it was too late as the revolution showed its imminence.

Exploiting such a state of chaos characterized by army mutinies, strikes by the desperate workers and peasants against the war and the Kaiser, the Socialist Democrats inspired by the 1917 Russian revolution championed a revolution to end the rule of Kaiser William II. On 9<sup>th</sup>

November Hindenburg informed Kaiser William II that his power was at an end, whereupon the Kaiser abdicated and with his family escaped to Holland for safety and Prince Max also resigned. A provisional government was immediately set under the leadership of Friedrich Ebert, leader of the Left-wing Social Democrats Party (SDP)

The provisional government held elections in January 19, 1919 for a National assembly which was to establish a legal government, conclude a peace agreement with the Allied powers and draw a constitution for the new Germany. Meeting at the city of Weimer, an eminent cultural centre, it drew up the famous Weimer Constitution - hence the Weimer republic.

In January 1919 general elections were held, the first completely democratic one ever to take place in Germany. The Social Democratic party emerged as a winner and its leader Friedrich Ebert became the first president of the republic. By the end of 1919, a new constitution had been agreed by the National Assembly (parliament) which was meeting in Weimer because Berlin was still in political unrest. The Weimer constitution gave the name Weimer Republican. The republican lasted until 1933 when it was brought to an end.

### ***The collapse of Weimar republic***

From its birth in 1919, the Weimer Republic was beset with huge problems which were automatically soon or in the near future to fail it. The Republic started in very unfriendly conditions of the problems left by the Kaiser and devastating effects of the World War I such as unemployment, famine and inflation which incited political chaos and ended deepened in problems as Germany was being hit hard by the Great Economic Depression. It survived many attempts of overthrow like that by Hitler in 1923. However by January 1933 the Republic was on the verge of collapse when President Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler as the chancellor.

### ***Reasons for the collapse:***

1. Acceptance of the harsh terms of the 1919 Versailles Treaty imposed over Germans. This was the major crisis that hit the Weimar Republic. In May 1919 when the terms of the treaty of Versailles like German's sole blame for the war, limiting Germany's army to 100,000, heavy reparation, and denial of overseas colonies were announced, most Germans were appalled, even president Ebert himself was shocked and was reluctant to sign the treaty. Unfortunately however, he had no choice, for he was threatened with another war on Germany if he refused to sign. However, in the minds of many Germans, Ebert and his Weimer Republic were forever to blame for the treaty. The injustice of the treaty became a rallying point for all Ebert's opponent. From 1919, it was a general talk throughout Germany that "the democrats have betrayed the country". This made the Republic unpopular and surely the Treaty was still a source of bitterness in German' when Hitler came to power in 1933.
2. Lack of respect for a democratic system of governance. By 1920's the Germans had no respect for a democratic government, they had along respected tradition for autocracy for the army and office class as the rightful leaders of Germany like the system of the Kaiser. That is why they disrespected and undermined the democratic Weimer Republic,

associating it with defeat and dishonor. It was on the same ground why Hitler won the support of many Germans.

3. Weak parliamentary system and constitution. The Republic's parliamentary system of proportional representation, in which all political groups would have a fair representation, was unrealistic. There were several political groups into existence such as Social Democrats, Communists, Socialists, National Socialists and Nazis that no single group could ever win majority votes in parliament to command overall leadership. This led to chaos in parliament, with great difficulty in passing and implementing important decisions. All these failed the progress of the republic.
4. The Republic had incompetent politicians. The republic failed to win public confidence due to incompetent leaders like Fredrick Ebert and Hindenburg who failed to handle internal violence caused by opposition parties like Communists, Catholic Centre Party and Nazis whose private militias like the Nazi Storm Trooper caused unbearable unrests like assassination of opponents and prominent government officials. They also failed to tackle the prevailing economic problems like inflation, famine and unemployment, which rendered the state weak.
5. The Great Economic depression of 1929-1933. This left the Republic very weak and incapable of solving peoples' problems. It completely devastated the German economy leaving it stuck in limbo. By 1932 Germany was close to total bankruptcy. Industry was affected, unemployment escalated that by 1932 six (6) million Germans had no jobs. Inflation rose beyond normal levels due to scarcity of goods. All these strengthened propaganda of opposition groups, especially Hitler's Nazi to attract more mass support by promising immediate solutions.
6. Internationally, the Weimer Republic was isolated. The Weimar Republic lacked cooperation from other European powers because Germany was accused of being guilty of the First World War and was welcomed to join the League of Nations until 1926. This added strength to its internal and external opponents to attack it. More so, in January 1923 the French and Belgians invaded and occupied the Ruhr, an important Germany industrial area in an attempt to force the Germans pay the war reparations. To many Germans the republic was to be blamed for having failed to reinstate Germany respect and protect the country.
7. The rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party. Hitler undermined the Republic through spreading attractive Nazi propaganda basing on the chaotic socio-political and economic weakness of the Republic. He accused the Republic leaders of German woes to embitter masses of the republic. For example, he claimed that Germany was betrayed (stabbed in the back) by its civilian politicians - republic leaders by signing the Versailles treaty and failure to combat the Great Economic Depression. Basing on such, the Republic lost mass support.
8. Lastly, the death of Hindenburg, 1934. Hindenburg was the last president of the Weimar Republic. When he died in 1934, the republic followed him to the grave on the spot. His death left a political power vacuum through which Hitler introduced and strengthened his Nazi dictatorship. Being a chancellor, he just added the presidential power to himself to become an outright dictator.

## **HITLER AND NAZISM**

Nazism was a Germany form of Fascism formed in the post World War I period and brought to power by Adolf Hitler in 1933. It was the fascist policies of the National Socialist Germany Worker's Party, based on totalitarianism, a belief in racial superiority and the state control of the economy. The principle activities of Nazism were by large the same with those of Italian Fascism. The only different was that Nazism surpassed the Italian fascism system: it was much more dictatorial in all broad sense, than the Italian system.

The Nazis began as the Germany workers' party, led by Anton Drexler. In 1919 Adolf Hitler joined the party, Drexler soon realized that Hitler had a great talent and within months he had put him in charge of propaganda and political ideas of the party. In 1920, the party renamed itself the National Socialist Germany Worker's Party, Nazis in short. The word socialist' for the Nazis did not mean nationalization and the redistribution of wealth as in the socialist ideology of scientific socialism. It was included only to attract the support of the German workers and lower classes. In 1921, the Nazis gave Hitler unlimited power within the party as leader (Fuehrer)

When the Weimer Republic became ineffective, the Nazis and Hitler seemed the most attractive alternative against the Republic. What gave a greater advantage to the Nazis was the poor economic situation which was worsened by the Great Economic Depression (1929-33). Indeed it was against the background of depression, and bitter political clashes that the Nazis gained more popularity. That is the more unstable the economy and chaotic situation, the more the Nazis won the Reichstag (parliament)

Adolf Hitler (pictured right) was the most influential figure of Nazism. Nazism came to popularity by him. Hitler's personal background was mysterious; he rose from a very humble, disturbed and largely a chaotic background. This kind of background is what shaped Hitler's personality of bravery, poor interpersonal relationship, of intolerance and hatred of the socialists, communists, republicans and above all Jews.

Hitler was born in Austria, in the Austro-Germany border town of Braunau on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1889. In his early childhood he got hard times with his father but was ever fond of his mother. His father, Alois Hitler was senior custom official in Austria. In 1902 his father died and in 1907 his mother too died. The death of Hitler's father affected Hitler's life as there was that absence of a dominant father to guide his life. He spent much of his time playing and dreaming, did poorly in school and left school early. By the death of his mother in 1907 Hitler had exhausted his inherited funds.

In 1905, at the age of 16, Hitler left school and went to Vienna to pursue his ambition in becoming a painter. However things went wrong for him as he even failed to join the Vienna academy for fine art in 1907, and between 1907 and 1914 he was virtually 'down and out' of street of Vienna. For some time, Hitler lived a precarious life, a poor lonely life in Vienna as a sign painter, day labourer of odd jobs and a beggar supplemented by pocket money sent by his widowed mother (before her death in 1907) plus Austria orphan's allowances. It was such a kind of life that shaped Hitler's personality of bravery and also poor interpersonal relationship, intolerance and hatred to the socialists, the republicans and foreigners especially the Jews.

In May 1913, Hitler went from Vienna to live in Germany in Munich. When the First World War broke out in 1914, he joined the Germany army and served without distraction. He was promoted to the rank of Lance corporal and also won the 'lay cross' for his bravery. He stayed in the army after the war, working in Munich in the intelligence service before joining the Germany Workers Party. It was in this job that he came across the Germany workers Party led by Anton Drexler.

Hitler was much disappointed with the defeat and humiliation of Germany in the First World War. In this he found very difficult to accept the armistice and was completely unable to accept the Versailles Treaty. Hitler believed that the Germany army had been 'gabbed at the back' by the socialists and liberal democrats who agreed an armistice in November 1918. He believed not that Germany had been beaten on the battle field, but that it had been betrayed on the 11<sup>th</sup> hour, of 11<sup>th</sup> day, of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of 1918 by certain politicians and Jews who didn't dare continue with the war.

Hitler despised the Weimer Republic and like many Germans looked back to the glorious days of the Kaiser. In 1923, he attempted a coup against the Weimer Republic government but failed and got sentenced for five years imprisonment, but was released after only 9 months. While in prison, he wrote his book *Main Kampf* (my struggle) which came to carry Nazi beliefs hence came to be referred to as the "Nazi bible".

By 1933, the strength and threats of Hitler and Nazis forced President Hindenburg to appoint him a chancellor. When Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler added presidential power him and established a perfect Nazi totalitarian state.

### ***Factors for the rise of Nazism***

1. Effect of the First World War. The war drew alarming impact on Germany; Germans were defeated and lost their pride: the war disrupted Germany economy as a lot of infrastructures and industries were badly destroyed resulting into bankruptcy and serious social miseries like shortage of food, jobs, and other basic needs. Hitler and the Nazis based in such chaotic ground to promise a better life. Besides, the war helped Hitler to be popular because he joined the army and in the course of fighting he performed with excellence to the extent that, he was ranked and awarded "Iron Cross". It also increased Hitler's bravery and enabled him acquire military skills which he used to suppress the Nazis enemies.
2. The Versailles Treaty, 1919. The treaty was much unpopular with the Germans, in imposed harsh terms on Germany like condemnation of Germany as the sole trouble cause for the World War I, imposition of heavy reparation of £660, and Germany lost her overseas colonies. Such conditions left the Germany economy in a deplorable state causing profound socio-economic strain to the Germans. The Nazis based on the treaty to gain popularity by condemning the Weimer Republic for betraying Germans by signing the drastic treaty, and promising to denounce the treaty as a way to liberate Germany from its misery and to revive Germany greatness.
3. Weakness of the Weimer Republic. From its inception, the Weimer Republic was unpopular. First, the Republic accepted the dictated Versailles Treaty with its unfair terms on Germany. Therefore for most Germans the republic was forever to blame for the

injustice of the treaty which became a rallying point for the Nazis. Also, its incompetent leadership failed to address Germans' socio-economic problems like inflation, unemployment and famine and to maintain law and order caused by violence among rival political groups like the Nazis and Socialists. It was on such deficiencies Hitler based to undermine Weimer government.

4. The Great Economic Depression, 1929-33. The depression got the Nazis wide spread popularity. Germany was most affected; she suffered wide spread unemployment which rose from 1.3 in 1929 to 6 million people in 1933, the worst inflation in world history and other miseries like hunger due to the fall of industry and agriculture. Hitler accused the Versailles Treaty and the Weimar Republic for being responsible and emphasized that Germany needed a strong government that would be able to denounce the Versailles, treaty to regain Germany lost markets, the colonies and territories lost by the Versailles Treaty and rebuild her economy to arrest the depression. This gained the Nazis mass support from interest groups like the workers, farmers, and above all capitalists.
5. Weakness of the League of Nations. The League of Nations created a revengeful Germany by excluding it from its membership and handing over her colonies to the victor powers of the World War I. Also, it did not cooperate with the democratic Weimar Republic to check up the Nazi development in Germany. The League also upset the Germans by not condemning French and Belgium troops when they invaded the Ruhr region in 1923 killing 180 Germany protestors and laying off about 100,000 from work. With such weaknesses, and the failure of the Weimar to condemn the actions of the league members, Germans lost support for the Weimar Republic in favour of the Nazis who promised to abrogate the league and revenge against its members.
6. The Threat of Communism. The fear of a Communist revolution in Germany encouraged anti-communist groups like the wealthy land and factory owners support the Nazis who were also anti-communism. The World War I and its devastating effects like increased unemployment and starvation made many Germans lose confidence in capitalism which was blamed by the Socialists for being the cause of the war and peoples' suffering. Communism became strong among workers and majority miserable. Germans who advocated for a Socialist state following the example of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Alarmed by socialist takeover and fear of property nationalization, wealthy classes financed the Nazis as a weapon to silence communism.
7. Lack of Respect for Democratic system of Government. By 1920's Germans had neither experience nor regards for democratic systems. They still held along respect and admiration for autocracy like the Kaiser system. They still had great work of military officers and men of all seasons like Bismarck, Kaiser William II, and Von Roon flushing in their minds, men who had brought a lot of glory to Germany. Basing on that, the Germans disrespected the democratic Weimar Republic and associated with defeat. What the Germans wanted was not democracy and freedom, but security, military might and glory, same attributes of Nazism (Hitler).
8. Hitler's Personal Talent, Character and Personality. Hitler's, commitment and above all his power as a speaker was a great asset for Nazism. Indeed. Hitler possessed extraordinary political abilities and a remarkable gift for public speaking as a blessed demagogue and a celebrated orator and propagandist with emotional speeches which stirred nationalist passions in his audience. He would shed floods of tears while talking about Germany losses, enemies and defeats and promised solutions and revenge. By his



skills through Nazi rallies he attracted mass support for the Nazi party. Besides, he prepared the *Mein Kampf* which elaborated his plan of creating a great Germany and revive its past glory and formed the Nazi storm troopers, the Nazi militia to eliminate the Nazi opponents. In all Hitler activities showed that he was concerned for the Germans problem and many Germans looked towards him (Nazis) as some sort of savior.

### ***Measures the Nazis Hitler,) used to consolidate power***

(The Political, Economic, Social and cultural policies of Nazism)

Steps taken by which the Nazi Party came to be the only party in Germany:

1. *Legalized dictatorship.* Hitler maneuvered the Reichstag (Parliament) to pass Enabling Act of 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1933. The Act stated that the government could introduce laws without the approval of the parliament for the next four years and also could ignore the constitution of it wished. It meant laws could be drafted by the chancellor and came into operation the day they were published. The Act allowed Hitler who was the Chancellor to pass decrees without involving the parliament. Through this law Hitler abandoned the Weimer constitution to Nazify Germany.
2. *Banning of opposition parties.* Germany was declared a one party state and all political parties except the Nazi party were banned. All opposition parties like the Socialist Party, Catholic Centre Party and the Monarchist Party were outlawed to give the Nazi party unlimited powers by killing rival criticisms.
3. *High spy network (espionage).* The Nazi formed different secret military and police organs to investigate, identify and arrest the Nazi opponents. For example the Nazi Storm Troopers, the GESTAPO and SS detected and encountered political opponent like the Communists, Socialists and Jews. Many of the identified victims were arrested and sent to concentration camps.
4. *The government sectors and all civil services were purged.* All the Nazi opponents and undesired groups particularly the Jews, communists, and other suspected enemies of Nazi were removed from office. Hitler appointed Nazis, close friends and fellow war veterans to take charge of government official duties. This helped him to fully Nazify Germany.
5. *Strict control of the media and all communications.* This was through the minister of Propaganda Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Radios, Newspapers, Magazines, Books, theatres, films, music and art were all closely supervised. No book could be published without Goebbels' permission. In 1933 he organized a high profile book-burning and Nazi students came together publicly to burn books that included ideas unacceptable to the Nazis. By the end of 1934 about 4000 books were on the forbidden list. Newspapers were not allowed to print anti-Nazi ideas. Cinemas were also closely controlled. All films had to carry a pro-Nazi message and all foreign films coming into German' were censored. Listening to radio broadcasts from the BBC was punished by death. Hitler's speeches and these of other Nazi leaders were repeated on the radio over and over again to stress the Nazi propaganda and with public support.

**Josef Goebbels** was son of an office worker in a factory. He had not been able to fight in the First World War because he had crippled foot which caused him to limp. He was very intelligent,

well educated and a brilliant public speaker. He joined the Nazi party in 1922. At first he opposed Hitler's leadership but he soon changed his mind and became a loyal supporter. He was appointed editor of the Nazi newspaper "People's Freedom" and later put in charge of party propaganda.

6. *Use of suppressive and repulsive measures.* The Nazis (Hitler) employed terror which involved intimidation, arrest, torture, imprisonment and killings of the Nazi opponents. A number of decrees were issued to scare political opponents. For instance, in 1933 Hitler persuaded President Hindenburg to pass the Emergency Decree, which allowed the police to arrest the suspects without trial. Many Nazi opponents mainly Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and Jews were arrested and most of them killed. For instance in 1933, 4000 communists and other Nazi opponents were arrested and Ems, the leader of the Socialist Party was murdered. Special prisons, the concentration camps were established where Nazi political opponents, critics and undesired groups like the Jews and homosexuals were sent for torture and murder by starvation, hard labour, beatings and random execution. The camps were in isolated areas. The main ones were Dachau near Munich, Buchenwald near Weimar and Sachsenhausen near Berlin.
7. *Creation of a large and strong army.* Hitler increased military expenditures, for example between 1938-1939 military budget rose to 52% of the national budget. Hitler expanded and then fully equip it with modern weapons of the time like modern warships, aircrafts, artillery missiles and, Launchers. By 1939 Hitler had revived the Germany army into military superiority. It was this army that enabled him completely silences his internal opposition, carryout territorial expansion and resist the Allied powers from 1939 to 1945 in the course of the Second World War.
8. *The Nazi aggressive foreign policy.* The Nazi carried out an aggressive foreign policy which earned them great popularity. For example, they denounced and violated the Versailles treaty of 1919; stopped payment of reparations, rearming Germany, remilitarisation of the Rhineland launched an expansionist policy by the annexation of Czechoslovakia and Austria to create a large Germany empire. These raised Germany nationalistic prestigious feelings higher with growing mass support to the Nazi government. However in the end sparked off World War II.
9. *Economic reforms.* The Nazi government carried out significant economic programs to win peoples' support and consolidate power. Industry advanced especially engineering, chemical, steel and still corporation; agriculture was boosted by providing soft loans to farmers and introduction of the Reich food Estate which helped in the marketing of agricultural products; infrastructure was developed through establishment of public works projects. Such economic developments helped to eliminate unemployment and raise a stable economy for Germany.

***Besides Adolf Hitler, other prominent Nazi leaders included; Goering*** was a member of the aristocracy. He was a famous fighter pilot during the First World War. He joined the Nazi Party during the 1920s. In 1932 he was elected speaker of the Reichstag (parliament) and then became its president in 1933. He was one of the three Nazis in Hitler's first government of 30 January 1933. He was largely responsible for persuading President Hindenburg to allow the use of Article 48 to declare a state of emergency. As prime minister of Prussia he also set up the Gestapo and the first concentration camps.

**Heinrich Himmler** was an agricultural graduate and poultry farmer. He fought briefly in the First World War. He was hardworking and very precise. He even recorded in his diary each time he shaved or had a haircut. He joined the party in 1923 and took part in the Munich putsch (an attempt to overthrow the government by the Nazis). His early posts were as Gauleiter for various regions. In 1929 he became leader of the SS directly under the control of Rohm.

### ***Social, political and economic impacts of the rise of dictatorship in Germany***

The rise of dictatorship in Germany had far reaching effects on Germany socio-political and economic life. It ushered in significant changes on Germany's internal and external image.

1. *Collapse of the Weimer Republic.* The rise of Nazism gave way to the collapse of the democratic Weimar Republic government. In 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor by President Hindenburg and in 1934, when Hindenburg died Hitler just added the presidential powers to himself and in the same year declared the enabling bill to become a dictator. The seizure of power by Hitler (Nazis) was the final death and burial of the Weimar Republic.
2. *Establishment of a single party state.* All Nazi's opposition parties like the socialist communist, catholic centre and the monarchists parties were outlawed (abolished) and all Nazi political opponents were persecuted. Suppressive military and spy network approach by the militant units like the Gestapo and the Nazi storm troopers was employed to intimidate, arrest, terrorise and eliminate opponents. For example in 1933, 4000 communists and other Nazi opponents were murdered and many were sent to the concentration camps where Nazi political opponents and critics were sent for torture and murder.
3. *The government sectors and all civil services were purged.* All the Nazi opponents especially Jews and communists and other suspected enemies were removed from office. Hitler appointed only Nazis close friends and fellow war veterans to take charge of government official duties.
4. *Racism and persecution of minorities.* The Nazi Germany practiced anti-Semitic (anti-Jewish) policy and general persecution of minorities. Hitler hated the Jews intensely to the extent of associating them with every Germany problem and discontentment like the defeat in the World War I, Versailles treaty and the depression. Consequently the Jews were harassed in every possible way; their properties like synagogues were destroyed, shops looted, and were herded into concentration camps where many were tortured to death. Above all, they were disowned of Germany citizenship. About 7 million Jews lost their lives under Nazism. Other minorities persecuted included gypsies, Slavs, homosexuals, mentally handicapped and physically disabled.
5. *Carried out significant economic development.* The Nazi were successful in creating a self-sustaining economy. The aim was to make a strong Germany ready for war against enemies. Industry was encouraged like engineering firms and chemical industries because of the high demand for weapons: agriculture was boosted for example by providing soft loans to farmers; infrastructure was developed through establishment of public works projects. Such economic developments helped to eliminate unemployment and raise a stable economy for Germany.

6. *Regimentation of the nation.* Through propaganda and military measures Hitler created a strongly united Germany. The press was censored and Education and religion were Nazified as children were indoctrinated with Nazi ideas; creation of Hitler Youth or League of German Maidens in which all 14 year old boys and girls respectively had to join purposely to promote Nazism among the young. Children were taught to believe in; the superiority of the Aryan race; the Jews were enemies; and that Hitler was always right and had to be obeyed. Boys were trained for militarism from early stages, while girls prepared for motherhood as a strategy to create a huge military force for Germany in future.
7. *Growth of extreme nationalism.* The rise of Nazism was accompanied by the revival of extreme nationalism in Germany. The Nazi propaganda raised great concern of Germans for their nation. For example the popular praise of the Aryan (German) race as the superior race to all other races revived the notion of racial superiority among Germans. Besides the claims that Germany was not defeated in the World War I but betrayed (stabbed at the back) by the liberal politicians and the Jews and on the hatred of Versailles treaty also raised the spirit of greatness, hatred of non Germanic races and revenge against the enemies, the victor powers of the world war I.
8. *Denouncement of the Versailles treaty.* Hitler never accepted the Versailles treaty and always found it difficult to live with it. When he came to power, Hitler violated the terms of the (Versailles) treaty by stopping payment of reparations, rearming Germany, remilitarization of the Rhineland, etc. The violation of the terms exploded the rise of Germany nationalism and assured growing mass support to the Nazi government.
9. *Germany withdrawal from the League of Nations.* Hitler withdrew Germany from the league immediately after his rise to power in 1933. He did so because the league comprised of the victor powers of the World War I who were Germany's enemies; was created from the hated Versailles treaty which was a symbol of Germany's defeat in the World War I and also the league prohibited Germany from arms building. The league was also delaying his plans of expansion;
10. *Formation of alliances* Hitler entered into a number of alliances as long as they suited his immediate goals. Mainly two notable alliances were formed moreover with fellow dictatorship states; the Rome-Berlin pact (Axis) with Italy (Mussolini) in 1936 and the Anti-Comintern (anti-communist) pact with Japan which formed the Rome-Berlin Tokyo (Italy-Germany-Japan) Axis in 1937. The alliances won Hitler close friends to help Germany in her foreign policy.
11. *Germany carried out an expansionist policy.* Hitler aimed at creating a large German empire in central Europe for a greater Germany, revenge against Germany's enemies and to seek glory for himself and Germany. To implement the policy, Hitler created strong military and Germany invaded and conquered Austria (1938), the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1939.
12. Centrally contributed to outbreak of the World War II. The World War II is largely accounted to the Nazi aggressive foreign policy which was directed towards the violation of the Versailles treaty and revenge against its signatories. To be on a safe side, Hitler formed military alliance with fellow dictatorship state like Italy and Japan the Rome-Berlin -Tokyo axis in 1936 before embarking on foreign expansion with the invasions of Austria (1938). And Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1939 which sparked off the war.

## THE RISE OF DICTATORSHIP IN JAPAN

As fascism spread in Europe, a powerful nation in Asia, Japan moved toward a similar system. Following a period of reform and progress in the 1920s, Japan fell under military rule. During the 1920s, the Japanese government had become more democratic; it developed a constitutional parliamentary system with a cabinet under a Prime Minister. Politically the course seemed set fair for democracy when in 1925 all adult males were given the vote. However, democracy struggled and succumbed to an early end (never lasted for long) due to a number of weaknesses.

The military involvement in governance was exacerbated with the Manchuria invasion incident in September 1931. In which the Japanese army units invaded and occupied Manchuria without permission from the government to preserve Japanese economic advantages threatened by the Chinese. For the next thirteen years the army more or less ran the country, introducing similar methods to those adopted in Italy and Germany: ruthless suppression of communists, assassination of opponents, tight control of education, a build of armaments and an aggressive foreign policy which aimed to capture territory in Asia to serve as markets for Japanese exports. This led to an attack on China (1937) and participation in the Second World War in the Pacific.

### *Factors for the rise of dictatorship in Japan*

1. *Disappointment over the Versailles Treaty of 1919.* Like Germany and Italy, Japan too was bitterly displeased by the Versailles Peace Treaty, but for different reasons. Although the great powers had agreed to Japan's demand to win the rights held by Germany in the Pacific Micronesia and Shandong Province, the Japanese were upset when they were denied racial equality and not recognized as a powerful nation and equal to the great powers like Britain, France and USA. This was an open rebuke to Japan's respect in the world community. It stung its leaders and people and disturbed the Japan-Western relations. Moreover, the treaty reinforced Japan's belief that the nation interests would be taken into account only if it could command military respect. Ever since the military leaders were preferred in Japan.
2. *Corruption and inefficiency.* Many politicians, both government and political parties were corrupt and regularly accepted bribes from big businesses; sometimes fighting broke out in the lower house (the Diet) as charges and counter-charges of corruption were flung about. The system no longer inspired respect, and the prestige of parliament suffered. Due to corruption also leadership lacked continuity and the rich families like the Zaibatsu who financed political parties were discouraged. The criticism from the military grew as the officers most of whom came from the rural Japan, deplored the poverty in the countryside.
3. The hostility toward the communist political groups and growing xenophobia in Japan. When the Kanto earthquake of 1923 caused fire to break out all over the city of Tokyo, about 100,000 lost their lives, and a half a million injured. Rumors spread, and believed by the army and the police, that Koreans living in Japan had started the fire and were looting and raping mobs. The Japanese police and vigilante group killed thousands of Koreans and Chinese in response. Some socialists and communists were arrested for inciting the Koreans to riot. Military influence then grew as an excuse of suppressing the communist opposition.

4. *The end of the trade boom.* In the First World War years, Japan enjoyed a great trading boom by exploiting the warring European markets. However, the boom was short lived, lasting only until the middle of 1921, when Europe began to revive her economy. In Japan, unemployment and industrial unrest developed, and at the same time farmers were hit by the rapidly falling price of rice caused by a series of bumper harvests. When farmers and industrial workers tried to organize themselves into a political party, they were ruthlessly suppressed by the police. Thus the workers, as well as the army and the rightists, gradually became hostile to a parliament which supported the suppression of workers' movements and accepted bribes from big businesses. Though the government tried to solve the problem, it never again became popular.
5. *The Great Economic Depression, 1929-33.* When the Great Depression struck in 1930 the civilian government was blamed. Military leaders gained support and soon won control of the country. The depression affected Japan severely to arouse discontentment. Japanese exports shrank disastrously as other countries raised tariffs against her goods to safeguard their own industries like USA which mostly imported Japanese raw silk on which together with rice half of the Japanese population relied for livelihood. Industries and commerce in Japan came to a standstill as well. As a result, wages sharply dropped, and unemployment became rampant. Majority desperate Japanese like factory workers and peasants blamed the government. Most of the army recruits were from peasants and were disgusted with what they took to be weak parliamentary government so were attracted to fascism.
6. *Weak parliamentary system.* Japan's parliamentary system had several weaknesses. The system was far from democratic as its constitution put strict limits on the powers of the prime minister and the cabinet. As if that is not enough, the emperor still regarded as sacred and inviolable retained enormous powers, for example, he could dissolve the parliament whenever he felt like. Most importantly civilian leaders had little control over the armed forces as military leaders reported only to the emperor. Confidently the army violated the democratic system by taking power in its hands. The emperor for the need of the army's support always supported or condoned the army's actions. A more freedom was granted to the army, the more it became troublesome. By 1930s the leaders of the army ruled in the name of Emperor Hirohito.
7. *Influential elite groups began to oppose democracy.* After the First World War they began to be more critical to the democratic system. More troublesome were the army and the conservatives, who were strongly entrenched in the house of Peers and in the Privy Council. They seized every opportunity to discredit the government. For example, they criticized Baron Shidehara Kijuro (Foreign minister 1924-7) for his conciliatory approach to China because the army was itching to interfere in China, which was torn by civil war. They were strong enough to bring the government down in 1927 and reverse his policy. Similarly the army carried out underground assassinations of prominent civilian leaders in its target to weaken democratic systems. For example in 1932, Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was assassinated after he tried to arrest the Japanese army action in Manchuria. Consequently from 1932 until the end of World War II succession of prime ministers emerged from the ranks of the army and navy.
8. *The situation in Manchuria.* Matters were worsened in 1931 by the situation in Manchuria, a large province of China and area rich in iron and coal, with a population of 30 million, in which Japanese businesses had been invested heavily. The Chinese were

trying to squeeze out Japanese trade and business, which would have been severe blow to a Japanese economy already hard hit by the depression. To preserve their economic advantages, Japanese army units invaded and occupied Manchuria without permission from the government. When Prime Minister Inukai criticized extremism, he was assassinated by a group of army officers (May 1932). Since then to the end of the World War II, military demands grew ever more difficult to resist.

9. *The weakness of the emperor.* Emperor Hirohito deserves the blame in the Japanese dictatorship development. Hirohito's prestige was so great that the majority of officers would have obeyed him if he had tried to restrain the military actions and attacks like the invasion of Manchuria. However, he always compromised with army actions by refusing to become involved in political controversies, since he was afraid to risk his orders being ignored. He also made it difficult for democratic development in Japan by creating a chaotic system that civilian leaders had little control over the armed forces and thus military leaders became uncontrollable.

### ***The leading Japanese General during the Second World War was Hideki Tojo***

**Tojo**, was a Japanese general and prime minister during World War II. Tojo entered military school in 1899, following in the footsteps of his father, a professional soldier and a major general in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). In 1915 he graduated with honors from the Army War College and was subsequently sent abroad for 3 years (1919-1922) of study in Europe. After his return he served as an instructor in military science at the war college. He rose rapidly through the military hierarchy. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1936, Tojo became chief of staff of the Japanese Army in Manchuria, where he worked effectively to mobilize Manchuria's economy and strengthen Japan's military. In 1938 he became vice-minister of war and in mid-1940 Tojo was appointed war minister. An imperial mandate was then given to Tojo in October 1941 to become premier. Besides serving as premier, he was a chief of the general staff in the army, war minister, and, for a short time, home minister. As Prime Minister, he was responsible for the attack on Pearl Harbour, which initiated war between Japan and the United States, although planning for it had begun before he entered office. After the end of the war, Tojo was arrested, sentenced to death for Imperial Japanese war crimes by the International Military tribunal for the Far East, and hanged on December 23, 1948.

## **THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE RISE OF DICTATORSHIP SYSTEMS**

The First World War was a global fighting that existed from 1914 to 1918 among the imperialist powers but involving the whole world either in physical fighting at the frontline or by providing support to the fighting parties. It was mainly a conflict between the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary their allies like Romania, Turkey and Bulgaria and Italy and the Triple Entente of France, Britain and Russia and their allies like USA and Serbia.

The First World War has its background in political and economic competitions and conflicts among the great European imperialist powers. In that case, the rising imperialist quest (demands) shaped the world politics in the period towards the First World War and afterwards. Military developments were tremendously increased as a means through which imperialist agitations could be met. However, despite of remarkable advancement in science, technology and

education, insane superstitions accompanied by unreasonable rivalries continued to develop among the great capitalist powers. Such contradicting developments intensified conflicts which triggered the First World War

### *Causes of the war*

1. *Development of capitalism.* Capitalism became more contradicting and dangerously competitive at the Monopoly stage. At the Monopoly stage, Finance Capital emerged and when it was overripe in the great capitalist nations like Germany, Britain and France, it forcibly demanded for outlets as spheres of influence (colonies) for its exportation for further profitable investments, but also for sources of cheap raw material sources and reliable markets for manufactured goods. Competition for such demands created a strange economic rivalry in the struggle to control world's economy and divide the world by the imperialist powers to satisfy their industrial needs. Such rivalries became uncontrollable by 1914 and thus war broke out.
2. *Dissatisfaction of territorial acquisitions.* This was caused by the growing ambition of the imperialist powers to have more spheres of influence or regain their lost territories. By 1914 almost the whole backward (non-industrialised) was under great imperialist powers. However, the imperialist powers were never satisfied with their territorial possessions hence rivaled each other to expand their spheres of influence. For example: Britain and Germany competed for Iraq and Palestine which Turkish territories. They also competed in China for the control of Hong Kong and the Fiji islands: German' and Russia bore interests over of Ukraine and Baltic province which provide them access to the Mediterranean sea, Japan and Russia rivaled for Chinese province of Manchuria and Korea: France campaigned to win back Alsace and Lorraine from Germany. Germany and Italy rivaled Britain and France in Africa the two possessed more colonies. Such rivalries and competitions resulted into collisions leading to war.
3. *Upset of the European balance of power.* The European balance of power was disturbed by the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian war. 1870-71 which led Germany rise to supremacy. The old balance of power which was determined by Britain, France, Russia and Austria had managed to maintain European peace for a long period but when it was destroyed, peace was threatened. Having acquired a new position, Germany became more imperialistic and more ambitious. She indeed controlled European affairs and became bullying to other European nations. In retaliation, the other imperialist powers like France and Britain became restless and struggled to bring Germany down with the French also longing for possible ways to challenge and revenge against Germany. Such agitations resulted to uncontrollable antagonism leading to war.
4. *The entangling Alliances.* The alliance system was Bismarck's creation in his struggle to isolate France to make it impossible for her to revenge against Germany due her loss in the Franco-Prussian war. By 1914 there two complex antagonistic and aggressive alliances; the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy and the Triple Entente of France, Britain and Russia. These alliance endangered European peace. They were dangerously competing, suspicious and rivaling each other hence sparked off deadly armaments. The increasing hostility between them, created a state of fear in one hand and recklessness on the other which developed a war atmosphere and thus when it was



apparent that they could no longer control the situations of their own making war broke out between them.

5. *The rise of ultra nationalism in Europe.* After unification, Germany and Italy attained strength and sense of pride which propelled them to compete imperialistically challenge the old imperialist nations particularly Britain, France and Russia. Germany in particular became so confident and determined to expand her powers (Pan German League) by conquering other European states like Denmark, Holland, Luxemburg and Poland to form a large empire. Italy and Germany joined the scramble for colonies in Africa. With such ambitions, they expanded their militaries to compete and challenge rival powers especially Britain, France and Russia. Such moves increased tension, and rivalries leading to dangerous conflict, the First World War.
6. *Arms and naval race.* There was serious armament competition among the great European powers especially between the alliances. In all major powers in Europe, there was a steady increase of weapon production and recruitment of troops for state's ambitions like protection, expansion and revenge against enemies. The arms race built unreasonable confidence and recklessness and also contributed to the sense that war was bound to come and soon. Also was the naval race particularly between Germany and Britain. In short the arms and naval race precipitated the outbreak of the war, since it instigated war psychology and raised war temperatures high. With it, the rivaling countries felt so sure that war was bound to come sooner or later that they began to make very detailed plans for it (war).
7. *The Balkan Crisis.* The first Balkan Crisis came in 1908 when Austria took over the states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a move which was protested by Russia and Serbia, but they backed down when Germany made it clear that it supported Austria. With Germany support, Austria felt too confident and encouraged to make trouble with Serbia and Russia. This move alerted Russia which felt humiliated by being forced to back down but responded by increasing armaments, thus becoming more determined to challenge Germany and Austria. Serbia was totally upset as the Austrian move was against her struggle to champion the independence struggle of Slav speaking countries in the Balkans by uniting them behind her leadership. The second crisis was that of 1912-13, when there were a series of local wars in the Balkan region. To the Austrians dismay, Serbia emerged from the wars as the most powerful country in the region. This was a threat to the Austrian interests in the Balkans. Serbia had a strong army and was a close ally of Russia a fellow Slav country and a rival Austria whom they competed to control the Balkans. Austria therefore decided that Serbia would have to be dealt with so by 1914 Austria was looking for an excuse to crush Serbia.
8. *Influence of Darwinism.* The ideas of Charles Darwin had caught the minds of European imperialist nations like Germany. In his book "The Origin of Species" Darwin expounded on the notion of "survival for fittest" in which he explained that, in the evolution of species, the stronger (fittest) ones should survive and the weaker (unfit) ones should vanish or be eliminated or be assisted by the fit ones to survive. This had a great impact on the European public opinion. Some people for example came to believe that war was the supreme test of human race, that it is a test for survival for the fittest.
9. *The double murder at Sarajevo, June 28, 1914.* This was product of Slav nationalism by which the Slavs in the Balkan were resisting Austrian domination. In this incidence, Gavrilo Principle a young Serb revolutionary and member of a secret society known as

“Union Death” or “Black Hand” (an anti-Austrian society), assassinated the heir to the Austrian crown, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie who were driving through the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The incidence was shocking, outrageous and indeed so alarming to Austria because the archduke was the expected to succeed the emperor of Austria. Though there was actually no hard evidence to show that the Serbian government had any hand in the affair. Austria directly accused the Serbian government to have fully involved in the murder. On July 23, 1914, Austria issued a drastic ultimatum at Serbia demanding for its acceptance within 48 hours. Because the terms were harsh to her and meant that she would lose her independence. Serbia refused to accept the terms of the ultimatum. Consequently and with assured Germany support Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914 and by that the world war had began - within the week the whole of Europe was ablaze as the Triple Entente joined in the assistance of Serbia and Germany and Italy joined Austria-Hungary, a member of the Triple Alliance.

### **The role of the first world war towards the rise of dictatorships**

1. *Socio-economic hardships.* The war left dreadful impacts on Europe. To the Triple alliance members the effects were even worse. Germany and Italy registered a great death toll and their economies were severely ruined as factories, arms and infrastructure was to a large extent destroyed. As a result states ran bankrupt and masses suffered from untold scarcity of goods, hunger, disease, unemployment and hyper inflations. Fascist leaders like Mussolini and Hitler capitalized on such woes to rally masses against the existing governments.
2. *The Versailles Treaty, 1919.* The treaty was made to assess the impacts of the First World War and punish the aggressors. The terms of the Versailles were however unfair to Italy, Germans and Italians hence were disappointed. While as Italy and Japan were unsatisfied with territorial gains as Britain and France took a lion's share from the German and Turkish territories (colonies) with Italy and Japan offered small and poor territories, Germany was totally humiliated as she was made to carry the blame for the war outbreak alone, suffered a huge war indemnity, lost all her colonies and parts of her land and disallowed to form alliances. Not only that but the Japanese were rebuked when Britain, France and USA denied them racial equality and recognition as a powerful nation and equal to them. Acceptance of the treaty terms by their governments gave fascist leaders a chance to be popular.
3. *Fear of communism.* The First World War considerably played a role for the success of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia. The success of the revolution speeded the spread of socialism in Europe, popularizing its demands like nationalization of property and end to social classes. Socialism motivated radical workers and peasants strikes in a bid to seize factories and land in countries like Italy and Germany. In fear of losing their wealth like factories and land to the workers and peasants if a socialist revolution took place like in Russia, the bourgeoisies and anti-socialist groups supported Mussolini, Hitler and Japanese military officers who were ready to fight communism in favour of capitalism.
4. *The Great Economic Depression, 1929-33.* The depression worked in favour of the rise of dictatorships in Germany and Japan. As people suffered wide spread unemployment, hyper inflation, scarcity and hunger due to the fall of industry and

agriculture, discontent over civilian governments increased leading to loss of mass support. The Nazis in Germany and military leaders in Japan and other discontented groups blamed the civilian governments for the failure to arrest the depression. Consequently became popular as they promised immediate solutions to woes brought by the depression.

5. *The League of Nations.* The league was formed as a result of the First World War catastrophe. It was to ensure that peace and stability prevail in the world. The league however, failed to address grievances of Italy. Japan and Germany like territorial dissatisfactions of the Versailles Treaty allocations hence created vengeful atmosphere among them: it failed to protect the legal governments against the Fascist developments. Also it was accused of bias since it mainly favoured the demands of Britain and France and their allies. It was in such loopholes that the Fascists excelled in attaining their goals. It was not surprising that when Italy, Germany and Japan became dictatorships in 1930s, withdrew for it.
6. *Rise of fascist leaders.* All the major fascist leaders in Italy, Germany and Japan fought in the First World War. The war groomed them made them braver and gave them more experience in military and mass organizational skills. After the war fascist leaders like Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler became more overwhelmingly ambitious to attain their goals. It is that ambition that drove them to Form Fascist Political Parties (the Nazi Party for Germany) and militias like Black Shirts of Mussolini and the Nazi Storm Troopers to eliminate political opponents and create chaos to act in the favour of their political agenda.
7. *Weakened the existing governments.* Post world war governments were weakened and ran bankrupt due heavy war costs, war ruinations of infrastructure, industries and agriculture. Such impacts failed them to meet peoples' welfare and quell down the chaotic politic and economic turmoil that cropped after the war. Within such situation, it was difficult to contain the development of fascist movements that developed after the war. Similarly, the war led to overthrow of stronger governments like that of Kaiser in Germany which was replaced by the weaker and unpopular Weimar Republic which was easily outwitted by Nazis. ,

## **THE VERSAILLES TREATY OF 1919 AND THE RISE OF FASCISM**

The Versailles treaty was the post war I peace agreement signed between Allied powers, the victor nations and the vanquished Germany on June 28 1919 — five years to the day after Frantz Ferdinand's assassination in Sarajevo. 27 nations were represented in the meetings which started January and ended in June 1919; however, the meeting major decision were ordered out by a group known as the Big Four Woodrow Wilson of the USA, Georges Clemenceau of France, David Lloyd George of Britain and Vittario Orlando of Italy.

The treaty was signed in the Hall of mirrors in Versailles, the very venue where the unification of Germany was proclaimed in 1871. Russia in the grip of war was not represented, neither ere the Germany and her allies. The treaty looked at evaluating what caused the war assess the damages, punish the aggressors and work on the possibilities of preventing the reoccurrence of another war.

The treaty majorly dealt with four fundamental provisions: The war guilt clause. As punishing as the provisions were, the hardest was article 231 of the treaty also known as the “war guilt” clause which placed sole responsibility for the war on Germany’s shoulders, the disarmament provision by which Germany was to be totally disarmed as a preliminary step to general disarmament: Territorial readjustment and penalty to Germany, to redraw the map of Europe. Also all her territories in Africa and the Pacific were declared mandates the reparation/indemnification provision by which Germany was heavily lined to pay for the war damages. An indemnity of 6600 million pounds was imposed on Germany.

Other related treaties were signed between the Allied powers and Germany allies: the treaty of St. Germaine signed with Austria (September 1919); the treaty of Neuilly, signed with Bulgaria (November 1919) the Trianon treaty with Hungary (June 1920) and: the treaties of Serves (1920) and Lausanne (1923) with Turkey.

### ***Aims and objectives of the Versailles Treaty***

- a. To maintain peace, security and stability. The conference targeted to re-organise Europe back to normal where peace and tranquility prevailed
- b. To restore the balance of power. Germany aggression had destroyed the balance of power which needed to be restored. This was done by redrawing the map of Europe. For implementation, Germany was reduced, losing 10% of her land to reduce her powers and dominance in Europe.
- c. To carryout general disarmament policy. Both the victor and vanquished powers of the World War I were to be disarmed thoroughly to avoid further arms race which greatly contributed to the outbreak of the First World War.
- d. To recognize the principle of nationalism and self-determination. The question of nationalities also centrally contributed to the occurrence of World War I. The treaty also focused on addressing this problem. That is why nationalities like Czechs, Slovaks and Slays subjugated by Austria-Hungary were freed and formed new states like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.
- e. Reconciliation between the victor (allied) and vanquished (alliance) powers. This meant to end dangerous rivalries like the Franco-Germany and Anglo-Germany rivalries which were the outright causes of the World War I.
- f. Punishment of the aggressors. The treaty also looked at passing punishment to the aggressors of the First World War. Germany and her allies were found guilty, had to pay indemnity to the allied powers, were not allowed to form alliances and lost their external territories and colonies.
- g. The victor powers most especially France wanted to humiliate Germany as revenge against their past de feats in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1 and in the World War I.
- h. To weaken Germany to the position that she would not cause trouble again. Britain and France were concerned with national security. They wanted to strip Germany of its war making power. To do this, a huge war indemnity of 6600 million pounds was forced on her and she lost her colonies, and was not allowed to form alliances.

