

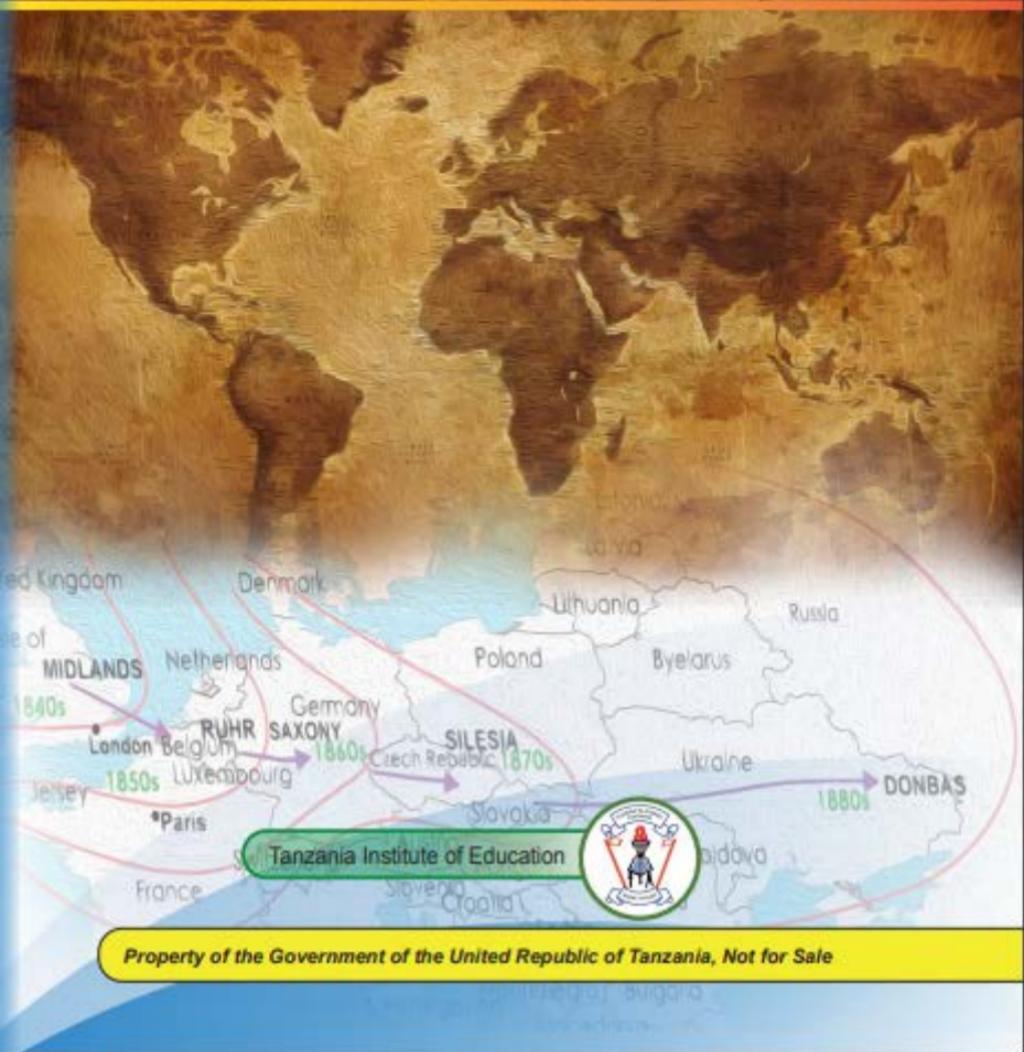
Advanced

History

for Secondary Schools

Student's Book

Form Six

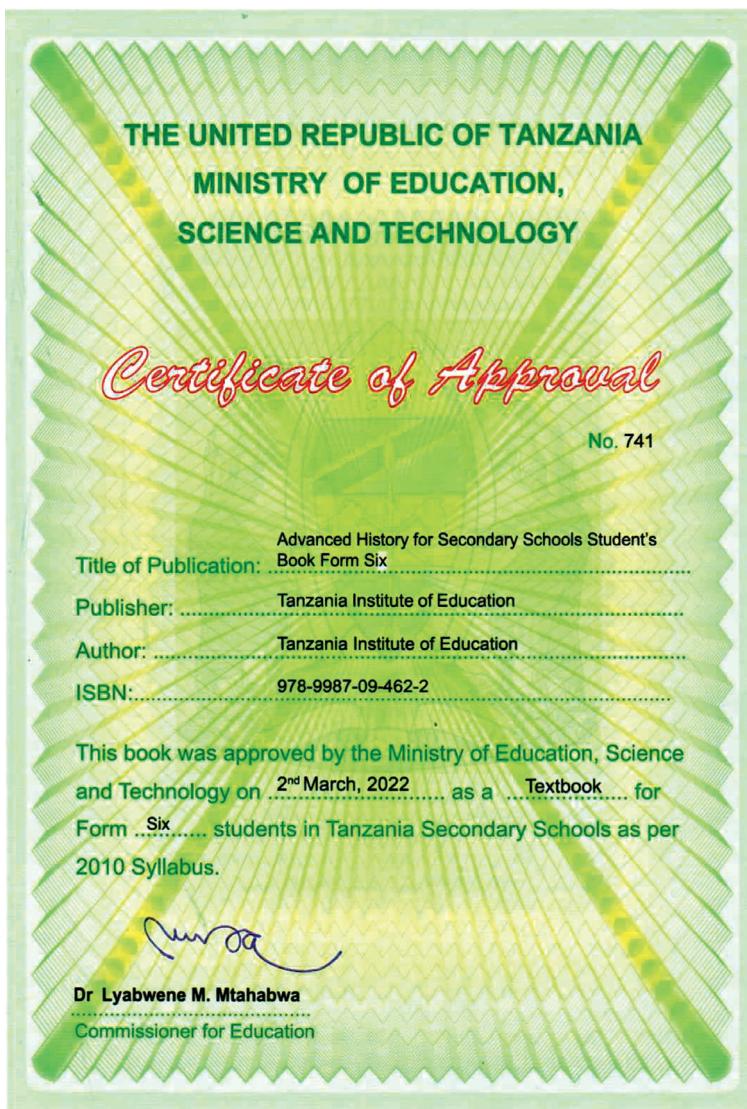




Advanced History

for Secondary Schools

Student's Book Form Six



Tanzania Institute of Education



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Acronyms and abbreviations

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
CE	Common Era
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BPU	Birmingham Political Union
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CMEA	Council of Mutual Economic Assistance
COMINFORM	Communist Information Bureau
ERP	Economic Recovery Programmes
ESR	Education for Self Reliance
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICNM	Intercontinental Nuclear Missile
IMF	International Monetary Funds
LRC	Labour Representation Committee
LWMA	London Working Men's Association
MIRV	Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles
MP	Member of the Parliament
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDC	National Development Cooperation



NEC	National Executive Committee
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party
OPEC	Oil Producing and Exporting Countries
PCA	Permanent Court of Arbitration
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
RAD	Reichs Arbeits Dienst (Reich Labour Services)
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDI	Strategic Defence Initiative
SIDO	Small Industrial Development Organisation
SLBM	Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UN	United Nations
UNO	United Nations Organization
USA	United States of America
USSR	Unions of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOA	Voice of America
WB	World Bank



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Dr Aneth A. Komba

Director General

Tanzania Institute of Education



Preface