### ***The role of the Versailles Treaty towards the rise of fascism***

1. It was dictated peace. Decision making was monopolized by the four victor powers. France, Britain, Italy and Japan, Germans, the accused were not allowed into the discussions and decision making at Versailles but were simply presented with the terms of the treaty and commanded to sign on condition that if they refused, the allied powers would declare war on Germany. Besides, their criticisms were ignored. To the Germans, the treaty was a diktat.
2. Many provisions were not based on the 14 points. Germans claimed that they had been promised terms based on Woodrow Wilson's 14 points. They rejected the treaty claiming that many of the provisions were not based on the 14 points and were therefore a swindle.
3. Harsh terms. By article 231 of the treaty (the war guilty clause), Germany was found guilty and the sole trouble causer. In retaliation a heavy punishment was passed on her. For example, payment of a heavy indemnity of 6600 million pounds for war damages, disarmament clause dictated her to reduce to forces to only 100.000 troops and also was not allowed to make alliances with other powers.
4. Loss of African colonies by Germany. The treaty disowned Germany all her African colonies. All Germany colonies were put under the League of Nations which however mandated them to the allied powers. Tanganyika was mandated to Britain, Namibia to the Republic of South Africa, Rwanda and Burundi to Belgium and Cameroon and Togo to France. This denied Germany outlets for capital investments and contributed to her economic decline.
5. Abuse of principle of nationality Germany nationality. The new territorial arrangement made by the treaty abused nationality rights. In the territorial clause, Germany lost a lot of territory through which she lost about eight million people who found themselves in foreign lands. For example 2.5 million to Poland, 3 million to Czechoslovakia and 2 million to Yugoslavia.
6. Exclusion of Germany from the League of Nations. Germany was accused of not being peace loving to be excluded from the League of Nations. This annoyed Germans and to them it meant disrespect, denial of justice, humiliation and subjugation of Germany. Besides all that, putting Germany aside of the responsibility of maintaining peace, did not enable the League members closely monitor Germany activities a situation which allowed Germany to become revengeful, aggressive and reckless.
7. Germany forbidden to form alliances. Germany was prohibited to form any alliance friendship with any country. Germany friends like Austria, Hungary and Turkey were not allowed to unite with Germany. This resolution meant to isolate Germany however meant interference into independence and curtailing her foreign policies. Consequently, made Germany restless to find all possible close allies. At the end led to the formation of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
8. The treaty mainly a paper work. The treaty was largely a theory and impractical. Many of the agreements reached were unrealistic for example the imposition of very huge reparation of 6600 million pounds to a war torn Germany and exclusion from the league. Above all it was not strong enough to crash Germany completely by lacking practical procedures for its policy implantation. For example nothing could be

done to Germany when she refused to pay the reparation and when she started to re-arm.

9. Contributed to the Great Depression, 1929-33. The imposition of a heavy war indemnity on Germany meant that the war devastated Germany was left with to spend on rebuilding her economy after the first world war as huge part of her resources were spend on reparations. To fulfill domestic expenses and reparation payment, Germany had to depend on loans from USA which crippled her economy further since her lilt reserves flowed to USA as interest.

## **THE GREAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION (1929-33) TOWARDS THE RISE OF FASCISM**

The Great Economic Depression was the severe worldwide economic slump that followed ne collapse of the U.S. stock market in 1929 and lasted until about 1939. It was the longest and most severe depression ever experienced by the industrialised western world. Although it originated in the USA, the Great Depression spread to almost every country of the world sparking a severe economic stagnation causing drastic declines in output, severe unemployment and acute deflation.

### ***Causes of the Great Economic Depression***

1. *Effects of the World War I.* The war left world economies, mostly European economies, in shambles and heavily indebted to invite the depression. During the war, fighting powers incurred heavy debts from USA to finance the war and more after the war to reconstruct their war-torn nations. This later did not favour trade as huge sums of European money had to flow back to USA in repayment of debts and interests and not in exchange for goods and services hence affecting USA which heavily relied on European market. Also, using US loans, when Europe started to recover, it introduced tariffs to protect their industries. American producers had to cut down production, which increased unemployment and low purchasing power.
2. *Overproduction.* Producers encouraged by high profits ended up producing more than the market's ability to consume. This dragged the economy down to Depression. Industrialists and farmers rather than increasing wages of workers who would have been consumers, put their money into new production capacities. The repercussion was overproduction faced with lower abilities of the market to pay for the produced goods. As Factories and warehouses were filled with unsold goods, industries had to reduce or stop production. As a result, unemployment rose cutting the nation's purchasing power even more.
3. *Poor distribution of income and purchasing power among consumers.* By 1929 in USA the top 10% of American population received 40% of the country's disposable income, hut this 10% did not purchase the mass quantities of food and goods that were being produced in the farms and industries. Meanwhile, industrial investors realized 72 percent profit increase, while the workers had their wages increased only by 8%. This meant that many farmers and factory workers were unable to make the purchases of many goods like cars and food that would have sustained economic growth.
4. *Introduction of capital intensive techniques of production.* While they seemed like wonderful innovations, new labour saving machines for home, farms and factories

eliminated many workers from jobs. For instance as mass production of automobiles brought in many cars (26 million by 1929), the railroads, which had been a major pre-war employer, declined. Moreover the impact of technology caused newer businesses to supplement older ones, resulting in worker and resource dislocation. The result of all was increased unemployment.

5. *The policy of economic nationalism pursued by nations.* The policy was started by USA when she adopted protectionism by imposing her tariffs on imports to protect her domestic businesses from international competition yet wishing to export more abroad. In return European countries as well adopted protectionism against American goods. This shattered international trade, making it difficult for countries to get rid of their surplus output due to insufficient local market.
6. *Lack of strong diversification.* One of the weaknesses of the American economy in the 1920s responsible for the Depression was the lack of sound diversification. Prosperity was largely a result of expansion of construction and automobile (car) industries and their corollary industries such as the petroleum industry. Older businesses, such as coal, declined. Similarly, other major sectors like Agriculture did not make similar profits like industry. As a result wages did not improve and many farmers failed to repay loans incurred in banks for mortgages and land.
7. *Dependence on foreign loans by European states.* During and after the World War I European capitalist countries depended much on loans from the US. For example, by 1929, Germany had acquired about 800 million Marks in loans from USA to revamp her industry and pay reparations as a result of the treaty of Versailles. However, when America's economy faltered, USA called Europe to repay their debts. The fragile economics of Western Europe were not able to survive without the money they had relied on from USA. As a result, none of these countries was able to buy goods from USA, lost capital for investment: many businesses and industries closed down and unemployment escalated.
8. *The gold standard.* The decision to stick on the gold standard after World War I, by western nations centrally contributed to the outbreak of the Great Depression. Under the gold standard each country set the value of its currency in terms of gold and took monetary actions to defend the fixed price. This limited money supply and therefore effective demand in countries which had little gold reserves. The situation worsened when USA began demanding European countries to repay her debts in terms of gold. Accordingly the indebted countries had to reduce their money in circulation as more of their gold flowed to USA. Others like Germany had to devalue their currencies to march the little gold reserves. The system as a result led to imbalances in trade, inflation, and low purchasing power.
9. *The Wall Street Crash.* Thursday (*Black Thursday*,) October 24, 1929 when the US stock market crashed, an event which affected the entire developed world. It was the immediate cause of the depression. On that day shares dramatically fell in price and instilled great panic on investors and shareholders (speculators) as over 16 million shares were sold by panic-stricken investors at the lowest prices on record. This resulted in a perpetuating state of panic that in the following five days until "Black Tuesday". 29 October people sold their stock on loss — on Black Monday and Black Tuesday alone, the market lost \$30 billion, triggering a collapse of the stock market and with it much of the American economic structure. The collapse meant that many middle and upper classes lost money to spend. Banks were affected and many ran bankrupt since many shares were bought on margin and bank loans, and many businesses lost the necessary capital to operate.

### ***Role of the Depression in the rise of dictatorship***

1. *It caused steady unemployment due to collapse in industrial, agricultural and other related employment sectors.* Falling prices and unsold output necessitated cutting down production levels which concurrently led to laying-off of many workers. In Germany and Japan unemployment went over ten millions. Poverty worsened and living standards deteriorated.
2. *The depression damaged the financial sectors of many countries.* An acute inflation swallowed economies like Germany, as money lost value and prices of goods rose to abnormal levels beyond the ability of average income earners to cope with. The Banking sector was in worse shape for many banks ran out of cash and collapsed including the Central Bank of Germany. The most affected states like Germany failed to meet people's welfare.
3. *Withdrawal of American loans.* As the depression worsened USA withdrew its loans from Europe to strengthen her economy back home. Germany which heavily depended on USA loans for economic revival and payment of reparation due to the Versailles Treaty felt the deeper economic pinch, as industry and agriculture stagnated.
4. *Increased the communist threat.* The depression paved way for the spread of Russian Socialist ideology in Europe. The depression repercussions such as, increased unemployment and inflation made European masses to resent ideals of capitalism, that such systems failed to provide solutions to their suffering. They looked at socialism with admiration after noting that Russia was not hit greatly by the Depression. The growing influence of socialism as a threat to capitalists who facilitated dictatorship parties in Italy, Germany and Japan to come and win power because they were as well anti-communism.
5. *Fall in production.* Industries, agriculture and other production sectors stagnated due to falling prices and accumulated surpluses in narrow domestic markets. Yet also international trade steadily declined. The consequences were bitter leading to scarcity of essential goods, state and individual bankruptcy on top of increasing unemployment.
6. *Deterioration in the provision of essential social services.* Services, like education and health sharply deteriorated to add more suffering. Governments ran bankrupt and failed to effectively facilitate such services. Such undesirable consequences made many people lose trust in democratic governments.
7. *It undermined the working of the League of Nations.* Following the depression disaster, member states abandoned the Leagues concept of international alliance and free trade to pursue independent policies for individual national survival. It was through such loopholes that countries like Germany and Japan withdrew their membership to pursue aggressive policies. Financial constraints also failed the League to protect democratic regimes from the Fascist attacks.
8. *It shattered international trade.* Countries deeply engrossed in the depression like Germany greatly suffered as international trade declined. The decline in international trade led to acute scarcity of goods which Germany whose industries were heavily ruined by the war depended on importation. Suffering escalated as essential good were in greater shortage and the blame was put on the democratic governments to add popularity to the dictatorship parties.
9. *It sparked off political upheavals in different countries.* Acute poverty, growing unemployment, income inequality and starvation, forced the desperate masses into riots,



strikes and general insecurity, denouncing the existing governments as being insensitive to mass suffering. In Germany for example, depression effects undermined the Weimar republic and was a fundamental factor for Hitler's Nazi to capture power.

## COMPARISONS BETWEEN NAZISM AND ITALIAN FASCISM

Hitler's Nazi state shared many things in common with Mussolini's fascist system.

### Both:

1. *Fascism and Nazism attempted to organize a totalitarian state.* Both in their respective states exercised outright dictatorship, by suppressing opposition through banning of opposition parties and controlling all aspects of peoples' lives like Education and Religion, limiting personal freedom and controlling countries' economies like industry and agriculture.
2. *Were intensely nationalistic.* Both Fascism and Nazism emphasized the supremacy of the state at the expense of the people. To both the state was more important than individuals and to that sense, the state's interests were more important than those of its people. Therefore it was important to promote the greatness of the state than anything else.
3. *Were extremely anti-communist.* Both Fascism and Nazism were against communism because they were against war and accused capitalism of being responsible for the outbreak of the World War I yet both glorified war as means through which a nation would pursue its aims and win glory. Their position against communism won them strong support from all anti-communist classes especially the capitalists.
4. *Struggled to make their countries self sufficient.* Self sufficiency was important in raising their states to greatness and for the rebirth of their nations from economic troubles which they had suffered due to the World War I and Great Economic Depression. To attain that they developed, industry, agriculture and infrastructure also largely arrested unemployment.
5. *Glorified war and the cult of the leader for heroism.* In both, leaders took titles for praise; the "Il duce" for Mussolini and Fuehrer for Hitler. To them the leader would guide the revival of the nation from its troubles for example Germans from the depression, the harsh terms of the Versailles treaty and Italy from her economic backwardness. War was glorified as a test for their country's greatness, for revenge against enemies and expansionism.
6. *Practiced Racism.* Both exercised anti-Semitic (anti-Jewish) policy and general persecution of minorities. The policy was began by Hitler but later adopted by Mussolini in 1938. Though Jews were discriminated for hundreds of years throughout Europe, by the Nazis and Fascists it was worse. Hitler hated Jews intensely and used them as scapegoats for every Germany problems and discontentment like the defeat in the World War 1, Versailles treaty, and the depression. The Jews were harassed in every possible way, for example, their properties like synagogues and houses were attacked and burnt, shops looted, and were herded into concentration camps where many were tortured to death.
7. *Shared the same origin.* Italian Fascism and Germany Nazism were both a direct result of the World War I and its repercussions. The war caused a chaotic situation of drastic socio-economic hardships like fall of industry, unemployment, famine and disease. To exacerbate

the situation was the Versailles treaty which left both Italians and Germans greatly discontented. Besides both Mussolini and Hitler were sharpened by the war as both served in their state's armies during the war.

8. *Were expansionists.* Both Fascism and Nazism carried out aggressive foreign expansionist policies mainly to earn popularity and glory for their nations. Mussolini for example invaded Greece (Cofu) in 1923, Ethiopia in 1935 and Albania in 1939. Hitler invaded Austria and Sudetenland in 1938. Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1939. The aim was to create large empires as wider living rooms for their populations and exploitation.
9. *Emphasized the close unity of all classes working together to achieve their ends.* They operated under a single party system and all political parties were banned. They based on the ideology that what was important for the state was important to all its individuals so all individuals were to respect the ideology of the ruling party. Industrial owners, workers, professionals, and soldiers worked together for the benefit of the state.

### ***Differences;***

1. *The Italian system was not as ruthless and brutal as that of Germany and there were no mass atrocities like Nazis concentration camps where mass tortures and murders were conducted against state enemies' like Jews.* In Italy murder was mainly done on political opponents like socialists Matteoti and Amendola who criticized the Fascist government, there was no serious mass murder of minorities like it was for the Jews in Germany.
2. *Italian system was not as efficient as that in Germany.* Italians failed to achieve self-sufficiency. Italy had poor industry, and agriculture, lacked essential raw materials and resources like iron and coal. It also failed to eliminate unemployment. For Germany however, industry and agriculture flourished and unemployment totally eliminated. Indeed the Nazi Germany made tremendous economic progress for Germany.
3. *Timing.* Fascism in Italy came to power earlier since 1922 and before the Circa: Economic Depression (1929-33) hence depression was not a cause. Nazism came to power later in 1933 with the depression helping it to win mass Support as they promised better changes to drive the Germany economy to greatness and end suffering caused by the depression. Additionally, Hitler borrowed from Mussolini's policies though he later surpassed him and instead Mussolini started copying from him like the strong anti-Semitic policies against the Jews which Mussolini officially introduced in 1938.
4. *Fascism never took deep roots in Italy just like the .same it did in Germany.* In spite of Mussolini's efforts, he did not succeed in creating a complete totalitarian system in the Fascist sense of there being no individuals or groups not controlled by the state just like the Nazis did in Germany. Mussolini never completely eliminated the influence of the King or the Pope. For instance the Pope became highly critical of him when he began to persecute the Jews. Nazism accommodated no form of criticism at all.
5. *Italian fascism was not much anti- Jewish like the Nazi Germany.* Mussolini adopted anti-Jewish in 1938 simply to emulate Hitler after signing the Rome-Berlin axis. For Hitler however, hated Jews from his childhood of poverty in Vienna and accused them of all Germany problems like in the defeat in the World War I. and the economic depression.
6. *Mussolini practiced some little religious tolerance.* Mussolini was somehow compromising to the Roman Catholic Church and in 1929 signed a treaty with the pope — the Lateran pact not to interfere with the church. Hitler was totally against religion and the church was

later brought under state control. The Nazis took restrictive measures against the church; church schools were closed down and their youth League dissolved, many church leaders and followers were sent to concentration camps and Hitler even encouraged an alternative religion- the pagan “German faith movement based on worship of the Sun in the attempt to Nazify religion. Hitler also abrogated the concordat, an agreement signed with the Pope in 1933.

7. *Difference in constitutional positions.* The monarchy still remained in Italy, with Mussolini serving as a prime minister and though he normally ignored Victor Emmanuel, the King played a vital role in the state management. In 1943, for example the king was able to announce Mussolini’s dismissal and order his arrest. Nobody Germany could dismiss Hitler, he was the top most leaders and no one was allowed could be tolerated to criticize him.

## **IMPACTS OF THE RISE OF DICTATORSHIPS TO THE WORLD**

The dictatorship systems raised in Italy, Germany and Japan had far reaching effects to the entire world, touching the world’s political and socio-economic spheres;

1. *Undermined legal democratic governments.* Emergence of dictatorship system was a heavy blow to democratic governments. In Italy and Japan the Fascist states disrespected the constitutional monarchical systems by undermining the constitutions and the monarchs. In Germany, it was worse since Nazism did not merely undermine the democratic Weimar republic but completely overthrew it.
2. *Rise of extreme nationalism.* The fascist propaganda in Italy, Germany and Japan were responsible for the growth of extreme nationalism. They instilled great concern of the people for their nations through their praise of heroism, and popular glorification of their nations and races. They instilled nationalist quests like expansionism through which the spirit of greatness was built.
3. *Racism and persecution of minorities.* Fascist regimes were racists and xenophobic and carried out general campaigns against minorities. Nazism practiced anti-Semitic (Jewish) policies in which Jews were hated intensely to the extent of associating them with every Germany problem like the defeat in First World War. About 6 million Jews died of the Nazi persecution. The same policy was adopted by Mussolini in 1938 in emulating Hitler. In Japan, Koreans and Chinese were persecuted and also associated with Japanese problems like the fire caused by the Kanto earthquake of 1923 in Tokyo which left about 100,000 lives lost.
4. *Aggressive expansionist policies.* The dictatorship regimes carried out aggressive expansionist policies aiming at creating a large empire, revenging against enemies and seeking glory for their nations. They invaded other states for example Italy invaded Corfu (1923) and Ethiopia (1935); Japan invaded Manchuria (1933) and Germany invaded Austria (1938). Czechoslovakia and Poland (1939).
5. *Formation of aggressive alliances.* Fascist governments entered into alliances with each other to meet their common agenda. Mainly two notable alliances were formed; the Rome-Berlin pact (Axis) of Italy and Germany in 1936 and the Anti-Comintern pact of Italy, Germany and Japan which formed the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo (Italy-Germany- Japan) Axis in

1937. The alliances united the three Fascist States and increased their confidence against their enemies.

6. *Weakened the League of Nations.* The dictatorship governments stressed on nationalism higher than the internationalism of the League of Nations. They disregarded the league and by 1934 all had withdrawn from it because it was a result of Versailles Treaty which all the three were not pleased with. More so, the league condemned their aggressive policies. To weaken the league all withdrew and resorted to aggressive expansionist policies.
7. *Spread of dictatorship and racist systems in the world.* Many governments adopted totalitarianism and racist policies in emulation of the fascist regimes in Italy, Germany and Japan. The examples include Spain by General Francisco Franco assisted by Hitler and Mussolini to come to power in 1936, Greece in 1936, Uganda by Idi Amin, Zaire (DRC) by Mobutu Seseseko and etc. The kind of a notorious Fascist-Racist system was Apartheid (1948-93) in South Africa by minority Whites Regime against the African majority.
8. *Controlled the spread of communism. All Fascist systems were anti-Communism.* They suppressed Communist Parties and persecuted their leaders and followers. For example the murder of socialist leaders Matteotti and Amendola in 1924 on Mussolini's order for criticizing Fascist systems and the 1934 massacres in Germany by the Nazis which left 400 communists dead. The three powers signed the Anti-Comintern (Anti-Communist) Pact in 1936 - the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis which was to work on eliminating Communism.
9. *Economic reforms.* Fascist governments carried out significant economic reforms to create self-sustaining economies of the countries, win mass support and prepare for war against enemies. Industry and agriculture were boosted. Similarly, infrastructure was developed through establishment of public works projects like roads construction. Such economic developments raised stable economies and consolidated mass support in their states
10. *Outbreak of the Second World War.* The fascist states were the members of aggressive alliance of the Axis powers which fought against the Allied powers of Britain, France Russia and USA. Their aggressive foreign policies directed towards the violation of the Versailles treaty and revenge against its signatories - the Allied powers, formation of the Axis alliance and expansionism were directly responsible for the outbreak of the war. Ultimately, it was the Germany invasion of Poland in 1939 which sparked off the Second World War.

### Sample questions

1. "The development of Nazism and Fascism in Europe was attributed by the incidences that took place among European nations during the inter war period". Justify this statement with six points.
2. The coming of undemocratic forces in Europe during the inter world war period was indispensable. Justify this statement in six reasons.
3. Without Mussolini no Fascist state would have risen in Italy. Justify the statement in six points.
4. The totalitarian systems in Europe were an outcome of the First World War. Substantiate with six concrete arguments.
5. How was the post World War I world affected by the Fascist systems in Italy, Germany and Japan?
6. Explain six humiliating terms that were directed to Germany after the First World War.

7. How far was the Versailles Peace Treaty a justifiable explanation for the inevitability of the dictatorship states?
8. Examine the pitfalls of Versailles Treaty which revealed the existence of dictatorial situation in Germany Italy and Japan and assess of the treaty in the world history.
9. The rise of anti-democratic movements during the inter war period can be directly associated with the occurrence of the economic slump of the 1920's to 1930s and the Paris treaty. Verify by giving out four facts in each aspect.
10. Discuss the measures used to consolidate Fascism to power in Italy.
11. Discuss the relationship between Fascism and the effects of the First World War.
12. Examine the effects of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany.
13. Explain three similarities and three differences between Germany and Italian dictatorship policies after the First World War.
14. Fascism and Nazism are termed as identical twins. How far is it true'?
15. Explain the indispensability of Fascism in Japan.

## TOPIC FIVE

### THE RISE OF SOCIALISM

Socialism is an economic and socio-political ideological system in which means of production like land, mines, financial institutions, factories, transport and communication services are owned and ran publically and operated for the welfare of all. In a socialist system major means of production are transferred from private to public ownership for the benefit all in society and not profit making.

Socialism is totally contrasted to capitalism; it stands for public and cooperative ownership of means of production, central national economic planning and equal distribution of production and national economy. That is, it reflects the interest of the public, the elements absolutely rejected by the capitalist system.

#### *Characteristics of socialism*

- a. Collective ownership and control of major means of production. Private ownership and control of means of production is substituted by public ownership and control for equal sharing of society's wealth for the benefit of all to avoid inequalities.
- b. Socialism is against exploitation and degradation of workers by employers in factories and other areas of work. Socialism does not allow exploitation of man by man but calls for distribution of fruits of labour according to the work done.
- c. Classless society. Socialism agitates for the end of exploitative social classes of the **Haves** and **Have-nots** to create a society where members are equal to allow equal sharing of wealth.
- d. It agitates for improvement of living conditions of all people in society including the poor, peasants, workers and the general public.
- e. Socialism focuses on the growth of workers movements and transforming them into instruments of socio-political and economic change. The aim is to form strong proletariat class that would be used as a weapon to overthrow capitalism.

#### ORIGIN OF SOCIALISM IN EUROPE

Socialism largely originated from the socio-economic evil consequences of capitalism specifically the industrial revolution. However, the general condition for the rise of socialism are the nature and environment which surround man based on contrasting classes. The first socialist brand was Utopian Socialism developed in the early period of Industrial Revolution. Utopian socialism mainly based on imaginary and mythical ideas other than on practical and material things.

The second brand was Scientific (Modern) Socialism. This brand emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> C where the Industrial Revolution had matured and its evils were eminent. It was based on historical materialism and urged for the creation of a socialist society through class struggle.

Industrial Capitalism played the largest part for the birth of socialism. The revolution resulted into new contrasting social classes of the rich factory owners and businessmen the capital owners (bourgeoisies) and the poor workers (the proletariat). Also it failed to satisfy the needs of man particularly the poor classes but subjected them to bourgeoisie exploitation (low wages, long hours of work and poor working conditions)

### ***Factors for the rise of socialism in Europe***

1. The feudal system. Feudalism divided societies into classes based on wealth and status. Landlords exploited and oppressed the landless serfs and peasants by subjecting them to high feudal dues. The result of that was the struggle for social equality for equal sharing of society's wealth, thus socialism.
2. Industrial capitalism. To the socialists, the society created by the Industrial Revolution was in many ways unjust to the poor because it led to emergency of new contrasting classes of the rich factory owners and the poor workers who were exploited in factories by low wages and long hours of work. Socialism for that matter was seen as a solution by agitating for workers control of state power and public property ownership to end exploitation.
3. The influence of socialist thinkers. Both classical and scientific socialist thinkers played vital roles for the rise of socialism. Classical philosophers like Robert Owen and Thomas Moore, developed the socialist ideas while scientific socialist thinkers, Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels provided practical means of revolutionary approach to overthrow capitalism and end its evils.
4. The influence of the 1789 French revolution. The revolution was staged by exploited middle and peasant classes against the feudal exploitative system. By that example, it is a reference to socialist ideas that oppression can be eliminated through revolutionary means. It also spread the ideals of liberty equality and fraternity, the same ideas stressed by socialism.
5. Effects of the World Wars, I and II. The two wars were imperialist in nature, as European imperialist powers fought each other for more territorial expansion to satisfy their industrial needs. The atrocious nature of the wars brought a lot of miseries like high death toll and famine. Socialist agitators capitalized on such miseries to persuade many to believe in socialism by accusing capitalism for the problems. Moreover, the World War II enabled the USSR to extend socialist influence to a large part of Eastern Europe which she liberated from Germany armies.
6. The success of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The revolution created the first socialist state in the world and proved that socialism can be put into practice unlike before when it sounded as a mere ideology. It also led to the creation of USSR in 1923 which was a significant boost for socialist revolutions to help spread socialism in the world beginning with Eastern Europe.
7. The rise of other socialist states in the world. When socialism spread to other countries like Korea and China, it increased challenges to capitalism by producing different versions of socialism which depended on the material condition of respective societies. In China, Korea, Vietnam and Tanzania for example depended mainly on the peasants and not workers.

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST THOUGHT (THEORY)**

Socialism developed into three main types. Namely;

1. Utopian socialism
2. Scientific socialism
3. African socialism

All the three types shared same goals of fighting for equality of people (end class differentiation) through substituting private ownership with public ownership of major means of production.

### **UTOPIAN SOCIALISM**

Utopian implies the imaginary place where there is perfect government, perfect laws and economy, where extremes of wealth and poverty do not exist and people live happily. Utopian socialism was a mythical (imaginary) brand of socialism raised by classical thinkers like Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, Thomas More and St Simon as a vision of an ideal society that is free from exploitation and all forms of human suffering. Utopian socialist thinkers held a belief of creating an ideal society under a perfect state, perfect laws and perfect economy for the benefit of all against capitalism and its exploitation.

It was the earliest socialist idea that developed in Europe particularly in Britain and France as a reaction against the problems arising from capitalism during the first phase of the Industrial Revolution.

#### ***Characteristics of Utopian Socialism***

- a. Utopian socialism was much idealistic, believing in creation of a perfect state, law and economy and free from exploitation.
- b. Based on myth and imagination instead of practical ideas and material things of building a socialist world. Utopian socialist ideas did not pay much attention on material conditions of society, yet are the determinants of peoples' life.
- c. It based on peaceful reforms and not violent revolutionary approach as advocated by scientist socialists.
- d. It based on a belief that the rich (if persuaded) would change and stop exploitation of the majority poor for them to enjoy a happy social living. Robert Owen for example believed that with time there would emerge philanthropic capitalists who will be ready to share their wealth with the poor.
- e. State ownership and control of major means of production for the welfare of all society members.
- f. Abolition of social classes for equal distribution of wealth and end of exploitation of man by man

#### ***Objectives of Utopian Socialism***



1. Major means of production like factories, minerals, and land to be owned and controlled by the public for the benefit of all. This could be through ending private property ownership that was the main source of class differentiation and exploitation.
2. Abolition of inhuman treatments of the disabled, mentally ill and old by regarding them as equal as other people in society.
3. Abolition of work houses and prohibiting the use of orphanages as supplies of labour to the factories. Capitalists exploited orphans as cheap labour because they were poor.
4. Governments to give essential needs to the unemployed, the poor and old by offering them free food, clothing and accommodation to help them have a happy living.
5. Aimed at enlightening the capitalists to free the workers from exploitation and all evils of capitalism which are supported by private property ownership.
6. Establishment of democratic society. On this for example, Robert Owen proposed that people should be in small units of about 500 to 3000 families.
7. Improvement of economic capacity of the people. They emphasised that people should be hardworking for all to have better living.
8. To do away with exploitation of the workers by the bourgeoisies mainly in factories. Exploitation is done in form of low wages, long hours of work, poor living conditions, etc

In general utopian socialists agitated for the creation of a perfect society which is classless and free from exploitation - where people share resources equally to avoid unjust economic system.

### ***Contributions of Utopian Socialism to the development of Socialism scientific socialism)***

1. Utopian socialist ideas were the earliest and foundation on which all the later socialist ideas came to be built. The latter socialist brands like Scientific and African socialism were developed on the experience and ideas of Utopian Socialism like public ownership of means of production.
2. Utopian socialism contributed to analyzing the social mistreatment caused by capitalists' exploitation of workers by low wages, long hours of work and poor working conditions hence was the first to stimulate reaction against capitalists.
3. Utopian socialism advocated for the nationalization of the major means of production for the benefit of all. This was the first brand through which the idea of public ownership of means of production was developed as a means of eliminating social classes and exploitation of the poor.
4. It was the Utopian socialism that was the first to come forward to note and condemn capitalism and its injustice (exploitation) to the poor classes of workers and peasants. Scientific Socialism only came to provide solutions to the problems already pointed out by Utopian Socialism.
5. It anticipated the future ideal society based on humanist motives. Utopian socialism was the first to advocate for the creation of a socialist society (world). They raised the need for the creation of a society based on equality and humanity where there was no room for exploitation.
6. Utopian socialism advocated for the mutual reciprocation in the production. This is a situation in which people freely exchanged and enjoyed the products of their labour

and justice is respected, stressing that workers should earn according to the amount of their labour.

7. Utopian Socialism advocated for peaceful means of transforming society into socialism. They stressed for peaceful evolutionary processes in the creation of a socialist society by educating the capitalists to stop the evils they were doing - the revolutionary means advocated by scientific socialism can cause disorder and death.
8. Contributed to the rise of class consciousness in Europe. Inspired by Utopian Socialist ideas, early working class movements like Luddism and Chartism were raised as workers' reactions against bourgeoisie exploitation in factories during the early period of Industrial Revolution.

Utopian socialism was associated with many weaknesses to be an unrealistic approach for the development of a socialist world. It mainly remained a vision since its agitator could not show how to realize it in practice.

### ***Weaknesses of Utopian Socialism***

1. Utopian Socialism was simply a vision and mythical. It was mainly idealistic relying on imaginary ideas and an unrealistic approach in building socialism. Utopian Socialist thinkers dreamt of an ideal society, a world of perfection like a perfect government which realistically could not be achieved.
2. Utopian socialists failed to identify the real strength and aim of capitalism. They believed that capitalism would peacefully go by enlightening the capitalists to stop exploiting the poor and to share their wealth with them without consideration the capitalism gave the capitalists exalted status so will never wish to share their wealth. Thus they did not identify the need for class struggle by a revolutionary means as the most appropriate strategy to overthrow capitalism.
3. It did not consider the role of workers in the course of building a socialist society yet: workers are the direct victims of capitalist exploitation. In that way it failed to address the need for the creation of a strong socialist workers party to lead the struggle against capitalism.
4. Utopian Socialism bore a wrong assumption that an ideal society would be achieved by a minority section like considerable monarch and the philanthropic capitalists who would hand it down to the exploited majority. St. Simon hoped for an enlightened monarch and Robert Owen for the philanthropic rich to rise and introduce new order. They did not consider that it was the duty of lower exploited and oppressed classes themselves to struggle for the needed changes.
5. Utopian socialists did not consider the laws governing social development. They did not consider the material conditions of society yet they were the determinants of peoples' lives. The ideas developed were ideological, lacking the practicability for implementations.
6. Utopian socialism failed to raise mass support. This was partly due to the fact that it began early during the first stages of Industrial Revolution when the working class was immature that is, it was still small and less conscious. Moreover being the first, Utopian Socialism lacked references of experiences.

## SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Scientific Socialism was the advanced socialist brand found by Karl Max and his associate Fredrick Engels after utopian socialism. This socialist brand was called scientific because it entirely based on the material conditions of society (dialectical and historical materialism) and provided practical means on how to transform society from capitalism to socialism that s by class struggle.

Scientific socialism advocated for the creation of a Proletariat/Socialist State by revolutionary approach (class struggle) as the only means to overthrow capitalism and end its exploitation. The struggle is to be led by the proletariat, through a vanguard party.

Marx found his socialism on a massive study of the existing capitalist economy, and declared that the laws of “motion of society” which he claimed to have discovered revealed the inevitability of socialism. It was on such beliefs that his socialist brand took the appearance of being scientific. Marx’s main focus was the evils of Industrial Revolution which according to him created an ugly and unjust society.

**Karl Heinrich Marx** (1818-1883) was a philosopher, historian, economist, journalist and revolutionary socialist and without a doubt the most influential socialist thinker. He was born into a wealthy middle-class home in Trier in the Prussian Rhineland in Germany. His father had agreed to baptism as a protestant so that he would not lose his job as one of the most respected lawyers in Trier. Marx enrolled in the Faculty of Law at the University of Bonn but later was sent by his father to University of Berlin where he remained for four years. Born in Germany, he later became stateless and spent much of his lifetime in London in England. He moved to Paris in 1843, where he began writing for a radical leftist Parisian newspaper (Deutsch-Französische Jahrbucher) and met **Friedrich Engels**, who would become his lifelong friend and collaborator. His revolutionary socialist agitations made Karl Marx life of exile. In 1845-1847, he was exiled in Brussels, in 1848-49 he temporarily settled in Paris and Cologne and from 1849, he lastly moved to London with his wife and children, where he continued writing and formulating his theories about social and economic activity. He also campaigned for socialism and became a significant figure in the International Workingmen’s Association.

Karl Max was the founding father of Scientific Socialism and most important person who popularized socialism, with assistance of his lifelong companion Friedrich Engels Marx wrote numerous socialist books during his lifetime, however the basic and most notable being the “The Communist Manifesto (1848)’ and the “Das Kapital (1867-I 894)” which explained socialism in details and the means to fight and extinct capitalism. Related ideas written included understanding of labour and its relation to capital’ and subsequent economic thought.

### *Features/basis of Scientific Socialism*

- a. Scientific Socialism is based on dialectical and historical materialism as a scientific method to get rid of capitalism and a way to create socialist society. Marx explained dialectical materialism as the scientific way of explaining social events and societal changes.

- b. Scientific Socialism believes in the existence of class struggle and revolutionary means. Karl Marx stressed that capitalism can be overthrown by a vigorous proletariat and peasant class only by revolution means through class struggle. The revolution should be led by proletariats.
- c. They also believed in the creation of a strong vanguard party led by workers. The party is to exercise dictatorship by proletariats. Marx believed that without dictatorship capitalists would not surrender their wealth for public ownership.
- d. Scientific Socialists believe in internationalization of socialism. This is about the creation of a socialist world which can be achieved by influencing socialist revolution in all nations. It is the same belief that socialism can only be successful if the world is socialist.
- e. Focus on workers for changes. The creation of a socialist world should be led by proletariats by stressing that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself and not depending on others. In that sense, he negates the notion of “socialism from above” where a minority section would win it for the majority.
- f. They believed in a state planned economy instead of private ownership and individual competition. A state planned economy will ensure fair distribution and allocation of resources for state development and benefit of all.
- g. They believed in the nationalization of all means of production. Society's wealth and all major means of production like factories, land, and banks should be owned and controlled by the public for the benefit of all.

### ***General strengths of socialism ('similarities of socialism')***

1. Public ownership of means of production for the benefit of all. This calls for the equal sharing and enjoyment of society's wealth unlike the capitalistic society where wealth is owned and controlled by a few, the bourgeoisies and used it to exploit the majority poor.
2. Socialism calls for the state planned economy to avoid individualism. This would avoid individual disastrous competition which can lead to chaos. It would enable a quick economic reconstruction, avoid misallocation of resources and ensure balanced development.
3. It fights for the presence of social equality and social justice through free education, free medical care, state price fixing and elimination of all inequalities which are brought due to the existence of classes.
4. Socialism stands against capitalist exploitation of profit making done through payment of low wages, overworking of workers, and high prices for goods. It emphasises that workers should be paid according to the amount of work done to avoid situations of exploitation of hard and long hours of work against low pay.
5. Socialism gives power to the majority; workers and peasants. This would ensure justice since the decision of the majority is respected and societies' development focused on the majority unlike in capitalism where the minority rich dictates society's affairs.
6. It encourages self-reliance. Socialism fights for self-reliance by stressing for state development basing on the states' own available resources. Genuine development can be brought by the people themselves and not by depending on others. Depending on others (foreign nations) subjects states to foreign influence/dominance and exploitation.

7. Socialism stands against classes to reduce inequalities in societies. Through elimination of classes a socialist society would build togetherness and minimize social and economic inequalities and likewise, exploitation caused by class differentiations would be minimized.
8. The revolutionary approach agitated by scientific socialists through class struggle is the effective and most appropriate method to overthrow oppressive and exploitative systems by the majority exploited against the minority exploiters.

### ***Weaknesses of socialism***

1. Socialism advocates for atheism. Socialism denounces belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, God, so despises the spiritual nature of man. According to Karl Marx religion is “opium” for the poor that it makes man a utopian believer since according to him religious beliefs are mythical. He accused religion of being a tool used by the capitalists to exploit the poor. Marx did not know that religion is inborn (natural) to man and as well as a social institution since it upholds equality and fights against injustice the same ideas agitated by socialism.
2. Socialism is dictatorial. It limits democracy by its single party system and by imposing the dictatorship of workers as it entrust state power to workers only through a vanguard party. The state might turn to be oppressive by denying people’s rights and freedom like freedom of association, speech and worship. Also the party may lack criticism and Fail to meet the socio-economic developmental needs of the state.
3. The idea of state control of major means of production kills the competitive and industrious spirit of the people. State control of production means like factories, mines and land, may discourage individual initiatives and urge for personal development and new inventions. Consequently, development would be retarded in the long run.
4. Nationalization of property is injustice. It denies those who had worked for their wealth the right to enjoy the fruits of their work by distributing their wealth to others. Besides it builds dependence attitudes as the public may want the government to do everything for them.
5. Socialism is mythical. Its ideas like creation of a classless society can hardly be put into practice bearing the fact though man is equal but individuals are different and cannot be the same. More so the belief of Karl Marx that at an advanced stage of socialism (communism), there will be a “world of plenty” in which people will be satisfied and pleased and the state will vanish was a mere day dream. Man is ever unsatisfied with the material gains and that is a cause for chaos hence the state will forever stay.

### ***Differences between utopian and scientific socialism***

1. Scientific socialism advocates for class struggle between the workers and capitalists or the creation of a socialist state by revolutionary means by workers to overthrow capitalism. Utopian socialism however agitated for peaceful evolutionary processes through resolutions and educating the capitalists to share their wealth with the poor and end exploitation of the poor.
2. Scientific socialism demands for the creation of a vanguard political party by the proletariat to mobilise workers for a radical transformation from an oppressive and exploitative capitalist order through a revolution. Utopian socialists on the other hand

didn't consider the need and role of the workers and strong workers political parts in the creation of a socialist society.

3. Unlike Utopian socialism, for scientific socialism, the economy of society was to be built on a strong base of science and technology. The aim was to have self sufficient economies in order to avoid dependence especially on the capitalists.
4. Scientific socialism believes that changes could be attained by the workers and peasants themselves (change from bottom to above). The Utopians held the idea of educating the capitalists to stop exploitation and rise of philanthropic capitalists who will be ready to share their wealth with the poor.
5. Unlike Utopian socialism, scientific socialism agitated for a well-disciplined army, fully equipped. According to them this army will be important in defending the interests of a socialist state.
6. Utopian socialism was the first type of socialism to exist hence borrowed socialist ideas from nowhere. While as scientific socialism was a latter brand and to a certain extent built on the foundation laid down by utopian socialism.
7. Scientific Socialism is based on dialectical and historical materialism as the scientific way of explaining social events and societal changes and the need to get rid of capitalism. Utopian socialism however did not have such an approach. The utopian brand was itself an illusion and entirely based mythical idea.

Scientific socialism provided a practical solution on how to create a socialist society through agitating workers to take actions while the Utopians were mythical.

## **THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917**

In 1917, Russia underwent two great revolutions. The first was in February (March), overthrew Tsar Nicholas II and completely ended the Tsarist regime and set up a moderate Provisional Government of Prince Lvov and Alexander Kerensky. The second was in October (November) which replaced the Provisional Government by the Bolsheviks led "Vladimir I. Lenin.

By 1917, the bond between the Tsarist government and majority Russian people had broken and could not be amended. In February, 1917 the majority unprivileged groups of workers and peasants supported by the army rose in a revolution to overthrow the unpopular oppressive Tsarist regime of Tsar Nicholas II. However the Provisional Government which replaced the Tsar also followed the footsteps of Tsar Nicholas II. by failing to make convincing reforms to avoid its own demise. As a result, in October the Bolsheviks led by Lenin with the Support of workers and peasant majority staged a second revolution which overthrew the Provisional Government. The two revolutions together formed the 1917 Russian revolution.

**Alexander Kerensky** had become involved in revolutionary activities as a young man but he turned to the Social Revolutionary Party rather than the Marxists. He was elected to the Duma (parliament) in 1912 and became famous for his emotional speeches. It was Kerensky who met the crowds outside the Duma to discuss their demands and then helped persuade the Duma members to form the Provisional Government. He was Minister of Justice in this government, then Minister of War and finally, in July, Prime Minister.

### ***The Situation in Russia before the Revolution***

- a) Russians lived under the despotic rule of the Tsars who didn't care for their people's rights and believed in divine rights. The Tsars were luxurious and left people in total misery.
- b) Russia was largely feudal. Land was owned by a small section of the country the aristocracy, the church and the Tsar. Around 80% of Russia's population was poor landless peasants and serfs living in communes. The living and working conditions for most peasants was dreadful and exploited by high feudal dues: rent and taxes. Famine and starvation were common due to shortage of land caused by rapid population increase, unsuitable land for farming and use of ancient farming techniques.
- c) Russia had a small industrial base and most of the industries were foreign owned. Serious industrial development programmes were begun by Tsar Alexander II in his reign (1855-81) aiming at modernising Russia to march with Western European countries like Britain and France. However by 1900 Russian industrialisation was still in first stages, not modern and not efficient. Industrial output was still very low and scarcity high.
- d) Lack of basic education. Majority Russians were ignorant and spent a lot of their time in drinking. There was no basic education in Russia and very few peasants could read and write. Indeed by 1900 majority Russian peasants were still ignorant about life beyond their village communities.
- e) Influence of the church. Russians were too religious and loyal to the government. Partly because every week, they would hear the priest say how wonderful the Tsar was and how they, as peasants should be loyal subjects to the government and the church. Loyalty to the state meant loyalty to the church. They cared much about hell and heaven than their neighbouring villages.
- f) Russia had a small middle class. As a result of industrialisation, new classes of capitalists and workers began to emerge in Russia. The capitalist groups such as landowners, industrialists, and businessmen with other middle classes such as lawyers and university lecturers increased the size of Russia's middle class, particularly in towns. Their main concerns were the management of the economy and about controlling workers.
- g) Russians were subjected to heavy taxation. Majority Russians were burdened by heavy taxation. The government increased taxation to pay foreign debts (from French and British) for industrial progress and for luxurious expenditures of the royal court.
- h) The Tsarina. Alexandra had more influence in state affairs, dictating policies. Besides the Tsarina was Rasputin who was a doctor to the Tsar's son Alexei suffering from Haemophilia. Rasputin was also giving the Tsarina and the Tsar advice on how to run the country. Majority Russians were suspicious of Rasputin. He was said to be a drunkard and womaniser.
- i) Peasants had at least been given land after the Emancipation of Serfs of 1861. However, still the peasants were discontented with the payment of redemption dues that is the annual payments the peasants paid to the government for 49 years and the insufficient amount of land they received during the Emancipation of Serfs in 1861

**Nicholas II (1868-1918)** ruled from November 1, 1894 until his abdication on May 15, 1917. He was the eldest son of Tsar Alexander III and last Emperor of Russia. He abdicated his throne in March 1917. Nicholas was a well-meaning person with a deep affection for his family. He hated any opposition and believed, wholeheartedly, in autocracy. He thought that democracy and

elections would lead to the collapse of Russia. He was greatly influenced by his wife who was deeply religious and believed that the Tsar had been appointed by God and that it was the duty of all Russians to obey him. In the spring of 1918, in the course of the civil war. Nicholas II, family and servants were executed in the same room by the Bolsheviks on the night of 16/17 July 1918. This led to the canonization of Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra and their children on 15/8/2000 as "passion hearer", a title commemorating believers who face death in a Christ-like manner.

### **Aims of the Russian revolution**

The workers and peasants in Russia staged a revolution in 1917 purposely to:

- a. Eliminate forms of exploitation and oppression in Russia done by the aristocratic, feudalists and capitalists systems.
- b. Nationalize the major means of production for the benefit of majority peasants and workers.
- c. Terminate property and income inequalities among the Russians hence creation of a fair and equal society.
- d. Replace the Tsar monarchy under Nicholas II by creation of union of peasants and workers' (soviet) state.

### ***Causes of the Russian revolution***

1. Despotic rule of Tsarist regime. Russia was ruled by a Tsar who was autocratic. He made laws himself and appointed and dismissed parliaments and officials. The Tsar suppressed opposition through the secret police, the Okhrana and the army which arrested, tried and severely punished suspects. Above all, the state church, the Orthodox Church, taught that it was a sin to oppose the will of the Tsar. From the early 20<sup>th</sup> C however, there was growing opposition to the Tsarist undemocratic tendencies. It was that kind of pressure that matured for a revolution in 1917.
2. The Russia feudal system. By 1917, it was only Russia in Europe that still held a feudal system. Land was unfairly distributed as about 80% of the Russian populations were landless peasants who lived in communes under serfdom, seriously exploited and oppressed by a small section of landlords, the church, the aristocracy and the Tsar. The Tsarist government never bothered to change the situation hence aroused majority's discontent and attracted many to Marxism.
3. Industrialization of Russia. Industrial development programmes seriously started by Tsar Alexander II to modernise Russia to the form of other European powers like France was good, however, it created problems to the Tsarist rule. The Tsar depended on foreign capital hence was forced to raise taxes to pay debts. Moreover, it created an angry exploited class of workers who worked in factories but met low wages, long working hours and poor living conditions. That exploited class of workers was dependable revolutionary force.
4. The Russian-Japanese war of 1904-5. In this war, Russia fought Japan for control of Manchuria and Korea. The Tsar expected a quick victory which would silence opposition groups. Russia, however, suffered a miserable defeat and lost many soldiers and resources. Conditions of the workers became worse due to increased prices and food



shortages. There were factory closures and increased unemployment which incited strikes and demonstrations to overthrow the Tsar.

5. The Bloody Sunday. 1905. On January 22, 1905. a crowd of 200,000 unarmed demonstrators of workers led by the Church priest Father Gapon marched to the Tsar's Winter Palace in St Petersburg to give a petition to the Tsar. They wanted an end the war with Japan, an elected parliament and better working conditions. The troops guarding the palace however opened fire on the demonstrators, killing around 1000. Although the Tsar was not there, the massacre destroyed faith of many who trusted him to spark off a wave of anti-regime riots.
6. The impact of the World War I. In 1914, Tsar Nicholas II made the fateful decision to draw Russia into World War I. Russia joined the war without enough preparation and met catastrophic consequences. Over 15 millions recruited into the army leaving farms and Factories without enough labour, causing food and raw material shortages and leading to hunger and rise in prices. Disastrously Russia suffered the heaviest loss of people, 20 million people died in series of defeats, severe winter and hunger. The Tsar was blamed for the war repercussions after personally taking command of the army.
7. Personal weakness of Tsar Nicholas II. The Tsar failed to make sound political and economic reforms like granting democratic demands to save his regime from a miserable end. Worse of the matter, he was much influenced by his unpopular wife, Tsarina Alexandra and Rasputin, the sinister monk who clinched to the royal court as a personal doctor to the Tsar's son Alexis. For instance the Tsarina relied much on Rasputin's ill advice to dismiss sound ministers and replaced them with incompetent officials who were unable to cope with the people's demands.
8. The leadership role of Lenin. Lenin was a known socialist revolutionary leader and inspired by Marxism who started campaigns against Tsar Nicholas II earlier before being forced to exile. His talented leadership and revolutionary propaganda with slogans like "Peace, Land, Bread" and All power to the soviets" attracted mass support to him and the Bolshevik party from oppressed groups of the workers, peasants and the army for the success of the Bolshevik revolution.
9. The failure of the Provisional government. The provisional government of Alexander Kerensky was inexperienced and faced a lot of challenges. It had promised many reforms such as provision of genuine constitutional rights, improvement in conditions of workers, to give land to the peasants and food to starving but failed to fulfill them. Surprisingly also, it continued with the war. The pay of all these, was its overthrow by the Bolsheviks in the October revolution.

**Lenin's** real name was **Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov**. He was born in Simbirsk in Russia in 1870, the son of a school inspector. Lenin went to university to study law but was expelled because he took part in radical demonstrations. He completed his law degree as an external student in 1891. He moved to St. Petersburg and became involved with Marxism and in 1894, joined a Marxist group, changing his name to Lenin. Due to his Marxist activities he was arrested and sent to exile in Siberia and later in London where he became editor of the Communist Party newspaper "Iskra" (meaning '[the Spark]). In 1903, when the Social Democratic Party split, Lenin led the Bolsheviks. Over the next 14 years he spent most of the time in exile organizing Bolshevik activities. He was the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, and the architect, and first head of the Soviet state (1917-24).

### ***Effects of the Revolution on Russia***

1. End of Tsardom. The Russian revolution ended the centuries of Tsarist rule and finally sent it to its grave. With the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1917, the Tsarist aristocratic rule came to an end. A Provisional Government set to succeed the Tsarist system was short lived as it was also overthrown by the Bolsheviks led by V.I. Lenin in October the same year.
2. Establishment of the first Socialist state. The October revolution established the first socialist republic in Russia and the world led by Lenin and guided by the Marxist principles, such as nationalisation of major means of production like land, and factories which killed the feudal and capitalist systems in Russia. Bolshevik party launched a single party state and all rival political parties like the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were banned and their leaders arrested.
3. Russia's withdrawal from the war. Immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia withdrew from the World War I in which she was fighting as a Triple Entente member. The Bolsheviks had opposed the war from the start to be popular and the effect the war had brought down the Tsar and the Provisional Government. Besides all that Lenin needed to keep the support of the army and wanted peace with Germany which had assisted him in the revolution.
4. The Civil war. Between 1918 and 1920, Russia went into a disastrous civil war developed to overthrow the Bolsheviks by Anti-Bolshevik armies (the Whites), assisted by Allied governments opposed to Russia's socialist government. However, the Red (Bolshevik) Army succeeded because of the poor co-ordination of the 'White' arm and the reluctance of the war-weary Allies to commit large forces.
5. The Bolsheviks Government made New Economic Policies and plans for development. In 1928 for instance, the first Five-year Plans were launched aiming at rapid industrialisation, and growth of infrastructure. By such policies, Russia made quick economic progress that by 1934, she was moving ahead of Germany and France in several basic industries and millions of Russians were employed. By economic progress Russia emerged a major power in the world.
6. Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The union was formed in 1922 by Lenin as a political reform to organize Russia into self governing republics under the central government. Each republic was controlled from Moscow. The USSR was formed comprising 15 Republics for efficient administration of many nationalities within Russia which had always posed an obstacle to national unity.
7. The socialists encouraged Atheism in Russia. As per the Marxist doctrine, Socialism discourages religion. By that, the Bolshevik government suppressed religion, banned religious education in schools and the church was completely stopped to involve itself in state affairs. Besides, the church's role in the exploitation and support of the Tsarist system also contributed to atheism.
8. Great educational and cultural advance. After the revolution, education reforms were launched in which literacy campaigns made, sciences were encouraged and other subjects thought to be useless, such as ancient languages were banned. Education reforms enabled Russia advance in science and technology to be the first to send a space craft (sputnik) to the orbit in 1957.

9. Isolation of Russia by the capitalist powers. Due to the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia was isolated by Western (Allied) powers, because it withdrew from the World War I in 1917 before the end. Worse out however was the declaration of a socialist state. On such grounds, Russia was not invited in peace conferences like the Versailles Treaty of 1919, neither was it permitted to join the League of Nations.

### ***Impacts of the Russian Revolution to Africa***

1. Boost to liberation movements. Russian supported independence movements in some African countries like Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe by providing material aid to African militants. Besides, African nationalist borrowed experience, and confidence of the majority struggle against the oppressive minority from the Russian Revolution.
2. Rise of African socialism. Success of the Bolshevik Revolution played a role formation of the rise of other socialist brands like African Socialism. African socialist thinkers borrowed lessons from the Russian socialist approach to create new socialist brands fitting to their societies. Such brands of African socialism included Ujamaa in Tanzania, and Humanism in Zambia. Besides such socialist states were sustained by assistance from Russia.
3. The Cold War. The Cold War is traced From the Bolshevik Revolution. The Cold War extended in Africa from the 1950s when the urge for independence intensified. Both the USSR and USA involved themselves. In countries where Russia gained more influence like in Angola, the USA supported the colonial (Portuguese) regime to stay longer to prevent Angola from falling under socialism. After independence USA engineered civil wars against the socialist government like Angola, Mozambique and coup d'états in states like Ethiopia.
4. Spread of Marxism in Africa. Some African states embraced the Marxist socialist approach in line of the Russia. The states were Angola and Mozambique which were heavily supported by Russia and other communist states like China and Cuba their independence struggles. Basing on moral and material support from Russia an. communist bloc, they adopted Marxism.
5. Single party states. Many African states like Tanganyika, Kenya and Zimbabwe took the line of the Marxist Russia to adopt mono-party political system. The system was seen vital for building national unity since the colonial multi-party system divided people along ethnic, tribal and religious lines. But also to divert from the Western political system and attract aid from Russia.
6. Provision of aid. Russia is among the major donor state to African states. She provides financial, technical and moral aid to African states. Aid is provided in facilitating development projects like social services in the fields of education and health and transport. For example Egypt received technical assistance from Russia in the construction of the Aswan High dam.
7. Encouraged formation of workers movements. The Bolshevik Revolution inspired formation of workers' movements in Africa since the colonial era. During the colonial times the movements took the form of pressure groups in fight against colonialism and its exploitative policies. And through class alliance borrowed from Lenin-Marxist approach united with peasants to resist colonial exploitation. The movements are still into existence as Trade Unions.

8. Encouraged forceful regime change in some African states. The Russian Revolution is to certain extent a reference to military coups and civil wars in some African state. The coups are sometimes violent struggle like the civil wars and they take a form of class struggle for power against the ruling system or classes by the majority displeased groups just like it was in Russia in 1917 when the oppressed workers and peasants joined hands against the Tsarist and Provisional governments.

### ***Impacts of the Russian Revolution to the world***

1. Establishment of the first socialist state in the world. The October Revolution established the first socialist republic in the world based on the Marxist principles, mainly nationalisation of major means of production like land, banks and factories to create a classless society. It showed how a socialist state can be created since it was the first to put Marxism into practice.
2. Emergence of Russia as a world power. The revolutionary communist government was strong enough to lead Russia to prominence. It established a stable administration and a strong economy to raise Russia to greatness. As the guardian of communism in the world and permanent member of the UN Security Council. Russia became influential in determining world affairs.
3. Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The union was formed in 1922 by Lenin as a political federation to organise Russia into self governing republics under the central government controlled from Moscow. It was formed for efficient administration of the many nationalities within Russia which had always posed an obstacle to national unity. 15 socialist republics including Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Georgia formed the union.
4. Spread of communism in the world. After the revolution, Russian became a spring board of Marxism to spread communism to other parts of the world. The communist Russia influenced and supported socialist revolutions in a number of countries such as China (1949) and Cuba (1959) and extended aid to socialist states in the Third World like Nicaragua and Tanzania.
5. Division of the world into two rival groups. The establishment of a socialist state in Russia divided the world into two antagonistic sides of communism and capitalism. The ideological difference between the two sides led to the Cold War which by all measures traced from the Bolshevik revolution. By the Cold War, the relations between capitalists and Russia were spoilt.
6. Contributed to the rise of dictatorship regimes in Italy and Germany. The revolution led to the spread of communism which became a threat to the wealthy classes in Europe when it started winning influence in other European states like Italy and Germany after the World War I. In Fear communist takeover the capitalists sponsored Hitler and Mussolini because they showed hatred for communism and promised to destroy it.
7. The revolution was a blow to imperialism. The Russian revolution boosted liberation struggles in the world, particularly in the colonies and to other countries where oppressive regimes existed. Lessons were drawn from the Russian organisational experience, and confidence of the majority struggle against the oppressive minority. Additionally, Russia provided support to many freedom movements in the struggle against imperialism like in Angola and South Africa.

## **THE CHINESE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION 1949**

The Chinese Socialist Revolution was the communist revolution led by Mao Tse-tung in which he took over government by overthrowing the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek in China in 1949.

### ***Background of the Chinese socialist revolution***

Before 1949, China had passed difficult times in the 20th C: it had been under foreign (Manchu) rule since about 1648 until the last Manchu emperor was overthrown in 1911 by Sun Yat-sen. Under Sun Yat-sen, China began significant modernization. Sun Yat-sen also tried to unite different ethnically and culturally heterogeneous Chinese in his empire but from his death in 1924 the empire broke up into petty-states mainly under the rule of 'warlords', usually ex-army generals. Conditions under the warlords were generally appalling, with corruption and villages impoverished. Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Kuomintang party, proved superior to the other warlords and began reunifying the empire, however was hindered by political factions of which the most noteworthy were the Communists led by Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese communist party was formed in the Northern Chinese city of Peking (Beijing) in 1921 aiming at creating a united and independent China. The party gained massive support from majority peasants, workers, intellectuals and traders who increasingly got attracted to Marxism. The party's main strong hold was peasants. And Mao declared that peasant problem was the central focus of the struggle to win peasants support.

The decisive moment however, came after the three years civil war (1946-1949) and due to Mao Tse-tung's skilful fighting, the Kuomintang was completely defeated and Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters had to flee to Taiwan on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1949 and Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China under the Chinese communist party.

**Mao** was born into a moderately well-off peasant family in Hunan province. When the 1911 revolution overthrew the Manchus, Mao joined the revolutionary army but saw little action. In 1913 he enrolled on a five-year course to train as a teacher in Changsha. From there, he went to Peking to work in the university library. Here he made contact with students and professors and their ideas on how to solve the problems of China. Mao also began to study the writings of Karl Marx and his views on communism. Marx's ideas like, that, in an ideal world all property and goods should be shared and no one would be allowed to own property appealed to Mao. It seemed much fairer than the China in which he lived, where there was a great gap between the rich few and the poor majority. Mao became a communist and looked towards Russia, then the only communist, for help. In 1949 China was proclaimed a People's Republic and became a Communist country after a successful communist revolution. This was due mainly to the leadership of Mao Tse-tung.

### ***Conditions in China before the revolution***

- a) China was under an exploitative feudal system. The Chinese feudal society was highly stratified with the propertied classes at the top, beginning with the emperor followed by a

small group of aristocrats and the mandarins then landlords. At the bottom were landless and exploited peasants.

- b) Influence of imperialist countries. Chinese government was influenced by Japan and Britain and Chiang Kai-shek was their puppet. While the British controlled Chiang, the Japanese controlled the province of Manchuria.
- c) Small and weak industrial sector. This was experienced due to low and poor technology. The little industries present were mainly owned by foreign investors, unevenly distributed and contributed little to the national economy. To that effect China possessed a small working class. Majority Chinese were peasants living in villages and entirely depending on agriculture.
- d) China low infrastructural development. A large part of China was rural underdeveloped isolated village communities lacking efficient infrastructure like roads, and railways.
- e) Rampant unemployment. A huge Chinese population suffered from unemployment due to small industrial sector and feudal systems where majority were landless and poor. Many spent a lot of their time hopelessly in drug taking especially opium.
- f) Corruption. Government officials were highly corrupt. Large parts of state incomes collected like the taxes collected from the majority poor peasants ended in the pockets of a few officials who in most cases lived in luxury.
- g) Absence of stable government. From Sun Yatsen's death in 1924 the Chinese empire broke up into petty-states mainly under the rule of warlords'. China lacked a single government to unite all the Chinese people.

On such a ground, the 1949 socialist revolution was inevitable but was only waiting for its time to ripen.

### ***Causes of the Chinese 1949 Socialist Revolution***

The 1949 communist revolution in China was shaped by interplay of a number of factors:

1. The feudal system. China was a feudal society divided into classes. At the top was the emperor, a small group of highly educated officials (Mandarins), landowners and the rich merchants enjoying higher standards of living. At the bottom were the poor oppressed peasants who made 80% of the population. Most of them were landless, lived in villages, half or three quarters of the crops had to go to the landlord as rent, then there were taxes to pay. The ruling and wealthy classes angered the suffering majority by resisting changes.
2. Weakness of the Kuomintang government. The Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek was inefficient. It failed to eliminate the warlords and unite the Chinese people: it was a puppet to USA and Britain and spent too much time looking after the interests of the rich classes such as industrialists and landowners. Above all, had little to offer in the way to reform the Chinese economy like making tax reforms and failed to resist foreign invasions like from the Japanese.
3. The influence of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Before the 1917 Revolution, Russia had a lot in common with China for example both were feudal, suffered foreign influence from capitalist states who invested capital in the two countries and were under oppressive rule. For that, the success of the Bolshevik revolution encouraged Chinese socialists in

many ways to struggle. Alongside that, Russia extended advisory financial and military help to Chinese communists.

4. The role of Mao Tse-tung and fellow communists. Mao was brilliant and shrewd enough to take advantage of the Kuomintang. Mao and other communist generals like Zhou Enlai, Lin Biao and Chu Teh were more skillful than their rivals. To gain majority support, they based their activities in rural areas among the miserable peasants who saw them as their liberators and tactically prepared them into strong guerrilla fighters. Basing on majority demands like promising land to the peasants. Mao popularized himself and the communist party over the Kuomintang.
5. Foreign influence and imperialism. Foreign powers had divided China into spheres of influence. While Japan controlled Manchuria. Westerners like the British controlled Chinese government by investing in Chinese industry. Foreign interference was outrageous to the Chinese because, it exploited them, weakened their sovereignty and infiltrated the hated foreign culture to China. The anguish was thrown on the Kuomintang government which failed to deal with the problems.
6. Poor economy and general poverty. Majority Chinese were impoverished peasants living in isolated villages lacking socio-economic infrastructure. Agriculture on which majority depended suffered from frequent crop failure due to bad weather which caused famine. State revenue was largely raised from taxes from which the poor peasants carried the heaviest weight. Industry was weak to produce enough essential goods. Such economic chaos played a role for a revolution.
7. Industrial development in China. Industrial development led to development of industrial towns like Beijing where socialist revolutionary spirit was started by unsatisfied groups of workers due to poor pay and factory conditions. Besides that Chinese industrial programmes largely relied on foreign capital which subjected China to foreign influence and exploitation. The blame of such was cast on the government which was not ready to offend industrial owners by making changes.
8. The influence of Chinese intellectuals and students. In trying to develop China, the Manchu regime sent several Chinese students to study abroad, in Western Europe and Russia. However, the measure worked against the government since while abroad. Chinese students received more enlightenment and were exposed to Marxism. They acquired new ideas, changed their outlook to become a revolutionary force against their government and its socio-economic failures.

## **POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES INITIATED BY THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT**

The Chinese communist government designed various strategies to build China. These included:

### ***Political policy:***

- a. Establishment of a single party state. After the revolution, a number of political parties were invited to work with the communist party. Later, all opposition parties were absorbed into the communist party to win the widest support possible. Opponents of the party were persecuted. By so doing, Mao had established a single party communist dictatorship.

- b) Adoption of a new constitution. The communist government officially adopted a new constitution in 1954. The constitution confirmed China as a communist state to give the communist party the ultimate control over the government. It also set up the National People's Congress (legislature) whose members were elected for four years.
- c) Adoption of "thought reform" campaigns. These included the "Three Mountains" campaign against Feudalism, capitalism and imperialism (1950), "Three Antis" against corruption and "Hundred Flowers" campaign launched (1957) inviting people's criticism. Mao used the campaigns to eliminate criticism of his government, educate people about communism, root out evils in Chinese life and on the other hand was against opponents like landowners.
- d) Control of mass media. The communist party took control of all radios, newspapers, books and cinemas. Communist Party propaganda was broadcast to de-campaign anti communist elements and policies and to persuade people to follow the communist line.
- e) Education policy. Massive education campaign was organised from the start to teach the Chinese people to read and write. Teachers were sent to villages, to teach children during day time and adults in the evenings. Students also received education on communism to follow the ideas of Mao, Marx and Lenin. They were encouraged to be hard-working, cheerful, loyal to their leaders and helpful to others. Education also encouraged the importance of manual work. In 1949, only 20% of the Chinese were literate but by 1980 the number had increased to 90%.
- f) The Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution 1966-69. This was a social-political movement set by Mao Tse-tang, the then chairman of the Communist Party of China in 1966 to enforce Communism in China by removing capitalists, foreign and traditional elements from the Chinese society, and to impose Maoist orthodoxy within the Communist Party. Mao alleged that capitalist elements were infiltrating the government and society at large, aiming to restore capitalism. He insisted that these "revisionists" be removed through violent class struggle. Youths' Red Guard groups were formed around the country, assisted by the army. Millions of people were persecuted and their property seized. Also was a mass purge of senior officials such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping who were accused of taking a "capitalists road".

## **(b) *Economic policies:***

### **1. *The Agricultural policy***

Agriculture remained the most respected Chinese economy hearing the fact that China had (has) a bigger population and majority Chinese were peasants whose role in the revolution was undisputedly outstanding.

- a) In the first stage of agricultural reforms, land was taken from the landlords and redistributed among the peasants. Under the Agrarian Reform Law of 1950. Landlordism was wiped out. Mao wanted to please the peasants whose main reason for the support of the revolution was because they wanted their own land.
- b) The Green Revolution. This focused on rapid improvement in agricultural production. Peasants were exposed to scientific farming techniques such as application of fertilisers,



irrigation, pests and diseases control mechanism. Research stations were opened up to develop better farming techniques and educate farmers.

The second stage in agricultural reforms was a shift to collectivisation (Collective Farming). This took place in stages as follows:

- a. Encouragement of Mutual-aid teams. In 1952, groups of peasant households were encouraged to join together in collective farming whereby they could work together to increase production. Farmers kept their own land but shared their labour in farms. Profits were shared out according to the amount of land, tools and hours of work they had put in. Mutual-aid teams were able to buy machines and better seeds to increase production. By the end of 1952, 40% of all peasants were members of mutual-aid teams.
- b. Formation of Agricultural (producer) Co-operatives. 1953-57. In 1955, Mao announced full-scale collectivisation of agriculture. Peasants were persuaded to join together in co-operatives in which, several village communities pooled together their land, animals and tools and handed them to collective ownership. In such production units, peasants were able to buy machines, better seeds, increase production and improve living standards. Farmers earned wages from their labor to the farms. By 1957, over 90% of peasants were in co-operatives
- c. Introduction of communes. 1958. Communes were larger agricultural units than Agricultural co-operatives. Collective (co-operatives) farms were jointed into communes, with an average population of about 30.000 people. People in the communes were divided into brigades of workers of about 1.000 - 2.000 and then into teams of about 50 - 200 people. Communes were large enough to undertake projects such as irrigation works, and run their schools, clinics, shops and local militia, but under state control and taxation. Life in the communes was supposed to be communal. Meals were provided in mess halls, a clothing ration, housing quarters and education for children. People were assigned tasks to perform by the commune's central administration and a small money wage to buy items not communally provided. Gender equality was emphasised.

## **2. Industrial Policy:**

Mao wanted to make China a great industrial power. New policies were adopted for industrial progress;

- a. Nationalisation of all heavy industries. All heavy industries were put under state control with time even small factories which had been left in private hands, were later put under communes and municipalities. Chinese former industrial owners were given well-paid jobs in industries as managers so as to benefit from their skills and experience.
- b. The Soviet-style five-year plans were introduced in 1953. Like the Russian model, the First-Year Plan (1953-57) concentrated on heavy industries like steel, coal, electric power and cement. However, this was later restricted because heavy industries were capital intensive and involved only a small section of the huge Chinese population.
- c. iii) Assistance was sought from Russia. Russia helped out with funds, the necessary machinery, equipment and technical assistance for the Chinese industrial progress. Also in training Chinese skilled labour force.

- d. In Hong Kong and Shanghai a modification of control on the privately owned industries was done. Private ownership of factories was allowed, however partnership between Workers and factory owners was introduced which allowed workers to supervise their employers, control wages, working conditions, and sales.
- e. The Great Leap Forward (1958 — 1960). The policy was also for change of emphasis in industry aiming at meeting the Chinese situation and not to be based on Russia and Western experience of large scale industries. By this policy, much smaller factories were set up in rural areas to be managed by the communes to provide local needs like agriculture machinery. It also targeted quick industrial progress by encouraging individual initiatives towards industrial development.

## **THE SINO - AMERICAN RELATIONS SINCE 1949**

Since the Chinese Communist Revolution, 1949, the Sino-USA relations have gone through several twists and turns by following an uneven course. After the revolution in 1949, the relations of the two could only be described as hostile. The People's Republic of China considered USA "imperialist" and "the common enemy of people throughout the world." On the hand, USA was unhappy with the success of the Chinese Communist Revolution, because it upset the global balance of power between communists and capitalists by adding the Communist bloc more strength.

From the 1970s, however, the relations between the two have become more complex and multifaceted. The two powers are usually neither allies nor enemies. The U.S. government does not regard China as an adversary but as a competitor in some areas and a partner in others.

1. USA refused to recognise the communist Peoples Republic of China after the Communist Revolution in 1949. USA regarded China as an enemy state because the success of Mao was part of the worldwide advance of communism. USA and her allies cut off diplomatic relations with China and kept her out of the UN where her seat was occupied by Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan.
2. The Korean War, 1950-53. This also played a major role in setting relations between China and USA in a state of enmity. China and the USSR backed and supported communist North Korean People's army of Kim Il Sung in the war against South Korea aiming at winning Korea for communism. The USA supported South Korea. The war ended by the UN, China and North Korea signing an armistice which divided Korea into the communist north and capitalist south.
3. Vietnam War, 1962-75. In the war in Vietnam, USA and China fought on opposite sides as the Cold War intensified. China provided material and technical support to the Vietnamese communists of Ho Chi Minh to fight the capitalist American invasion. USA was defeated, losing more than 50,000 troops while China lost 1,446 and Vietnam proclaimed communism.
4. Creation of military alliances in Asia by USA. Military alliances were intended to prevent further spread of communism and control the growth of Chinese influence in Asia. For example, SEATO which included states like Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand with other USA allies like Britain and France agreeing to combine their efforts against communism.

5. Chinese nuclear weapon developments. China joined the nuclear arms race in October 1964 when it conducted its first test of an atomic bomb. Chinese nuclear development was a blow to the struggle to contain communism in Asia by USA. With her own nuclear weapons, China could no longer be bullied with American threats like in 1955 when USA threatened a nuclear attack on her to stop her claims over Taiwan.
6. The Indo-China border conflict of 1958. In the boundary conflict between China and India. USA supported India accusing China of being expansionist and forcing India to accept communism. With USA's support, India was encouraged to stand firm against China. China also came to know how much USA was determined to fight her and her communist influence in Asia.
7. The USA support of Taiwan. After the defeat by the Communists in 1949, Chiang Kaishek and thousands of his troops fled to Taiwan and formed the Republic of China there by claiming its legitimacy over the whole of China. USA backed Chiang's Republic in Taiwan. She provided military aid to Taiwan and signed a Mutual Defense Treaty with her in 1954.
8. USA accused China for Human Rights abuses. For example USA government of George Bush accused China of "violating human rights and imposed "sanctions" on China on June 5, 989, that included suspending high-level diplomatic exchanges between the two countries and stopping the sale of all military equipment and weapons to China.

### ***Improved relations***

9. The United Nations and the USA in 1972 recognised the People's Republic of China. And immediately china was permitted the seat as member of the permanent Security Council that had been held by Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China on Taiwan since 1949.
10. Diplomatic state visits between China and USA. Diplomatic visits between the states were opened by the American secretary of state Henry Kissinger in 1972 when he made a secret trip to China. Kissinger's trip was followed by President Richard Nixon eight days visit in February 1972 during which he met Mao Tse-tung and Premier Zhou Enlai. In 1979, Chinese president Deng Xiaoping also visited the United States. The visits helped to improve their relations.
11. Signing of the Shanghai Communiqué in 1972. The communiqué was signed by the American president Richard Nixon and Chinese premier Zhou Enlai. It a milestone document describing the improved relations between the two states as the agreement reached set the stage for them to discuss difficult issues which caused friction between them such as that of Taiwan.

Zhou Enlai (1898 — 1976) was a leading figure in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from its beginnings in 1921. He became the first Premier of the People's Republic of China, serving from October 1949 until his death in January 1976. Zhou served under Mao Tse-tung and was instrumental in consolidating the control of the Communist Party's rise to power, forming foreign policy, and developing the Chinese economy. A skilled and able diplomat, Zhou served as the Chinese Foreign Minister from 1949 to 1958. Advocating a peaceful co-existence with the West after the Korean War. Renowned for his charm and subtlety. Zhou was described as affable, pragmatic and persuasive.

12. Security related ties from 1980s. Beijing and Washington renewed their interest in security-related ties, including military visits, discussions of international issues such as arms control. In 1983, Chinese and United States defense ministers and other high level military delegations exchanged visits, and in 1986 United States Navy ships made their first Chinese port call since 1949. The United States also approved sale of military items to China.
13. Development of trade ties. Despite of their differences, network of trade ties developed between them. By 1980s, China had become one the largest US trading partners. Trade relations were strengthened by the US president Bill Clinton when he signed the US-China relations which paved way for China to join the World Trade Organization in 2001 .Trade between the two has continued to grow and now China is the leading USA trading partner and creditor.

The Sino-USA relations started to improve amidst the Sino-Soviet split starting from 1969 with the Sino-Soviet border clashes. The conflict between China and USSR provided an opening for the US to establish ties with the People's Republic of China. From the incidence, China saw its major threat as clearly coming from the USSR rather than the US and sought closer relationship with Washington as a counterweight to Moscow. USA aimed at using China as a counter to the Soviet Union and its influence

### **STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP AFTER THE DEATH OF MAO TSE-TUNG IN 1976**

As observed earlier, there were improvements in the international relations (with the West) but also there was restructuring of the economy to facilitate the development of the productive forces.

In brief, China started:

1. Educational and cultural exchanges. The Chinese government sent more Chinese students for studies in the West including USA to study new production techniques particularly in industrial and agricultural fields.
2. Opening trade relations with USA and the West. New Chinese leaders discovered that the West was a potential market to boost Chinese industry and agriculture due to their higher standards of living. Now USA and the West are the largest trading partners of China.
3. Encouraging foreign investment and technology-transfer arrangements. Since 1980s China focused on investing abroad. Many Chinese private companies started investing in West with many in USA investing in electronics and automobiles and many in the Third World investing in mining, infrastructure and banking.
4. Establishing joint ventures. Many Chinese companies are in contracts with companies from the West and other countries like in Africa as well as the Chinese government itself with other countries' governments. Such ventures include relief provision and infrastructure construction
5. Improving diplomatic relations. The Chinese government has improved diplomatic relations with the West and other parts of the world as well. USA granted China full diplomatic recognition since 1979 and in 2000 China signed the USA-China Relation Act

with President Bill Clinton. Now China has opened embassies in all major powers of the West.

6. Involvement in United Nations' activities. China being an occupant of a permanent seat of the UN Security Council, actively participate in international matters like peace keeping missions and provision of relief to victims of hunger and floods. In 2004, she deployed around 1,500 soldiers under the UN umbrella, dispatched between Liberia and the DRC.

## **CHINESE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE THIRD WORLD**

Chinese relations with the Third World started earlier in the 1950s and has ever since been friendly. The establishment of modern Sino-African relations for example dates back to the late 1950s when China signed the first official bilateral trade agreement with Algeria, Egypt, Guinea, Somalia, Morocco and Sudan. To add on that, Zhou Enlai made a ten country tour to Africa between December 1963 and January 1964.

### ***Militarily;***

1. Assistance to liberation movements. China extended financial, military, and technical help to a number of freedom movements in Third World countries such as to Vietnam against the French colonialists and American invaders between 1949 and 1975, to Angola and Mozambique against the Portuguese to Zimbabwe and South Africa against White minority regimes.
2. Involvement in peacekeeping missions. There is a large Chinese contribution in Africa in peacekeeping. For example, in 2004. China deployed around 1,500 soldiers under the UN umbrella, dispatched between Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.
3. Presence of Chinese military attaches. China has a number of military attaches in Third World Countries. As of 2007, she had 14 attaches in 14 African countries. Through the attaches, China also provides military training and equipment some countries. For example, supplied patrol boats to the DRC and contributed to construction of a military institute in Tanzania.

### ***Economically;***

4. Expanding trade relations. Ever since 1980, the total trade volume between China and the Third World has been increasing. For instance, since 2008 China remains Third World's largest trading partner. She largely imports mineral ores, petroleum and agricultural products from the Third World while her exports to the Third World consisting largely of manufactured goods.
5. Extension of aid. China provides aid to many Third World Countries in forms donations and soft loans and credits. Unconditional and low-rate credit lines (rates 1 .5% over 15 years to 20 years) have taken the place of the more restricted and interest Western loans. Since 2000, more than \$10bn in debt owed by African nations to China has been cancelled. More so, China funds infrastructural developments I the construction of the Tazara railway line in Tanzania.

6. Foreign investment. Many Chinese corporations are doing business in The Third World with an estimated 800 Chinese corporations doing business in Africa, most of which are private companies investing in the infrastructure, energy and banking sectors.

#### ***Socially;***

7. Assistance in education. China has offered help in many education projects infrastructural development in The Third World. Also, scholarships are provided Third World students to study in China and Chinese students visit The Third World states.
8. Cultural attachments. China has friendly cultural relations with many Third World Countries. Africa for example is a host of three Chinese cultural centres in Mauritius, Egypt and Benin. The Confucian Institute, which focuses on the promotion of the Chinese language and culture has 20 centres distributed around 13 African countries of which Tanzania is among them.

#### ***Diplomatically;***

9. Third World Countries supported China to join the United Nations. Third World State such as African countries like Algeria, Egypt and Gambia and Arab countries stressed their support for the recognition of Chinese membership of the UN. Partly due their efforts China was permitted to join the UN in 1972, taking over the seat of the Republic of China on Taiwan.
10. China was a member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). China learned up with the non-aligned countries in the Cold War. China offered financial and military assistance to NAM and had military ties with non-aligned countries such as Egypt.
11. Diplomatic state visits. China's foreign policy since 1950s was much centred to establishment of close diplomatic ties with the Third World. The gate was opened in 1960s when Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai made a ten-country high level diplomatic tour to African countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Guinea, Somalia, Morocco and Sudan between December 1963 and January 1964. Since 1997 (to 2014), around 40 African heads of state have visited the People's Republic of China and their Chinese counterparts also visiting their countries.

#### ***The impact of Sino-Africa relations***

1. Assisting liberation movements in the Third world
2. Helping in the provision of relief to areas of hunger and provision of basic necessities to areas of need.
3. Extension of assistance in the provision of social services: education and health.
4. Provision of economic and technical aid like the construction of TAZARA railway line in Tanzania
5. Defending Third World interests at international levels especially at UN.
6. Close diplomatic ties between China and the Third World
7. Increased foreign investment in the Third World Chinese investors.
8. Expansion of trading ties with China

## THE EFFECTS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

### *Effects on China*

1. Establishment of a communist state in China. After victory over the Kuomintang government of Chiang-Kai-shek, on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1949 Mao Tse-tung proclaimed a communist government which he referred to as the Peoples Republic of China. A new flag, red in colour with five stars was hoisted to show the communist victory. All forms of capitalism were abolished by nationalisation of major means of production like land.
2. Political organisation. The revolution ended the long time Chinese political disorganisation by providing China with a strong centralised government for the first time set up by Mao Tse-tung and Zhou Enlai. Territories under the control of the warlords were set free and incorporated into a one Chinese Peoples Republic. A new constitution which gave the communist party ultimate control and confirmed China as a communist state was adopted in 1954. It also set up the National People's Congress (legislature) whose members were elected for Four years.
3. Economic reorganisation. The Communist Government carried out tremendous reforms to put Chinese economy on right track. Land reforms were introduced and new technologies made available to Farmers and later communes were organised to raise production. Modern industrialization programmes were initiated, indeed the revolution was the key foundation for the rise of China as an outstanding world economy and superpower.
4. China became a strong supporter of socialism second to USSR. China joined Russia in spreading socialism in the world by supporting socialist movements in countries such as Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba. In relations to that, the success of Chinese Communist revolution and Chinese material assistance encouraged some countries like Tanzania and Nicaragua to adopt socialism.
5. The revolution also contributed to the Sino-Soviet conflicts. In early 1960s, China had split with the Soviet Union over the leadership of world communism. As a result the USSR named the Chinese communist revolution a "peasant revolution because many relied on the peasants and not workers in the struggle. Mao also accused the USSR of trying to make China her satellite.
6. Growth and spread of Atheism in China. This was in line with the Marxist belief in the non-existence of God and that justice and equality can be brought by the socialists and not merely relying on religion which was also used by states and the rich Capitalist to exploit the poor. Indeed China is among the countries where atheism has deep roots.
7. Elimination of foreign influence and interference on China. For long the Chinese were under the influence of foreign powers politically and socio-economically. Britain and France for example invested capital in industry and USA used China as her reliable market of manufactured goods and opium. While parts of China were under foreign control like Manchuria under the Japanese. However, after the revolution, China were full sovereignty and became self-reliant.
8. The revolution raised the status of Mao. The success of the Communist Revolution in China elevated the status of Mao. He won praise as an outstanding leader, liberator the Chinese people and desired example of the needed leadership in China. The Chinese remember him as one who unified China and liberated the Chinese from foreign influence and laid

foundation for the Chinese political and economic development. Indeed to the majority Chinese he is regarded as the founder of modern China.

### ***Effects in the world***

The Chinese socialist Revolution left an abiding mark on the history of the world.

1. China became a strong supporter of socialism second to USSR. China joined the USSR in spreading socialism in the world by supporting socialist movements in different parts of the world starting in Asia in countries such as Korea and Vietnam, but also in other countries like Cuba and Nicaragua. Her involvement in such struggles ended in the communist victories and declaration of communist states in those countries. Such successes inspired more like Tanzania Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua to adopt socialism on assistance of the communist bloc.
2. Intensification of the Cold War. The success of the Chinese Communist Revolution upset the global balance of power between communists and capitalists as China joined the USSR the struggle to spread communism worldwide like in Asia with countries. In retaliation USA increased anti-communism campaign for example in Asia by involving herself in, Korea (1950-3). Vietnam (1961-76) and Taiwan (1949) to prevent them from falling to communism. She formed military alliances like SEATO to contain Communism in Asia.
3. The revolution also boosted liberation movements in the colonies. It inspired nationalist struggles in a number of ways like borrowing of guerrilla war tactics used by the Chinese communist revolutionaries. Additionally, China provided material support to liberation movements like the MPLA in Angola and FRELIMO in Mozambique.
4. The revolution also contributed to the Sino-Soviet conflicts. In early 1960s, China had split with the Soviet Union over the leadership of world communism. As a result the USSR named the Chinese communist revolution a peasant revolution because Mao relied on the peasants and not workers in the struggle. Mao also accused the USSR of trying to make China her satellite.
5. Spread of Atheism. In line with the Marxist non-religious belief, the success of the Communist Revolution in China led to the spread of atheism in China. On the same ground the successes China reached like unity and economic prosperity influenced the spread of atheism in other communist and none-communist states.
6. Creation of Taiwan. After the communist victory in China 1949, the defeated, Chiang Kai-shek and thousands of his Kuomintang troops and supports tied to Taiwan and formed the Republic of China there by claiming its legitimacy over the whole of China. USA backed Chiang's Republic in Taiwan. The USA provided military aid to Taiwan and signed a Mutual Defense Treaty with her in 1954 aiming at using her to fight the Communist Peoples Republic of China.
7. Rise of China as world superpower. The tremendous political and economic reorganisation reached by China after the revolution is foundation stone on China has emerged a world power. The Communist government unified the once divided Chinese people and set developmental reforms in Chinese economies in the fields of industry, agriculture and infrastructure. More scientific and technological education emphasised to



set the Chinese for economic development. By efforts China is among the leading industrial powers, controlling world trade and a leading world creditor.

8. Elevated Mao as world figure. The success of the Communist Revolution in China elevated the status of not only in China but in the entire Communist world and Third World. He became a celebrated figure as an outstanding example of many countries especially in the Third World where a number of nations were still in the shackles of imperialist controls of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Moreover China became a strong supporter of anti-imperialist campaigns by providing material and moral support to independence and socialist movements in world.

## **TANZANIA'S SOCIALIST EXPERIMENT, 1967-85**

### **UJAMAA POLICY**

Ujamaa socialist ideology was a brand of Utopian Socialism based on a Tanzanian environment aiming at building a self-reliant economy in Tanzania to overcome exploitation and influence of foreign power. It was a brand of African socialism of Tanzania.

The Ujamaa and self-reliance policy was proclaimed by the then president of Tanzania Mwalimu (Mwl) Julius K. Nyerere in the Arusha Declaration of 5<sup>th</sup> February 1967 as he stated "the policy of TANU (the then ruling party) is to build a socialist state". The policy came to be referred to as Ujamaa villagization/extended family which Mwl. Nyerere described as the basis of African socialism.

Mwl. Nyerere assumed that each African country can develop its own brand of socialism a version that is best suited to its own unique historical social and political conditions. To him therefore the Ujamaa was suited for Tanzania.

Julius Kambarage Nyerere (13 April 1922— 14 October 1999) was a Tanzanian statesman who served as the leader of Tanzania, and previously Tanganyika, from 1960 until his retirement in 1985. He was known by Swahili honorific "Mwalimu" (Teacher), his profession prior to politics. He was a son of the chief of the small Zanaki ethnic group. He was educated at Tabora Secondary School, Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda and Edinburgh University (Britain) where he graduated with an M.A. in history and economics in 1952 and returned to Tanganyika to teach. Mwalimu Nyerere was a co-founder of the Tanganyika African National Union. When Tanganyika was granted responsible government in 1960, Mwalimu Nyerere became (Chief Minister). He led Tanganyika to independence a year later and became the new country's first Prime Minister.

The country became a republic in 1962, with Mwalimu Nyerere as the country's first president. In 1964, Tanganyika united with Zanzibar and Tanzania was formed, with Mwalimu Nyerere as president of the unified country until his retirement in 1985 though he remained chairman of CCM until 1990. In 1967, influenced by the ideas of African Socialism, Mwalimu Nyerere issued the Arusha Declaration, which outlined his vision of Ujamaa (variously translated as "family hood" or "socialism") *Ujamaa* was a concept that came to dominate Nyerere's

policies. He is one of Africa's respected figures being among the major founders of the OAU (now AU) and due his efforts in the anti-colonial campaign in Central and Southern Africa.

### ***The theories of the Ujamaa policy***

- a. The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the farmers and the workers themselves through their government and cooperatives.
- b. To ensure that the ruling party is a party of farmers and workers.
- c. No member and particularly no leader should live on another labour or have capitalist or feudalist tendencies.
- d. Every party and government leader was not to hold directorship in any privately owned enterprise, own shares in any company, receive two or more salaries, or rent houses to others.
- e. Tanzania should depend on her own human and physical resources for her development.
- f. Agriculture is a necessity, the basis of development for Tanzania. Agricultural production was to be the first target for national development, since Tanzania had plenty of land and labour but little capital.
- g. Tanzanian society under colonial rule remained mostly rural, pre industrial and underdeveloped with plenty of land and labour, no indigenous class interests and with its people still living in kinship groups.
- h. The policy called for the state to play a stronger role in development of the country's rural economy. The function of the government was simply to provide guidance and support for the success of the policy between 1967- 1973.

By such beliefs Mwalimu Nyerere was certain that it was entirely possible to build an African socialist society in modern Tanzania through the Ujamaa (villagisation) policy.

### ***The basis of Ujamaa Villagisation policy***

The basis of Ujamaa was to create an economic self-reliance which Mwl. Nyerere believed was the only way to build a healthy development and widening a genuine political, social and economic independence for Tanzania. He argued:

“we are mistaken when we imagine that we shall get money from foreign countries for our development: firstly because we cannot get enough money for our development and secondly because even if we could get it. Such complete dependence on outside help would have endangered our independence and the other policies of our country”.

Tanzania should depend on her local human and physical resources for her development but that never meant that Tanzania should reject foreign aid. We are not saying that we do not accept or even that we shall not look for money from other countries for our development” Mwl. Nyerere remarked. That the policy of Self-Reliance meant that as far as possible the development of Tanzania had to be based on local resources: foreign aid was only to supplement funds generated locally.

Connected with the policy of Self-Reliance is the role of money in the development of Tanzania. It was emphasised in the Arusha Declaration that it would be quite unwise for a poor country like Tanzania to depend on money, a commodity that she does not have, as her main weapon in the war against poverty, backwardness and exploitation. It was argued that money is the fruit rather than the foundation of development.

The Declaration identified four foundations of development which are; land, people, good policies and good leadership. Significantly, the most important means of production in Tanzania, land, belongs to the nation as a whole. Thus, by calling people's attention to the significance of land in the process of national consolidation along socialist lines, TANU was responding to the realities of the situation in Tanzania. Land is abundant, and though some ecological and climatic factors sometimes restrict its utility, there is relatively little difficulty in using this all-important means of production.