This textbook, *Advanced History for Secondary Schools*, is written specifically for Form Six students in the United Republic of Tanzania. It is prepared per the 2010 History Syllabus for Advanced Secondary Education, Form V - VI, issued by the then Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

The book consists of nine chapters, namely Rise of capitalism in Europe, Competitive capitalism and Industrial Revolution in Europe, Imperialism and the territorial division of the World, Rise of democracy in Europe, The rise of dictatorship in Germany, Italy and Japan, The rise of socialism, The emergence of USA as a new capitalist superpower, Threats to the world peace after the Second World War, Neo-colonialism and the underdevelopment of Third World countries. Each chapter contains texts, illustrations, activities and exercises. You are advised to do all the exercises and activities together with other assignments that your teacher will provide. Doing so will promote the development of the intended competencies.

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Chapter One

Rise of capitalism in Europe

Introduction

The rise and development of capitalism took a long period, from the 15th century to the 20th century. Capitalism rose through three main phases, namely mercantile capitalism (from the 15th to the mid-18th century), competitive or industrial capitalism (from the mid-18th century to about the 1870s) and monopoly capitalism or imperialism (from the 1870s onwards). In this chapter, you will learn the concept of capitalism and its features, the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the agrarian revolution, the demographic revolution and the scientific revolution. Similarly, you will learn the concept of mercantilism and Africa's contribution to the development of capitalism in Europe and North America and its effects on Africa. The competencies developed will enable you to relate capitalism in Europe in the 15th century with contemporary neo-imperialism and be able to safeguard the nation wealth from external invasion.