Agriculture (not industry) is of a necessity, the basis of development in Tanzania. Mwalimu Nyerere argued "...and because the main aim of development is to get more food, and no money for our needs our purpose must be to increase agricultural production" to him as he further stated that "this is in fact, the only road through which we can develop our country

Since the Tanzanian society under colonial rule remained mostly rural, pre industrial and underdeveloped with plenty of land and labour, no indigenous class interests and, with its people still living in kinship groups. Mwl. Nyerere was certain that it was entirely possible to build an African socialist society in modern Tanzania through the Ujamaa villagisation policy

### ***Implementation of Ujamaa policy***

A number of things had to be done in implementing the policies stipulated in the Arusha Declaration;

1. Nationalisation of major means of production. Soon after the declaration on 5<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1967, a number of private companies, all commercial banks, insurance services and foreign trade were nationalised. These measures were taken so that the nation could have control over the economy.
2. Revision of the curricula and teaching methods in schools and other institutions of learning. Shortly after the Arusha Declaration the Mwl. Nyerere published a pamphlet entitled "Education for Self-Reliance". Education for self reliance was adopted to shape the attitude of the nation by preparing learners to serve their communities. Emphasis was put on agriculture and vocational courses to create enough skilled labour so as to stop relying on foreign experts.
3. Establishment of Ujamaa villages. During 1970s, government and party (TANU) officials mobilised mass movements of rural population away from their ancestral homes into new village sites. In 1972, Mwl. Nyerere himself participated in developing the Ujamaa village of Chamwino in Dodoma. By March 1973 about two million people were living in 5,556 Ujamaa villages.
4. Decentralisation of authority and responsibility. Decentralisation of powers from the executive ministries in Dar-es-Salaam to regional and district authorities was meant to

promote decision making by the people at the grass root level. It was hoped that it would give people greater chance to participate in different development programmes and facilitate identification of priorities at local level and implementation of plans.

### ***Reasons for (adoption of) socialism — Ujamaa***

1. Promote unity and solidarity. Unity was to be promoted by a single party system and Ujamaa villages. A single party system would help avoid irresponsible divisions and rivalries created by multiparty politics which divided masses along religious, regional and ethnic line since the colonial era. As a result Tanzania was declared a single party state under TAN U.
2. Attain self reliance. Ujamaa was thought to be a road for Tanzania to attain self dependent economy. This was to be achieved by mass collectivisation policy through mass participation in economic activities and dependence on the available resources for development. The aim was to win economic and political independence by stopping depending on foreign assistance.
3. Eradicate imperialist influence on Tanzania. By creating a socialist state and self sustaining economy. Tanzania would be able to eliminate foreign influence from capitalist powers to ensure political independence. Influence by foreign powers was being sustained on foreign assistance.
4. Create a classless Tanzanian society. The policy was also focused at creating a classless Tanzanian society by ending income inequalities and social classes created by colonialists. The aim was to create a society of a common people who live and share equally.
5. Promote good governance. By checking on corruption and favouritism basing on religious ethnical, regional lines. And through decentralisation of authority by giving power to regional and district authorities to allow mass decision making from the grassroots in villages.
6. Create balanced development for all regions in Tanzania. The Ujamaa policy was thought to be a solution of the colonial regionalism. Similarly it targeted rural development by providing rural areas with basic social services: transport infrastructure, education and health services to encourage agricultural production and control rural-urban migration. Development was to target majority of the population in rural areas to avoid urban centred development of the colonial type.
7. Eradicate poverty and ignorance. Poverty and ignorance were discovered to be the major enemy of the country. Ujamaa would provide solution by providing enough social services like education and health and raise society income rather than individual incomes which perpetuate inequalities (classes) and poverty. Also by encouraging mass education in the fight of ignorance.
8. Influence of the Socialist bloc. The bloc headed by USSR included China and Cuba. Their success in creating socialism inspired Mwl. Nyerere to introduce socialism. But also the socialist bloc offered material support to Tanzania to encourage socialism.
9. Socialism was not new in Africa. Pre-colonial African societies lived in social settings of kinship and clan organisations the systems which were distorted by colonialism. So the Ujamaa hoped to revive the same systems. Besides that social living was still evident in Africans daily lives through extended families and village collectivisations

10. It was adopted as a matter of fashion. It is also argued that socialism was adopted in Tanzania by copying from others like China and North Korea, which shared a lot of experience with Tanzania and were her close allies. And on the same ground that because the colonialists were capitalists.

### ***Achievements of Ujamaa***

1. Nationalization of private enterprises. Soon after the Arusha declaration, private companies, all commercial banks and insurances were nationalised. For example, flour milling companies and import-export houses were nationalised.
2. Improvement in provision of social services. Transport facilities like roads were extended to the Ujamaa villages, rural schools were raised and literacy levels rose to about 80% with introduction of Universal primary Education, medical and clean water services were supplied to rural areas. To a certain extent rural and uniform development was achieved.
3. Forged national unity. National unity was strengthened by a single party system and through Ujamaa, villages encouraged social living and collectivisation policies through cooperatives.
4. Reduced income inequalities. Income inequalities were checked by reduction of class differentiations through nationalisation of private property and village collectivisation which raised rural incomes. For instance income ratio between highest government salaries and minimum wage was reduced to 6:1.
5. Creation of Ujamaa villages. Government and party (TANU) officials supervised mass movements of the rural population from their ancestral homes into new village sites for collectivisation. This was a core step in the implementation of Ujamaa policy.
6. Agriculture development. Agriculture was the backbone of Ujamaa economy. The government provided assistance of tools, better seeds and infrastructure through village cooperatives to boost agricultural production. Famine was checked and employment expanded.
7. Land distribution among the people. Land distribution was done through village cooperatives. This promoted agricultural production and co-operation and also reduce: income inequalities.

### ***Collapse of Ujamaa ideology***

1. Foreign capitalist powers were hostile to the plan for it had a socialist nature. In response, Tanzania was not warmly welcomed in the capitalist world led by USA and did not receive enough aid for her development projects.
2. The ideology was sound in theory but in practice had no clear plan of the Marxian orientation towards a true socialist development. For instance, it was built by evolution and not by a socialist revolution and thus left room for capitalism to mushroom amidst the Ujamaa societies. Thus it took a gradual process hence was easily intervened before its materialisation.
3. Bad implementation of the sociality policy. Over reliance on only agriculture was unfeasible because agriculture suffers a lot from weather problems and cannot be developed without industry. Thus a strong economic diversification Tanzania could not overcome foreign influence. Together with that the destruction of ancestral homes and

forceful mass movement of rural populations to the Ujamaa village sites was not welcomed by many people.

4. The food crisis of 1973. The crisis occurred particularly as a result of forceful transfer of people to new village sites. Sometimes the village sites were remote and others dry where agriculture could not do well. Consequently, societies were hit by severe famine.
5. The government did not consider the true village needs. Government support to the villages was either too little or too late and. As a result villages remained lacking essential needs like health, infrastructure, education and farm implements.
6. Government leaders hijacked the democratic participation in the villages and imposed a direct state control. For example, even leaders of village co-operatives were government appointees and were answerable not to the people they were serving but directly to the government. That did not win full support of the masses.
7. Depended on foreign aid. The government depended on foreign assistance from the Socialist states like the USSR and China and Scandinavian countries like Sweden and Denmark. Besides the provision of little aid, the country was plunged into debts and her independence threatened.
8. Corruption and embezzlement of public funds. Management of state enterprises suffered from corruption. A lot of state revenue was embezzled by state officials. Consequently, there was low production which caused acute shortages of essential goods and little assistance to Ujamaa villages.
9. Economic crisis of 1980s. The crisis was caused Kagera war (1978-79) by the debt and oil crises among others. The crisis endangered the Tanzanian economy and its socialist approach. The war for example, caused infrastructural destructions and loss of lives in the Kagera region. With little to spend on the war, the government borrowed 500 million dollars from USA to meet war costs. To deal with the debt crisis Tanzania was compelled to approach the IMF which imposed capitalist liberal economic condition to qualify for assistance.
10. Decline of the Soviet Union and Cold War. The Soviet Union was the main backing and influencing power of socialism in the world. She defended and materially supported socialist countries in the world including Tanzania. Her political and economic decline was a heavy blow to Tanzanian socialist policy.
11. Established on theoretical assumption of traditional village life of communal living and working but this had been interrupted by the capitalist-colonial system of individualism so it was impossible to drive Tanzanian societies back to pre-colonial systems. Additionally the assumption of village societies being classless was wrong because classes have been there even before colonialism.
12. Wrong timing. The time at which a socialist approach was declared (the Arusha declaration of 1967) was not appropriate for a socialist success. World Socialism (communist) takeovers show that successful transformations to socialism succeeded immediately after a revolution and by the majority oppressed and exploited masses like how it was in Russia and China. Thus immediately after overthrowing the feudal and Foreign influenced Tsarist and Kuomintang regimes. Likewise in Tanzania, it was been much appropriate to declare a socialist state immediately after independence, thus when the pains and memories of colonial exploitation and oppression were still very fresh and disgusting. However in 1967 people had tested freedom hence the colonial pains had started healing.

## THE FALL OF THE USSR AND THE COMMUNIST BLOC

The new state of USSR died prematurely before celebrating its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The years 1980's were extended by the gradual deem of communism in the USSR and Eastern Europe altogether and in the early 1990s, the union (USSR) crumbled and finally disintegrated as all the 15 republics were declared Fully autonomous. The unprecedented political and economic uncertainty in the late 1980s accelerated the breakup of the Union. As the situations worsened, the republics declared their independence starting with Estonia and Latvia in March 1990. The other republics were Lithuania, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

As the USSR weakened, the Eastern bloc weakened too. Gorbachev's reforms of perestroika and glasnost in the USSR certainly did much to encourage change in Eastern Europe. There were a number of popular demands for similar changes from the countries und Soviet control. Making matters worse Gorbachev, the Union last leader was no long prepared to use armed Force to maintain the communist regime in Eastern Europe an called upon leaders to respect their peoples demands. This in turn, created difficulties or the Communist parties and leaders in Eastern Europe. As a result, the year 1989 saw an extraordinary turn-about, with communist regimes collapsing as follows; Poland in June, East Germany in October, Czechoslovakia in November, and in December Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria. A number of factors have been advanced to explain the events.

1. The dictatorship of the socialist governments. Communist rule meant a one party system of governance (proletariat party dictatorship) as demanded by Marxism. By 1980s, many people in the Soviet Union and Eastern European communist states wanted multiparty politics, free elections and free political discussion. Such demands were contrast to a single party dictatorship maintained by the communist system.
2. Economic stagnation. The USSR and Eastern Europe lagged behind economically compared to the capitalist powers. Industry and agriculture were not realistically efficient. Economic woes were also worsened by the overly-focused on military build to keep pace with the USA in arms race while neglecting domestic troubles. Leaving that aside, the Union was too vast to the point where it became cumbersome to continue state planning. This resulted in failed economic policies that played a major role in bringing down the USSR.
3. The question of religion. Many East European nationalities were strongly religious and wanted freedom of religious belief. Some were Muslims like Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan. Turkmenistan and Tajikistan while others like Moldova, Estonia and Lithuania were majority Orthodox Christians. The communist governments suppressed religious worship.
4. The issue of Nationalism. The Soviet Union comprised of many nationalities such as the Russians, Poles, Ukrainians and Belarusians. The dominance of Russians in governance seemed that other nationalities were subjugated by the Russians. Also, the communist parties expected loyalty to communism and the Soviet Union over peoples' own nations. By 1980s, nationalism had grown within each republic like Ukraine. Belarus and Lithuania as they wanted a nation free from outside control and which would act in the interests of its citizens.

5. Corruption and inefficiencies. The Soviet Union government officials were so corrupt that its populace could experience for themselves the corruption and inefficiencies of the Communist system. Public funds were embezzled and state officials always gave wrong data on state programmes and accountability. These further eroded support for the regime.
6. Decentralisation. When the Soviet Union allowed individual republics more autonomy from the 1970s, it gave an opportunity for its own dissolution. Having tested the little independent given, many people in the republics urged for total separation from the Soviet Union. Additionally, with more autonomy, some republics established friendlier relations with USA which meant that they were no longer completely motivated to strengthen themselves in the Soviet Union.
7. Gorbachev's reforms of glasnost and perestroika. Glasnost meaning openness about government policy and listening to public opinion allowed the public to learn of government failures. With perestroika, aiming at economic reforms, some free market elements were added, but not enough to bring about reform. Businesses Failed, as price controls were kept in place which discouraged the incentive to produce sufficient quantities. Besides being inclined towards capitalism, the policies also failed to provide results quickly enough, to lead to the collapse of communism and breakup of the USSR.
8. The cold war. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union leaders put the largest amount of efforts to compete with the USA than on developing the state. A lot of resources were dragooned to win USA and her capitalist allies in the Cold War races of arms and space technology and supporting many socialist movements worldwide like in Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba. By so doing, the soviet leaders miscalculated since the union government could not meet its peoples' demands.
9. Western engagement with the USSR and her satellite states. USA used a number of means to weaken the USSR for example she supported anti-communist movements within the Soviet Union and in its satellite states like in Poland. Lastly, facilitated Afghanistan guerrillas to resist the Soviet invasion consequently by the end of the war 1987-89, USSR had suffered unbearable damage. Also she campaigned for the isolation of the USSR for example by boycotting the Moscow Olympics in 1980.
10. Rise of weak and anti union leaders. Russian and the USSR leaders from the 1980s lacked the zeal to fight and preserve communism and the Soviet Union. Boris Yeltsin, the last Russian president in the USSR, encouraged Russians and leaders of the other republics like Ukraine and Belarus to agree to dissolve the Soviet Union. However, Gorbachev carries the most blame. He lacked a practical vision and charisma to maintain the USSR. His glasnost-perestroika reforms were more inclined to capitalism. He declined to crash anti communist movements in satellite states such as Poland, Hungary and Romania. Finally, on the 25<sup>th</sup> Dec 1991 he announced the end of the USSR.

### ***Implication of the collapse of USSR to the international affairs***

The Soviet Union officially disintegrated on the 25<sup>th</sup> Dec 1991 when its last president Mikhail Gorbachev announced the union's end and from there on she gave up her superpower status. All soviet republics such as Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Georgia were declared independent. Likewise, the communist governments in Eastern Europe crumbled and the eastern communist bloc demised.



### ***Implications on the Third World (especially Africa)***

1. Reduced economic assistance to the Third World countries. Both the capitalist and communist camps reduced provision of aid to the Third World countries because aid was usually provided to persuade the Third World to ally with them and adopt their ideologies during the Cold War. The collapse of the USSR weakened communism and relieved the USA of communist threat to reduce provision of aid to the Third World. USA directed her aid to former communist countries of Eastern Europe to extend her influence towards them.
2. Change of political and economic systems. Many socialist regimes and systems like Ujamaa in Tanzania and Humanism in Zambia and Mono-party political systems followed the Soviet Union in the grave. The fall of communism was an economic blow to them since depended on the Soviet Union aid hence they were compelled to approach the West for aid. Falling under Western influence, Third World socialist states were conditioned to abandon communist systems in favour of a free market economy and Western democracy of multi-party politics.
3. The fall of the USSR frustrated economic planning programmes in some Third World countries. This was especially to African states such as Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique which had embraced socialism and depended on assistance from the Soviet Union. Such countries were left in a dilemma of whether to continue with socialism or join capitalism. However all came to adopt capitalism.
4. The collapse weakened the activities the Non-Aligned Movement. NAM was formed due to the Cold War aiming at keeping member countries in a neutral position between the Cold War blocs by not siding with either the capitalists or communists. But also assisted by the communist bloc. The collapse of USSR ended the cold war and NAM lost its cardinal objective.
5. Increased puppetism in the Third World. Petty bourgeoisie leaders have consolidated their positions in Third World countries as puppets of the capitalist countries especially USA. They serve the interests of Western capitalist powers and not the development of their own countries to win favours from USA.
6. Reduction of tension and fear. The tension created by USA - USSR antagonism during the cold war has been largely reduced. The rivalry between the two superpowers had created a war atmosphere and had put the world in danger of the deadliest nuclear war. If such a war could occur, the whole world would be affected. The fall of the USSR reduced the Fear.
7. End of political instabilities in states that had adopted socialism. Third World socialist countries were rendered in civil wars, coup d'états and political assassinations during the Cold War. For example in the civil in Angola. USA sponsored UNITA rebels against the socialist MPLA government supported by USSR. USA also engineered coup d'états and assassinations of pro-communist leaders like the overthrow of Mengistu Heil Maryam in Ethiopia and Siad Bare in Somalia and the assassination of Patrice Lumumba.
8. Strengthened USA dominance in the Third World. The dissolution of the USSR left the USA unchallenged on Third World affairs. As a result the capitalist powers have increased influence in the Third World through foreign investment and engineering political changes like the invasions of Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya purposely to create puppet regimes.

### ***Political and economic impacts of the fall of USSR on the East- West relations***

1. The end of the Cold War. The collapse of the Soviet Union was the end of the Cold War direct confrontations since the Soviet Union was the core member of the communist camp just like the USA to the capitalist camp. Its disintegration meant that USA was left with no strong rival.
2. Germany reunification. The collapse of the Soviet Union allowed the reunion of the two Germans which had been divided by the rival Cold War powers. The Berlin wall was dismantled on 9 November 1989. Germans of both West and East Germany embraced the reunification enthusiastically and on 3 October 1990. Germany became a united country once again.
3. The union of the USSR. Dissolution of the WARSAW PACT. After the disintegration of the USSR, communism in the East declined and the WARSAW PACT lost its objective. The PACT had been formed as a defensive alliance against capitalist invasion of the communist states and a counter check to NATO.
4. Collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. In the late 1980's, the communist governments in Eastern Europe were overthrown in a series of violent civil revolutions. Communist leaders were deposed and others killed like Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife in Romania who were assassinated. Since then these countries have shifted to liberal politics of multi-party system and free elections and free market economy the capitalist system.
5. Improved relations between the East and the West. The dissolution of the USSR improved the East-West relations and cooperation to the extent that Russia fought alongside USA in the Gulf war of 1991 to withdraw Iraq from Kuwait. The West and Western monetary institutions like the IMF and World Bank also have extended aid to the East and investors from the West have been allowed to invest in Eastern Europe to penetrate capitalism there.
6. Freedom of worship was restored in the East. Massive missionary work was directed to the East by the West to revive worshipping there. Churches have been reopened in the former communist states of Eastern Europe.
7. Heightened nationalism in Eastern Europe. The period after the dissolution of the USSR, has seen the increase in nationalist quest. Nations containing overlapping ethnic groups rose in demand to make independent territorial claims. In Czechoslovakia for example, a civil war broke out and the country broke into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Some conflicts remained such as that between Russia and Chechnya and Ukraine such crises are fuelled by the West as well
8. Change in the World Order. The demise of the USSR prompted the rise of Terrorism to fill the vacuum left by the Soviet Union in the challenge against USA and Western imperialism. Terrorist groups like the Al-Qaida, Al-Shahab and Boko Haram have been formed partly to fight the Western practices.

### **Sample questions**

1. With concrete explanations trace the origins of the development of world socialism.
2. Trace the development of Socialist thought in the world

3. "Utopian socialism was a foundation stone for the development of Socialism in the world. Explain.
4. Show the utopianism of Utopian Socialism
5. The Utopian socialists expected much during their time but they hardly harvested much at the end. Justify this statement.
6. Socialism is an ideal system for an ideal society. Discuss
7. The October 1917 Russian Revolution was a product of both internal and external material conditions inherent in Russia. Substantiate the statement.
8. The weakness of Tsar Nicolas II was the cause for the demise of the Tsarist system. Discuss.
9. Why was it possible for the Bolsheviks to achieve a Socialist Revolution in Russia in October 1917?
10. Analyse the repercussions of the Bolshevik revolution in the history of Eastern Europe.
11. The 1917 Russian Revolution was a watershed in the history of Africa. Justify.
12. Evaluate eight causes of the Chinese Socialist Revolution of 1949.
13. The political, economic and social development undertaken by the Chinese Communist government made the China seen today. Comment.
14. Compare and contrast the Russian and Chinese Socialist Revolutions
15. Comment on the divergent relations between China and the USA since 1949.
16. Analyse four successes and four challenges encountered by Tanzania from adopting Ujamaa and self reliance policies.
17. The collapse of the Ujamaa ideology in Tanzania could not be escaped. Discuss
18. Account for the failure of the Soviet Union to make its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary.
19. The demise of the USSR and the Eastern Bloc brought fundamental changes in Neo-Colonies. Discuss.
20. Show the implications of the demise of the USSR in the international affairs since 1990s.

## **TOPIC SIX**

### **EMERGENCE OF USA AS A NEW CAPITALIST LEADING POWER**

United States of America (USA) emerged as a new capitalist leading power after the Second World War. Before that, Europe was the leading imperialist continent in the world. The Second World War brought great changes in the world economic and political affairs to favour the rise of new superpowers of USA and USSR which replaced Europe as arbiters (controllers) of world affairs. Before the Second World War, both USA and USSR remained for different reasons preoccupied with internal development and performed little in world affairs. With the drastic decline of European powers the USA and USSR emerged as potential military and economic superpowers with USA as the leading capitalist power and USSR as the leading communist power. In this new position USA abandoned her isolationist policy to fully involve herself in the world affairs. [The once a colony became a leading imperialist power and surpassed all including the once her colonial master, Britain which also later was found under USA. her Former colony's influence since 1945. Indeed in the period after the Second World War Britain has struggled to maintain her supremacy but under the umbrella of the USA]

The emergence of Europe as a leading industrial/imperialist continent in the world led by Britain was attributed to a number of factors (refer to the first topic: The Rise of Capitalism in Europe)

#### **THE DECLINE OF EUROPEAN CAPITALISM**

Europe was the first to undertake significant economic progress in the world with Britain being the first to undergo Industrial Revolution to be the workshop of the world. Using its technological advantage Western European capitalist powers dominated the world economically and politically for a number of centuries since the 15<sup>th</sup> to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

Major capitalist powers like Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Holland had large colonial empires since the 15<sup>th</sup> Century in the Caribbean, Americas, Australia and Asia and from the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century they possessed colonial empires in Africa and Asia until mid 20<sup>th</sup> Century when their colonial hegemony was wiped-out by the wind of change in the period after the Second World War.

Though in general perspective the social and economic contradictions within the capitalist economy were responsible for the decline of European capitalism, what to be directly blamed most, for the table turning up side down for Europe was the Second World War. After the war, dominating position of Europe led by Britain in the world affairs was lost and instead power tilted in favour of USA which rose to supremacy as the number one capitalist superpower.

### ***Factors for the decline of European capitalism***

1. The economic depression of 1873-96. This depression hit Europe most because by then she was still the only one heavily industrialized with Britain being the leading one. With the depression, production declined, unemployment and inflation increased and domestic market declined. Indeed Europe was affected and was unable to return to the sound boom.
2. Rise of other industrialized states outside Europe. New strong industrialized capitalism powers particularly USA and Japan emerged in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the spread of Industrial Revolution and transition of capitalism from competition to monopoly stage. The new industrialized powers challenged European dominate industrial and commercial supremacy in the world by competing for control of source of raw materials and markets. Their rise shook European industries which by then heavily depending on foreign markets.
3. The Russian revolution of 1917. The revolution challenged European capitalism in number of ways. It intensified workers' struggles against capitalist exploitation which affected production. Secondly the socialist Russia adopted a closed economy closed her borders to protect her industries by denying capitalist producers the Russian market. And thirdly, the revolution engulfed Eastern Europe to create a strong socialist bloc against capitalism.
4. The Great Economic Depression 1929-33. The depression started in USA but in Europe harder than other capitalist economies. Europe heavily depended on USA loans, industrial goods and investment for economic recovery and to deal with scarcity brought by the First World War. The fiasco was that within the depression USA abruptly stopped supplying loans to Europe and called for repayment of already supplied loans. As a result, the depression extended to Europe with greater intensity. Industries closed unemployment and scarcity and inflation escalated.
5. The World Wars: I and II. European capitalist powers were heavily affected by the two world wars than any other part of the world. Europe suffered the heaviest economic setback because both wars were mostly fought on her soil since she was the main battle field. Europe used a lot of other resources to facilitate the wars until running bankrupt. To arrest the bankruptcy and continue facilitating the wars, heavily borrowed from USA and thus suffered from high interest which benefited their competitor. USA.
6. The Marshall Aid plan. This was the USA loan scheme to the Second World War devastated European economies. In 1947 USA offered a \$13 Billion loan to 16 European countries in poor financial situations and in need of reviving their war ruined economies. Being indebted to USA meant suffering from interest which benefited USA. Moreover and worse of all is that was fallen under USA influence — the “dollar imperialism” through which for example was conditioned by the USA to decolonize their colonies and allow USA investments in the colonies and Europe.
7. Decolonization of European colonies. The major European capitalist powers like Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium possessed colonial empires in America, Africa and Asia on which they heavily depended, for abundant cheap raw materials, ready markets for manufactured goods and surplus capital investments. Shortly after the Second World War however, the remaining colonies regained independence. European colonial masters lost

monopoly over them and the door was opened for other powers to influence and exploit them, USA in particular — colonies were taken by USA as a neo-colonial master

8. The European possession of large colonial empires. European imperialist powers used a lot of resources to acquire and run colonies. Additionally, heavy capital investments were done in some of the colonies than at home but after independence most investments were confiscated by the independent states like USA. Besides that some colonies were not economically viable but acquired for prestige like the barren and without natural resources African territories like Chad and Niger acquired the French.

### ***Impact of the decline of European capitalism/imperialism***

1. Rise of USA as the leading capitalist superpower. The decline of European capitalism left a power vacuum which was filled by USA. Stepping on the European dominance in the period during and after the Second World War, USA less affected by the war rose to prominence as the leading imperialist superpower. Even the once dominant Europe fell under her influence. This was a shift of power and change in the balance of power in favour of USA. Evidently, commercial and financial centres shifted from Europe (London) to America (New York).
2. Spread of socialism to Eastern Europe. The decline of European capitalism gave chance to USSR to spread socialism and her influence in Eastern Europe unchallenged from within Europe. USSR took the advantage to create many communist states such as Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania in Eastern Europe to contain capitalism.
3. European indebtedness and the Dollar imperialism. The decline of European capitalism forced European capitalist states to seek for economic assistance from USA in form of loans a situation which subjected them to American (dollar) imperialism. For instance, the bankruptcy of European capitalist nations after the Second World War, conditioned them to borrow from USA. USA extended the Marshall Aid to them to revive their economies. Being indebted to USA meant European powers were under American in influence.
4. Intensification of decolonization process. The decline of European imperialism intensified liberation movements in the colonies in a number of ways. First Europe fell under the influence of USA which through the Marshall Aid plan imposed the open door policy to enforce decolonisation to the colonies and secondly liberation fighters gathered courage to wage nationalist campaigns on the colonial masters weakened by the Second World War.
5. The end of USA isolationist policy. The decline of European dominance encouraged USA to abandon her isolation policy to folly involves herself in international politics undisturbed because her capitalist rivals had lost the supremacy. Importantly, USA came out as a guardian of capitalism following the growing power of communism in the period of the Second World War and after. The war weakened Europe hence she could not challenge the growing strength of communism. The decline of European capitalism gave chance to USA to dominate international politics using bodies like UNO.
6. Intensive colonial exploitation. Colonial masters devised measures to increase exploitation in the colonies. The aim was to use the colonies recover from the losses incurred during capitalist crises especially the world wars and the Great Economic Depression. They relied on the colonies for cheap raw materials, ready market, cheap

labour and areas for investment and settling surplus population. To their dismay however, intensive exploitation led to increased nationalist quest for independence.

7. Rise of other great industrial powers. The decline of European capitalism allowed the rise of other industrial giants outside Western Europe like USA, USSR, China, Japan, and Korea. These countries which previously relied on Europe for supply manufactured goods started producing on their own and instead competed with Euro for market globally. They developed more advanced technology to surpass Europe.
8. Increased European migration to USA. The decline of European economies encouraged massive migrations from Europe to USA. Many migrated to America as fortune seekers like investors and free labourers. The case for this increased during the great boom of the 1920s in USA when European economies were heavily shattered with the First World War while Americans experienced a great boom. Other migrated to the colonies to start new life there.
9. Formation of the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1957 European states formed the EEC (now European Union) aiming at consolidating European economies and bringing them back to strength to challenge USA's influence over Europe. The union was formed as a cohesive power structure between European states to revive their lost power to act independently in the world affairs and dislodge the influence of USA over Europe. Similarly, it was to balance the growing control of USA.

## **THE RISE OF USA TO THE LEADING CAPITALIST/IMPERIALIST POSITION**

### ***Background of USA c rise to dominance***

USA is dominated by people of European decent. Millions of European migrants moved the Americas since the mercantile era as merchants, investors and general fortune seeker like labourers after the discovery of the Caribbean and Americas (the then New World) by Christopher Columbus since 1492.

Following the Columbus discovery, later USA became a British colony with 13 original colonies founded between 1607 and 1732. In 1776 however, USA gained independence from British colonialism after a revolutionary struggle. Since then USA has, through purchase and annexation increased the number of states from 13 to 50. In 1959 Alaska and Hawaii became the 49<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> states of the USA. Each state enjoyed a semi autonomous status with its own leadership under a Governor and a separate set of laws but all are under the Federal (central) government of the United States of America.

There is/was no “American Empire” in the sense of large colonial holdings scattered throughout the world. But there are many US military bases, such as in the Panama Canal Lone. American Samoa and there are leased bases in Japan, South Korea, Philippines, Okinawa, Spain, West Germany, Iceland and Cuba — the disputed Guantanamo naval base. By the 19<sup>th</sup> C USA was making serious economic advancement through modernizing her industry, adopting new technology in the construction of railways, automobiles, machinery, shipbuilding and arms and military aircraft manufacture. However what gave USA a sharp boost was the Second World War. From the end of the war, USA ascended to the top as the leading capitalist and imperialist power. In this regard, to the Americans the Second World War was an advantageous evil.

### ***Factors for the rise of USA as the leading capitalist (world super) power***

1. Slave trade and slavery. USA acquired much wealth from slave trade and slavery activities of the mercantile era. The wealth came from the abundant cheap labour supply by the slaves. She sold to Europe huge amounts of raw materials such as cotton and sugar and mineral resources particularly gold and silver propagated by African slaves. The cheap slave labour and the wealth got, helped her build large ports, towns and infrastructure and develop her agriculture and industry.
2. Confiscation of British investments. The British colonized America for more than 150 years, such a long period made them convinced that America would be theirs forever. They endeavored to develop it for their own good and encouraged many English people to migrate to America. They invested a lot in farming, industries, mines and infrastructure. To their dismay however, Americans fought against them, won independence war in 1776 and dislodged them. The independent American government confiscated all British investments. This was the foundation of strength to the American economic prosperity.
3. The isolationist policy. The policy was adopted in 1796 by President George Washington and later re-affirmed in 1823 by President Monroe (Monroe doctrine of 1823 of no entangling alliance') declaring that Europe and America were incompatible and that America was for Americans to end European interference. The policy made the USA to stay away from European affairs, wars and quarrels and instead concentrate on her domestic affairs. This enabled USA to effectively concentrate on developing her economies like industries, agriculture, mining and infrastructure.
4. Political stability. For a long time, since the Civil War of 1861-65 no war has ever been fought on the USA soil. That means that no disturbances, no destructions have ever been experienced by USA since the end of the civil war. Political stability allowed USA concentrate on building her human and physical economic capability without any interruptions brought by political turmoil. Hence throughout her history USA has been concentrating on building her economies.
5. Possession of abundant natural resources. USA's natural resources are tremendous. She is among the largest countries in the world with vast fertile lands for development of agriculture and other economies like mining and manufacturing industries. She possesses mineral resources like iron and oil and natural tourist attractions like beaches, conducive summer spells, and forestry and game reserves as well. With vast resource availability, she is accessed with abundant cheap raw materials for industrial development. By 1970 USA had almost half of the world's manufacturing industry.
6. Nature of USA's population. Besides having a growing population is USA's population cosmopolitan, comprising of people from divergent origins from all parts of the world to give her an additional advantage. USA experienced rapid population expansion due to improved standards of living and increased immigration of people from all over the world since the days of slavery and mercantilism. For example 30 million people migrated into USA between 1860 and 1930. From such exodus USA was able to encourage and draw many scientists from different parts of the world that helped develop her technologies and economies. The growing population provides USA abundant cheap labour and a large domestic market as well.



7. The role of USA dollar diplomacy. The policy was developed by President William Howard Taft in 1912 aiming at extending USA economic and military domination to other parts of the world. By this policy, the US government looked at encouraging and rendering active protection to American investors wherever they were. For example the Taft administration intervened in the crisis in Nicaragua in 1912 to protect American investments. The same was done by President Woodrow Wilson's administration in Mexico in 1914 and Haiti in 1915. Similarly USA supports unpopular regimes where she has interests like when she supported colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique and the Apartheid regime in South Africa because the regimes protected her economic interests in those countries. From this policy the US wins influence and accumulates lot of wealth by exploiting such countries.
8. The role of the World wars I and II. The two world wars were a necessary evil to USA. USA was the major profiteer of the two global wars. During and after the wars, USA's economic and military power grew tremendously and indeed she emerged the leading world superpower through a number of ways;
  - a. USA joined the wars quite late (for World War I (in 1917 and World War II in 1941). This helped her spend more time consolidating her economies undisturbed. She mainly concentrated on building her industries especially for arms and war equipment and agriculture while her European rivals were destroying each other.
  - b. USA became the leading supplier of industrial goods. She made good business during and after the wars. She became the main supplier of war equipment, other manufactured goods and food to allied powers. Britain in particular to save her from Germany defeat and also in Fear of Germany attack on her. After the war USA remained the main supplier of industrial goods particularly to the war ravaged Europe and the colonies.
  - c. USA became a world creditor during and after the war. During the wars, USA supplied military equipment and industrial goods mostly to the Allied powers on credit after them going bankrupt. After the Second World War, USA issued the Marshall aid through which \$17 billion were supplied to Western Europe in form of grants and loans. USA benefited through interests and profits.
  - d. In these wars, USA joined the winning sides. This enabled her participate in making terms on the defeated sides and benefited through reparations and acquiring territories for exploitation. The main case in point was at the Potsdam conference where USA was mandated to govern Japan and the capitalist zones of Germany and Berlin.
  - e. She became a self appointing world policeman to maintain peace and guardian of capitalism. To succeed in that goal, it used her economic and military powers by supplying financial aid and formation of military alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 and the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in Asia in 1951.
  - f. Both wars were not fought on her soil. Europe and her empires were the most sufferers of ruins because they were the battlefields. Though USA participated, she transported her troops to Europe and the Pacific hence suffered no heavy destructions beyond losing some troops.

- g. During the wars particularly the Second World War. USA plundered through Axis powers' territories mainly through Germany robbing gold and amassing wealth. Also robbing raw materials and other essential materials.
  - h. The Wars contributed to the decolonization of the European colonies. The Second World War weakened the colonial masters to the point of not being effective in maintaining their colonial supremacy. Additionally, through the Marshall Aid Plan. USA brought in the "open door" policy to press colonial masters to grant independence to the colonies. Decolonization helped USA find new areas for exploitation and capital investment to emerge the leading neo-colonial master taking over the position of the former European colonial powers.
  - i. Wars proved USA's military supremacy. Besides boosting the Allied powers win against Axis powers, the use of nuclear weapons on Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 added USA additional imperialist respect and loyalty. She was now in good position to take advantage over her rivals in world affairs.
  - j. Formation of UNO. The organisation was formed in 1945 in the San Francisco conference in USA. USA is among the countries which played a leading role in the formation of UNO. Since its formation in 1945 USA holds a prestigious position with a Veto power which she use to dictate UNO (world) affairs to serve her selfish interests. Indeed UNO mostly serves as an umbrella body for US interests.
9. The Marshall plan of 1947. The aid was an economic recovery programme extended to the war ruined European countries by USA. \$17 billion was offered to Western European countries in terms of grants and loans to be paid back later with interests. The interest played a great role towards US economic development, strengthened the Dollar imperialism on European countries on which America influenced "Open door policy for decolonization which benefited her as a leading imperialist power.
10. The role of IMF and Multi-national Corporations (MNCs). The IMF was found under the influence of USA with its headquarters in USA and USA is the largest share holder of both the IMI" and the World Bank. Being the biggest share holder, USA raised huge wealth from interests on loans provided to other countries. Similarly, USA has many MNCs. operating worldwide helping her to accrue wealth from all parts of the world Both the IMF and MNCs have enabled her control the world financial affairs and henceforth strengthened the US dollar imperialism.
11. The disintegration of" the USSR and the decline of communism. The USSR and USA had existed as great rivals in the Cold War era. To advantage over the USSR. USA drained her economy by spending a lot for example in the arms race and provision of aid. The dissolution of USSR and decline of communism in the early 1990s left USA's imperialism unchallenged. Since then USA is using her resources to consolidate her imperialism and has also won the formerly communist countries to widen her exploitation zone. Worse of all she has engaged in the destabilisation of other countries to win control and exploitation zones like in Iraq and Libya.

### ***Impact of the rise of USA's capitalism in the world***

1. Decline of European capitalism. The rise of USA to the top capitalist position meant that the old leading European capitalist and imperialist power had been substituted by USA in that position. It implied that the power vacuum left by the declined European capitalists and imperialists after the Second World War was filled by USA. That means that the old balance of power determined by European Imperialist powers was upset as the supremacy position was taken by USA.
2. Decline of European capitalism. The rise of USA to the top capitalist position meant that the old leading European capitalist and imperialist power had been substituted by USA in that position. It implied that the power vacuum left by the declined European capitalists and imperialists after the Second World War was filled by USA. The supremacy position tilted in favour of USA and the old balance of power determined by European imperialist power was upset.
3. Boost to decolonization campaigns. As the new leading capitalist power USA used her economic and military influence to pressurize colonial powers to grant independence to the colonies. USA used the Marshall Aid as a tool to initiate "open door" which conditioned for the decolonization of African and Asian colonies to end European monopoly over the colonies.
4. End of USA isolationist policy. By the decline of European capitalism, USA from 1945 completely abandoned her isolationist foreign policy and turned to "world responsibility" as the leader of the drive to contain communism and as a self appointed world policeman and "peacemaker" for her imperialist needs. Using her economic and military powers, USA supplied financial aid and formed military alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and establishment of military bases in different parts of the world to contain communism. Also dictating terms on international matters like through UNO to attain her goals.
5. Control of world financial affairs. Since 1945 when USA ascended to the leading position in capitalism, she was able to impose the dollar imperialism to control the world's financial and economic affairs. She emerged as the leading world creditor through the Marshall Aid and influence over the IMF and World Bank where she is the biggest share holder. She has many Multinational Corporations like Coca cola which operate all over the world amassing wealth from different countries. Also was the Shift of commercial and financial centre From Europe to USA.
6. Existence of the Cold war. The cold war which was an ideological fighting between the capitalist camp and the communist camp was largely due to the rise of USA to supremacy as the leading capitalist power. She was responsible in a number of ways like the secret development of nuclear bombs, the Marshall Aid and involvement in European affairs. Such developments aroused disagreements with USSR hence the Cold War.
7. Development of engagement policies. Since ascending to the leading role USA has intervened in the affairs of several countries to impose her position by overthrowing anti-USA regimes replacing them with puppet regimes. Indeed it has developed into a culture of USA to destabilize anti-USA regimes like in Iraq, Libya, Panama and Congo (Zaire), Consequently, terrorist movements like Al-Qaida and Al-Shahab have emerged as anti USA imperialism.

8. USA became the leading supplier nation in the world. USA invested a lot in scientific and technological research to maintain her new position and challenge her rivals. In the long run she emerged as dominant in industrial production to become the World leading supplier of industrial products. In the same way controlled world trade. By 1970s she had almost half of the worlds manufacturing industry.
9. Emergence of Neo-colonialism. The rise of USA as the leading capitalist power ushered in a new era and form of exploitation to the Third World in the name of neo-colonialism. When European colonial rule came to an end. USA emerged as a leading neo-colonial power to exert her dominance in the world and as well surpass her competitors the communist USSR and European capitalist powers. At the same time former colonial masters were struggling to maintain their positions in the former colonies. The Third World has now added more exploiters than even during colonialism.
10. Formation of the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1957 European state formed the EEC aiming at consolidating European economies and bringing them back to strength to challenge USA's influence over Europe. The union was formed as cohesive power structure between European states to revive their lost power to act independently in the world affairs and dislodge the influence of USA over Europe. Similarly, it was to balance the growing control of USA.

### ***Impacts of emergence of USA as capitalist superpower on Africa***

1. Cold War. The US and her adversary the USSR extended the Cold War to Africa. Both involved in the decolonization campaigns to lure African countries towards their ideological camps. In some areas the Cold War however impeded decolonization struggles. In Angola and Mozambique the USA supported the Portuguese to prolong their colonial rule because the liberation movements in those countries (MPLA for Angola and FRELIMO for Mozambique) were pro-socialism and sponsored by the Communist bloc. More so, USA used material and establishment of military bases some African countries like South Africa. Kenya and Morocco to check on communist development in Africa.
2. *Boost to decolonization campaigns.* As the ne leading capitalist power USA influenced colonial powers to grant independence to African colonies. USA used her Veto power at the UN and the Marshall Aid as a tool to initiate "open door" which conditioned for the decolonization of African and Asian colonies to end European monopoly over the colonies.
3. *Emergence of Neo-colonialism.* The rise of USA as the leading capitalist power introduced Africa to neo-colonialism. After European colonial rule, USA emerged as leading neo-colonial power to exert her dominance in Africa. At the same time form colonial masters are struggling to maintain their positions in the former colonies. The Third World has now added more exploiters than even during colonialism. USA is investing capital and many of her Multi-national Corporations like Coca Cola are operating in Africa exploiting natural resources.
4. *Political and economic destabilization* USA uses her economic and military supremacy to bully African states. She intervenes in internal affairs of African countries to impose her position by engineering overthrows of anti-USA regimes replacing them with puppet regimes like the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah (1966), assassination of anti-west leaders

like Patrice Lumumba (1961). She incites civil wars like in Angola (1970- 2004) and Libya (2011) by sponsoring rebel groups against anti-western government.

5. *Development of US-African trade relations.* The ascendancy of as a leading capitalist power made USA the leading industrial and supplier nation of industrial manufactured goods in the world. Africa heavily imports manufactured goods from the USA and USA imports primary (raw materials) like mineral resources and agriculture products from Africa. By 1970s she had almost half of the world's manufacturing industry.
6. Foreign aid and relief. The US extends foreign aid to Africa in forms of loans, credits, grants and technical assistance to many African countries to facilitate development projects like agriculture, social services and infrastructure. The aid however is not by generosity. It extended to drain resources. Indeed African countries now suffer from heavy debt burden as the aid provided carries high interest rates and attached with strings for economic exploitation. Also provides relief to areas of need like famine inflicted areas like Niger (1970 and 2012)
7. Peace keeping mission. Under the umbrella of the UN, USA participated in peace keeping missions in Africa. The US troops have been sent in areas engaged in political destabilisation like the civil wars. For example American troops have served in the Democratic republic of Congo and Liberia where the civil wars. Also American diplomatic delegates were sent to Kenya to settle the post election violence in Kenya in 2009. However, the US has involved in areas where she has economic interest while in countries with no natural resources like Somalia, Rwanda (the 1994 genocide) and Burundi are neglected.
8. Cultural interference. The USA now spearheads the spread of western cultural values to Africa. Practices like homosexuality and prostitution which are embraced by the west are enforced on the African countries. For example when the Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni signs parliamentary bills against homosexuality the USA (president Barack Obama) government threatened to cut aid extension to Uganda. More so to cut diplomatic relations with Uganda.

## **USA'S ECONOMY BETWEEN 1914 AND 1949**

The period from 1914 marked a great development in the economy of USA. American industry and agriculture developed tremendously, domestic market widened, high development of infrastructure advancement of the manufacture of arms, military air craft, ships etc were realized.

Indeed in the 1920s the USA was the richest and most powerful country in the world. Its industry was booming though in 1929 a disaster struck when she was plunged into a deep economic depression but also the rest of the world followed it [in the depression (1929- 33)]. However, USA was quick to recover from the depression. In 1930s the American government of President F.D. Roosevelt came up with the New Deal to combat the problems created by the depression.

In the period 1914 to 1920s, a vast industrial expansion took the USA to the top by overtaking most of her nearest rivals like Britain, France and Germany that was the period of the Great Boom.

## **THE GREAT BOOM OF THE 1920s (THE ROARING TWENTIES)**

An economic boom is a sudden increase in trade, industry and other economic activities. It's a period of (wealth and) an increased economic success.

After the World War I, the American economy greatly expanded; industrial production reached highest levels (which had hardly been thought possible) doubling 1921 and 1929 and the time saw a great variety of new things to be bought such as radio sets, refrigerators washing machines, vacuum cleaners, new clothes, motor-cycles and above all motor-cars for example at the end of the war there were only 7m cars in the USA, but by 1929 the number had increased to about 24m.

In this decade, America became the wealthiest country in the world with no obvious rival. The economy grew by a huge amount in such a small space of time of only one decade There was rise of big business and traffic and wages rose to great heights. Businesses grew people became wealthy, new buildings were constructed and thousands of miles of roads were laid. Almost everybody seemed to have a reasonably well paid job and a lot of cash to spend on a whole range of new products like cars, radios and washing machines.

Businesses grew because they were selling more goods and making more money. Increase in demand, increased production and companies had to employ more people. This means that more money was available to spend. With more money to spend, there were more increased demands for goods and then the cycle starts again. This is the 'cycle of prosperity.'

### ***Causes of the Boom (Why did the US economy grow so fast in the 1920's)***

Historians have suggested a number of factors that worked together to cause the boom:

1. Impact of the First World War. The war helped the American Industry to prosper. During the war, America faced little competition from leading European countries like Britain and Germany which were busy making war equipment like weapons to fight the war instead of exporting goods. The war opened up new markets to America, her firms made huge profits selling weapons to the allies and America made huge loans to Britain and France to help them buy weapons. More so, after the war. America took over as a world leading producer as many European industries had suffered greatly in the war.
2. New technology. From 1914 American technology grew tremendously. Old technologies were improved and new ones invented. This included: the start of radio broadcasting in 1921 which created a demand for radios: the widespread availability of electricity supplies which created a demand for electric goods such as vacuum cleaners and refrigerators: the chemical industry created new cheap materials, such as rayon. Bakelite cellophane and fertilizers for farms: In 1928 the invention of talking pictures' boosted the film industry. Such products encouraged Americans to spend and thus boosted industry.
3. The Republican governments' economic policies. In the decade (1920-32) all the USA presidents were Republican and believed in the policy of "ragged individualism" of laissez-faire or not interfering with the economy. Instead they encouraged the growth of industries by low taxes which encouraged business owners to invest and gave consumers

more money to spend. They protected American industries from foreign competition by introducing tariffs. Also Republican governments weakened Trade Unions something which meant that meant employers were allowed to hold down wages and keep hours of working long hence making more profits.

4. Advertisement. In the 1920s, American advertisement had developed into sophisticated sales and marketing technique. Demand for goods was stimulated by a flood of advertising. Mail order catalogues, Posters, radios, news papers and cinema commercials urged customers to spend more. Even those who did not have the money could borrow it easily or take advantage of the new “Buy now, pay later” lazy purchase schemes simply due to persuasive advertisements. Consequently, by massive advertisement American economy turned from production oriented to consumer oriented.
5. Possession of abundant natural resources. USA had an essential supply of natural resources such as timber, iron, coal, minerals, oil and land. These provided enough raw materials and energy to boost industry. It meant that America did not have to buy those items from abroad and thus was enabled to produce more at lower costs to become a huge economic power.
6. Hire purchase and credit system. These were introduced in order to help American people to purchase the new goods that were available. It meant that a person could put a deposit on an item that he wanted and paid installments on that item with interest. As a result, the majority of Americans could afford expensive goods. Indeed the system encouraged Americans to buy more, availed businesses huge profits and encouraged production which also expanded job opportunities.
7. Mass production. In the 1920s new methods of production were developed in USA which made American industry increasingly efficient. The most important of these was the first moving production (assembly) line method, pioneered by the carmaker Henry Ford. The system made it cheaper and much easier to manufacture goods than by hand. Each worker was trained to perform a specific task as vehicles or engines passed by an assembly line. The method speeded production and goods could easily be produced on large scale to keep prices low. For instance more than 15 million cars were produced between 1908 and 1925. In 1927 they came off the production line at a rate of one every ten seconds.
8. The impact of the Motor industry. Throughout 1920s, the most important and biggest of the booming industries was the motor car industry. The expansion of this industry boosted the whole economy. Between 1920 and 1929 the number of Americans owning cars rose from 8 million to about 24 million. The motor industry stimulated (boosted) other industries like Glass, leather, steel and rubber which were all required to build the new vehicles. Besides that, created jobs in the construction industry as roads had to be built and boosted the oil industry as cars ran on petrol. The car industry itself employed over half a million workers who themselves, were consumers of industrial goods and lastly, it facilitated transport and communication.
9. Shares. As companies made profits their share prices rose. The system of buying “on the margin” allowed ordinary people to buy company shares on a hire purchase basis. They hoped that a rise in the share price would mean they could pay for the purchase and also make profit. Millions of Americans became share owners and this boosted investment in industry and increased many people’s prosperity and willingness to spend on goods.

10. Rise of Giant corporations and Trusts. Huge super corporations and trade associations emerged to dominate industry from the 1920s. They possessed huge capital which helped to standardize methods and tools of production and prices were kept low. A big industrial enterprises increased, more employment opportunities were availed and production expanded and mass consumption and efficiency were realized.

### ***Effects of the Economic Boom of the 1920s in USA***

1. Widening of the USA domestic market. The boom greatly resulted into the expansion of American domestic market. There was hardly any unemployment, so people had money to spend in the shops. Industrial growth caused expansion of working class, increase in wages to expand the domestic market for American goods.
2. Great expansion of American industry. This was due to tremendous technological advancement. The most notable one was the motor car industry which emerged as the biggest industry in USA. For instance in 1900 there were only 4000 cars but by 1929 the number had increased to 4.8 million. The car industry boosted other industries as well particularly steel, rubber, chemicals, oil and textile industries. Other industries included arms, military aircrafts and ship building. New technologies brought in new goods like domestic appliances such as vacuum cleaners, and refrigerators.
3. Expansion of income inequalities. Wealth was concentrated at the top with the rich capitalist classes of industrial owners and businessmen, controlling the country's wealth and exploiting workers leaving them poorer. Between 1922 and 1929 wages of industrial workers increased by only 1.4% per year, 6 million families (42% of the total population) had an income of less than \$1000 as the small percentage of the rich took the largest of the total income. Indeed the rich became richer and the poor remained poor.
4. Expansion of towns and cities. Many industrial towns like New York. Chicago and San Francisco greatly developed due to industrial growth and infrastructural development. New transport networks like roads and railways, buildings and other social services were put in place and old ones improved to support the increased migrations from different parts of the world especially from Europe and many from agricultural southern states migrating to Northern industrial states. Slums where many low income groups like workers who lived a miserable life also developed. For example in New York City alone there were 2 million families, many of them immigrants, living in thin tenements.
5. Massive migrations to USA. The boom caused both external and internal migrations to and within USA respectively. Many people especially from Europe where the First World War brought greater economic decline were attracted to migrate to USA in search for jobs in the American booming industries and business. Internal migration was the mass movement of almost 50% of American populations especially Black Americans from the agricultural southern states to the industrial northern states to work in factories.
6. Rise of Giant corporations and Trusts. These were huge super corporations and trade associations which came to dominate industry from the 1920s. They amassed huge wealth that by 1929 the wealthiest 5% of corporations took over 84% of the total income of all corporations. Although they helped to standardize methods and tools which realized efficiency in production, they kept prices higher and wages lower than necessary.
7. Lack of sound diversification. During the boom American economy portrayed a weakness of lack of diversification. Prosperity was largely a result of expansion of



manufacturing industry especially automobile (car) industries and their associated corollary industries such as the petroleum, steel and rubber industries. Older businesses such as coal mining and agriculture to a large reasonable degree did not share the general prosperity. The government did not pay the same attention on them like it was for industry. In agriculture, farmers profits reduced and so did the wages.

8. The republican government gained popularity. The boom made the Republican Party more popular than the Democratic Party. The period of the boom, the 1920s is known as the Republican decade because all American presidents. Warren Harding (1921-3), Calvin Coolidge (1923-9) and Herbert Hoover (1929-33) were republicans. Republicans also dominated the congress. Their economic policies of *laissez faire*, taxation and tariff policies largely contributed to the boom and by large boosted the party's popularity.
9. Change in morals. New attitudes among young Americans especially women developed with the boom most obvious in sexual morals. Women looked and behaved differently. In 1920s women gained the right to vote and more went to work. They became financially independent, and could make their own decisions about how to live. Young fashionable women, known as "flappers" emerged. They wore outrageous new fashions of make-ups, shorter skirts, short sleeved and occasionally sleeveless, they smoked and kissed in public. They had their hair cut short in the new "bobbed" style. The divorce rate rose quickly. The cinema discovered the selling power of sex and sex sold much better than anything else in the 1920s. Contraceptive advice was openly available for the first time in 1920s and sex outside marriage was much more common than in the past. The cars contributed to moral changes mentioned above. They carried boyfriends and girlfriends beyond the moral gaze of their parents and they took Americans to an increasing range of sporting events, beach holidays, shopping trips and picnics.
10. Increased deterioration of the blacks' life. The black population was left out of prosperity. In the south where majority of them lived, white farmers always laid off black labourers first. About three-quarters of a million blacks moved to the north during the 1920s looking for jobs in industries, but always had to do the lowest paid jobs, the worse conditions at work and the worse slum housing. They also had to suffer persecution of the Ku Klux Klan, the notorious white-hooded anti-black organization which had about 5 million members in 1924. Assaults, whippings and lynching were common. Indeed prejudice and discrimination against black people and minorities intensified.
11. The Great Economic depression 1929-33. The boom was centrally responsible for the Great Depression. The boom was characterized by lack of strong diversification since great emphasis was put in industry neglecting other sectors like agriculture. Similarly, led to widened poor income distribution and over production compared to the market's ability to buy and above all the booming business increased speculation which led to the Stock Market crash of 1929.

## **THE NEW DEAL 1932-38**

The New Deal was the President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's economic reform programme designed to solve the problems created by the Great Depression (1929-33). It was a of policy measures undertaken by the President Roosevelt's administration to combat to Great Depression.

**Roosevelt** was from a wealthy background and did not do particularly well at school. On leaving university he worked for a law firm but soon became interested in politics. He had the right personality, being friendly, open and optimistic. In 1910 he was elected state senator in New York and within ten years he ran as the Democrats' vice-presidential candidate. He was not successful as the Republican, Harding, was elected President. Then in 1921, Roosevelt caught polio, which left his legs paralysed. He was never again able to walk without help. He refused to allow his illness to force him out of politics. In 1928 he successfully stood for governor of New York State. As governor he did much to help the unemployed 1882-1945 in his state using public money to create employment. He was elected president in 1932 after winning the incumbent Herbert Hoover. He was elected president for four times.

The Great Economic Depression had led the American economy and people's life in serious socio-economic trouble. The economy was crippled and social miseries intensified. The New Deal was to arrest the depression and set America for a new future of prosperity.

### ***Effects of the Great Economic Depression on America***

***(The description and the causes of the Depression are analysed in Topic Four)***

1. The depression seriously affected the banking and financial systems in America. Between 1929 and 1932, about 10,000 banks in USA ran bankrupt and stopped operating. The dollar sharply lost value and suffered a hyper inflation. Many people lost trust in keeping cash with banks due to inflation, they withdrew their money from banks and banks ran bankrupt,
2. Unemployment. Unemployment increased tremendously. The number of unemployed workers rose from 1.5 to 12.8 million. In the industrial cities of the north, the rate was even higher as factories and businesses cut down on production or shut down completely.
3. Fall in the Gross National Product (GNP). The total wealth produced by the country, the GNP fell by just under 50%. The state was on the verge of bankruptcy because all major economies such as industry, agriculture and financial sector drastically declined.
4. Fall in commodity prices. The accumulation of stock above the consumption levels due to a weakened purchasing power forced producers to lower prices to enable the financially weakened buyers afford.
5. Many companies went bankrupt. Thousands of companies went out of business. Some 2000 went bankrupt in 1932 alone. The low purchasing power of the domestic markets and protection policies by European states denied USA producers a wider market.
6. Withdrawal of USA loans from Europe. When the depression intensified, USA called for the repayment of loans offered to Europe to avail herself with financial for economic revival. Besides, USA was not pleased with the protectionist policies against her goods by the European states to demand for her loans repayment.
7. Accumulation of stock. Piles of goods without market within and outside USA remained in warehouses and go-downs. Many got spoilt while others were just set on fire simply because production had exceeded market consumption abilities as people had no money to spend.
8. Loss of popularity to the Republican Party. The depression started under the leadership of a republican president Herbert Hoover. Hoover's failure to provide immediate solution to

the depression made many Americans lose confidence in him and Republican Party. He lost elections to the Democratic Party to allow Roosevelt party leader become president.

9. The New Deal. It was a body of policy measures undertaken by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration to combat the Great Depression and lead America to a new future of prosperity.

The action plan of the New Deal was that capitalism was no longer self regulating therefore needed state intervention and regulations for its reproduction. With the New Deal, it therefore meant that there would be active government intervention in the capitalist production systematic state regulation of the economy. Roosevelt planned to use the state full powers to get USA out of the depression.

### ***Objectives of the New Deal***

The New Deal had three main objectives (slogans), namely: relief recovery and reform as measure to revive the US economy back to its strength.

- i. Relief Assistance was to be extended to millions of Americans who were in desperate need of essential goods like food, clothing and cash. The targeted groups were mainly the sick old and unemployed.
- ii. Recovery. The US government had to lead the country out of the depression by ensuring quick economic revival; reduce unemployment, stimulate the demand for goods and get the economy back to its strength.
- iii. Reform. A number of changes and amendments had to be made. Inactive and ineffective strategies had to be replaced by initiating effective strategies. Changed were to put input in place curb the depression by to restarting American prosperity.

In order to achieve the above objectives, Roosevelt's administration set up various agencies to deal with economic recovery (what the New Deal involved! the New Deal toward welfare state). The agencies included the following;

1. The Federal Emergency Relief (FERA). This agency was about meeting the urgent needs of the poor, unemployed and homeless people. A sum of \$500 million was spent on food, blankets, employment schemes and nursery schools.
2. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). This was aimed at unemployed young men in particular. Most of the work done by the CCC was on environmental projects in national parks and most of the money earned went back to the men's families. Around 2.5 million young men aged between 18 and 25 were helped by this scheme.
3. Civil Works Administration (CWA). This agency was setup to provide work for the unemployed. Unemployed people were found work and paid wages. About two million people a year were given work.
4. Public Works Administration (PWA). This used government money on long-term public work schemes such as building schools, roads, dams, bridges and airports. The projects were vital in creating million jobs to the Americans.
5. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). This tried to do away with the problems facing farmers. The AAA helped farmers to modernize and to use farm methods

- that would conserve the soil for better yields. At the same time it set quotas to reduce farm production in order to force prices go upwards to increase value on agricultural products.
6. National Recovery Administration (NRA). This improved the working conditions in industry and outlawed child labour. It set fair wages and moderated production. Its purpose was to stimulate the economy by giving workers money to spend without overproducing and again cause a slump.
  7. The Tennessee valley authority (TVA). The main focus of the TVA work was to build a series of dams on the Tennessee River. The dams transformed the region which had great physical problems as in the wet season, the Tennessee River would flood and in the dry season it would reduce to a trickle. The soil was eroding and turning the land into desert and also the area had great social problems, i.e. within the valley people lived in poverty. The dams made it possible to irrigate the dried-out lands and control floods. They also provided electricity for this underdeveloped area. Construction of dams also created thousands of jobs in an area badly hit by the depression.
  8. Works Progress Administration (WPA) later named Works Project Administration. It brought together all the organizations whose aim was to create jobs. It also extended this work beyond building projects to create jobs for office workers and even unemployed actors, artists and photographers.
  9. The Resettlement Administration (RA). The agency helped small holders (small scale farmers) and tenant farmers who had not been helped by the AAA. This organization moved over 500,000 families to better quality land and housing it bought.
  10. Farm Security Administration (FSA). This replaced the RA in 1937. It gave special loans to small scale farmers to help them buy their land. It also built camps to provide decent conditions for migrant workers.

### ***Specific sectors which underwent reforms (contents of the New Deal)***

1. Industries. The Great Economic Depression (GED) badly affected the industrial sector leading to the closure of many industries that ran bankrupt. To revive the industrial sector, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was passed in 1933 to control production and sales of industrial goods. It contained monopolies quotas, market price levels, dumping of goods and others. To effect the industrial sector recovery the following were done;
  - a. Provided soft loans to the industries which helped to revive the existing industries and building up new ones.
  - b. Strengthened protectionism policy to protect domestic industries from foreign competition by discouraging imports.
  - c. The government started to interview industrial production and research for markets of industrial products both domestically and abroad.
  - d. Provision of subsidies to industries producing essential goods like clothing, blankets and food.
2. Labour relations. The relationship between employers and employees had been worsened during the depression due to lower wages, high cost of living and unemployment. With the NIRA, employers were to fix a minimum wage and the workers were given the full rights to organise and bargain collectively and the National Labour Board was formed in

1933 to solve labour conflicts. Also, an employment code was set to guarantee workers fair wages and conditions in return for fair prices.

3. The unemployment problems (the employment reforms). The GED had left many people unemployed due to the closure of many enterprises such as factories and banks. This forced many unemployed to cry and demand the government to pay them relief meet their needs. To solve the problems the government formed several organs like the PWA, FERA and CCC to create jobs for the unemployed and FERA to deal with the distribution of relief to the unemployed.
4. Agricultural adjustment. Agriculture's most serious problem was over production. While this continued, prices would remain low and farmers would be unable to make a decent living. New agricultural policies were put in place through the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1933 in which:
  - a. The government was given power to influence prices by destroying surplus to uplift the purchasing power of farmers
  - b. Farmers were given compensation for lost produce
  - c. Farmers had to control production of crops such as cotton and tobacco and reduce livestock herds so as to avoid overproduction in order to maintain fair prices.
5. Finance reforms. The depression also much affected the financial sector; many banks ran bankrupt and were closed down. To revive the financial sector, the Emergency Banking Relief Act was passed to provide loans and grants to the banks, to provide necessary capital to the financial sector. By 1935, a six billion dollar loan had been issued to the banks. Besides that, the government offered to provide protection to the US dollar from devaluation and to stabilize it in relation to foreign currencies. The government also revived and supported the stock exchange market which had closed down in 1929. The security exchange commission was established to supervise the stock exchange markets.

### ***Effects of the New Deal***

1. State direction of the economy. The (is government increased interference and regulations on the free market capitalist economy. The government did so to help stabilize the economy and save its people from various economic hardships such as hunger and unemployment.
2. Control of unemployment. Unemployment reduced from the very high level of 15 million people in 1933 to 7.7 million by 1937. Millions of jobs were created by different agencies like the Civil Works Administration through which about two million people a year were given work.
3. Provision of relief. Millions of people of destitute groups of the poor, the old, the sick and unemployed received relief often food, shelter and clothing. Certainly, relief stopped people from starving. It helped to improve life standards of millions of ordinary Americans who were badly hit by the depression.
4. Revival of powerful interest groups and associations. Such groups like Trade Unions which had been outlawed during the 1920s boom were allowed to operate and employers were conditioned to respect them. The aim was to check on worker's exploitation and boost workers' incomes to widen the domestic market so as to check the re-occurrences of the depression. Also, an employment code was set to guarantee workers fair wages and conditions in return For fair prices.

5. Improvement of public works schemes. The government financed different public works schemes through which, more schools, roads, dams, bridges and airports were built. Such and others like the Tennessee Valley Authority provided services of the lasting value like creating millions of jobs to the Americans.
6. Created ideological divisions in USA. Roosevelt and his officials were often accused of being communists and undermining American values. Also were accused of being anti business because they supported Trade Unions. That is, while the Democrats (Democratic Party) believed in state regulation of the capitalist system, the Republicans (Republican Party) still believed in rugged individualism of people solving their own problems without state assistance.
7. Establishment of a new political approach in America. It led to the introduction of a political system appropriate to USA's economy. Roosevelt increased the role of the Federal government in America. As it became more involved in people's life, most Americans now accept that the Federal government had a role to play in making sure that the weaker section of society, the unemployed, the homeless, the old and the poor are looked after. This was absent before the New Deal.
8. Population resettlement. The New Deal helped in population redistribution and resettlement. The Resettlement Administration helped resettling some of the poorest farmers on land it purchased. Also it purchased equipment for farmers and gave them grants for soil conservation schemes.
9. Popularized the democratic government. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party increase in popularity by the New Deal. Throughout the 1930s and 40s, all American presidents were democrats. The Roosevelt administration restored the faith of Americans in their government.

### ***Failures of the New Deal***

1. Unemployment. This was reduced but not eliminated. The various schemes did not provide real jobs and the moment the government ceased to spend on the schemes, the jobs disappeared. In 1936 unemployment was still 9 million and rose to 10 million by 1938.
2. Black Americans. The New Deal did little to improve the position of Black Americans. Many New Deal agencies discriminated against them. They either got no work or received worse treatment on top lower wages. Similarly, no New Deal laws attempted to assist the Blacks and improve their civil rights. For example, Roosevelt failed to pass laws against the lynching of the Blacks. He feared that Democrat senators in the southern states who were determined to deny full rights to Blacks would not support him.
3. The slump of 1937-8. The limitations of the New Deal were shown in 1937 when the government cut the amount spent on New Deal programmes. The economy went back into depression between 1937 and 1938. Industrial production fell again and unemployment rose nearly by 3 million.
4. Workers' rights. American employers deeply resented this aspect of the New Deal and many large companies hired thugs to beat up union leaders and intimidate workers were on strike. During the strike by steelworkers in Chicago in 1937, ten demonstrators were shot dead by the police and ninety were wounded.

5. The poor. The New Deal did not go far enough in dealing with poverty, or in helping the poorest people in the American society. The Social Security Act excluded 20% of the workforce, including five million desperate farm and domestic workers. Also there were no provisions for state-paid medical care.
6. Farmers. Small farmers, farm labourers and sharecroppers saw little benefit from the New Deal. There was still much poverty in rural America, especially in the south.

## **THE MARSHALL AID PLAN, 1947**

The Marshall Plan was a US programme of economic aid to European countries to help them rebuild their ruined economies after World War II. It was also known as the European Recovery Programme. The plan was proposed by the then American Secretary of State, George Marshall to bear the name Marshall Plan or Aid.

The plan had two main agendas: to contain communism which was gaining more strength and spreading very first in Europe. Secondly to strengthen American imperialism in Europe by exerting American influence over European countries by exploiting the damage of the war on the European economies. Some 16 European countries received the aid.

The US president Harry Truman believed that communism succeeded when people faced poverty and hardship. He sent the US Secretary of State, George Marshall to assess the economic state of Europe. What he found was a ruined economy. There were extreme shortages of all goods and most countries were starving. The USA would then use its wealth to help Europe recover and prosper. On his return to USA, George Marshall reported that all of Europe would turn communist unless the European economy could be revamped. He suggested that about \$17 billion would be needed to rebuild Europe's prosperity but only \$13 billion was offered. USA offered aid in cash, machinery, food and technological assistance to states willing to work together to create economic recovery.

### ***Aims of the Marshall Aid Plan***

- i. To rescue the European economies badly hit by the war so as to free Europe from starvation, scarcity and poverty. The plan was in economic support to help revamp European industry, agriculture, health and infrastructure hit by the World War II.
- ii. To arrest the spread of communism in Europe through economic empowering of the European war affected state helping them re-strengthen their capitalist economies. The Americans believed that communism grew in countries where there was poverty so feared the poverty stricken Europe after World War II, it would easily turn towards Communism.
- iii. To encourage the revival of trade. The plan called for removal of trade barriers, a dropping of regulations constraining business. Besides the aid would help rejuvenate European economies, improve incomes and that would boost the US international trade.
- iv. The Marshall Plan was also designed to create new markets for American goods. During the war, the American industry was not affected. Excess production during the war necessitated USA to find where to dump her excess goods. That's what the aid was not only in cash form but also in manufactured goods and machinery.

- v. To open room For American investment. The USA realized this policy would also open more room For American investment in Europe and the colonies. The war weakened Europe had no objection to allow American investment because lacked the necessary capital for the needed investment and to arrest scarcity and unemployment.
- vi. It was designed to stimulate the global economy thereby preventing another worldwide Depression. The Fear of re-occurrence of another economic depression like that of 1929-33 encouraged the USA to extend aid to Europe. From the experience of the depression the USA learnt that weak economies overseas meant America had no one to trade with.

### ***Terms of the Plan***

- a. USA was to offer \$17 billion to Western Europe to finance economic recovery between 1948 and 1951. However only \$13 billion was made available after the withdrawal of Czechoslovakia from the plan. The aid took the form of cash, raw material, machinery, food and technological assistance
- b. European states were to pay back the loans with interest at an agreed period o time. Also would agree to buy American goods.
- c. Colonial masters were to open the door for USA into the colonies and ultimately grant independence to their colonies.
- d. Europe was to drop regulations constraining business so as to open more room American investments.

### ***Role of the Marshall Plan in the consolidation of U.S. imperialism***

- 1. The plan saved the USA from the Depression. It provided market for American goods. The aid was not only in money Form hut also in goods like raw materials. Food and machinery. This helped the U.S. to find where to dump her excess goods. Secondly financed Europe to strengthen its purchasing power to consume more goods from USA.
- 2. It stopped the spread of communism. The Marshall Aid contained Communism from further spread in Europe. It was a barrier for its spread towards Western Europe. All the recipients of the aid strengthened their capitalist economies to bar off the Communist infiltration and by that USA achieved its objective to contain communism.
- 3. The aid influenced decolonization. Through her “Open Door” policy, USA persuaded colonial powers to grant independence to the colonies in Africa and Asia using the Marshall Plan. The policy called for free investment and trading zones through which the colonial system would be transformed to neo-colonial status where USA would be dominant neo-colonial power.
- 4. The reorganization of European economy provided a more congenial environment for American investment. The aid allowed USA free investment of her capital in Europe. American companies invested capital in countries which received the loan since Europe was conditioned to drop regulations constraining business and American investment.
- 5. It contributed to formation of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) in 1949. NATO as a military organisation was formed by USA involving capitalist European powers mostly the recipients of the Marshall Aid to contain communist aggression, safeguard American interests and consolidate American imperialism Europe and the world at large.



6. Consolidation of USA influence in Europe. USA strengthened her dominance (the dollar imperialism) over Europe using the Marshall Aid. The Aid meant that European Countries would owe USA respect. In that position USA could dictate policies on Europe like the open door policy which called for European decolonization of colonies in Africa and Asia.
7. The Marshall Plan made USA assume a leading position in the Capitalist World. USA replaced Britain and France in the leading role of capitalism the position she used to proclaim herself as the true guardian of capitalism and controller of world affairs. The Marshall Aid in that sense made USA completely abandon her isolation policy.
8. Benefited from the interests and profits. European states were to pay back the loans with interest and also agreed to buy American goods. America also made good business as the aid was not only given in cash but also in forms of raw material, machinery and food.

## **RELATIONS WHICH DEVELOPED BETWEEN USA AND JAPAN AFTER WORLD WAR II**

During the Second World War the relations between USA and Japan had greatly deteriorated due to the following:

The Americans assisted the Chinese who were still at war with Japan over Manchuria.

American president Roosevelt intervened against the French withdrawal from Indo-China as agreed by the French. And the Japanese had set up military bases there but Roosevelt demanded their withdrawal.

Roosevelt placed an embargo on oil supplies to Japan on 26/07/1941. The Japanese persuaded the Americans to lift the embargo but the Americans refused and gave a condition to Japan to withdraw from Indo-China.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on 7/12/1941 in two hours destroyed 350 aircraft and five battle ships 3700 men were killed or seriously injured.

The two states rivaled each other for the control of the Pacific. Thus they competed for the control of Singapore, Malaya, Burma and Hong Kong.

The two states fought on opposite sides in the Second World War. America fought on the side of the Allied powers yet Japan on the Axis powers. America declared war on Japan after the Japanese attack on the Pearl Harbour.

In 1945, the Americans dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities: Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. What outraged the Japanese the more was applying the bombs on her when she was about to surrender. Japan surrendered unconditionally after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

As a result of the Potsdam conference, USA was given to occupy Japan since 1945. For some years until 1952 Japan was ruled by Allied troops mostly Americans under the command of General MacArthur.

For the first years of their occupation of Japan, USA did not seem concerned to restore the economy of Japan. Americans aimed at making sure that Japan could never again start war. Americans therefore devised a number of measures:

### **Measures taken by USA to administer Japan**

1. Japan was put under the American military leader General MacArthur. From 1945 until 1952, Japan was occupied by the allied troops but mostly American troops under the command of General MacArthur.
2. Japan was given a democratic constitution. The constitution was to reduce the powers of the emperor. In the constitution USA formed something like a parliament under the USA military to kill the autocratic powers of the emperor. By this constitution, ministers had to be members of parliament elected by the people and given rights to form laws.
3. Different political parties were allowed to develop. Allowing the development of parties was purposely to allow democracy to be established, strengthen parliamentary system and to check the powers of the monarch.
4. The Japanese were forced to outlaw their religion Shinto as a state religion. It was believed that through Shinto the lives of the Japanese were governed. Also Shinto religion was accused of being war like. However many Japanese never abandoned their religion.
5. A military tribunal was established. The tribunal was purposely to try war criminals and to check on the actions of the army. Tojo the chief Japanese General of the Second World War and other military leaders were tried and executed.
6. Pre-war text books which were biased, pro-war and highly nationalistic were banned. Such books particularly in history and political science were destroyed and for a good number of years, Japanese had no printed books at all.

However during 1948, the American attitude towards Japan gradually changed, Americans-Japanese relations improved.

### ***Why America changed her attitude towards Japan***

1. The cold war. The success of the Communist Revolution in China in 1949 when the communists led by Mao Tsetung overthrew the American backed Kuomintang government, they intensified the Cold War in Asia. On that situation of dilemma, America needed a strong ally in (south East) Asia that will serve as a spring board to check on the spread of communism in Asia for example in Korea and Vietnam.
2. The need to create friendship with Japan. A hostile Japan was a danger to USA's interests in the Far East and world peace. USA wanted a friendly Japan to avoid future wars and creating permanent enmity with Japan the same way European allied powers had made Germany after the First World War.

3. Great potential of Japan. Japan had great potential in industry, farming and fishing which made USA think of making with her future trade and economic partner. Fear developed that a rival Japan would impose a great challenge to USA's trade and economic interests in the world.
4. The Negative attitude of Japan towards USA. USA fought Japan as a member of Allied powers in the Second World War and Japan was defeated. However, what exacerbated the already sour relation between the two states was the use of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. From there on, Japanese came to hate America. On that matter, in improving relations with Japan, Americans wanted to cleanse themselves to make the Japanese forgive and forget about the past.
5. To consolidate Japanese capitalism. USA wanted to revive a strong capitalist economy in Japan believing that it would be helpful in advancement of her imperialism in the Far East. Also Japanese economic success would attract many allies in the region.

***Measures taken by USA to restructure Japanese economy.***

1. USA offered financial aid to Japan to facilitate the reconstruction of the Japanese economy. She provided billions of dollars to revive Japan's economic sectors like industries, agriculture, and infrastructure. The aim was to consolidate Japanese capitalism to be used as a spring board to fight socialism in Asia.
2. USA opened markets for the Japanese industrial manufactured goods. America imported heavily from Japan and encouraged her allies Canada and Western European states to import Japanese goods. This widened the market for the Japanese goods and indeed gave a great boost to Japanese industry.
3. Militarily, the USA took the role of assuring continuous security and defence over Japan. As per the agreement made between Japan and USA in the new Japanese constitution. Japan was to limit her military to have only enough for her defensive purpose and the rest was to be done for her by USA. So with the US security Japan felt well protected and was therefore able to invest in industry that would otherwise be spent on defence.
4. The Korean War of 1950-1953. This war brought orders for military equipment and supplies to Japan and American firms began to cooperate with the Japanese firms in the development of new industries. Japan benefited by adopting new technology and assured market for supplies.
5. Introduction of parliamentary and multiparty democratic system of the type of western democracy. This allowed great freedom and participation of the people in the long run encouraged investment, inventions and economic prosperity.
6. The Americans also carried out land reforms in Japan. This earned the Japanese government solid support of the farmers who benefited from the land reform. The old system of the landlordism was abolished and for the first time farmers enjoyed plots of their own. This improved agricultural production farmers' incomes and also boosted industry.
7. Investment in foreign developed countries. The USA government allowed the Japanese to invest in USA, encouraged her allies like Canada to accept Japanese investments. This continued up to the 1990s. Japanese manufacturers set up factories in USA, Britain and Western Europe, heavily investing in car, electronics and textile industries. This helped Japan capture foreign markets.

### *Effects of Japanese - USA relations*

1. Japan was put under USA domination. From the time Japan surrendered the war in 1945 until 1952 Japan was occupied by American troops under the command of General MacArthur. America was to oversee the Japanese affairs in the period USA used her as her satellite state.
2. Development of democracy in Japan. By the American influence Japan adopted a democratic constitution and a parliamentary system. By this constitution, ministers had to be members of parliament elected by the people and given rights to form laws. But also, different political parties were allowed to develop. Such measures helped in checking the autocratic powers of the monarch.
3. Rapid economic development (recovery) in Japan. Japan received American aid to restructure her war ruined economy. Consequently, she attained rapid economic development to become one of the leading industrial nations of the world by being the world's leading ship building nations and producer of electronic goods such as Radios, music sets, watches and cameras and second leading car and truck manufacturer.
4. Expansion of USA's imperialism in Asia (Far East). USA used Japan as a base (aspiring board) to spread her imperialism in the Far East and check the spread of communism in that region. For example, when America went to war in Korea in (1850-53) and Vietnam (1961-1972), she depended on using Japanese naval bases and on Japanese industry for war supplies. In that matter, the Cold War intensified in Asia with the USA involvement in Japan.
5. USA took the responsibility of security to Japan. The post war constitutions ordered Japan to limit her military to march only her domestic purposes and her defence was to be taken by USA. This made Japan spend very little (only 1%) of its UNP on military and thus spared the largest percentage of her budget on economic development.
6. Signing of the treaty of San Francisco, September 1951. Six years after Japan's defeat in 1945 American occupation ended in the treaty of San Francisco between the two states. American occupying forces were withdrawn in April 1952. Some American troops however remained for defence purposes until 1954.
7. Japan was admitted to the United Nations. Through the influence of USA, Japan was allowed to join the UN. USA persuaded the UN General Assembly to accept Japan in the UNO. To her success Japan was accepted membership to the UN in 1956.
8. After the rise of USA rule in Japan the two powers remained big rivals in the modern capitalist technological and manufacturing industries in the world market. In that matter Japan has conquered the car and ship making industry and seriously competing with America and other Western countries.
9. Development of anti-American feelings in Japan. A greater Section of Japanese continues their hatred over Americans and never like close ties with USA. Memories of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings are still fresh. Many Japanese wanted good relations with china and USSR and felt that the Americans exaggerated the threat from China and USSR. The renewal of the defence treaty with USA in 1960 caused strikes and demonstrations and in the same year, the American president Dwight Eisenhower planned trip to Japan was cancelled as young Japanese socialists and university students resented by rioting.

## Sample questions

1. Evaluate the reasons for the ascendancy of Western European capitalism and rise of USA as guardian of Western democracies and new imperialism
2. Analyse the contributions of both the First and Second world wars to the rise of USA as a giant superpower.
3. Examine the reasons for the shift of industrial hegemony that occurred in favour of USA from Western Europe after the Second World War.
4. Historically, America was a British colony but eventually USA is one of the leading world capitalist countries. Denote eight reasons for the shift of capital from Europe to America.
5. "By 1939, there were already signs for those with eyes to see that a major historical era was ending". Identify the era in question and account for its ending.
6. Show the manifestations of USA imperialist dominance in the World
7. Assess the impact of the rise of USA capitalist dominance in the world.
8. The ascendancy of the USA as the world monitor since 1945 has brought both positive and negative consequences to African nations up to present. Give out four positive and four negative consequences to support the statement.
9. The USA economy between 1914 and 1949 enjoyed great economic prosperity, with genuine arguments account for this historical phenomenon in eight points.
10. The impacts of the 1930s economic crisis were undesirable. Discuss.
11. Even though USA did not involve much in First World War, she greatly affected by the economic crisis of 1929-33. Comment on this statement by explaining six measures undertaken to mitigate the victory in USA.
12. Explain three aims of the New Deal and examine its five impacts in the USA.
13. To extent did the New Deal rescue American economy?
14. Show the background and significance of the Marshall Plan in the world history.
15. Discuss the forces behind the USA economic support for European countries after the Second World War.
16. Describe the aims and significances of Marshall Plan to the consolidation of American imperialism.
17. Appraise six effects of USA relations with Japan in the period after the Second World War.
18. USA assisted Japan recover from the Second World War woes, but the Japanese still rejected America. Account for such a trend.

## TOPIC SEVEN

# THREATS TO WORLD PEACE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

### THE COLD WAR

The Cold War was a frosty atmosphere of increasing tension that developed between the two superpowers, USA and USSR and their ideological camps. It was a period of tension and hostility between the Capitalist camp led by the USA and the Communist camp led by the Soviet Union beginning from the end of the Second World War, 1945 to early 1990s.

In the period of the Cold War, international politics was heavily shaped by intense suspicion and rivalry between the Capitalist and Communist blocs due to their divergent incompatible ideologies. Since its beginning after the World War II, the Cold War continued, in spite of several thaws, until the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1889-91.

The struggle was called “cold” because there was no actual fighting between the rival parties. The rival powers attacked each other with propaganda, economic and technological measures and with a general policy of non-cooperation only without direct military confrontations (however many proxy conflicts like the Vietnam. Korea and Angola war took place). But still it was a ‘war” because there were two rival sides and it was a conflict of the most serious and deadly kind majorly involving diplomatic aggressions, political maneuvers of malice, sabotage, ideology, arms race and spying (KGB against CIA).

Both superpowers, the USA and USSR, gathered allies around themselves in the period. From 1945 the USSR drew into its orbit most of the states of Eastern Europe as Communist governments came to power in Poland, Hungary. Romania, Bulgaria. Yugoslavia. Albania Czechoslovakia and East Germany and also others like in N. Korea and China: USA’s closest allies were Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and Canada.

#### *Causes of the cold war*

1. Differences in ideological principles. The root cause of conflict lay in the differences of ideology between the communism and capitalism. The two superpowers had conflicting systems of government and their societies were organized around very different ideals, After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Russia adopted a Marxist approach which opposed capitalism. Since then most capitalist states viewed Russia with mistrust and were afraid of Communism spreading to their other countries as it would cause abolition of private ownership of wealth, and loss of political power by the wealth classes.
2. The determination of the Soviet Union to spread communism worldwide. The leaders of Marxist Revolution called for a World socialist revolution in respect of the demands of Marxist socialist theory of socialism internationalism aiming at spreading socialism worldwide. This alarmed capitalist powers who reacted by isolating USSR and her allies Also they raised campaigns to dissuade other countries from joining the Eastern Block.

3. Russia's (Stalin's) foreign policies of expansionism. This was Russia's move to occupy territories in Eastern Europe where she had driven out Germany armies during the World War II to strengthen her influence in Europe. So, as the Nazi armies collapsed, Stalin succeeded to occupy and plant communism in as much Germany territories as he could get away with. Such countries included Finland, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. Stalin's successes alarmed the West of what they took to be Soviet aggression, they believed that Stalin had to be resisted and end his commitment to spread communism over as much of the globe as possible.
4. Secret development of Atomic bomb by USA, 1945. This intensified the USSR's suspicion to the motive of USA. What outraged the Russians (Stalin) was that despite of fighting on same side in the World War II as Allied powers, they were not informed of the existence of the Atomic bomb until shortly before its use on Japan. To Stalin the bombing of Japan was a warning to the USSR and a proof that the USA and Britain were still keen to destroy communism. In response, USSR shocked the West by developing a similar Atomic bomb in 1949 leading to increased hostility.
5. The Truman doctrine and the Marshall aid, 1947. The Truman doctrine stated that the USA would help non-communist countries to resist communism. The Marshall aid was USA's recovery program involving sending large amounts of American money to help to salvage the collapsing European capitalist economies to recover from World War and prevent them from falling under Communism. The aid frustrated the USSR which had hoped for the collapse of capitalism after suffering serious decline due to the War. In response, the USSR denounced the Marshall aid and introduced the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in Eastern Europe with similar aims of the Marshall Aid hence the beginning of open hostility between the communists and capitalists.
6. Support of liberation movements. Colonial powers like Britain and France were angered by the Communist Blocs support of the anti colonial movements in the colonies. The Communist support to the colonized people aimed at weakening Capitalism which by then heavily survived on the colonies for economic support and aimed at winning newly independent states for Communism as well. These moves worried the capitalist powers who feared a strong communist infiltration in post colonial states.
7. The extension of neo-colonial spheres by all blocs. The conflicting competition between USA and USSR to win more influence in the world also raised the tension and hostility between the two superpowers. For instance they rivaled in winning more influence in Third World by supporting decolonization campaigns in the colonies and extending aid to the newly independent states in Africa and Asia. Likewise they used their economic capabilities to win influence in Europe. USA for example used the Marshall Aid while the USSR the COMECON.
8. The formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949. NATO was formed by USA, Canada and nine European nations like Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and Portugal as a defensive alliance against communist attack and to prevent further communist expansion in Europe. Its formation worried the USSR which responded by the formation of the WARSAW PACT in 1955 (later the Warsaw Treaty organization) for similar defensive arrangements of USSR with her satellite states like Bulgaria, Poland and Romania.
9. USA's involvement in the affairs of Europe. This was openly exemplified in Turkey and Greece which were USA intervened by suppressing communist takeover attempts USA

moves were not acceptable by the USSR which saw it as undermining her power and influence in Eastern Europe. The Russians also took it as an act of encircling them or an easy attack and interference into the internal affairs of the states which against the United Nations character.

10. Hostile attitude to the Soviet government by US and British politicians. Unlike Roosevelt, his successor Harry Truman was more suspicious and toughened his attitude towards communists. After the death of Roosevelt in April 1945, Truman reduced military assistance to Russia yet the war (World War II) was still on. To add on that, he came up with the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Aid against communism. Winston Churchill, the Premier of Britain announced the “Iron curtain” in March 1946 in reference to the USSR Eastern frontiers. Such moves were not pleasant to the USSR causing tension between the two blocks.
11. Disagreements in the World War II conferences. The conferences included the Yalta and Potsdam conferences of 1945. The conferences intended to discuss on how to deal with the war aggressors, Germany and Japan however, left the West and the East at cross roads since both had different intentions and attitudes: the West were much less willing to trust Stalin’s motives in Eastern Europe as the Soviet Union wanted to spread communism by acquiring more territories and more reparations from Germany due to her heavy war damages and keep Germany divided for long to prevent near future attack. While as the USA intended to reunite Germany soon, set up capitalist economies to counter check the spread of communism in Europe and Asia.

Stalin was a son of a Georgian boot-maker. His real name was Losif Vissarionovich Djugashvili. From early age, he became interested in the ideas of Karl Marx and became a member of the Bolshevik Party. In the period 1905-8 he took part in over 1000 raids to seize money for the party. Stalin spent much of the period 1905-17 either in exile in Siberia or on the run from authorities in Russia. He was freed from exile in 1917 and returned to Petrograd to become editor of the Bolshevik newspaper, Pravda. He was not as well known as Trotsky and Lenin and played little in the October Revolution. In Lenin’s government he was made Commissar of Nationalities and crushed a rebellion in his state of Georgia using great brutality. Stalin became General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1922 and an outright leader of the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin in 1924.

### ***Manifestations of the cold war***

1. Disagreements in the conferences at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945. The conferences were held by the allied powers (USA, France, Britain and Russia) to plan what was to be done when the war ended. However, there were ominous signs of trouble over what was to be done with the future of the accused Germany and Japan and other countries like Poland. The capitalist Allies did not trust Russians nor did the Russians trust them. As a result they agreed to divide Germany and Berlin into zones and each power to take reparations from its own zone. However Russia was not satisfied since she was heavily damaged by the war compared to the others hence demanded for more reparations from their zones. Besides that USA, Britain and France were willing to share the administration of their zones by creating a single administration. This resulted in the creation of East Germany under Russia and capitalist state of West Germany.



2. An iron curtain speech. 1946. In March 1946, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill made the famous “Iron Curtain” speech at Fulton, Missouri in USA. The speech continued to widen the rift between the East and the West because it declared that Europe was divided into two separate halves by the Soviet policy; in the West according to Churchill were free democratic states: in the East behind an “Iron curtain” were countries under the domination of communist parties subjected to the Soviet Union. This was a clear sign of “West versus East”. Stalin denounced Churchill as a “Warmonger” that he was trying to stir up war against the USSR
3. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Aid plan of 1947. By the doctrine, USA president. Harry Truman declared that it was the duty of USA to prevent the spread of communism and encroachment on capitalism everywhere in the world but starting in Europe. The doctrine was accompanied by an economic recovery program, the Marshall Aid to the European capitalist states aimed at reviving capitalist economies damaged by the World War II to prevent them from falling under communism. USSR responded by formation of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in Eastern Europe which shared similar aims of the Marshall plan.
4. The creation of Taiwan in 1949. Taiwan was formed under a strong American Support following the success of the Communist Chinese Revolution in 1949. When Taiwan nationalists rose against China to form a separate state from China. USA supported them intending to use Taiwan as a satellite to watch over activities of a communist China and contain communism in Asia.
5. The Berlin blockade and airlift 1948-49. As agreed at Yalta and Potsdam conferences. Germany and Berlin were each divided into 4 zones. However for Eleven months (June 1948 — May 1949), USSR blocked all roads, railways and canal links into West Berlin from West Germany, hoping to starve West Berlin of food, raw materials and fuel (coal and gasoline) and force the West to withdraw from it, For a USSR takeover. The Western powers, convinced that a withdrawal would be a victory to the USSR were determined to hold on. They replied by flying tons of supplies to West Berlin.
6. The formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. April 1949. NATO was formed by USA, Canada and nine European nations including Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Belgium and Portugal as a military alliance against communist attack following the Berlin blockade. The parties agreed that an armed attack against one of them shall be an attack against them all. In retaliation the USSR responded by forming the WARSAW PACT (Warsaw Treaty Organization) with other communist states like Poland, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania also as a defensive alliance against the West.
7. The Greece and Turkey incident. 1947. This was when the communists wanted to overthrow the governments in Greece and Turkey in 1947 yet both Greece and Turkey were under British influence. However Britain being weak by the World War II. appealed to USA to intervene. USA intervened in view of crushing the communist elements and made the pro-capitalist governments firm again. This did not please the communist leading to tension.
8. Arms race and more nuclear weapons. USA and USSR, engaged themselves in a strange arms competition. The trigger of the race was development of Atomic bombs by USA which were dropped on Japan in 1945. The Russians also produced the same 1949. When it became known in 1949 that the USSR had successfully made an Atomic bomb, arms

race was aggravated. USA produced Hydrogen bomb many times more powerful than the Atomic bomb, USSR again responded by producing a similar bomb. The race continued more deadly weapons making as an attempt by the two powers to balance their power and defeat each other's ideology.

9. The Berlin Wall. In 1961, the Soviet Union built a great wall which stretched 27 miles across Berlin to separate East Berlin from West Berlin to prevent the massive emigration of East Germans to West Germany. By 1961, there was a great contrast between the two parts of Berlin with West Berlin more prosperous with the help of USA aid hence attracted many visitor from East Berlin. The Soviet Union saw it as a capitalist infection in the heart of East Germany as over 250,000 East Germans escaped to West Germany through Berlin each year. So the wall was a protective shell around East Berlin, but the West presented it as a prison hell.
10. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. The crisis was an incident when USSR under Nikita Khrushchev intended to install missile launchers in Cuba targeting the major cities of the central and eastern USA such as New York and Washington. The USA being very concerned to see Cuba, an Island only 150 Km away possessed of deadly enemy weapons closely pointing at them warned the USSR not to install the nuclear missiles in Cuba. The missiles were removed after negotiations of the two states. (See more details below)
11. Outbreak of proxy wars. A series of wars were fought involving the two superpowers indirectly or directly. Such wars included the Korea (1950-53), Vietnam (1962-75) and Afghanistan (1979-89) wars. In all such wars, USA and the USSR fought in the opposite sides. For instance in the Vietnam war USA fought on the side of South Vietnam while the USSR supported North Vietnam. Likewise in the Korean war USA fought for the South and the USSR for the North Korea.

### ***Impacts of the cold war***

1. Division of the world. The Cold War divided the World into two ideological lines, the Capitalist bloc of the Western powers of the USA and Western Europe like Britain and France and their allies, like under Western influence, and on the other side was Communist bloc of the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries, China and other socialist powers like Cuba. North Korea and communist allies of countries under communist influence.
2. Nuclear Arms Race. The confronting parties engaged in a historic deadliest nuclear Arms competition with each bloc determined to avoid being bullied or to fully equip itself in case of war. The race was ignited by the US when she secretly made Atomic bombs which were first used in Japan in 1945 which greatly scared the rival USSR. Since the rival powers raced in production of more deadly weapons like Hydrogen bombs and ICBMs. Arms race raised war temperatures high and fear of deadliest war in human history involving nuclear weapons.
3. Eruption of wars. The Cold War rival powers, USA and the USSR engineered a number of wars for the double aim agenda. That is to spread their ideologies and at the same time contain rival ideologies. Such wars like the Korean War of 1950-53 and the Vietnam war 1962-75 both USA and USSR fought on the opposite with USA on the pro-capitalist while the USSR on the socialist sides. Several other wars fought like in Angola, Mozambique Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

4. Division of Germany. The misunderstandings and boiling ideological based mistrusts at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in 1945 resulted into the division of German into the capitalist West Germany and communist East Germany. At the conferences the Allied powers of Britain, France, USA and the USSR agreed to divide Germany into four zones for each to collect reparation from her zone, however for cooperation against the USSR the capitalist USA, Britain and France united the zones to form the West Germany and the communist USSR part formed East Germany.
5. Creation of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). NAM was found in Belgrade in Yugoslavia in 1961 as an organisation of countries which did not align with either the Cold War blocs. Founding leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Dr Sukarno of Indonesia, Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia advocated for the Developing World states to take a middle course by not siding with either the Capitalist or the Communist blocs of the Cold War.
6. Intensification of decolonization campaigns. The Cold War rival superpowers, USA and USSR actively involved themselves in the decolonization campaigns in Asia and Africa. By use of their Veto power and provision of moral and material support they supported liberation movements in the colonies. Both aimed at winning the newly independent states to their ideological camps.
7. The Cold War fuelled the Middle East crisis. Israel was created in 1948 by the influence of USA and Western European through UNO in 1948 and ever since it enjoys the support of USA and her Western allies against the Palestinians and other Arab states that condition allowed penetration of the Cold War in Middle East when USSR joined in the support Arab states like Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian Liberation Movement in the fight against Israel.
8. Formation of hostile military alliances. Notably, they were the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) by USA and her capitalist allies of Western Europe like Britain, France and Portugal and WARSAW PACT by the Soviet Union and her communist allies of Eastern Europe like Poland. Alliances were defensive by purpose against rival blocs in case of a war. USA further established military alliances in other parts like SEATO (Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines) formed in 1951 in Asia.
9. Increased provision of aid to the Third World countries. Cold War rivals poured aid to the Third World countries targeting at luring them into their camps. Aid was received in form of loans, handouts and technical aid in various fields like industry and agriculture. Aid was extended on condition that its recipients embrace the ideology of the donor state.

From left; Winston Churchill, Harry Truman and Joseph Stalin at Potsdam 1945. As a US Senator Truman had played an important role in organizing the country's war (Second World War) effort. He was, however, largely ignorant of foreign affairs and events in Europe. He saw things in black and white with little room for compromise. He believed the Soviet Union was acting like a bull in Europe and should be made to mend its ways. Unlike Roosevelt, Truman had no intention of working closely with Stalin. When he became US president after the death of Roosevelt in 1945, he aggravated the Cold War hostility.

## **A THAW (DETENTE) BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN BLOCKS AFTER 1953**

A thaw is a situation in which the relations between two hostile countries became friendly. It is an easing of tension between two or more rival countries and a move towards better relations for a peaceful co-existence.

In the 1950s, specifically after 1953 (when Stalin died) there seemed to be a thaw in the Cold War. This was known as a period of peaceful co-existence or detente, a period when tension of the Cold War was relaxed as relations between the USSR and USA improved.

### ***Reasons for the thaw***

1. The death of Stalin. The death of Stalin was the starting point of the thaw, because it brought to the fore front moderate Russian leaders like Malenkov and Khrushchev who wanted to improve relations with USA. They were not fanatic like Stalin. Their reasons were possibly connected with the aim at relaxing international tensions so as to avoid a nuclear war. Khrushchev criticized Stalin and announced that a peaceful co-existence with the West was essential.
2. McCarthy discredited. Anti-communist feelings in the USA, which had been heightened by Senator Joseph McCarthy, began to cool when McCarthy was discredited in 1954. It had become clear that McCarthy who was a great anti communist and USSR was fanatic and had even begun accusing leading generals of being communist sympathizers. The Senate condemned him by a large majority and foolishly, he attacked President Eisenhower for supporting the Senate. Soon afterwards Eisenhower announced that the American people wanted to be Friendly to the Soviet people.
3. To reduce the risk of nuclear war. Both superpowers, USA and USSR had produced great nuclear weapons for massive destruction such as Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. On reaching that point, the two powers were at a high risk of a nuclear war which if occurred; no one between them would like the consequences since there would be no winner but collateral destruction. To avert war, a thaw was necessary.
4. To reduce the ever-growing costs on the Arms. Both countries had economic problem especially in 1970s, yet they were spending a lot on arms production. In USA there was rising inflation. This together with the cost of the war in Vietnam was affecting the American economy. The Soviet Union industry was still inefficient and her people were still having low living standards. A reduction in spending on arms would boost their economies and their people's welfare.
5. Establishment of the Hot line. This was a direct communication telephone line between Washington (White house) and Moscow (Kremlin). The line was established after the Cuban Missile crisis which had put the USA and USSR on the brink of a nuclear war in 1962. In trying to relax the tension they established the Hot Line hoping to prevent dangerous confrontation from arising again through direct swift consultations and immediate concessions.
6. Both superpowers were worried of conflicts in the Middle East. Oil supplies from the region were vital to both countries and Suez Canal was important for their sea routes.

Communist and capitalist countries had become involved in the conflicts in the area between Arabs and Israelis. While as the West supported the Israelis the Soviet Union supported the Palestinian Arabs. The thaw would help them cool the situation in the Middle East for their benefit.

7. The two superpowers had leveled in the Arms Race. The US and USSR felt balance in arms possession. All had deadliest weapons like Hydrogen bombs and ICBMS. In that situation no one seemed to be dominant and their seemed absence of acceptance of defeat. In that situation the two superpowers felt no need for continued hostile arms competition.
8. Public pressure. There was mounting pressure from the American public to reduce risk of war. Many Americans believed that the USSR and communism were not as such bad as presented by the fanatic politicians like Truman and McCarthy, they wanted relations with USSR he improved. On the other hand, USSR wanted to relax tension to increase trade with the West because her industry was still not yet as efficient like in the West.
9. The Sino-Soviet conflicts. There had been a breakdown of USSR relations with China as China accused the USSR for supporting the sub imperialist India against China over boundary conflicts. This made it more important to reduce tension with the USA-USSR felt losing the much dependable ally (China). Worse of all, conflict with China had moved USA close to china, the situation which though worried the USSR hut also showed that the USA was willing to co-exist with the communists.

## **NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, 1962**

### **THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE**

Arms race is the rivalry between the Great powers to build up the size of their armed forces in terms of large (army) conscription and weapon acquisition than rival powers. It is the competition among nations in the process of equipping themselves for war.

As relations between the USA and the Soviet Union worsened in the years after the World War II, both sides began producing great weapons so as to be able to outgun their rivals. This meant developing more deadly weapons and build large armies than the enemy. The race was sparked off by the secret development of Atomic bombs by USA which she used on Japan towards the end of the war in 1945. The rival powers poured a lot of resources in military and space technology as the race intensified. Indeed competition in nuclear armaments and space exploration was a major factor in the escalation of rivalries between the Cold War superpowers.

*The landmark in the nuclear Arms Race between 1945 and 1962 was shown thus;*

- 1945 - USA tests and drops the first Atomic (A) bombs in Japan (Hiroshima and Nagasaki)
- 1949 - USSR tests an Atomic (A) bomb
- 1952 - USA tests its first Hydrogen (H) bomb
- 1957 - USSR, tests an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) capable of carrying an H bomb from the USSR to the US. Also puts the space satellite “Sputnik” into the orbit.

- 1958 - USA places Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs) targeted on USSR in NATO Countries - Both sides now capable of direct attacks on each other's cities. She also launched her own satellite.
- 1960 - USA launches first nuclear powered submarine capable of firing a Polaris missile with an Atomic warhead from under water.
- 1962 - USSR launches Inter-mediate Range Ballistic Missiles in Cuba.

### ***Factors for the arms race***

1. The Cold War that existed between USA and USSR and their respective camps led to arms race. The cold war rivalry created a war atmosphere and for that matter, each bloc had to maximize its armaments in anticipation for war. In this case armaments were a means of preparation for war that seemed likely to breakout between the two antagonistic camps.
2. The need to maintain balance of power among the superpower nations. The arms race was to set power among the great powers at equilibrium so that neither the capitalist nor communist camp is extremely powerful or dominant to the other. Thus USA's military powers had to be checked by USSR's military power.
3. To scare enemy countries and deter war. Arms were to act as a deterrent to the enemy countries, It meant that the enemy would not dare to strike the opponent for fear of similar or stronger counter attacks. Throughout the period of the Cold War, the two antagonistic camps could not attack each other for fear of equivalent retaliation and atrocious repercussions; the idea was to have more powerful weapons than the enemy to scare him from attacking.
4. Armaments were also for defensive purpose. Nations armed themselves in preparation for defense in case of attacks by enemy countries. In order to be on a safer side, countries ad to arm themselves at same level of their enemies in order to match the enemy or to be more armed than the aggressor to be in good position to defeat them.
5. Armaments were also for prestige. Many civilians of the superpowers saw the arms race as a test of the strength of capitalism and communism. The more the modern weapons one had the more respectful one was taken to be and the better the chances one had to win more allies. That means that, arms were also a symbol of power and attraction.
6. Armaments were also for aggressive purposes. Arms were also needed for invasion of countries standing against the superpower demands or for imperialist aggression. For example, USA attacked North Korea in 1951-1953, Vietnam 1962-75. Purposefully to tight communism and impose capitalism on the Iwo states: also invaded Libya in 1988 and Iraq in the 1991 and again in 2003 to impose her dominance over those states: exploit their oil resources.
7. The developed world was looking for more influence and control in the Third World. Developed countries intended to use weapons as a means to contain situations in Third World Countries and other crises situations, in that case. Third World Countries would easily how to their demands. For effective implementation military bases were established in some Third World Countries.
8. Technological advancement. By 1945 technology had highly advanced to allow easy inventions and innovations to enable easy making of more advanced sophisticated

weapons in the shortest time possible (as seen in the landmarks in the nuclear arms race 1945-62)

9. Nuclear weapons were cheaper than conventional weapons/troops. The superpowers believed that it was more cost-effective for them to build nuclear weapons than to pay for large armies. For instance, possessing Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles needed not a country to possess a huge army to attack the enemy powers. In short nuclear weapons could destroy massively and in a short time than mere troops.

### ***Impact of the arms race on world peace and development***

1. Arms race reduced the level of resources that could have been utilized in the provision of social and economic welfare of the people in the superpower states and to the Third World Countries. A lot of resources were spent on arms building and military technology than on peoples' welfare.
2. Environmental destructions. Due to testing or disposal of toxic military materials like nuclear arms, environment suffered massively. In most cases testing is done in the seas or forests which massively destroy aquatic lives and other living species also with disastrous effects on people.
3. Loss of lives. Many lives have been lost by use or testing of nuclear or chemical or through nuclear accidents such as the Chernobyl disaster in the Soviet Union which caused untold biological appalling consequences to life.
4. The arms race has turned the Third World into market of dangerous weapons. Old military technologies are sold to the third world as the superpowers continue to manufacture new ones. Besides Third World is also used as a testing ground for new weapons. As result, developed countries are fuelling conflicts in the Third World like border conflicts and civil wars (in Angola, Mozambique, DRC, Somalia, Iraq, Libya, Syria, etc) to find opportunity to test their weapons
5. The costly nature of armaments has led to reduced aid and assistance to Third World countries. Increased armaments consumed most of the funds that the Developed World would have channeled to Third World states in form of foreign aid.
6. The war fueled by superpowers as a result of arms race have accelerated refugees' problems in the region concerned like in Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Iraq, Libya, Syria and the DRC. Above all, have caused economic disruptions in such states
7. Establishment of military bases in the world by the superpowers. USA for example had military bases in Kenya, South Africa, Morocco, Pakistan, etc. Military bases served as spring boards for offensive attacks. Troops were stationed in them for ever ready offensive attacks in case of attacks by rival powers.
8. The nuclear arms race has prevented the outbreak of war (armed confrontations between the superpowers. Knowing the atrocious repercussions of a nuclear war, the superpowers feared risking attacking each other; consequently, no war was ever been fought between the Cold War rival blocs. Also they felt balanced in strength hence scared to attack each other.
9. The arms race has also contributed to the acceleration of technological advancements. Other technological advancements have followed in line of military technology. Notable among them was the launching of space satellites beginning with the sputnik satellite which was launched by Russia in 1956. Also industry has also been boosted like steel,

chemical and motor Engineering and more so nuclear technology has been useful in power (electricity) generating.

10. Armaments were also viewed important to the Third World prestige. When Third World Countries like India and Pakistan acquired nuclear weapons they felt having compensated for their weaknesses in the conventional warfare and now in good position to challenge the West technological dominance.

## **THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, 1962**

In 1962 a crisis involving the Island of Cuba brought the superpowers. USA and USSR to the brink of nuclear war.

At the beginning of September 1 1962, the USA U-2 spy planes discovered that the Soviet Union was building nuclear weapon bases [Surface - to - air Missile (SAM)] launch sites in Cuba. There was also an increase in the number of Soviet ships arriving in Cuba which the US government feared were carrying more supplies of weapons. USA retaliated by forcefully appealing to USSR to withdraw her plans and threatened to attack Cuba if the missiles were not removed as they would not accept offensive weapons in Cuba. The Americans were much worried to see Cuba an island only 150 miles away from USA possessed of deadly enemy weapons closely pointing at them. As the Cubans now had SAM installations they were in a position to destroy major cities of central and southern USA and to shoot down U-2 spy planes.

### ***Background of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962***

*Cuba became* involved in the Cold War in 1959 when her president Fidel Castro, who has first seized power from the unpopular American backed corrupt dictator. Fulgencia Batista, annoyed the USA by nationalizing American-owned estates and factories.

In January 1961 the USA, which had played an important part in Cuban affairs since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> C, as; in 1934 the Americans helped the Cuban military officer Fulgencia Batista to take over power; they had built a naval base at Guantanamo; and American companies had heavily invested in Cuba, broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and the Russians increased their economic aid on Cuba. Castro's inclination towards communism, assured American new President John F. Kennedy that Cuba had become communist. The USA was now much worried to see an Island only 150 km away from its Southern coast becoming communist and friendly to the USSR. The Americans also feared that Castro's ideas might spread to other countries in the region. To punish Cuba, in 1960 USA, ended trade relations with her because USA was the largest market of Cuban sugar which was the largest Cuban export earner and finally in January 1961 USA cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

All the measures taken by USA never helped them, neither did they force Castro into submission to their demands instead they drove Cubans closer to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union increased aid on Cuba and the Americans realized that among the aids that Castro was receiving were weapons.



Finally President John F. Kennedy approved a plan by a group of Batista supporters to invade Cuba from American bases in Guatemala in an attempt to overthrow Castrol. The CIA had formed a group of exiled Cuban politicians into a committee in Florida and trained them from Guatemala to take over from Castrol.

The small invading forces of about 1400 men landed at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961, but the operation was so badly planned, and carried out that Castrol's forces of 20,000 men and his two jet planes easily crushed it. The invasion (Bay of Pigs operation) was a disaster to the Americans. Later, the same year Castro announced that he was now a Marxist and that Cuba was socialist.

### ***Results of the invasion of the Bay of Pigs***

- a. Castrol declared Cuba a communist state in December 1961.
- b. Castrol asked the USSR to provide arms in order to defend Cuba against a possible American attacks following the failure of the Bay of Pigs operation.
- c. Khrushchev, the USSR leader agreed to provide arms and announced it publicly in September 1961 that he secretly hoped to turn Cuba into a Soviet Missile base.

It was all these developments that culminated into the Cuban crisis of 1962.

### ***Why the missiles were placed in Cuba***

1. To force the USA to bargain to remove her missiles from Europe. The US had established offensive military bases and missiles close around the USSR borders like in Turkey. The USSR ruling circles continuously proposed to remove the military bases and missile sites in Europe but the USA ruling circles continuously rejected their proposals. For that matter, Khrushchev intended to use the missiles for bargaining with the Americans over removal of their missiles from Europe.
2. To catch up with the USA in the Arms Race. By placing missiles as close to the USA as possible, the Soviet Union wanted to seize back the lead in the arms race. USSR had lost the lead on Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) so placing Missiles in Cuba was a way of trying to win the lead back from the USA.
3. To put the Americans under the same sort of threat as the Russians had been put by the USA placing the Missile base in Turkey. The United States had already surrounded the Soviet Union with its bomber bases and Missiles, so Khrushchev wanted the Americans to learn what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointing at them the same way they had done to the Soviet Union by placing missile bases in Europe. By placing the Missiles in Cuba therefore Khrushchev would be doing nothing more than giving the Americans a little of their own medicine.
4. To defend Cuba against the USA threat and attacks. Following the Bay of Pigs operation of 1961 through which USA sponsored Cuban exiles that had been forced out of Cuba by Castro after the overthrow of Batista in an attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro after declaring Cuba a communist State. On that note, the missiles were a gesture of solidarity with Castro, an ally to USSR and to make it clear to the USA that invasion of Cuba would imply a war with the Soviet Union.

5. To show Soviet strength and force Kennedy the American president to back down. Placing the missile bases in Cuba was also intended to prove the strength of the Soviet Union and also boost confidence of the communist and pro-communist countries on the Soviet Union.
6. To test the USA. Khrushchev also intended to see how strong the Americans really were. That is, whether they would back off and let the Soviet Union go ahead or they would face up to hard-line for the removal of the Missiles in Cuba. At the same time he intended to test and resolve the new young American President Kennedy and what he was capable of doing.
7. To trap the USA. The Missiles were a trap. Khrushchev wanted the Americans to find themselves drawn into a nuclear war. That is why he did not even want to hide them. The Russians were convinced that if a war occurred it would be easy to destroy USA from nearby. Cuba.
8. Spread of communism in the region. The Soviet Union looked at Cuba as a potential base from which communism could be spread further into the Atlantic and American regions. By creating more communist states in the region the Soviet Union would be positioned in the region by surrounding USA with rival powers.

### ***Effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis***

The Cuban Missile Crisis was the first and only nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. The event appeared to frighten both sides and marked a change in the development of the Cold War. The consequences of the Crisis include the following

1. Establishment of a direct communications link, the Hot Line. The USSR and USA realized how close the Cuban Crisis had brought them to a nuclear war. To try to prevent another such crisis, they set up a telephone hot line direct from the White house (Washington) to Kremlin (Moscow) to allow swift consultations between the two to help prevent such dangerous confrontations.
2. Removal of the USA nuclear Missiles from Europe. Only three months after the Cuban Missile Crisis the United States secretly removed all its (Jupiter) nuclear Missiles from Turkey and Italy. This was in response to the Khrushchev-Kennedy agreement to end the Cuban crisis.
3. Signing a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, August 1963. The USA, USSR and Britain signed a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty prohibiting testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere to avoid polluting the atmosphere. Nuclear tests could be allowed to be done underground. Although the treaty did not stop the development of weapons. It was an important step forward to the arrest of the arms race.
4. Strengthened the Cuban-Soviet relations. The position of Cuba was not changed after the crisis. She remained communist, highly armed and dependent upon Soviet aid and protection. Khrushchev succeeded in preventing an American invasion of Cuba, the useful ally of USSR.
5. The Crisis contributed to the widening of the Sino-Soviet split. China accused the Soviet Union of being “paper-tiger” for backing down in the face of American threats and China claimed to be the true leader of the communist movement in the world and not USSR.

6. The Soviet Union became determined to have a nuclear capability that was equal to the US. This was achieved by 1972. USSR wanted to completely avoid to be bullied by USA and save herself from world criticism because of backing down in the face of American threats in the crisis.
7. Encouraged USA to attempt to overthrow socialist and communist governments. The backing down in the face of American threats by the removal of the missiles from Cuba convinced the US that the USSR would not risk going to war over another communist state. USA was therefore encouraged to attempt to overthrow socialist governments in Vietnam, Nicaragua and Grenada.
8. Khrushchev lost popularity in the communist world. He was criticized by fellow communists at home and abroad especially China for backing down in the face of American threat. He lost face at home and the Crisis contributed to his fall from power two years later.

Both Khrushchev and Kennedy emerged with something from the Crisis. Khrushchev achieved the aim of preventing an American invasion of Cuba and stood up to Kennedy and forced him to remove the Missiles in Turkey and Italy. He was also credited for avoiding a nuclear war. Kennedy increased his reputation at home and worldwide by avoiding a war and standing up to Khrushchev and making him back down by removing the Missiles from Cuba.

## **THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL (1948) AND THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM**

### **ISRAEL BECOMES A STATE**

The state of Israel was formed in 1948 by the United Nations. In November 1947, the UN voted to divide Palestine, setting aside roughly half of it to form an independent Jewish (Israeli) state. Having failed in its many attempts to work out a satisfactory compromise in Palestine between the Jews and Palestinian Arabs, a weary Britain at the end of the World War II referred the Palestine issue to the United Nations.

The UN recommendations, accepted by the General Assembly in 1947, called for a partition of Palestine into a Palestinian state and a Jewish state. In May 1947, the UN formed a special committee: United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) to prepare a report on recommendations for Palestine. The report recommended that Palestine be partitioned into an Arab state and a Jewish state and Jerusalem was to be an international city owned by neither side. On 29 November 1947, the UN general assembly adopted a resolution recommending the adoption and implementation of the Plan as Resolution 181 (II). All of the Islamic countries voted against partition, and the Palestinians rejected it outright. They objected that the UN did not have the right to partition a country without considering the wishes of the majority of its people. However, the Jews welcomed the proposal. The terms of the partition were very favourable to them, giving them 55 percent of the area even though Jews made up only 34 percent of the population.

Certain nations, such as the United States and many in Europe, felt the need to plant a state that would serve as a centre of reaching their interests in the Middle East region and that also would

help limit Jewish migration into their countries. However some circles felt sympathetic for the Jews because of the Holocaust to support the concept of giving Jews their own nation. Finally, the date was set for the formation of Israel - May 14, 1948. On that date, David Ben-Gurion, long-time leader of the Jews residing in Palestine, declared the creation of an independent Israel with its capital at Tel Aviv and he became its first Prime Minister. A day after the proclamation of the new state, the British announced the end of their mandate in Palestine - Palestine was a Turkish colony but mandated to the British at the end of the World War I.

Israel is found in the Middle East. The Middle East consists of Egypt, the Sudan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, Turkey, Yemen, The United Arab Emirates and Oman. Most of these states except Turkey and Iran are peopled by Arabs. The region has been the world's most troubled region, since 1948. Wars and civil wars have occupied almost non-stop and there has hardly been a time when the whole region was at peace. The main causes of the trouble were the creation of the new state of Israel in Palestine in 1948 and the forceful imperialist interest in the region due to the region's abundant wealth (oil) resources. Israel is bordered to the north by Lebanon, to the northeast by Syria, to the east and south-east by Jordan, to the south-west by Egypt and to the west by the Mediterranean Sea.

**Ben-Gurion (1886 - 1973)**, was born in Plonsk, Russian Empire (now in Poland). He was the primary founder of the State of Israel and its first Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. He was educated in a Hebrew school founded by his father, an enthusiastic Zionist. Ben-Gurion himself was leading a Zionist youth group by his early teens. When he was 18 years old, he began teaching in a Jewish school in Warsaw, soon joined Poalei Zion (Workers of Zion), a socialist/Zionist group. Ben-Gurion's passion for Zionism, led him to become a major Zionist leader and Executive Head of the World Zionist Organisation in 1946. As head of the Jewish Agency from 1935, he was the *de facto* leader of the Jewish community in Palestine, and largely led its struggle for an independent Jewish state in Mandatory Palestine. On 14 May 1948, he formally proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel, and was the first to sign the Israel Declaration of independence, which he had helped to write. Ben-Gurion united the various Jewish militias into the Israel Defence Forces and led Israel during the 1948 Arab-Israel War and 1956 Suez war. Subsequently, he became known as "Israel's founding father."

### ***Palestine and Israel, early stages***

The conflict between Jews and Palestinian Arabs and other Arab countries over a Palestinian homeland is one that has its roots in ancient history. To the Jews, their claim to the land goes back 3,000 years, when Jewish kings ruled from Jerusalem. To Palestinians both Muslims and Christians, the land has belonged to them for centuries since the Jews were driven out around A.D. 135. To Arabs, the land has belonged to them since their conquest of the area in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Mixed in with the intertwined history of Jews and Arabs in the region have been more modern events which include: the persecution of Jews in Europe, the rising value of oil in the Middle East, and global politics that have influenced decisions like the Cold War and the increasing immigration into Palestine of the Zionists-people who favoured a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

The Jews had begun to settle in Palestine in the late 19<sup>th</sup>. At the time, when the region was still part of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by Islamic Turks, Zionists made up only about 10% of the population. But during the British mandatory, the British secretly encouraged more Jewish migrations in Palestine. Palestinians feared that the increasing numbers of Jewish immigrants would result in hardships for them while the Jews asked that a Jewish state be carved out of the territory.

### ***Factors for the creation of the Israel state***

1. Creation of the Zionist organisation. Modern Israel has its origins in the Zionism movement, established in the late 19th century by Jews in the Russian Empire who called for the establishment of a Jewish state after enduring a long time persecution. In 1897, the Zionist movement was founded, headed by a Jewish-Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl and the first Zionist Congress proclaimed its aim to establish a national home (state) for the Jewish people in Palestine which the Jews regarded their original home as a solution to the growing persecution of the Jews in Europe. Since then Zionism encouraged secret Jewish migration to Palestine. They formed secret militias like Haganah and Irgun to fight for a Jewish state in Palestine.
2. The role of the First World War. The war ended in the defeat of Triple Alliance and losing their foreign territories to the Allied powers. Palestine was Turkish territory, but mandated to Britain after the First World War. The end of the Turkish control guaranteed the Jews a place in Palestine the more to increase immigration into Palestine since the Turks rulers discouraged Jewish immigrations in favoured of the Palestinian Arab Muslims. Secondly, the war created an uncertain life in Europe to the Jews to force for more Jewish immigration to Palestine. For example over 100,000 Jews were massacred in Ukraine and Russia in the post 1917 Russian Revolution and World War I period.
3. The Nazi holocaust. The holocaust was the mass killing of the Jews by the Nazis. Between 1939 and 1945, the Nazis, aided by local forces, led systematic efforts to kill every person of Jewish extraction in Europe, causing death of about 6 million Jews. Those who survived in central Europe were suffering displaced persons (refugee). Since Europe had turned against the Jews, the only place for them to hide was Palestine and that led to the Jewish influx in Palestine.
4. The Second World War. The war gave the Jews experience, hardened their hearts the more and raised their nationalism higher. During the War, the Jewish Agency established a Jewish army that fought alongside the British forces and the Palmach (a Jewish militia) was established in 1941 to defend the Jews communities against German invasion. Also approximately 1.5 million Jews around the world served the Allied armies, mainly in the Soviet and U.S. armies. Many of these war veterans later volunteered to fight for Israel. Basing on the same support Zionists in Palestine.

### ***Reaction towards the division of Palestine (creation of Israel)***

The Jewish leadership accepted the partition as the “Indispensable minimum”. All Jews jubilated as now they possessed their own state (something they were missing for more than 2000 years). Above all were happy for attaining international recognition as a separate state from Palestine.

The Arabs (Arab States) refused to recognize Israel as a legal state and they vowed to destroy it. To the Arabs and other people with the same opinion, the creation of Israel in Palestine, an area belonging to the Palestinian Arabs outraged their opinion throughout the world. The Arabs blamed Britain which they felt, had been more sympathetic to the Jews than to the Arabs. Most of all they blamed the USA which strongly pressed for the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine.

### ***Impact of 1948 declaration of independence of the new state of Israel***

1. Explosions of joy among the Jewish community. The Jews who for centuries were wandering around the world without a permanent state of their own and facing persecution like in the Nazi Germany were extremely jubilant of the creation of the new state of Israel. They now witnessed the fulfillment of their Zionism dream and campaign to fight for the Jewish “national home”. Many Jews all over the world now immigrated into the given new state.
2. Aroused the Arabs’ discontent. The creation of Israel in Palestine, an area belonging to the Palestinian Arabs outraged Arab opinion throughout the world. Arab States refused to recognize Israel as a legal state and vowed to destroy it. The Arab zeal to destroy the new state of Israel was shown in the outbreak of a series of Arab - Israel wars: 1948- 9, 1967 and 1973 wars waged against Israel by Arab states like Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq.
3. Rise of terrorist attacks. The Israel Zionist military organizations like Palmach, Haganah and Irgun carried out terrorist attacks on the Arab communities. The Arabs also responded in the same way by attacking Israel communities. Though the attacks had started before the declaration of the new state of Israel, they intensified after its proclamation in May 1948. Many people were/are killed and more injured with the Palestinians being the majority victims.
4. Withdraw of the British from Palestine. The proclamation marked the end of British Mandate over Palestine. Immediately after the proclamation and recognition of the new state of Israel on May 14, 1948, the British (the following day) announced the end of their Mandate in Palestine and both Palestine (Arabs) and Israel new state were declared independent.
5. Migration of many Arabs from Palestine. Since the Jewish population was under orders obliging them to hold their dominions at all costs, the situation of insecurity across the country affected the Arab population the more. Up to 100,000 Palestinians mainly those from the upper classes left the country to seek refuge abroad as Jewish terrorist attacks intensified.
6. The declaration manifested the West double standards. The situation caused the USA to retract their support for the partition plan and thus encouraged the Arab League to believe that the Palestinians if given support by the Arab Liberation Army could put an end to the

partition plan. The British however, on the other hand, decided, on February 7, 1948 to support the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine by Jordan.

7. Demise of the Palestinian state. The bitter consequence of the creation of Israel state was that the state that the UN had set aside for Palestinians never came into being. Further expansion of the Israelis into Palestinian territory beyond what the UN partition had given them in 1948 was done by Zionist military groups like Haganah and Palmach through the Jewish Plan "Dalet". The Jewish annexations which still continue have taken about three quarters of Palestine.
8. The proclamation of the New State of Israel boosted Arab unity. The Arabs became more solidly united and more determined to defend the Palestinians. The Arab world was ready to light and dissolve the new state of Israel. On all early attempts to fight Israel such as in 1948-9, 1967 and 1973, many Arab countries like Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Iraq were involved.
9. Entanglement of the Middle East into the cold war politics. The creation of Israel played part in fueling the Cold War and extending it the Middle East. Exploiting the Israeli-Arab conflicts the Cold War blocs took sides. USA sided with Israel, pouring a lot of aid in supporting her to fight Arab countries while the Soviet Union sided with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Arab states like Egypt in the struggle against the Zionist state.
10. The creation of Israel has strengthened the imperialist's position in the Middle East. Western powers have entrenched deeper into the Middle East using Israel as their base. Israel is used to spy on her neighbouring Arab countries, to carryout pre-emptive attacks on anti-Western Arab countries. In the 1956 Suez Canal war for instance Israel was used by Britain and France to attack Egypt in their fight to re-take over the Suez Canal which had been taken from their control by the Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser. Since 1948, Israel is used to destabilize the Middle East region for the benefit of imperialist powers led by USA.

## **ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES IN CONFLICT**

The division of Palestine in 1948 set off bitter disputes in the Middle East. The new Israel got a hostile greeting from its neighbors. The day after Israel proclaimed, a state, six Arab states- Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria-invaded it. This was the first of many Arab-Israeli wars. It ended within months in a victory for Israel depended on strong American support in this conflict, as well as in most of its wars. Full-scale war broke out again in 1956, 1967, and 1973.

## **THE 1948-9 ARAB - ISRAEL WAR**

The 1948-9 Arab-Israel war, known by the Jews as well as the Palestinians. "Independence (Liberation) War", the Palestinians further call it the "Catastrophe" was the first of a series of wars fought between the newly state of Israel and its neighbours in the persistent Arab-Israel conflicts. The war began immediately - a day the proclamation of the new state of Israel and announcement by the British to end the mandate governance over Palestine in mid May (14-15) 1948. The war was a continuation of a civil war which had begun by the Palestinian Arabs following the announcement of the UN plan for the partitioning of Palestine to create the Arab

and Jewish states in Troops of five Arab states, however much poorly trained and ill equipped from Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq joined the Palestinian Arabs and invaded the newly state of Israel to crash it down.

***Why did the creation of the state of Israel lead to war in 1948-9?***

1. The origin of the problem went back almost 2000 years to the year AD 71, when most of the Jews were driven by the Romans out of Palestine which they claimed was their homeland. Only a small community of Jews stayed behind in Palestine and over the following 1700 years there was a gradual movement of Jews returning from exile but were not pleased to co-exist with the Palestinians.
2. The formation of the World Zionist Organization. The organization was formed at Basel in Switzerland in 1897 by some Jews living in Europe. Zionists believed that Jews were to go back to Palestine which they referred to as "a national homeland" and have a Jewish state. Jews had suffered persecution in Russia, France, Italy and Germany and a Jewish state would provide a safe refuge for them from all over the world. However, Palestine for almost 2000 years was inhabited by Arabs who were alarmed at the prospect of losing their land moreover to the Jews.
3. Role of Britain. Britain became involved in 1917, when its foreign minister Arthur Balfour announced that Britain supported the idea of a Jewish national home in Palestine. When in 1919 Palestine became a British Mandate, large number of Jews began to migrate to Palestine. The Arabs protested bitterly to the British that they wanted an independent Palestine for the Arabs and an end to the immigration of the Jews. The British hoped to persuade Jews and Arabs to live together peacefully in the same state. Failure of a peaceful co-existence led to conflicts.
4. Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany after 1933. This caused a flood of Jewish refugees into Palestine that by 1940 about half the population of Palestine was Jewish. From 1936 onwards there were violent protests by Arabs and an uprising against Jewish immigration which the British suppressed with brutality - killing thousands of Arabs. In 1937 the British proposed dividing Palestine into two separate states, one Arab and one Jewish, but the Arabs rejected the idea. The British tried again in 1939 and promised Arabs an independent state within ten years, and a Jewish immigration limited to 10,000 a year, this time the Jews also rejected the proposal.
5. The World War II made the situation much worse. There were hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Hitler's persecution (Europe) desperately looking for somewhere to hide. To respond to the situation USA pressed Britain to allow more (100,000) Jews into Palestine and this demand was highly supported by David Ben Gurion, one of the Jewish leaders, but the British not wanting to offend the Arabs refused. On the hand however the war hardened the Jews the more, they became more determined to fight the Arabs.
6. The determination of the Jews. After centuries of persecution in Europe and all the suffering at the hands of the Nazis, the Jews were determined to fight for their own independent state. They began a terrorist campaign against both Arabs and British. An example was the blowing up of the King David hotel in Jerusalem which the British were using as their headquarters, killing 91 people and injuring many more. Basing on that the Arab resentment could not stop them. Such atmosphere led to the war.



7. British withdrawal. The British weakened by the World War II, felt unable to deal with Israel-Arab issue. A day after the proclamation of the new state (May 15, 1948), the British announced the end of their mandate in Palestine and withdrew their troops. The withdrawal before settling the civil war between the Jews and Arabs which had started earlier in 1947 allowed the conflict to intensify and expand into a full scale war, in 1948.

### ***Effects of the 1948-9 Arab — Israel war***

1. The Arabs were defeated. The Arabs were defeated and while the defeat angered the Arabs even more and regarded this war as only round one in the struggle to destroy Israel and liberate Palestine, it gave the Israelis more confidence to add to their determination to defend their new state.
2. Conquest of more land by the Israelis. Israel annexed more land of Palestinians than the UN partition had given them. The Jews ended up with about three quarters of Palestine plus the Egyptian port of Eilat on the Red Sea.
3. Loss of lives and destruction of property Israel lost about 1% of its population in the war that is 6373 Jews only about 4000 were soldiers. However more deaths were the Arabs. Between 100,000 and 15,000 Arabs died due to Jewish massacre, for example the Israelis slaughtered the entire population of an Arab village in Israel.
4. Collapse of the Palestinian state. The Palestinian Arabs became the innocent victims as they found themselves without a state or homeland. The state that the UN had set aside for them never came into being. Israel seized half the land in the 1948-1949 fighting as thousands of Palestinians fled from the massacres by Israelis. Egypt took control of the Gaza Strip, and Jordan the West Bank.
5. Increased number of refugees. Massive slaughter of Arabs by the Israelis like after the Jewish slaughter of the entire population of an Arab village forced many Arabs to flee, nearly a million Arabs fled to the neighbouring countries like Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria where they had to live in refugee camps. About 400 Arab villages were abandoned and their land was grabbed by the Jewish immigrants of displaced Jews of World War II.
6. Division of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was divided into two; between Israel and Jordan. Jordan was to control the old city of Jerusalem and the new city of Jerusalem was to be controlled by Israel and now the Jews used it as their administrative area. The war then ended the control of the city by the UN as it had been suggested in the 1948 declaration.
7. Signing of different armistices. In 1949, Israel signed separate armistices with the Arab countries involved in the war; with Egypt on 24 February; Lebanon on 23 March; Jordan on 3 April; and Syria on 20 July. The new borders of Israel were set in these agreements. This showed about 50% more land acquired by Israel than the UN partition proposal allotted to it. The Gaza strip and the West Bank were occupied by Egypt and Jordan respectively. These cease fire lines were afterwards known as the Green Line”

### ***Why Arabs were defeated***

Most of the people expected the Arabs to win, however against that Israelis defeated them. The following reasons accounted for that.

1. Arab troops were poorly trained and ill equipped compared to a well trained and efficiently equipped Israel troops. The Israelis were more experienced, they had fought in the Second World War on the side of the Allied powers particularly British against the Germans.
2. The Israelis won partly because they fought desperately to win an independent state of their own. They were determined to fight and end a miserable wandering life of persecution they had led for such a long time of about 2000 years, in Europe which was worsened by the Nazi Germany.
3. The Arab states were divided among themselves. For example, some Arab states did not see the danger of having a Jewish state among them while others had selfish interest like King Abdullah of Jordan was interested in seizing the Palestinian area of the West Bank than fighting Israel.
4. The role of the Israelis secret terrorist groups like the Haganah and Palmach. These carried out open and secret sabotage, massacres and attacks on the Arab villages, killing Palestinian leaders and many of their supporters. These militant groups weakened Arabs' resistance.
5. Israel support from the West. Western powers specifically USA and Britain poured massive material support in form of funds and arms and food to the Israelis and openly showed their support through the UN.
6. The World War II. The war hardened the Israelis the more. Facing the holocaust the Jews became more determined to fight for their own independent state. Moreover, the war gave the Jews more military experience since many desperately served in the allied forces in fighting the Germans. The Arabs lacked such advantages.

## **THE SUEZ CANAL WAR/CRISIS, 1956**

The Suez Canal Crisis, also named Tripartite Aggression or the Sinai war, was an invasion of Egypt in late 1956 by Israel, followed by Britain and France. Britain, in alliance with France and in secret collusion with Israel invaded Egypt. The aims were to regain Western control of the Suez Canal which had been nationalized by the Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser and to remove Nasser, a threat to Western imperialism from power.

The invasion started on October 29 when the Israeli army led by General Moshe Dayan invaded the Egyptian Sinai peninsula. As planned within a day, Britain and France issued a joint ultimatum to cease fire and then a day after began to bomb Cairo and Egyptian airfields. On November 5, by "Operation Musketeer", British and French ground forces landed at Port Said at the northern end of the Suez Canal and started to follow it southward. Despite the denials of their governments, it became clear that the Israeli invasion and its subsequent Anglo-French attack had been planned before hand by the three states Britain, France and Israel.

On July 26, at a mass rally in Alexandria marking the fourth anniversary of the Egyptian 1952 Revolution. Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian president announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal. The nationalisation was taken in response to a decision by the US and Britain (and the World Bank) to withhold financial aid for the construction of the Aswan High Dam, a major hydro-electric and irrigation scheme. To Nasser, the canal would help raise the needed finances and the USSR the technical help in the dam construction.

The problems in the Suez had been an ongoing situation starting back in the late 1800's right after it was opened in 1869. The canal was built by the French and Egyptian governments and ran under the Suez Canal Company that had dug it during the 1850s and that had maintained it ever since. Britain along with France controlled the Suez Canal during the colonial era because it gave them more control over India, and an easy entry into Africa and thus was referred to as the "jugular vein of the (colonial) Empire". The Canal cut a vast number of miles off a sea journey from Europe to Asian markets and made a journey around the volatile Cape of unnecessary. Similarly, they heavily depended on the canal for transporting oil supplies from the Middle East.

By the nationalisation of the canal, the British and French ruling classes felt that Nasser had become a threat to their remaining interests in the Middle East and Africa. Anthony Eden, the then British prime minister, called it (the nationalization) "theft." Though Nasser promised to compensate the stockholders of the Suez Canal Company and to guarantee right of access to all ships. France and Britain froze Egyptian assets in their countries and invaded Egypt.

**Abdel Nasser** (1918 - 1970) was the second president of Egypt, serving from 1956 until his death. He was the leader of the 1952 Egyptian Revolution and co-founder of the Non-Aligned Movement. Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal and his emergence as the political victor from the subsequent Suez Crisis substantially elevated his popularity in Egypt and the Arab world. As president Nasser began a series of modernization reforms in Egypt. He launched large industrial projects, including the Aswan Dam and Helwan City and carried-out land reforms. He was always at the forefront in the fight for the Palestinian rights and independence. Due to Nasser's influence, his supporters gained power in several Arab countries. Nasser died in 1970 after suffering a heart attack after the conclusion of the 1970 Arab League Summit. His funeral in Cairo drew five to seven million mourners and an outpouring of grief across the Arab world. Nasser remains an iconic figure in the Arab and the Third World, particularly for his strides towards Arab Unity, social justice, modernization policies, and anti-imperialist (colonial) efforts historians describe Nasser as a towering political figure of not only in the Middle East but the entire Third World in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### *Causes of the war*

1. The rise of nationalism among Egyptians. Since 1882, Egypt was controlled financially and politically as a semi-colony by the British. The Egyptian national independence recognized by Britain in 1922, was a shame, as Britain continued to control the country through the monarch. From the World War II, however there had been an upsurge of national consciousness among Egyptian masses to escalate resentment against the British and French imperialism which was still clinging on Egypt mainly to control the Suez Canal.
2. Nationalization of the Suez Canal. In 1956, Nasser, the Egyptian president nationalized the Suez Canal, from a British-French company that had constructed the canal during the 1850s and maintained it ever since while Egyptians benefiting very little from it. Its nationalization would add the Egyptian government more income to finance economic projects like construction of the Aswan High Dam. To Britain the Suez Canal was a sign of her overseas power and its seizure posed a political threat to her interests throughout the Middle East like oil supply to the West.

3. The cold war. The Middle East was a key area within the Cold War context. The Cold War superpowers were chasing for Egypt as the case had been with Korea. Nasser offended the Western powers with inclination to socialism by participating in a more anti-imperialist Bandung conference in 1955 and refused to join the anti-communist Baghdad Pact a USA sponsored military alliance against the Soviet Union. To teach Nasser a lesson. USA and Britain refused financial support for the construction of the Aswan high dam, a project considered essential for Egypt's national economic development. With little to lose, Nasser turned to the Eastern bloc for military, economic and technical support for the construction of the Aswan high dam and nationalisation of the Suez Canal in order to finance the project from the navigation fees.
4. Nasser's support of anti-colonial movements. Following the success of the 1952, Egyptian Revolution. Egypt became a centre for anti-colonial struggles in Africa. For instance, Nasser was materially supporting the National Liberation Front fighting to free Algeria from French rule and Nkrumah's efforts in Ghana against the British. This was not well received by colonial powers Britain and France in particular, thus in 1956 war, they wanted Nasser to regret for his anti-colonial efforts by overthrowing him.
5. Arab-Israel conflicts. Nasser was a strong Pan-Arab nationalist and as well anti-Israel. A few months after becoming President, Nasser made it clear that he was in favour of liberating Palestine from the Jews. Besides Egypt was always at the forefront financially and militarily in wars against Israel since its creation in 1948. Seen throughout the region as a beachhead by his anti-Israel sentiments, and being an impediment against Western manouvers. France and Britain increased supplying Israel with modern weapons to fight Egypt.
6. Nasser's growing fame was disliked by Western politicians. Western leaders like Eden, the British prime minister alarmed at Nasser's growing influence in the Third World. Nasser's determination to fight imperialism and for liberation of the Palestinians elevated his status. He was seen as the long-awaited leader capable of ending imperialism. He was a popular hero, not only in Egypt but throughout the Arab world and the neo-colonial Third World. His increasing power was regarded a threat by the imperialist USA, Britain and France because it tended to threaten their influence in the Middle East and the entire Third World.
7. Provocative acts of Nasser. The West accused Nasser of disrespecting them. Britain considered Nasser's campaign to expel British military forces from Egypt by a treaty in 1954 a blow to its prestige. In addition, Nasser's campaign to project his influence into Jordan, Syria, and Iraq convinced the British that he sought to eliminate their influence from the Middle East. The US was shocked by Nasser appealing to Arab nations to denounce the US sponsored anti-communism Baghdad pact and French were irritated by his support of Algerian nationalist struggle from France.
8. Signing of the free user's association. Before 1956, Britain and France formed a free user's association. By this association the two powers denounced payment of taxes on their slaves on the Suez Canal to the Egyptian Nasser's government. This annoyed Nasser resulting to seizure of the Suez Canal which provoked Britain and France to declare war against Egypt in 1956.
9. British refusal to honour the 1936 agreement. According to this agreement signed between Egypt and Britain, Britain was to reduce her forces from 83,000 to 10,000 in the Suez Canal. However, this was not implemented as by 1956 Britain still contained 83,000

troops at the Canal. Similarly, the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954, which stipulated a British withdrawal from the Suez Canal by the summer of 1956, was not welcomed by the British. The Suez Canal was one of the most important strategic assets in the region, located on the border of Africa and Asia.

### ***Effects of the Suez Canal war, 1956***

Each actor involved in the Suez Crisis of 1956 felt the consequences deeply. Egypt, Britain, France, Israel, the Soviet Union, and the United States all felt power and economic shifts vis-à-vis societal changes.

1. Change of government in Britain and France. In Britain, the Prime Minister, Anton Eden was removed from office. Explosion of anger against his government was seen in an outburst of spontaneous popular protests all-over the country accusing him of taking military action against Egypt which was rightly claiming its main asset. In France, the Crisis accelerated the end of the Fourth Republic in 1958. Guy Mol let was forced to resign and thus the return to power of Charles de Gaulle and the establishment of the Fifth Republic, which is still into existence.
2. Nasser intensified Arab unity and nationalism. The crisis raised nationalism to foster popular resentment towards the West and Israel in the Middle East. Similarly, the crisis gave an impetus to the spread of Pan-Arabic ideology for example leading to the unification of Syria and Egypt which created the United Arab Republic in 1958.
3. It damaged British imperialism. Britain's position of power in the world system dropped tremendously due to the crisis. The crisis shattered British imperialism by showing that Britain could no longer dictate to colonial and semi-colonial states. It also demonstrated that Britain was no longer capable of acting independently as an imperialist power. Her position was taken by USA which followed an 'anti-colonial' policy through which she imposed hegemony.
4. Creation of the European Economic Union in 1957. The United State's power to force England and France away from their economic interests in Egypt exemplified that European nations had lost power to act independently in world affairs. It showed that France and England will never be powers comparable to the United States and the Soviet Union. A European Union needed to be created to balance the growing hegemony of the United States.
5. The crisis elevated Nasser's status. Nasser merged as a historic celebrated hero not only in Egypt but internationally throughout the Middle East and the entire Third World leading the emergence of Nasserism. He was able to stand against a powerful British-French-Israel coalition and ended up losing neither territory nor economic capability as the work at Aswan continued with Soviet funding. More than that, the Suez Canal Company remained nationalized. Such achievements sustain the idea that Egypt was the sole winner of the Suez as Nasser retained what he wanted.
6. Arab socialism. Nasser's government took a more radical position after the war. Nasser carried out more extensive nationalisation measures on most foreign businesses and conducted popular reforms, such as subsidies for food, free social services provision and extension of state intervention in the economy. Nasser's project became known as 'Arab

Socialism". In reality, this meant a combination of measures against imperialism and Egypt's traditional ruling class.

7. Improved US-Israel relations. The US was profoundly impressed by Israeli government positive response to the U.S demand to withdraw its forces from the war despite domestic opposition. Since then relations between Israel and the USA, grew increasingly close. The US wanted to use Israel to forge anti-Soviet alliance in the Middle East, and destabilize the region by destroying efforts for Arab nationalism. Since then, the US became the new guardian of Israel's interests.
8. Intensified the Cold War in the Middle East. The crisis attracted the Middle East to the Soviet Union (the communist bloc). The communist influence led to the fall of the pro-Western regime in Iraq, and the establishment of the Soviet-inspired Egyptian-Syrian United Arab Republic in 1958. In retaliation, the US president Eisenhower presented the Eisenhower Doctrine aiming at containing the Soviet ambitions within the Middle East. The US was to offer 200 million dollars to Middle East states to prevent them from receiving assistance from the Soviet Union.
9. Boosted anti-colonial struggles. The Suez Canal crisis was a reference to liberation movements on how they could stand against imperialism. Nationalists were encouraged by Nasser's boldness to stand firm against the imperialists. For instance it boosted Algerian fight against the French colonial masters and awakened insurgencies in British colonies like Malaysia and Cyprus which forced Britain, France and others to accelerate political independence of their colonies. Above all after the crisis Nasser became more determined to support liberation movements in Africa, Ghana, Algeria, Zimbabwe, and South Africa among others received assistance from Egypt.
10. Creation of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). The Palestinians became convinced that they could not count on the Arab states to ensure that they get their own state. As a result, the PLC) was formed. The PLO's stated goal was to eliminate Israel and form a Palestinian state. Since its formation, the PLO has used guerrilla attacks against Israel and has been labelled a terrorist organization alongside other Palestinian organizations like Hamas.
11. Great numbers of casualties. The war claimed a lot of lives many of whom were Egyptians. According to foreign military observers, about 1.650 of Egypt's ground forces was killed in the campaign. Another 4,900 were wounded, more than 6,000 were captured or missing and 1000 civilians killed. To Israel, 231 troops were killed, 899 wounded and 4 captured. For Britain, 16 killed and 96 wounded and to France, 16 killed and 33 wounded.

## **THE 1967 SIX-DAY WAR**

Tensions between Israel and the Arab states began to build again in the years following the resolution of the Suez Crisis. By early 1967, Nasser and his Arab allies, equipped with Soviet tanks and aircrafts, felt ready to confront Israel. He moved to close oil the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel's outlet to the Red Sea. Convinced that the Arabs were about to attack, the Israelis attacked airfields in Egypt, Iran, Jordan, and Syria. Safe from air attack, Israeli ground forces struck on three fronts. The war was over in six days. Israel lost 800 troops in the fighting while Arab losses exceeded 15.000. As a consequence of the Six- Day War. Israel occupied militarily the old city of Jerusalem, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank. This was done to

provide a buffer zone and improve security. Palestinians who lived in Jerusalem were given the choice of Israeli or Jordanian citizenship. Most chose the latter. Palestinians who lived in the other areas were not offered Israeli citizenship and became stateless.

## **THE 1973 WAR**

A fourth Arab-Israeli conflict erupted in October 1973, Nasser's successor, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, planned a joint Arab attack on the date of Yom Kippur, the holiest of Jewish holidays. This time the Israelis were caught by surprise. Arab forces inflicted heavy casualties and recaptured some of the territories lost in 1967. The Israelis, under their prime minister, Golda Meir, launched a counterattack and regained some of the lost territory. An uneasy truce was agreed to after several weeks of fighting, ending the October war.

## **THE CAMP DAVID ACCORD SEPTEMBER 1978**

Camp David is a military camp in the USA where the US president Jimmy Carter, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin met in 1978 (September 5-17) for a peace plan and discussion related to the middle East crisis – Carter acted as a mediator. The meeting culminated into the famous Camp David Accord which set peace principles for the Middle East region. Issues addressed included; Israel security, Palestinians rights and the handling of the territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 Six-day war. Ultimately, the talks succeeded, and Israel and Egypt signed the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty in 1979.

Before the Accord Egypt played a dominant role in resisting Israeli expansionism and militarily Egypt was considered to be the strongest member of the Arab League, an organization formed in 1948 for unity of all Arab countries with its headquarters at Cairo. However, Anwar Sadat who assumed presidency after the death of Gamal Abdul Nasser changed the position of Egypt from being the strongest opponent of Israel. After the 1973 (The Yom Kippur war) Sadat changed his mind to believe that it was not wise to keep on wasting Egypt's resources in endless fruitless wars against Israel; 1948-9, the Six-day war (1967). Yom Kippur War (1973). Sadat had been convinced that it was difficult to destroy the heavily Western supported Israel by force.

In November 1977 Sadat stunned the world by offering peace to Israel. No Arab country up to this point had recognized Israel's right to exist. He pointed it out that he was open to a more constructive dialogue for peace including a state visit to Israel. Even the prime minister of Israel said he was ready for better relations and to accept Sadat's invitation. In a dramatic gesture Sadat visited Israel in November 1977 and talk to the Israel parliament (Knesset) and also Menachem Begin visited Egypt the following month. The visits were the initial stages for the peace talks at Camp David the following year in 1978.

President Jimmy Carter recognized that Sadat had created a historic opportunity for peace. In 1978, Carter invited Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to Camp David, the presidential retreat in rural Maryland isolated from the press and from domestic political pressures. Sadat had begun discussing the issues dividing their two countries. It took them 13 days of negotiation.

### ***Reasons for the talk/why did the two sides signed the peace treat i'***

1. President Sadat had become convinced that it was hard to destroy Israel by Force. To him it was Foolish to keep on wasting Egypt's resources in endless fruitless wars against a heavily Western (USA and Britain) supported Israel. Western support of Israel made it difficult For the Arab win.
2. Israel was suffering from economic problems. This was partly because of her heavy defense expenditure and partly because of a world recession. By this it was difficult for Israel to meet its people's welfare. Constant wars also caused them a lot of destructions and economic losses.
3. Pressure from the USA on Israel. The USA had started feeling the burden of assisting Israel pressed Israel to settle its differences with at least some of the Arab countries. This would enable Israel reduce enemies but also would help both USA and Israel divide the Arabs for their own benefits. United Arab countries through the Arab League were a threat to the West.
4. The need for peace. The three sides, Israel, Egypt and USA wanted to find ways for peace in the Middle East region to end the hostile atmosphere that had existed between the Arab countries led by Egypt and Israel since the creation of the new state of Israel in 1948.
5. President Carter of the USA did it for self aggrandizement. He wanted to be seen as the chief mediator and winner for peace in the Middle East. He therefore played an important role in setting up formal negotiations between the two sides at Camp David in September 1978.

### ***Contents of Camp David (main points agreed)***

- a. Egypt should refrain from involvement in armed confrontation with Israel. On this Egypt was not to attack Israel again. Remember Egypt had been strong in the wars against Israel.
- b. Israel agreed to return to Egypt occupied territories that is, the Sinai hill and Agaba which she had confiscated during the Yom Kippur war of 1973. So Israel was to immediately withdraw its troops from Sinai.
- c. Egypt was to allow Israeli ships use the Suez Canal. The Egyptians had closed the canal for Israeli ships and all ships carrying materials to Israel since the Suez Canar of 1956.
- d. Egypt could supply Israel with oil from the recently opened well in Southern Sinai
- e. The two parties, which are Egypt and Israel, recognized each other as sovereignty legitimate states.

### ***Effects of the Camp David accords***

1. The peace agreement ended the 30 years of hostilities between Egypt and Israel. The state of war which had existed between Egypt and Israel since 1948 came to an end. Signing the peace treaty meant that Egypt and Israel had agreed to peacefully co-exist Since then Egypt has never involved herself in fighting Israel.
2. Expulsion of Egypt from the Arab League. Egypt was condemned by the Arab League to be expelled. She was declared a traitor to the entire Arab world and to the cause against



Israel and its Zionism policy. The capital of the Arab League was shifted from Cairo to Tunis and many Arab states immediately cut-off diplomatic relations with Egypt as mistrust mounted against her.

3. The Accord symbolized the Western victory not only against Arab countries but also over the communist backed PLO. It achieved the West (imperialist) desire to divide Arab countries which helped them control resistance against the West and their ally Israel. Now with Egypt isolated by fellow Arab countries, they won her as their ally to monitor the region for their benefits.
4. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was forced to evacuate from Egypt to Lebanon and fight from there. All these were signs of mistrust, at the same time to isolate Egypt. The PLO could no longer operate from Egypt which had recognized Israel as a sovereign state.
5. Assassination of Anwar Sadat. Two years later after the signing at Camp David accord (on October 6 1981) Sadat was murdered while attending a military parade marking the eighth anniversary of the start of the Yom Kippur War of 1973. His murder was done by army members who were outraged by his negotiation and signing an agreement with Israel.
6. The Camp David Accord laid a foundation for the future peace settlements/talks. It opened a new chapter in Israel-Arab relations, the chapter that also allowed peace talks and not only engagements in wars. Since it's signing, no major war has ever been fought against Israel by combined Arab forces.
7. Egypt regained her lost territories. Israel agreed to return the Egyptian territories that are, the Sinai hill and Agaba which she had confiscated during the Yom Kippur war of 1973 as demanded by Egypt. After the Camp David Israel withdraw its troops from Sinai.
8. Establishment of American-Egyptian relationship. The Camp David talks and the subsequent isolation of Egypt by the Arab league drew Egypt and the US close to each other. Since then Egypt has taken a neutral position in conflicts against Israel an American ally and has always been on the American side in international matters like the Gull War against Iraq in 1990. The US also supports Egypt in many circles like contributing to her defense budgets.
9. Sadat became popular in the West. While Arab countries were enraged with Sadat's peace initiative, Western leaders praised him. He was recognized by western leaders for creation of a historic opportunity for peace in the Middle East and the world as well that in 1978 with Menachem Begin. Sadat was winner of Nobel peace prize.

## **THE PALESTINIANS DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE**

Peace agreements between Israelis and Palestinians were harder to achieve. Unwilling to give up territories they had seized for security of the Gaza Strip.

### ***The Intifada***

Palestinians living in Israeli resented Israeli rule. As their anger mounted, they turned increasingly to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), led by Yassar Arafat. During the 1970s and 1980s the military wing of the PLO conducted a campaign of armed struggle against Israel. Israel turned to strong measures, bombing suspected bases in Palestinian owns. In 1982,

the Israeli army invaded Lebanon in an attempt to destroy strongholds in Palestinian villages. The Israelis soon became involved in Lebanon's civil war and were forced to withdraw.

In 1987, Palestinians began to express their frustrations in a widespread campaign of civil disobedience called the "Intifada" or "uprising." The intifada took the form of boycotts, demonstrations, attacks on Israeli soldiers, and stone throwing by unarmed teenagers. The intifada continued into the 1990s, with little progress made towards a solution. However the civil disobedience affected world opinions, which in turn, put pressure on Israel. Finally, in October 1991. Israeli and Palestinian delegates met for the first time in a series of peace talks.

### ***The Declaration of Principles***

The status of the Israeli-occupied territories proved to be a bitterly divisive issue. In 1993 however, secret talks held in Oslo. Norway produced a surprise agreement. In a document called the Declaration of Principles, Israel, under the leadership of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, agreed to grant the Palestinians self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, beginning with the town of Jericho. Rabin and Yasser Arafat signed the agreement on the South Lawn of the White House on September 13, 1993. The difficulty of making an agreement work was demonstrated by the assassination of Rabin in 1995. He was killed by a right-wing Jewish extremist who opposed concessions to the Palestinians. Rabin was succeeded as prime minister by Benjamin Netanyahu, who had opposed the plan. Still, Netanyahu made efforts to keep to the agreement. In January 1997, he met with Arafat to work out plans for a partial Israeli withdrawal from Hebron, on the West Bank. The U.S. secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, travelled to the region in September 1997, but peace continued to be difficult to achieve up to date.

Since 1948, Israel by its plan "Dalet" has been expanding into Palestinian land under the pretext of defending their territory. But the question is, how does a defensive action result in the total conquest of someone else's lands? The answer is that it does not Israel is the aggressor. The maps of Israel then and now prove it.

### **THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS**

The Middle East Crises are a series of confrontations that exist in the Middle East region especially between the Israelis (Jews) and the Palestinian Arabs with their Arab alliance of countries such as Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. The Crisis began after the creation of the new state of Israel in 1948. The creation of Israel in Palestine, an area belonging to the Palestinian Arabs, outraged Arab opinions throughout the world. The Arabs refused to recognize Israel as a legal state and vowed to destroy it. Indeed the Arab desire to destroy Israel tended for much of the time to overshadow all other concerns. However, the region has also been caught in inter-state wars like, the Iran—Iraq war of 1980-8; civil wars and the USA led Western imperialist invasions like the Gulf Wars of 1990-91 and 2003 against the anti-West Iraq.

### ***Causes of the Middle East crisis***

1. The Land question. The Jewish state of Israel was established in May 1948 in Palestine, an area belonging to the Arabs. The Jews claim that Palestine is their own godly "Promised

Land” as per the Jewish traditions. The establishment of Israel outraged the Arabs as large parts of their land was grabbed leaving many Palestinian Arabs landless. Worse of all, ever since Israel was created in 1948, the Jews have continued expanding into the Palestinian Arabs land beyond what was given by UN to them in 1948.

2. The question of Religion. Israelis and Arabs differ in religious beliefs. Majority Israelis believe in Judaism (arc Jews) while majority Arabs are Muslims. Though the two religions share a lot in common, they differ in some aspects leading to misunderstandings. Besides even among the Muslims there are different sects like the Sunni and Shia sects that too are contributing to religious differences and conflicts.
3. The Jewish expansionism policy of Zionism. Zionism is the Jewish nationalist movement whose goal was to fight for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. After the creation of the new Jewish state in 1948 however, Zionists have changed their goal by seeking for more land aiming at annexing the entire Palestine by force. Zionism is characterized by racism, superiority complex, expansionism and militarism all of which are causes of conflicts.
4. The impact of the Cold War. The Middle East countries were divided along ideological lines as they were indirectly made satellites of the Cold War superpowers. Most unpleasantly, superpowers fuelled conflicts in the region to either sale old weapons or test new ones. Their major intention however was to exploit the regions oil resources. While USA and Britain supported Israel, USSR supported the Palestinian Arabs (PLO) and in the Iran-Iraq war of 1980-8, USA supported Iraq while the USSR sided with Iran.
5. The Middle East is a strongly strategic area. Though largely a desert, the region has the world’s largest reserves of oil to be greatly admired and demanded by the Western capitalist powers. In 1965 oil producing countries formed the organization of Petroleum Exporting countries (OPEC) aiming at controlling oil supply and stabilize world oil prices. Since then the West has increased interference in the region to avoid leaders who would challenge them from controlling oil supply in the world. Besides oil, the region has the Suez Canal, providing the shortest route linking Europe, Asia and Africa hence. The West, Britain and France in particular have been in great struggle to control the canal for long since when it was opened in 1869.
6. The weakness of UNO. UNO is the cause of Middle East conflicts being the founder of the new state of Israel against the wish of the Palestinian Arabs and has indeed failed to address the troubles in the region. However much the idea of an independent Jewish state would have been good but the way it was created is unacceptable to a fair minded people. The UN did not have the right to partition Palestine without considering the wishes of .its majority people, the Palestinian Arabs. Worst, it’s always in favour Israel even in cases of disrespecting its peace resolutions.
7. The role of the imperialists. Imperialist powers particularly USA and Britain are not the cause but as well the catalysts of conflicts in the Middle East. They pressed the UN to create Israel in 1948 and now massively support Israel financially and militarily to fight the Palestinians and destabilise the Middle East for their selfish interests like making spying and conducting pre-emptive attacks on anti-west regimes like the case in the Sues Canal war (1956). As if that is not enough, they always defend Israel despite all the atrocities the Jews are committing on the Arabs.
8. The creation of the state of Israel out of Palestinian land in 1948. This was the work of the UN in 1948. After the World War II, the British were weak economically and militarily to

contain the Israel-Arab issue hence have left the matter to the UN. In August 1947 the UN announced a plan to divide Palestine into two. In May 1948, the plan was implemented and a new state of Israel was proclaimed on the Palestinian Arab land without the Palestinian approval. This angered the Arabs leading to the start of endless conflicts between Israel and the Arab states up to now.

### **Sample questions**

1. Discuss the origins and global impacts of the cold war.
2. Discuss the inevitability of the Cold War in the period after the Second World War.
3. Highlight the eight main changes which contributed to the demise of the Cold War
4. Explain the factors and impacts of the World Arms race
5. The installation of the nuclear missiles in Cuba by the Soviet Union was a Cold War situation. Justify by giving six points.
6. How was Africa affected by the hostile relations between USA and the Soviet Union since 1945 to 1990? Give six points
7. Discuss six factors that led to the improvement of relations between the antagonists c the cold war after 1953.
8. Why did the USA and the USSR pursue the détente policy
9. “The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALTS) have tried to minimize the production of Nuclear weapons in the world”. Elaborate five reasons to why disarmament important.
10. Explain four factors which led to the creation of Israel and four impacts of it
11. Show six impacts of the 1948 declaration of the independence of the new state of Israel
12. Examine the notable circumstances leading to the Middle East crisis.
13. Describe six genuine reasons why the Middle East Crisis was considered to be among the threats to world peace after Second World War.

## TOPIC EIGHT

### NEO-COLONIALISM AND THE QUESTION OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Neo-colonialism is the situation in which a politically independent country is indirectly dominated or influenced by another country politically, economically, and socially. It is the new form of colonialism in which imperialist powers come back with new forms of colonising independent less developed countries. In simple terms, neo-colonialism is the survival of the colonial systems by use of both the old crude and new indirect mechanisms of foreign control on the less developed states despite their formal attainment of political independence.

Third World countries are the less developed countries mostly found in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Third World Countries became victims of neo-colonialism indirectly by Multinational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank; International unions like the European Union, the Common Wealth, Paris Club, and directly from imperialist powers like USA, Britain and France and military bodies particularly the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). All these directly and indirectly control political, economic and social policies of the Third World Countries. Neo-colonialism is a justification of the assertion that African countries attained merely “flag independence”

#### *Aims of neo-colonialism*

- i. To continue with economic exploitation of the independent Third World Countries. This is mainly through international trade, foreign investment and aid.
- ii. Spreading Western ideology. For example in the era of the Cold War, neo-colonialism aimed at preventing Third World Countries from falling under communism.
- iii. It also aimed at achieving political domination over the Third World Countries aiming at undermining the independence of the Third World Countries and strengthening the superior positions of the developed countries.
- iv. The imperialist powers also aim at their own self style globalisation of creating one system to fit all but for the Third World especially to fit exploitation.
- v. To foster dependence of all forms. Neo-colonialism looks at maintaining dependence of the Third World on the rich industrialist states. In that low position the Third World would not be a threat to imperialist powers.
- vi. For division of the Third World countries. This is done for example through international unions like, the Common Wealth and Paris Club. Disunity is strengthened to weaken the Third World.

#### *Forms/manifestations of Neo-colonialism*

The forms and measures through which neo-colonialism is manifested and/or implemented are diverse, that is, politically, economically and socially but also militarily and technically.

### *Politically and ideologically*

1. Constitutional designs. Mostly the law (constitutional) designs and administrative systems adopted by Third World Countries are largely copied from the imperialist powers particularly from former colonial masters. Furthermore by means of constitutional changes, the West still dictates system of their favour on the Third World. Notable cases are multi-party politics and cultural adaptation. For instance Tanzania was compelled to abandon a single party system since 1992, despite the majority of 80% voting against the system (by the Nyalali Commission Report, 1992) and Uganda faced Western threats after passing bills against homosexuality in 2014.
2. Creation of puppet regimes. To maintain their positions in the Third World, imperialist powers implant leaders through whom they attain their exploitative interests. For example in Zaire (today DRC) USA engineered the assassination of an anti imperialist Patrice Lumumba in 1961 and planted a puppet regime of Joseph Mobutu. Also engineer coup d'états in states like Ghana (1966) and implanted civil wars to overthrow and assassinate anti-imperialist leaders like the case of Libya with Muammar Gaddafi (2010-11). Also in Central and South America, USA interfered unashamedly in the affairs of some countries, helping to overthrow governments which they did not approve like in Guatemala (1954), and Chile (1973)
3. Engineering political instabilities. Civil wars and other destabilisations like secessionist movements and border conflicts are always fuelled by imperialist powers of the West. They are dirty games to destabilise governments in their disapproval or oust anti- West regimes and on the other hand for business to sale arms (dumping old military technology). To note a few examples; the secessionist movements of Katanga in Congo in 1960 and Biafra in Nigeria in 1967, the southern Sudan civil and secessionist wars; civil wars like in Angola by the US supported UNITA of Jonas Savimbi against the socialist MPLA government of Samora Mashel, in Bolivia against Manuel Noriega, in Syria against Bashar Al Asad and Libya in 2011 against Muammar Gaddafi were against anti West regimes and to enforce Western dominance in those countries.
4. Socio-political unions. Former colonial masters are preserving their exploitative positions in the Third World by forging socio-political unions with their former colonies. Britain has the Common Wealth and France, the French Community and the Paris Club to attach their former colonies on them. The unions are focused on enforcing exploitative dependence and perpetuate disunity (Anglo-phones against Franco-phones) among Third World countries.
5. Foreign embassies also manifest neo-colonialism. Neo-colonial powers have embassies in all Third World countries where they have interests. Embassies purposely serve as foreign administrative and policy implementation representative organs in the Third World. Through them, policies from imperialist powers are transmitted and implementation monitored in the Neo-colonies. Also, their ambassadors serve as advisors to Third World leaders.
6. Mass media. Western international Cable networks such as CNN, BBC and Sky News J are also fundamental tools for imperialism. Through them Western ideologies are spread, pressure is exerted on Third World countries to comply with imperialist policies and demands. They praise puppets to the West and character assassinate anti imperialist regimes to incite public pressure or civil wars on governments against them and worst to

justify reasons for foreign invasions. They are also good for cultural imperialism for example fashion shows.

***Economically;***

7. Foreign aid. The aid extended to Third World Countries is only for business purposes and has strings attached. Loans carry high interest rates and hard conditions which make debtor countries hardly benefit from them. In the end Third World Countries are plunged into a cycle of debts as some new loans are taken just for payment of interest of old loans. Such hard exploitative conditions include spending large parts of the loans on purchasing goods and allowing foreign investors on fair terms from the country giving the loan. All these have fixed the Third World into foreign control, drained their resource and made them dependants on foreign assistance.
8. Foreign investments. Export of finance capital is done by Multinational Corporations like Coca Cola, Shell, GBP and Unilever which have developed deep roots in Third World Countries, making abnormal profits from which the largest part is repatriated to their mother countries. In them all the technical operations are from their mother countries for example for Coca cola all the mixtures for the drinks, machinery, spare parts and experts come from USA. The increasing foreign investment, thus according to UN data, total foreign direct investments in Africa hit \$43.4 billion in 2011 and had increased to \$45.8 billion in 2013 that explains how it still counts as a major means of draining Third World resources like minerals and labour.
9. Control of world markets by the imperialist countries. Neo-colonial powers maintain trade imbalance against the Third World by fixing prices of both exports and imports of the Third World countries. They fix and dictate low prices of primary goods like minerals, and agricultural goods exported by Third World Countries and higher prices of manufactured goods imported by the Third World countries from them. They also maintain price fluctuations of such goods so as to fail Third World states make appropriate economic development planning. Such are efforts of maintaining economic retardation in the Third World
10. The rising expatriate syndrome and brain drainage. There is dependence on experts from imperialist powers for technical assistances. Neo-colonics send their own experts to supervise and operate Third World projects which they fund. The experts demand huge salaries and higher facilitations like expensive vehicles so end up repatriating large parts of aid extended. Also foreign investments are manned by experts from their mother countries leaving many Third World experts jobless. As the Third World hires expensive labour from the developed countries they lose large parts of their scarce skilled labour to the very developed countries where they fly to in search for greener pastures. This also contributes to dependence on foreign experts.
1. Sabotage of Regional integrations. Regional co-operations aiming at promoting unity and mutual assistance for economic emancipation of the Third World Countries are continuously sabotaged by the imperialist powers so that the Third World Countries continue depending on them. For example the first East African Community was destabilized by USA and Britain when they created rivalries among its member states

leading to its collapse in 1977. Neo-colonies use foreign aid and handouts to curtail barter trade between cooperation members. Also create conflicts to kill cooperation.

2. Encouraging joint ventures. Joint venture projects are supported by imperialist powers to lure Third World countries for closely exploitative friendship with them. They are either direct government projects such as infrastructural, industrial and agricultural development or Non Government Organisations like Action Aid and AMREF which work jointly with the local people in Third World Countries in different sectors like education and health. Through the ventures, imperialist powers influence external policies on the Third World.

### ***Socially and ideologically;***

3. The education system. Most Third World Countries are still stuck on the colonial type of education policies inherited from the colonialists. Most syllabuses are Western based and some courses trained in colleges and universities are irrelevant to Third World situations. More so, education provided is lacking a strong practical and pragmatic approach and the medium of instructions maintained are the colonial masters' languages. Indeed education systems are still serving the imperialist interests like mental retardation and cultural transfusion, and that is why Western powers are still financially supporting education programs and dictating policies on Third World education matters.
4. Cultural imperialism. Official languages adopted by most countries of the Third World are colonial languages which were intended to consolidate foreign culture, kill possibilities of unity among the Third World countries and maintain dependence on the former colonial powers. Former French colonies use French and former British colonies use English. Also other dubious cultural tendencies like homosexuality, prostitution, divorce, and awkward dressing styles are enforced on the Third World directly through threats and cut off aid like what was done to Uganda having passed bills against them. Also indirectly through literature like novels and magazines and movies/films on wars, burglary pornography and films which portray Westerners as superior and Third World peoples as inferior and unfortunate and also encourage norms which are dubious to the Third World peoples' culture like homosexuality, prostitution, murder and burglary. Indeed such literature derails many youth from constructive thinking.

### ***Militarily;***

5. Establishment of military bases in Third World Countries. Military bases are established in order to safeguard imperialist interests in the Third World. For instance they are used to destabilise scare and overthrow anti-west regimes. Military camps were established in countries like Kenya, South Africa, Chad, DRC, Pakistan and Cuba.

## **UNDER DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

The term underdevelopment is relative however it largely denotes a situation of economic and political backwardness of a given organization, a country or society when compared to the situations of an advanced country/organisation/society. In other words, it is a situation where an



organization/country/society /makes little progress in economic and sociopolitical affairs as compared to others which have advanced in the same areas.

The concept of economic underdevelopment of/and the Third World was popularised from the late 1960s by Andy Gunder Frank who made a study on the effects of underdevelopment in Latin America and Walter Rodney in his study of the history of African and Caribbean countries' affairs and in his book "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa"

The two argued on how the rich (industrialised) countries actively block the development of poor (agrarian) countries by means of policies and interventions intended to protect their global power and superior position in the world. By both, the concept of underdevelopment shows an active process by which the Third World (global South) has been disadvantaged.

### ***Characteristics of underdevelopment in the Third World***

1. External domination on the country's political and economic affairs. Domination is done by imperialist powers directly and indirectly through: international monetary institutions i.e. IMF and World Bank: through MNCs and also through unilateral institutions like EU and UNO and directly through open imperialist interventions.
2. Economic dependence. Due to poverty and poor technologies underdeveloped countries rely on advanced countries and other donor institutions like IMF, World Bank, and European Union for economic and technical assistance.
3. Weak technological and industrial base. Underdeveloped countries have got poor technologies, the industrial sector is weak with mainly processing industries and a few Import Substitution Industries which in most cases are foreign based. In this way underdeveloped countries heavily rely on exportation of primary goods.
4. Mono-cultural economics. Underdeveloped countries suffer from weak economic diversification. They are still finding it difficult to break away From the one-product economies they inherited from the colonialists because governments are still lacking the capital needed to diversify. Most of them are agro-based and rely on production of single cash crops and others on only mineral resources.
5. Low Gross National Product (GNP) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Third World Countries have got lower GNP and GDP due to their low investments both locally and abroad. Because of that their governments have little revenue leading to deficit budgets and borrowing.
6. Low currency value. The currencies of most Third World Countries are of low value compared to currencies of Developed Countries like the British pound and the American dollar. Worse still, Third World currencies frequently suffer from further devaluation. The problems are heavily felt in international trade and debt payment.
7. Low income per capita. On average, people in the Third World receive only one-tenth the income of people in developed nations. Majority live near or under the poverty line.
8. High illiteracy and ignorance. Many Third World Countries are still finding it difficult to provide mass education to their nationals. Education facilities like schools and colleges are still inadequate and the awake for education is still low to many Third World people especially in rural areas where the level of illiteracy and ignorance is higher.

9. High population expansion and high mortality rate. Despite the high mortality rate, the Third World population is expanding rapidly. Its population counts to 70% of the total world Population. If the mortality rate was low and other factors remained constant, population expansion would have been higher than now.

### ***Causes of Under Development in Developing Nations***

The factors of Third World underdevelopment are both historical and current.

#### ***Current factors;***

Currently. Third World Countries wanting to develop face many challenges internally and externally.

#### ***Internal Causes;***

1. Low scientific and technological development. Third World Countries are still lagging far behind in the field of science and technology thus slow industrial development and poor sectoral linkage. They mainly possess primary and processing industries. The manufacturing sector is weak with only a few Import Substitution Industries in production of consumer goods like soap, salt and sugar. There is a general absence of capital goods in manufacturing industries. Low technological progress compels Third World Countries serve as producers of primary goods and depend on Developed Countries for technology on which larger percentages of their revenue are spent on importing manufactured goods.
2. Mono-culture. Majority Third World Countries are lacking strong economic diversification. Many find it difficult to break away from the one-product economies inherited from the colonialists. Most of them are mostly agro-based and worse of it use traditional agricultural methods and depend on production of single traditional cash crops for example Ghana and Ivory Coast on production of cocoa and Brazil on coffee. Others depend on only mining also of a single mineral product like Zambia. Chile and Peru on only copper mining. With mono-economies Third World countries are disadvantaged in international trade due to frequent fall in the world prices of their main products.
3. Political Instabilities. Many Third World Countries suffer from long and crippling political instabilities in form of coup d'états, civil wars, border conflicts, secessionist wars and imperialist invasions like in Iraq (2003) which ruin their physical and human economies and ravage infrastructure. Some of the worse wars were in Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Lebanon, Congo (DRC), Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola, Mozambique and Syria. Destabilisation has also been caused by Anti- West Islamic fundamentalist groups like Al-Qaida and Al-Shabab. Such instabilities cripple economic growth. Affected countries spend much of their incomes on wars purchasing firearms and creation of peace other than on developmental projects.
4. Natural calamities. Third World Countries are always hit by a variety of natural hazards such as drought, floods and volcanic eruptions. The calamities contribute to economic retardation by destroying infrastructure and agriculture and heavy loss of lives. For example in 1974 a severe drought hit Niger leading to crop failure and death of about

40% of her cattle. Other countries usually hit by drought include Ethiopia, Chad and Somalia. As global warming gathers pace, drought has become more frequent and many countries are compelled to spend their scarce money on importing expensive food or dependent on aid from abroad to feed the people. Also floods hit Mozambique in 2000. Pakistan in 2010 and Haiti and Tanzania in 2013.

5. Diseases. This is another great enemy standing against Third World's development. Third World governments and people in Africa, Asia and Latin America spend large parts of their revenue on fighting diseases than on economic development. Notable diseases are Malaria and AIDS and epidemic diseases like cholera and Ebola which have as well brought several socio-economic problems such as claiming large parts of the needed labour force. For example majority of AIDS victims are energetic youth whose labour is highly needed. Diseases have also increased infant mortality rates, dependence ratio and street children since it has increased orphans and poverty.
6. Education System. Most Third World Countries are still embracing the largely irrelevant education systems of the colonial type inherited from the colonial masters. Indeed education offered is more unrealistic. It's more theoretical and received through rote learning. It lacks practical, scientific and technological orientation needed for the discovery and development of the innovative skills of its recipients. In that case more of its products are job seekers than job makers. Worse of all it does not directly cater for the prevailing needs of Third World situations due to lack of a pragmatic approach. For example, most vital sectors like agriculture are given less priority yet many Third World countries are agro-based.
7. Poor economic and political planning and poor implementation of plan. Most Third World Countries are still failing to make appropriate feasible and fiscal planning. Expenditures are always higher than revenues leading to deficit budgets, showing how planning does not correspond with available resources to avoid borrowing. Above all misallocation and poor utilisation of resources is also a problem. For example having broader government structures than required and many professionals in politics yet there is general lack of sufficient skilled labour like doctors, engineers and teachers. Where planning is done well, some governments fail to make appropriate policies for proper implementation.
8. Corruption. Corruption is an ulcer of most Third World Countries. It is mainly due to high selfish attitude held by some officials in Third World Countries. A lot of state income is embezzled and falls in a few individuals' pockets whose aim is to amass wealth for their own individualistic purposes than to cater for the general public needs. Worse of all, embezzled funds are either invested or banked in foreign countries specially developed countries where they mainly benefit citizens of those countries leaving nationals of where the money comes from suffering with no enough social services.
9. Poor Infrastructure Development. Third World Countries have got slow social and economic infrastructural development to describe their slow development pace. Most areas in Third World Countries are still remote, lacking efficient transport and communication systems to propel quick economic progress. That has contributed to poor economies particularly trade, agriculture and industry. Also, social infrastructure like hospitals and schools which also play a central role for development are inadequate contributing to poor health and ignorance.

10. Rapid population increase. Many Third World Countries population is said to be growing much faster than their governments' abilities to provide more sufficiently for them. The population in the Third World counts to 70% of the total world population and the larger portion of it is in the dependant group of age 1-17 years and poor, lacking adequate basic needs like shelter and food. With such population structure and status Third World governments are burdened to spend large parts of incomes on social need' and subsidies on their poor populations.

***External Factors;***

11. Foreign Aid. Although a great deal of financial aid is given to the Third World Countries by the developed nations and International Monetary Institutions like the IMF and World Bank, much of it is on business basis and not for assistance. Third World Countries have to pay with high interests and bear with hard strings (conditions attached to the loans. For instance sometimes a condition of the deal is that the debtor countries have to spend on goods from the country which is making the loan. Failure to pay, some states are forced to borrow more cash just to pay the interest on the original loan. This has sunk the south in deep debt burden and thus poverty.
12. Imperialist Control of the World Market. This is a defeat to the purpose of trade to the Third World. Third World Countries are victims of unbalanced trade since the world market is controlled by the developed states which dictate policies and fix prices in their favour. In that situation, prices of manufactured goods and machinery continue to steadily go up and the prices of primary goods continue to go down and fluctuate. This is a disadvantage to the Third World Countries since they depend on selling primary goods and importing manufactured goods from the developed states.
13. Brain drain and costly expatriates. A lot of Third World's skilled labour run to the advanced countries for greener pastures. This denies Third World Countries of badly needed resourceful cheap labour. On the other hand, Third World Countries depend on expensive expatriates like doctors and engineers from advanced countries to meet their technical labour deficiencies. For example, Africa has lost a third of its skilled professionals in recent decades and it is costing the continent four billion dollars a year to replace them with expatriates from the West. Nearly 70.000 qualified Africans leave their home countries every year to work in industrialised nations.
14. Foreign Investment. Foreign investment is now the main mechanism used by the developed countries to exploit Third World resources. A lot of investors and Multinational Corporations are operating in the Third World sucking and siphoning the highest amount of valuable resources possible. They are investing in lucrative ventures which need heavy capital like mining, manufacturing industry and construction from which they accrue huge profits. Foreign investment would have been good especially for technology transfer and employment however for the Third World its consequences are largely devastating since foreign enterprises monopolise trade, maintain technological backwardness, exploit resources and repatriate profits back to develop their mother countries.
15. Oil Crisis. The Third World especially African and Latin American states frequently encounter oil crisis problems. They heavily depend on supplies from the Middle East which has been destabilised by the imperialist powers of USA and her allies like Britain

and France. Imperialists created conflicts in the Middle East have caused fluctuations in oil supplies leading to oil shortages. Consequently the Third World suffers from frequent rising oil prices. Rising oil prices have always led to economic problems, affecting government planning and the whole economic system with sectors like agriculture, industry and transport mostly affected leading to rise in commodity prices.

16. Disunity. Third World Countries are still defeated in the creation of strong unions for mutual assistance. Regional Economic Integrations are still failing to attain the set goals such as mutual assistance and benefits for full economic interdependence. Failure of Third World Unions is mainly due to weak economic diversifications and imperialist sabotage which fuels misunderstandings among Third World Countries and enforces bilateral agreements between some Third World countries and them.

### ***Historical factors;***

The roots of the Third World underdevelopment are traced far back of a historical phenomenon explanation is taken into consideration. To the Marxist scholars, notably, Walter Rodney, Samir Amin and others in the same scholarly line of thought, underdevelopment of the Third World is attributed to the development of capitalism in Europe since the 15<sup>th</sup> Century. The causes are the following:

1. Mercantilism. This was the first stage in the development of capitalism and European foreign trade as Europe contacted overseas lands like Africa, the Americas, Asia and Australia for the first time. The central aim of European merchants was wealth accumulation driven by high desire for bullions. The system operated on primitive means of wealth accumulation basically on unequal terms of exchange. Bullions and raw materials were collected from the Americas, the Caribbean (cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice and dye) and Africa (forest products; rubber, wood, palm oil, honey, bee wax and food stuffs) in exchange with cheap manufactured goods from Europe like cloth, firearms and glass ware. The consequences were not desirable to visited world which were drained of their vital resources. It was the origin of technological and trade stagnation, deculturalisation and dependence. And worse mercantilism exposes the Third World material potential to increase capitalist desire which gave birth t' colonialism and neo-colonialism.
2. Slave trade. The notorious slave trading activities operated alongside mercantilism through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade by which Africa was the main victim of suffering and exploitation. The Trans-Atlantic Trade registered the highest human trafficking in human history as millions of Africans were- shipped across the Atlantic Ocean by the European merchants for enslavement in European colonial plantations and mines in the new founded lands of the Caribbean and Americas. As slave trading enriched European nations with abundant cheap labour and wealth form the lucrative trade in slaves, it was fiasco to Africa; it drained a large Africa's valuable manpower which would have been vital for it prosperity. Consequently, it led depopulation and serious economic decline leading to agricultural, trade, and technological retardation. More SO in the process of slave capture (slave raids) a lot of robbery for precious materials like the bullions was done besides greater loss of lives and property destruction. It also played part in the easy colonization of African societies.

3. Colonialism. This was the most notorious and crudest means of exploitation and means through which Third World was underdeveloped. It was the new ways of enslaving Third World peoples but this time in their motherlands through which forced labour and forceful cash crop production were exercised and accompanied by brutal punishments on the colonised peoples. Massive exploitation of human and land resources was done through land appropriation, lumbering and mineral extractions. Indeed massive resource exploitation was done. However, what was generally done was the killing of the self sufficient and evolving pre-colonial technological, economic and cultural developmental systems. The scar left and indeed largely responsible for the sustenance of underdevelopment in the Third World are technological stagnation and deculturalisation since the colonial subjects were brain washed for westernization or to be made part of them. The bitter repercussion of all was the consolidation of the dependence syndrome on which neo-colonialism survives.
4. Neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is perpetuating underdevelopment of the Third World basing on the foundations laid down by colonialism, It is using both the crude colonial and new indirect mechanism to maintain foreign control and exploitation. For example it maintains unequal exchange (exchange of Non-equivalent) by unbalanced terms of trade (payment) in the international trade as the developed countries of the West control world market and exploit the Third World through price fixing; maintains technological backwardness in the Third World through dumping and use of Trade Marks and patents; influence political changes to plant puppet regimes which would serve their interest by use indirect means like sponsoring opposition political parties like the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) of Morgan Tshvanrai in Zimbabwe, inciting civil wars like in Sudan, Angola and DRC and also use direct means like the invasion of Iraq and Libya. They engineer political instabilities also to retard development as they involve a lot of both human and physical material destructions and similarly to drain the Third World of its resources by finding market for old military technologies. (See more from the mechanism/manifestations of neo-colonialism).
5. Globalization. This is the means of making the world a single global village diplomatically, politically, economically and socially. The process is aided by the wide spread technology mainly in the fields of transport and communication systems such as the internet, and its social medias like Email, Facebook and WhatsApp and efficient transport means with wide use of modern transport means like Air transport. Such development would have been useful for development however is largely used to undermine Third World countries' development efforts and independence. They are controlled by the Western world which is using them to spy on the Third World and sabotage their plans and also incite political-economic chaos; are a means of dumping old technology hence draining the Third World useful resources and; have proved best means of deculturalisation. Through social media the west are rapidly importing and spreading dubious habits like homosexuality and corrupting minds especially of the youth by displaying things like pornographic materials which encourage associated habit like prostitution, rape and drug use.

### ***Mechanism to be employed to get rid of underdevelopment and neo-colonialism***

1. Adoption of self-reliance policy. Third World Countries should carry out development programmes by relying on their own resources since many are endowed with abundant economic resources. The policy can be implemented by effective mobilisation of available human and physical resources like minerals and land in the country other than depending on foreign aid. Additionally, efforts should also be driven in the development of local technology and training enough skilled manpower.
2. Development of viable and good economic plans. Planning should be based on proper fiscal policies and the available resources. This should include proper budgeting and appropriate income, wage and investment policies to help in proper resource and income allocations and to limit wastages and losses. For example, planning should be on balanced budgets to avoid borrowing; priority should be given to basic sectors like social services, agriculture, industry and man power training. Similarly, government should make efforts to reduce expenditure on governance so as to dispose enough money for economic development.
3. Through Regional Economic Integrations. Third World Countries should create economic integrations where they are lacking while those operating like ECOWAS, SADC, EAC and OPEC should be strengthened. Integrations should be based on mutual benefits with aims of creating common wider markets, sound monetary system, opportunities for industrial and trade development, job creation and having a greater say in international trade. This will boost interdependence and reduce reliance on imperialist powers.
4. Developing local and appropriate technologies. Efforts should also be directed on scientific and technological research to develop appropriate local technologies needed for industrial development and sectoral linkage, expand employment opportunities and reduce dependence on imperialist powers for technology and manufactured goods which is also a source of exploitation and interference in the Third World affairs. With advanced technology, Third World Countries would as well improve their position in international trade.
5. Establishment of strong economic diversification. This is the basis of building integrated self-sustaining national economies and internal economic sectoral inter-linkage. For example strong agriculture and mining sectors would boost industry by providing enough raw materials and market, at the same time industry will provide machinery and market for raw materials from agriculture and mining sectors. Similarly, a well established transport system will enable linking all sectors to promote trade and ease communication. Diversified economies will help reduce dependence on imperialist powers for market of primary goods and importation of manufactured goods through which exploitation survives.
6. Encouraging bilateral trade basing on favourable terms. In case of international trade, there is need for the Third World Countries to encourage bilateral trade basing on favourable terms. For genuine benefits Third World countries need to shift from close trading ties with the exploitative West and create new close trading partners with, for example the East with countries like Russia and china. Hopefully, this will boost Third World economic growth by encouraging balanced trade and payment terms and will help check on the West control of international market through which the Third World is exploited by unfair terms of trade.

7. Avoiding Western life standards. The Third World should avoid emulating Western patterns of consumption and expenditures both at national and individual levels. Western patterns are directed toward economic exploitation and retardation. For example broad government structures which besides creating chaos, are too costly to maintain. Also purchasing expensive material for government use like expensive high fuel consuming vehicles. Also there is need (or local cultural valuation to safeguard people from Western culture which are intended to widen market and brain wash Third World peoples' minds like dressing codes and other dubious practices like homosexuality.
8. Education readjustments. Education systems should be transformed to make a shift to real capacity human resource development focusing on essential course studies which can help create self-dependent economic development and avoid dependence on costly foreign experts. More Higher training institutions of learning should be established and training should be more inclined to practical, scientific and technological studies to create more independent and inquisitive minds
9. Encouraging local investors. Bolstering local investors will help checking on foreign investors' dominance in the Third World economies and reduce the rate of capital flight which is among the means imperialists use to drain Third World economies. Local investors can be encouraged by providing them with soft loans, fair taxation policies and other related fair policies and as well controlling foreign investments and imports so as to protect them from rough external competition.

### ***Steps taken to solve the problem of under development and contain Neo — colonialism***

Mainly two forms of attempts have been applied by Third World Countries to combat underdevelopments collective and individual efforts.

#### ***Collective efforts;***

1. Formation of Political Integrations. Third World Countries have formed political unions such as continental organisations like Organisation of African Unity formed in 1963, by independent African states now transformed to African Union; sub continental unions like the Arab League formed in 1945 by independent Arab states; and regional and bilateral unions like the Ghana-Guinea (1958-60), Ghana-Guinea-Mali (1960-63) and the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria (1958-61), later transformed to the Federation of the Arab States (1972-77) when Libya joined, the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar which formed Tanzania since 1964 and United Arab Emirates since 1971 by seven Arab states like Abu Dhabi and Dubai. The unions aiming at establishing forums for discussion and raise solutions of socio-political and economic problems of member states which include a fight against imperialist influence.
2. Formation of Regional Economic co-operations. Third World States have formed different economic co-operations as a way forward for regional integrated economies by establishing regional interdependence to realise development and rid themselves of dependence on the imperialist states. Integrations such as EAC, COMESA, ECOWAS, SADC and OPEC are in operation focusing on developmental issues like industrial and trade regional interdependence.



3. Creation of the Development Banks. Continental, regional and local development banks have been established by Third World Countries to assist in financial and economic matters. For example the African Union, established the African Development Bank (ADB). The institutions main target is to reduce financial reliance on the developed states and the international monetary institutions particularly IMF and the World Bank. 'Unlike IMF and World Bank, the ADB offers fair financial assistance and soft loans to finance development projects.
4. Formation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The movement was formed by a number of Third World states in early 1960s to find a neutral position of member states during the Cold War era by not allying with either the capitalist or communist camps in conjunction with mutual assistance against imperialism (colonialism and neo-colonialism) or the related issue like racial segregation. In several conferences like the 1979 Havana conference, member states like India, Indonesia, and Cuba laid down strategies on how to consolidate national sovereignty and realise development by putting to end imperialist exploitative interference which was manifested through colonialism and neo-colonialism.
5. Establishment of social Co-operations. These are ventures in cultural and sports field such as the Confederation of African Football (CAF), African cup of Nations (AFCON). All Africa Games and East and Central African challenge cup for African states, Asian cup for Asian countries, and Copa America for Latin American states. The venture fosters unity and solidarity and develops talents for economic gains.
6. Use of UNO. Third World Countries also use UNO as a platform to air out their views. They team up at UNO and verbally condemn exploitative machinations of the developed countries over the Third World. Prominent Third World leaders who openly condemned imperialist powers were President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Fidel Castro former Cuban leader, and Mahmoud Ahmedijadi of Iran, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Hugo Chavez of Venezuela and Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt. Also were using UNO to improve terms of trade, solicit economic assistance and find new economic and trading partners.
7. Establishment of Dialogues. Mainly two forms of dialogues are in operation, the South-South and the North-South. The South-South dialogue looks at co-operation among developing countries found in southern hemisphere, in Asia, Africa, Pacific and Latin America established in 1987 by NAM members. Its major aim is to find solutions to problems related to under development and poverty and how to co-operate in various fields, mainly economic. The North-South dialogue focuses on soliciting assistance for the Third World Countries from the developed states of the North so as to reduce the development gap between the North and the South.

### ***Individual (state) efforts***

8. Adoption of socialism. This was a change from the capitalist oriented systems inherited from colonialism to socialist systems and meant a shift from the West to the East relations. While as some like Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua and North Korea embraced scientific socialism of the Marxist approach, others in Africa like Tanzania, Ghana, Zambia and Senegal designed new socialist forms of socialism of the African brand basing on their own environments like Ujamaa in Tanzania and Humanism in Zambia.

They adopted central planning systems and nationalisation of means of production such as land, banks and factories. The aim was to attain self-reliant economies, bar off foreign interference and win assistance from the communist bloc.

9. Scientific and technological development. Third World Countries have started investing in scientific and technological research in a bid to develop their own local technologies. Those on the lead are North Korea, Iran, and Pakistan, and the Asian Tiger which include Taiwan and Singapore which have made advancement in electronics, glass and textile manufacture, with a few like Pakistan, North Korea and Iran possessing nuclear technology.
10. Training more skilled Manpower. A strive to train more skilled labour in a variety of professions like medicine, education, engineering and humanities among Third World Countries is steadily making great strides. More higher learning institutions like colleges and universities are being opened up, interestingly some on specialised courses like on scientific, technological and research fields like in Iran, North Korea, and Pakistan. More efforts have been taken to increase enrolment and expand skilled labour like through state sponsorship, student loan schemes, adult education, and increased women involvement have been introduced by some Third World states Tanzania inclusive.
11. Exploitation of Natural resources. Many Third World Countries are endowed with abundant natural resources such as land, minerals, and oil. To fasten economic development and diversification, many have turned to the utilisation of available resources. Mineral exploitation for example is done in various African states notably, Tanzania, DRC, South Africa, Angola, and Mauritania. In the Middle East with countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq and some Sub-Saharan African states like Nigeria and Angola, oil exploitation is helping economies doing well. Moreover majority being agrarian steps are in progress to modernise agriculture. In Tanzania for example, the “KILIMO KWANZA” programmes are laid down to improve agriculture and farmers’ incomes.
12. Measures to curb corruption. Some Third World Countries have institutionalised measures to deal with corruption and all other forms of misuse of public funds (resources) and to check on other forms of bad governance. The Tanzanian government for instance established the Anti-corruption Bureau, “TAKUKURU” to curb corruption and a number of corruption cases have been detected and handled by the institution.
13. Increased infrastructural development. Third World Countries are increasing investments on social and economic infrastructural development schemes. Priorities have been put in transport and communication, education and health infrastructure. Miles of roads and railways, schools and institutions of learning, and health institutions like hospitals and dispensaries have been constructed and more still on either construction or on plan. Governments are also investing in renovations and modernisation of old infrastructure.

### ***Effects of Neo-colonialism and Underdevelopment on the Third World***

1. Loss of sovereignty. The Third World has failed to attain genuine autonomy due to under development. Imperialist powers still exert a greater deal of influence through which they dictate policies on the Third World countries. For example Western powers dictated constitutional changes on Sub-Saharan African states to adopt Multi-party politics and

liberal economy from the late 1980s and they are imposing dubious behaviours like homosexuality.

2. Political instabilities. Imperialist powers particularly USA and her allies like Britain and France engineer political disorders in Third World countries in different ways like s civil wars by creating and sponsoring rebel groups like in Angola, Libya, Congo, Sudan, Liberia, sierra Leone and Syria; coup d'états like in Ghana (1966), Uganda (1971 Ethiopia, and Nigeria; secessionist movements like the Katanga (1961), Biafra (1967 and Sudan (2011); and assassinations of popular leaders like Patrice Lumumba (1961) All is done to destabilise Third World Countries, retard development, find markets for military equipment and create puppet regimes.
3. Debt burden. Loans acquired by Third World Countries from the West and international monetary institutions, the IMF and World Bank take higher interest rates. In most cases Third World Countries fail to pay the loans and instead are conditioned to call into further borrowing to pay old debts and interests. At the end of it all, Third World Countries end up in a cycle of debts and thus deepen in poverty.
4. Low technological development. Taken for a dumping place, the Third World has continued to receive old technology in form of old machinery and consumer goods at relatively lower costs. This has led to slow industrial and technical development. Worse, it has strengthened dependence on developed nations alongside killing efforts of developing local technologies. Increased foreign investment has also played part in delaying technological development.
5. Increased foreign investment. Foreign investment is now a major indirect means of exploiting Third World resources and finding employment for the expatriates. It is mainly done by Multinational Corporations like. Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Unilever, CALTEX, shell, GBP and mining companies. Foreign investment is largely done on economies which need great capital like mining and manufacturing industries. Exploitation is by capital flight (profit repatriation).
6. Cultural degradation. Imperialism knows no boundaries. Western developed countries are increasing efforts to erase Third World peoples' culture by taking the advantage of the Third World dependence for assistance. Imposition of Western culture is done either way, directly or indirectly. Through Western literature, films and art like songs, evil habits desired by the West like prostitution, homosexuality, alcoholism, hatred and inferiority feelings are imparted indirectly and directly by enforcing constitutional protection of such norms. Refusal to comply with them, they cut off aid and "friendly" relations like what was done to Uganda in 2014. As a result Third World peoples have lost their true identity, by adopting foreign culture including foreign languages as official and medium of instruction in learning institutions.
7. Brain drain. A lot of Third World's skilled labour is attracted to the developed countries for greener pastures. It is either by state scholarship to bright African students or through free labour movement through which thousands of skilled labour from the Third World fly to the developed countries. Nearly 70,000 qualified Africans leave their home countries every year to work in industrialised nations. This denies Third World Countries of their badly needed resourceful labour needed for development and to save them from the costly expatriates.
8. Disunity. Western powers exploit the economic uncertainties of the Third World to work against their efforts for unity. They sabotage Regional and Continental co-operations. In

1992, for instance, USA blocked Kenya's attendance of the OAU summit in Tripoli, Libya and all USA puppet leaders in Africa did not attend. Similarly, they engineered the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in 1966 and Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 to kill and completely bury the dreams of a strong African Union, for the two were the major agitators of the need for a strongly united Africa. Additionally Western powers fuel border conflicts to kill unity.

9. Poor planning and perpetual poverty. The continued control of world markets by the imperialists has maintained unbalanced terms of trade on the Third World. They keep prices of primary goods, the main export earner of Third World Countries continuously fluctuating and falling. This is a defeat to appropriate fiscal planning since Third World Countries cannot always determine their incomes. Consequently, the Third World encounters deficit budgets and incurs foreign debts to finance administrative and economic programmes.
10. Dependence syndrome. Third World Countries especially from Sub-Saharan Africa have grown into known dependants to the developed industrialised countries. Neocolonialism had cemented underdevelopment and underdevelopment has perpetuated poverty in the Third World. In such a situation Third World states have for decades depended on foreign aid to finance and technically run social services and administrative programmes.

## **EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

### **THE BRANDT REPORT 1980**

The Brandt report was an official study (report) by an international group of politicians under the chairmanship Willi Brandt, the former Chancellor of West Germany (1967-74) and including Edward Heath, former Prime minister of Britain (1970-4) about the problems of the third world.

The report stated that the world could be roughly divided into two parts: the North and the South.

The North, are the developed industrial/developed nations like North America (USA and Canada), Europe, USSR and Japan found in the Northern hemisphere but including Australia and New Zealand (though geographically found in the southern hemisphere)

The South, are most of the Third World/Less developed Countries many of whom are found in the southern hemisphere of the world.

The report came to the conclusion that the North was getting richer and the south was getting poorer. The gap between the North and South is well illustrated by the statistics of calorie intake and by the comparison of the Gross National Product (GNP) of some typical North and South countries. Basing on the two, the report concluded that economically the third World was extremely poor.

On calorie intake it was discovered that the Third World takes little food. That is, although it contained 70% of the world's population, the Third World consumed only 30% of the world's

food. Henceforth, Third World people were often short of protein and vitamins which caused poor health and high death rates.

On the GNP, it found that the Third World GNP is very low compared to that of the North and that explains the South's poverty. For example in 1989-90 the GNP of the North averaged over 24 times that of the south. In 1992 highly developed and efficient countries like Japan could boost a GNP of over \$28,800 per head of the population. On the other hand among poor African countries, Ethiopia could manage only \$110 per head.

**NB;** GNP is calculated by taking the total money value of a country's total output from all units of production, wherever production is situated; it includes interest, profits and dividends received from abroad. This total value is divided by the population, and this gives the total amount of wealth produced per head of the population.

The report pointed out that it was in the North's interest to help the South become more prosperous. Indeed the Brandt Report was full of good ideas for the North to perpetuate neo-colonialism on the Third World but to the South its ideas were illusionary — lacked assistance to be delivered from poverty but to design new ways of exploiting them.

### ***Why the North was interested in helping the South***

The North saw the following advantages if the South was helped to become somehow prosperous;

- a. The market of goods from the North would be expanded. If the South was given assistance, it would be able to buy more goods from the North using money granted to them by the North.
- b. Reduce unemployment in the North. Production would be expanded and many people would be involved in production of goods with an expanded market in the South - industry would be expanded and more jobs would be created.
- c. Would avoid recession in the North. A prosperous South would help the North overcome cases when production exceeds consumption. Improvements in incomes of the South, would increase consumption of goods produced by the North and thus maintain economic stability of the North.
- d. Would open the south for easy exploitation by the North. Increase in aid provision by the North would condition the South allow more room for more investments from the North. They would as well benefit from the interest on the loans extended to the South.
- e. Strengthen dependence in the South. To the North, it was more probable that the more the aid was extended to the South, the more the South would be dependent on assistance from the North for supply of manufactured goods, technical assistance and market for primary goods. This would maintain neo-colonialism.

### ***Recommendations of the Brandt Report***

The Report made some recommendations which according to the North if carried out, would reduce poverty and eliminate hunger from the world. The recommendations were;

- a. The rich nations of the North should aim at giving a certain percentage of 0.7 (%) of their national income to poorer countries of the South by 1985 and 1.0% by the year 2000.
- b. A New World Development Fund should be set up in which decision making would be more evenly shared between lenders and borrowers not like the IMF and World Bank which were dominated by the USA.
- c. There should be a campaign to improve agriculture in the South. On this it was recommended that an International food programme be drawn up. Improvement of agriculture would help reduce poverty, but specifically famine, and expand job opportunities.
- d. An International energy plan should be drawn up to improve power generation which would boost industrial production and check scarcity.

### ***Failure of the Brandt Report***

Sadly the Brandt Report registered no immediate improvement in the economic situation of the South.

1. It remained a paper work. A lot of what was proposed was not achieved. By 1985 very few countries of the North had reached the suggested target of 0.7%. Those that did were Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands and France; however USA gave only 0.24% and Britain 0.11%. It did not design mechanisms to enforce the fulfillment of the recommendations.
2. Famine continues to be a serious problem in the South. It is still a setback especially in Africa, with most affected areas being the horn of Africa in countries of Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea but also in other countries like Niger, Kenya and Sudan. That explains that efforts to improve agriculture in the South were unrealistic.
3. Dependence. It contributed to the strengthening of dependence of the South to the North more especially African countries. The South keeps on waiting for aid and handouts from the North for the development of their socio-economic programmes.
4. It has increased debt burdens on the South. Although a great deal of financial aid is given by the North to the South, much of it is on business basis. Aid carries high interests and hard conditions for example, sometimes a debtor country has to spend a large part of the aid on goods from the country which is making the loan. Failure to pay, some states are forced to borrow more cash just to pay the interest on the original loan leading to a cycle of debts.
5. Dumping. Courtesy of foreign aid and international trade, the South has been made a dumping place for the outdated technology from the North. Old machinery and consumer goods are exported by the North to the South exploiting the low technological development of the South.
6. The South has failed to raise their Gross National Product (GNP). The Brandt Report made no efforts to suggest means of improving the GNP of the South. No suggestions were raised to improve Third World investments within themselves and abroad and to improve the South's position in international trade controlled by the North by fixing prices. Low investments and poor position of the South in international trade have kept the South's GNP low.

7. The report overlooked the possibility of the South developing without the assistance of the North. Emphasis was mainly put on the North extending aid to the South. It was not considered that the South is rich in a variety of natural resources like oil in the Middle East, and huge deposits of mineral resources in African countries like Tanzania, Angola, and the DRC. These could be the main sources of development if utilised effectively.
8. Diversification. The report did not hint on one of the major setbacks for prosperity of the South which indeed is lack of strong diversified economies. It re-emphasised on only agriculture without indicating the need to develop other economic sectors manufacturing industry, mining, tourism, and fishing as well. The South with its great economic potential creates stronger diversified economies if sufficient capital is raised.
1. The report was not realistic by failing to show that the major problem of the South is Neo-colonialism. Pointing out the two indicators of low calorie intake and Gross National Product (GNP) was escaping from the fact which is imperialist machinations of sabotage that is forcing the South lag behind for exploitation.

### ***Outcomes of Brandt Report***

1. How of the aid on the South. The North increased in provision of aid to the South for implementation of the set goals. Most aid was sent to African countries to improve agriculture and infrastructure. About \$50 billion per year was extended to the South by the North.
2. Increased influence on the south by the North. The report rendered the South prone to intense imperialist influence by the North. By use of the aid and relief provided to the South, the North has always intervened into the South affairs. They dictate policies like constitutional changes through which they enforce Western systems like multiparty politics to divide citizens of South countries and also enforce evil vices like homosexuality and western dressing codes.
3. Expanded market of goods from the North. The South used large parts of aid provided by the North to purchase goods from the North because sometimes a condition of the loan deal was that countries of the South had to spend on goods from the country which is making the loan.
4. Contributed to the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Increase in debts worsened the economic situation of the South as they were overwhelmed by debts accumulation. Consequently many African countries approached the IMF and World Bank for more loans to help them pay the old loans and interests which were already too huge for them to pay off. To qualify the loans the IMF and World Bank imposed on them SAPs which were the list of budgetary and policy conditionalities largely targeting to open the South for further exploitation.
5. Provision of relief. The North provided relief to some countries of the South hit by calamities like drought and disease. Food and medical assistance was provided to countries like Niger, Ethiopia, and Somalia which are frequently attacked by famine and medical services in cases of epidemic diseases like cholera, and other diseases like malaria and AIDS.
6. Flow of expatriates in the South. The report was followed by an influx of expatriates into the South particularly in Africa. They came to conduct research in fields like agriculture

and disease but also for economic explorations. They provided technical advice on agricultural production and disease control. Also discovered great potentials for exploitation especially minerals.

7. Increased foreign investment. Investors from the North have increased investments in south courtesy of helping to develop South's economies like agriculture and industry and expand employment opportunities. By foreign investment, the south has been exposed to new forms of exploitation mainly, capital flight and labour for expatriates.
8. Increased dumping in the South. In the name of foreign aid and trade, the South was made a dumping place of old technology from the North. Old and outdated machinery and consumer goods like clothing are exported by the North to the South exploiting the low technological development of the South. Dumping has contributed to slow technological and industrial development in the South.
9. Strengthening dependence. It contributed to the strengthening of dependence of the South especially African countries on the North. The South keeps on waiting for assistance in aid and handouts from the North for the development of their socioeconomic programmes. For example most African countries make deficit budgets, then borrow from the North for supplementation of the deficit.

### ***Why the South is poor as per the 1980 Brandt Report***

1. Dependence on the North. Dependence is because of Neo-colonialism which means that Western European countries and USA still exert a great deal of control over the independent states of the South which continue to need the markets, and the investment, that the developed countries could provide. The North still expects the South to continue providing food and raw materials for them and expect them to buy manufactured goods from the North. In this way the North does not encourage the south to develop their own industries.
2. Mono-cultural economies. Many states of the South find it difficult to break away from the one-product economies they inherited from the colonialists because governments are still lacking the capital needed to diversify. For example Ghana depends on Cocoa and Zambia on copper. Frequent fall in the world prices of the South main products is disastrous. For example in 1970's there was a drastic fall in the world price of such products like cocoa, copper, coffee and cotton. This affected income of many countries such as Ghana. Cameroon and Ivory Coast (cocoa), Zambia. Chile and Peru (copper) Mozambique, Egypt, Sudan (cotton), and Ethiopia (coffee).
3. Unbalanced trade. Prices of manufactured goods continue to steadily go up and the prices of primary goods continue to go down. This is a disadvantage to the South since it depends on selling primary goods and serves best to the North, producers of manufactured goods. In spite of the efforts of the United Nations conference on trade and development (UNCTAD) which tried to negotiate fair prices for the Third World, no real improvement has been achieved.
4. Foreign aid. Although a great deal of financial aid is given by the North to the South, much of it is on business basis as the countries of the South had to pay with high interests. Sometimes a condition of the deal was that countries of the South had to spend on goods from the country which is making the loan. By 1980 Third World Countries owed the equivalent of 500 billion dollars and the annual interest payable was about 50



billion dollars. Failure to pay some states were forced to borrow more cash just to pay the interest on the origin loan. This sunk the south in deep debt burden and thus poverty.

5. Rapid population increase. Many Third World Countries' population is said to be increasing much faster than those in the North. In 1975 the total world population stood at about 4000 million, and it was expected to reach 6000 million by 1997. Since the population of the South accounted to 70% of the total world population and was growing so much faster, a larger portion of the world's population than ever before would be poor.
6. Political instabilities. Many Third World Countries had suffered long crippling and civil wars, which ruined their economies and ravaged crops. Some of the worst wars were in Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Lebanon, Congo, Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola and Mozambique. These crippled economic growth. Affected countries spent much of their scarce revenues and foreign reserves on wars, creation of peace other than on developmental projects.
7. Drought also sometimes was a serious problem in Africa. For example Niger in West Africa was badly affected. In 1974, it produced only half the food crops grown in 1970, and about 40% of the cattle died. As global warming gathered pace towards the end of the century, drought became more frequent and many countries were dependent on aid from abroad to feed their people.

## **THE SOUTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE/COMMISSION COOPERATION**

The South-South commission is the co-operation among the developing (Third World) countries Found in the southern hemisphere, that is Asia, Africa, Pacific and Latin America established in 1987 after its proposal in 1986 in the Non Aligned Movement's summit in Harare Zimbabwe and started officially in 1989. The commission is to discuss and find solutions by the developing countries themselves about the problems related to underdevelopment and poverty and how to act jointly in various fields, economic in particular.

The co-operation comprises of 28 member countries of different backgrounds, experiences, faith, and ideologies. The first chairman of the commission was Mwalimu Julius Nyerere from Tanzania and first secretary general was Manmohan Singh from India.

### ***Background***

The coming together of the developing countries through the NAM, conferences made them develop a high sense of co-operation and think of the need on how to act jointly solving their great problems of underdevelopment and poverty.

The commission was created to analyse the development problems of the south countries, encourage them to value and share their common experience and provide intellectual and policy support for them to act collectively and individually, particularly at the international level. On that regard, the cardinal aim of the commission is to see how developing countries can act jointly in order to move out of their problems, majorly under development and poverty by co-operating in various fields especially economic ones.

By the dialogue, developing countries recognised or believed that they have potential resources, both human and material, to develop themselves other than depending on the developed countries. The co-operation was to be in form of developing trade, joint industries and energy resources.

The South countries were bound together by sharing common historical backgrounds from which they trace the roots of their underdevelopment. That is the interference of the capitalist powers from the early stages of capitalism, thus from mercantilism to monopoly capitalism seen in colonialism and Neo-colonialism.

### ***Objectives of South-South Dialogue***

- i. To look at the South and analyse the problems it encounters. The commission is to trace the roots and assess the gravity of the problems faced by the South.
- ii. To analyse the strategies each country adopted to solve its problems and thus draw lessons from the mistakes and success it made. The commission undertakes research on various areas that are relevant to the development interests of the south countries.
- iii. To recommend appropriate strategies for the development of the South. Each government should devise tactics of moving in the direction suggested by the commission.
- iv. To enhance co-operation among the south countries by making use of their common history and problems of underdevelopment and poverty they encounter. That is to develop common points of view and to work together in major international development related policy issues.

### ***Formation of the idea***

The idea to form the South-South co-operation came out of the realization that:

- i. The south shares similar problems and experiences of capitalist exploitation from mercantilism to present through Neo-colonialism.
- ii. None of the South members could fully study the problems and design appropriate development strategies alone.
- iii. The south was not fully aware of what was going on in their countries; the ideas of the people, its human and material potential and how co-operation could help solve the problems faced.
- iv. Each country of the South went on making mistakes without being able to learn from experience of its neighbours/other members in similar situations.

### ***The task of the South-South Dialogue***

1. To enhance co-operation among themselves so as to maximize the use of their various resources and expertise for their own development. The commission emphasizes the need to work together at the global level as well.

2. To work together for their industrialisation. To jointly establish modern and large industries which basically need huge capital which many South countries cannot afford on their own (alone).
3. To form regional and inter-regional economic groupings. The groupings were thought to unite various countries of the South in Africa, Asia, Pacific and Latin America for regional economic interdependence through developing trade and industry. A number of groupings were formed such as;
  - a. The South Asian Association for Regional co-operation (SAARC).
  - b. The Arab Co-operation Council by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Yemen formed in 1988.
  - c. The Rio Group of Eight by Latin American countries of Argentina, Brazil, Panama, Peru, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela.
  - d. For Africa: such as COMESA and the new EAC.
4. To promote and widen economic co-operation among the industrial and financial enterprises, trade unions, research organizations. Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) that would be main players in economic growth of the South.
5. To ensure that the states of the South do not exploit each other. This demanded for fair and equal relations among all members of the commission. Co-operation should stand on harmonious understanding mutual benefit and equal terms.
6. To push for the restructure of the international monetary institutions particularly the IMF and World Bank. The aim was to persuade for fair terms and policies on the loans extended to the countries of the South and fight against the monopoly of the North on the affairs of IMF and World Bank.
7. To go for collective bargaining. The south should bargain as a group against the North in international matters. For example bargaining for fair terms of trade in international market (trade) to eradicate price fixing by the North.

### ***Challenges encountered by the South-South dialogue***

1. Low scientific and technology development. This has maintained a small and weak industrial sector resulting to low industrial output, and low export earnings. Because of that, it has maintained dependence on the North for expensive technology and foreign manufactured goods through which the South loses a greater part of foreign exchange. Also, by that the South continues serving as a dumping zone of the North.
2. The south shares same or related economies. Many countries of the South are still stuck on monoculture, depending on production of single traditional products. They are still finding it difficult to diversify. Most of them are mainly agro-based and depend on exporting single cash crops like Ghana and Ivory Coast on cocoa, Uganda and Brazil on coffee with other sectors like industry and fishing very weak. Others like Zambia and Peru depend on only mining. This has limited trade among themselves, henceforth curtailed the strength of the co-operation.
3. Poor position of the South in international trade. The South faces unfair terms of trade in international market. They mainly depend on exportation of primary goods whose prices are less valued when compared with manufactured goods they import from the North.

Worse of all, prices of their products are fixed by the North and kept fluctuating in the North's favour. Such conditions are a problem to proper planning for the South countries.

4. Divergent economic and political policies. Differences in economic and ideological standings among the states of the South, has undermined the objectives of the dialogue. While as some embrace socialism like North Korea and are more inclined towards Russia and China, the majority are capitalist oriented and more close to the West of USA and her associates like Britain and France. Such divergences disturb the co-operation.
5. Imperialist Machinations. The imperialist intrinsic vicious tendencies greatly challenge the success of the commission. They subversively sabotage Unions of the South countries by dumping of cheap technology, enforcing bilateral agreements with some states of the South and openly intervening and invading anti-west regimes or leaders who are determined to propel strong co-operation among the states of the South. For example the NATO invasion of Libya and the subsequent overthrow and assassination of Muammar Gaddafi one of the strong agitators for the Third World co-operation.
6. Political instabilities. For long, many countries of the South have been entangled in a series of political turmoils in Form of civil wars, border conflicts, coup d'états and imperialist foreign invasions. Civil wars such as in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria; border conflicts like between Nigeria and Cameroon, Ethiopia and Eritrea and foreign invasions like against Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. These challenge development as physical and human resources are ruined, and governments have to use their scarce incomes on wars other than on economic projects. Likewise they affect cooperation by ruining relations between countries.
7. Unbalanced development. Countries of the South are not of the same development levels, making effort to attain relations on equal terms is difficult. In the actual sense some countries are not of the Third World, but the Second World like the Koreas, India, China, Iran, South Africa and UAE while the rest are in the Third World proper particularly the Latin American and Sub-Saharan African countries. This has given rise to divergent opinions and strategies on economic policies and is a limitation on trade on equal terms since the likes of China, Iran, and the Koreas have advanced in technology than others.
8. Multiple memberships. Many countries of the South owe loyalty to a number of international or regional co-operations. This has led to conflict of interests. For example many are also members of commonwealth and Paris club and some have signed bilateral agreements with countries of the North yet they also belong to their regional groupings like, ECOWAS, SADC and EAC. With such divided interests and loyalties, loyalty to South-South dialogue has been maligned.
9. Disease and Epidemics. Diseases especially Malaria and HIV are claiming a lot of labour which would have been important for economic development in different sectors like agriculture, fishing and industry. Governments spend large parts of their revenues on fighting diseases failing to raise enough capital to diversify their economies. Besides, epidemics like cholera and Ebola are doing a disservice to interstate co-operations. For example the outbreak of Ebola to West African countries like Sierra Leone and Liberia in 2013-15 hampered free movement in the ECOWAS regions.
10. The dependence syndrome. Dependence of the South on foreign aid and technology have, also limited the progress of the South-South commission. It has opened the South for free interference by the North through which the cooperation is endangered by sabotage. Additionally, dependence on aid from the North had tied the South into debts, which is

also a deterrent to development since a lot of their revenue is carried for payment of interest and loan repayment.

11. Natural calamities. Among others, drought and floods are a hindrance to the South economic developmental affairs and co-operation. They hit the economies of the South especially agriculture the backbone of the South economy but also industry and trade due to the decline of agriculture which is the leading producer of raw materials for the South industries. But also causes loss of lives and destruction of infrastructure. Also governments are compelled to import food using their scarce revenues which may have been invested in economic sectors.

## **THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES (SAPs)**

The Structural Adjustment Programme refers to the list of budgetary and policy changes required on the Third World countries by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to qualify for loans from them.

SAPs were economic revival measures compelled to Sub-Saharan African countries by the IMF and WB to fit for loans from them. Thus SAPs were preconditions which Sub-Saharan African countries had to follow in order to qualify for loans from the IMF and WB needed for the payment of their older debts and interests owed to the developed countries, the IMF, WB and local commercial banks following the economic crises of the 1980s and 1990s. The two global monetary institutions passed conditions and monitored economic reforms in African countries afflicted by economic crisis of the 1980s because they had lent money to them.

With no doubt the priorities set by the IMF and World Bank were for the interest of the donor imperialist powers which still regarded Africa as a source of raw materials, reliable markets for manufactured goods and for capital investment. In that matter SAPs were not for the specific needs of African countries to alleviate their economic problems but for the benefit of the loan makers. Indeed what SAPs presented as solutions to the problems carried with them greater problems to African states.

### ***Background of SAPs***

Following the worsening economic conditions in many African states in 1980's and 1990s characterized by; fall in export earnings and a heavy debt burden many Sub-Saharan African countries including east, central and southern African countries, but excluding the Republic of South Africa were conditioned to approach the IMF and World Bank for financial assistance for emergence foreign exchange and for further loans to help them pay the old interests and loans which were already too huge for them to pay off.

The trouble is that IMF and its associate World Bank are financed by the banks of the capitalist developed countries, USA with the largest share. Financiers of the two monetary institutions unfortunately take Africa as their exploitation zone (sources of cheap raw materials and reliable market) and not as equal partners. Therefore access to IMF and WB funds was tied on certain sets of preconditions (conditionalities) known as SAPs modelled for the interests of donor (developed) countries rather than on specific needs and interests of (individual) countries

concerned (Third World countries). To the donor countries, SAPs aimed at increasing exports and investments to African states rather than helping them to become self sufficient. Indeed SAPs meant to consolidate neo-colonialism.

### ***Reasons for the Structural Adjustment Programme Formation/acceptance***

1. The rapid decline of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Most Sub-Saharan African countries experienced a decline in their economies consequently decline of the (i)P and thus loss of great state incomes. Economic statistics between 1980 and 1987 on Sub-Saharan Africa's GDP show a decline of nearly 20%.
2. Fall of Export earnings. A sharp decline in export earnings was experienced by African countries. For instance in 1986-87 exports fell by about 40% and the decline went further down with the coming years due to continued fall of prices of Africa's primary goods in the world market.
3. Fall in import purchases. Import purchases as well fell by about 40% between 1981 and 1985 mainly due to high tariffs on imported goods in many sub-Saharan African countries and fall in foreign exchange caused by fall in export earnings.
4. Expansion of external Debt. All Sub-Saharan African countries had incurred huge debts from the Developed countries, IMF and World Bank. The debts were too huge to repay bearing the fact that even their exports were falling. By 1987, external debts had reached \$129 Billion making it difficult for African countries to make economic progress since a large part of their revenues were spent on debt and interest repayment.
5. Decline in provision of social services. There was a steady fall in education standards in all levels, health services had deteriorated and diseases were rampant, and infrastructure was in a sorry state, making no progress due to fall in state incomes.
6. The dependence syndrome. Many Sub-Saharan African countries had developed a strong culture of dependence on the developed countries. When they were faced with such economic hardships of 1980's and 1990's, the easiest solution was to rush to the IMF and WB for assistance other than drawing their own internal strategies to alleviate the crisis.

### **Objectives of SAPs**

- a) To introduce tax reforms and elimination of quantitative restrictions in trade sector.
- b) To rationalise the public sector so as to enhance employment opportunities.
- c) To improve the public investment programme.
- d) To introduce reforms in agricultural sector, market liberalization and institutional reforms.
- e) To improve the sectoral resource allocation and mobilise domestic resources to restore growth to the economy.
- f) To devalue local currencies so as to check the exchange rates and therefore to balance the domestic currency price.
- g) To reduce poverty by improving the living standards of the people in the Low Developed Countries.

SAPs had the following principles as economic recovery measures;

1. Governments were required to balance their budgets. That is to strike a balance between states' revenues and expenditures. In theory it meant a cut in annual growth of government debts, but in reality it meant reduction on government expenditure on socio-economic infrastructure development and provision of social services that were supposed to be funded by the government. More so retrenchment was to be done also for the reduction of expenditure.
2. Promote economic liberalization. This was to ensure a change on trading and investment patterns. Sub-Saharan African states were enforced to abandon trade restriction by eliminating tariffs and promoting the role of private sector in export trade and abandoning foreign exchange controls to promote free trade. Similarly to ensure liberalisation of capital control by opening more free room for foreign investment and also assuring investors that they would be free to move their capital when they wanted so as to encourage more foreign investment.
3. Currency Devaluation. African governments in need of assistance were required to lower their currency's value to qualify for loans. In theory, this meant helping African states easily pay foreign debts and increase money in circulation to promote trade and improve exports prices in the world market. In reality however the aim was to make African imports from developed countries expensive, giving more strength to foreign currencies.
4. Privatization of the economy. This entailed selling of the public enterprises to individual or private firms (denationalisation) and handing the private sector control of the economy. Governments were not required to run the economy but pass that responsibility to the private investors to end nationalised (socialist) economic approach in order to strengthen capitalist economic systems. Absence of a large number of strong local investors meant dominance of African economies by foreign investors who owned huge capital.
5. Retrenchment. This meant reducing the work force of people employed in public sector so as to reduce government expenditure and enable balanced budgets. Sub-Saharan governments were conditioned to reduce employment in public Sector to qualify for the financial assistance from the IMF and World Bank.
6. Decontrol of Price. This meant removal of state price control. African government was conditioned to stop price fixing on goods. This was seen as a way to boost internal and international trade and allow market mechanism of demand and supply of a free market economy determine prices of goods and services.
7. Removal of subsidies. Sub-Saharan governments were to stop providing subsidies which they used to offer to farmers so as to reduce expenditures. This looked at further retardation bearing the fact that agriculture is the backbone of most Sub-Saharan African countries' economies was still underdeveloped and depended on government support.
8. Control of government spending on Public social services and introduction of cost sharing. Governments had to reduce expenditures on the public social services like education and health. Instead costs to be shared between governments and its people/private groups. This in practice meant stopping provision of free social services like education and health services.
9. Adoption of Multiparty Politics. African countries under Mono-party political systems had to shift to the Western political system of multi-party system. Multi party politics

was seen as the ideal system to promote democratic governance in Africa but indirectly as to inflame chaos by creating rival political groups.

10. Formation of Revenue Authorities. The Revenue Authorities like TRA of Tanzania were formed to deal with taxation and raise governments' revenues. Similarly to play an advisory role in helping governments on taxation, budgetary and financial policies.

### ***Effects of SAPs on Africa***

1. Threatens national sovereignty. SAPs exposed Sub-Saharan African countries to greater foreign influence. Implementation of the preconditions exerted on Africa by the IMF and World Bank was compliance to political-economic dictates of Western imperialist powers. Acceptance to the policies designed by developed powers through the IMF and World Bank means African states are governed by foreign policy makers.
2. Change of ideologies and economic systems. African countries which had embraced socialism were preconditioned to abandon it and join capitalism to qualify for loans. Such states included Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique which from mid 1980's, started transforming to capitalist economy by which public enterprises were privatised and private property was allowed. Most of the capital intensive enterprises were sold to foreign investors who possess huge capital.
3. Increased unemployment. The retrenchment conditionality in the public sector Forced African governments to lay off many civil servants. More so, privatisation of government enterprises also contributed to increased unemployment since private owners reduced work force for profit maximization, also brought in expatriates who replaced many local workers - many laid off workers lead a miserable life of poverty.
4. Increased Debt Burden. SAPs increased the flow of foreign aid and loans from IMF, World Bank and donor countries. The loans provided were entirely on business basis, attached with high interests and other hard conditions. Loans which were offered to help boost incomes of African states for projects development carried high interests and on the contrary sunk African countries into more debts and has perpetuated a cycle of debt burden to African countries.
5. Inadequate provision of social services. Reduction of African governments' expenditure on social services like education and health by introducing cost sharing (for the national to partly contribute towards such services) has contributed to increased deterioration of social services. Contributed to expansion of economic inequalities and suffering 8 lower classes who can hardly afford better social services.
6. Increased Corruption. Parts of the loans acquired ended in pockets of some official who embezzled the funds. Also in the privatisation of public enterprises secret and unaccountable contracts were signed and a lot of funds acquired in selling the enterprise were embezzled. Some of the enterprises and ventures were cheaply acquired politicians in power.
7. Existence of puppet leaders. In many African countries that adopted SAPs, regimes as puppet leaders surfaced. All was due to the dependence of foreign aid. Such leaders serve the interests of foreign powers for example offering them resources like mineral and land cheaply. This has increased exploitation and undermined democracy sin such leaders are supported by the capitalist donor countries to stay in power however much they would be unpopular.



8. Multi-party politics. In response to the conditions of the donor countries, Sub-Sahara African countries abandoned Mono-party political systems for Multi-parties. Though the system has contributed to transparency and accountability and to a certain level there are checks and balances on the government by the opposition parties, on the other hand it has widened divisions among African populations and that breeds political chaos.
9. Low Economic diversification. SAPs did nothing to diversify African economies. Mainly agriculture was focused on and foreign investors mostly operated primary industries like mining. Manufacturing industry has remained weak, because still investment is done in consumer goods industries like foods, beverages and soap manufacture, not in capital goods industries.
10. Economic liberalisation and reduction of tariffs. This has enabled the flow of imports and checking scarcity. It has increased flow of foreign currencies to boost trade and investment by both foreign and local investors. Foreign investment has increased due o economic liberalisation policies. To a certain extent, employment opportunities have increased and standards of living improved vis-a-vis increased exploitation by profit repatriation.
11. Increase of Government Revenue. SAPs availed African slates with more foreign currencies in form of loans. With availed cash African governments were able to repay old debts, import scarce goods, improve social services and meet other government expenditures like on security. Similarly the establishment of national revenue authorities has helped governments to increase incomes by improving tax collection.
12. Decline of Agriculture Production. Reduction of government subsidies for agriculture affected agricultural production. Local private farmers (peasants) are lacking sufficient capital for real agricultural improvement. This has affected many countries' incomes since agriculture is the main economy of most Sub-Saharan African countries and hence its main export earner.
13. Increased foreign investment. Since strong local investors were largely lacking, Africans lost control over their countries' economies. Investment is dominated by foreign investors who owned huge capital — worse of all most investments are done on primary/extractive industries like mining. Foreign investment and aid are the main ways through which Africa is exploited by developed countries mainly by capital repatriation and interests respectively.

By and large the interests of the imperialists are to serve the imperialist and not the imperialised. SAPs aimed at intensifying Sub-Saharan African socio-economic and political problems and not to help solving them. Foreign aid has deepened Africa into deep debt burden and the so called economic liberalisation has increased foreign investment, the now major means used to exploit the Third World by capital flight. For any genuine economic and political progress African states and the Third World in general should depend on their own. If proper human and physical resource utilisation and appropriate planning and integrated economic policy formulation and implementation is done African states can take off economically.

### **Sample questions**

1. Explore the tactics and strategies devised by contemporary colonialists to restore and preserve their dominant positions in the Third World countries.

2. Describe the examples of implementations of Neo-Colonialism and show how developing countries are attempting to contain it
3. The benefits of Neo-colonialism are meagre compared to its havoc. Justify the statement using six arguments.
4. Export of capital is an integral part of neo-colonialism. Expound how foreign capital investment is a tool to under develop Third World countries.
5. Explain four advantages and four disadvantages of privatization policy in the Third World countries.
6. Neo-Colonialism is a key profounder of occurrences of political and economic instabilities in African states. Discuss by giving six points.
7. With vivid examples, discuss the problems facing African states derived from their heritage of colonialism which had caused poverty.
8. Trace the roots of under development in Africa, (give 5 points)
9. The socio-economic and political problems pertaining Third World countries are of their own making. With vivid examples, discuss.
10. Highlight the external factors for underdevelopment in Third World countries.
11. African economy is haunted by external influence and this has resulted into crawling of African economy. Discuss by using six evidences
12. Analyse the unique features of underdevelopment in the Third World countries.
13. Assess eight attempts so far taken by Third World countries to curb underdevelopment
14. Identify and explain impacts of Neo-Colonialism to Third World countries
15. "The Brandt Report was full of good ideas, but with selfish intentions". Verify.
16. The Brandt Report of 1980 was an instrumental solution for the Third World poverty questions. In light on this statement, analyse four objectives and four outcomes of the report on the Third World poverty.
17. "The NAM conference of 1979 was an instrumental solution for the third world poverty questions". In lights of this statement analyze four objectives and four outcomes of this historical movement on the third world poverty.
18. Appreciate the influences leading to the South-South dialogue
19. Examine the strength of the South-South Dialogue.
20. 'The effects of implementation of the SAPs in Sub-Saharan Africa are a heavy blow to development'. Justify by eight points
21. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) have created more problems in the Third World Countries than what they have solved. Comment.
22. The International monetary fund and World Bank with their structural adjustment program have created more problems to Africa than they have solved them. Discuss

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