How was Africa integrated into the world capitalist system from the 15th century to the 19th century?

The concept of capitalism

Capitalism is defined as an economic system in which private individuals or corporations own and operate the major means of production such as industries, trading enterprises, transport, communication networks, financial institutions and other properties for their own interests. Demand and supply freely set prices of commodities and services. According to Karl Marx, capitalism is the fourth mode of production based on the private ownership of the means of production. Under capitalism, society comprises of two main classes, namely the capitalist class (also known as bourgeoisie) and the working class (also known as proletariat). The capitalist class owns the means of production, organise and control the process of production; and it is entitled to all profits. The working class consists of producers who work only in return for wages. The working class does not own the means of



production, the finished goods they work on, or any profits generated from selling those goods. In this regard, capitalists exploit the working class.

The capitalist system was firstly developed in Western Europe (Britain, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Germany, Italy and Spain) between the 15th and the 16th centuries. According to V. I. Lenin, capitalism developed through three stages, namely mercantilism or merchant capitalism (1400-1750), industrial capitalism or competitive capitalism (1750-1870s) and monopoly capitalism or imperialism (1870s-1960s). However, from the 1960s, imperialism has primarily been operating in third world countries in the form of neo-colonialism

Features of capitalism

Capitalism is characterised by the private ownership of the major means of production. Means of production such as land, industries, financial institutions, as well as transport and communication networks are owned and controlled by a few private individuals, known as capitalists. Capitalism is also characterized by two main classes. As noted above the first class consist of capitalists or the bourgeoisie, who own and control the major means of production. The second class consist of workers or proletariats, who hold nothing but sell their labour-power to the capitalist enterprises.

Moreover, the capitalist mode of production is exploitative in nature. The class of capitalists lives by exploiting the class of workers by paying low wages and working for long hours without extra payments.

Furthermore, under capitalism, production is mainly for the broader market. The capitalist class produces or buys goods and services cheaply and sells them dearly in order to maximise profit.

In the capitalist system, the economy is regulated by market forces. Accordingly, prices of both goods and services are determined by economic laws of demand and supply. This system allows free competition and control of the economy by private companies and individuals. Capitalism is, therefore, characterised by the free market economy.

Activity 1.1



- In groups, under the guidance of your history teacher conduct a mini-research to find out production relations in Tanzania.
- Are the features of capitalism existing in Tanzania today?
- Share the findings with other groups in the class.



The transition from feudalism to capitalism

The transformation of European societies from feudalism to capitalism was a gradual process that started in the 15th century onwards. The process experienced several socio-economic and political changes that destroyed feudalism and brought the birth of capitalism in Western Europe. Therefore, to understand well these socio-economic and political changes which facilitated the transition from feudalism to capitalism, it is vital to analyse the nature of the European feudal system.

European feudalism

The word *feudalism* is derived from the Latin word *feudum*, which means a piece of land for rent or “fief.” During feudalism, people who owned this piece of land were known as landlords or feudal lords while people who lived and worked in it were known as tenants, serfs, peasant or vassals. In this system, the feudal lord granted a piece of land known as a *fief* to his vassal, who paid loyalty and services in return. Under this system, the feudal lords distributed the pieces of land to the tenants or serfs or peasants who in turn were obliged to pay rents in the form of labour (corvee), produce (rent in-kind) or money (monetary).

Therefore, feudalism is defined as the third socio-economic and political system after communalism and slavery in which landholders (landlords) provide land to tenants in exchange for their loyalty and services. Karl Marx saw feudalism as a system that preceded capitalism in Western Europe. According to him, feudal relations of production were characterised by landlords using political and legal powers to extract an economic surplus from unfree peasantry (tenants or serfs) in the form of feudal rent. Under this system, landlords owned land, and serfs owned nothing. However, serfs got access to land (manors; demesne) through rent.

The development of feudalism in Western Europe can be traced back to the 5th century CE, after the disintegration of the Roman Empire. The fall of the Roman Empire left Europe without a central government or central defence. Consequently, many invading groups set up small kingdoms which were at war with one another. The most potent rulers controlled land and the best warriors. Peasants and ex-slaves in danger of the war had to ask for protection from these rulers in exchange for loyalty and services. Around the 9th century, this relation had developed into a new system known as feudalism. Therefore, the feudal system developed based on mutual obligation between the landlord and serfs/tenants (peasants). The feudal lord provided land to serfs in exchange for loyalty and services. This system of mutual obligation and provision of favours was known as manorialism.



The feudal system was naturally agrarian. Feudal institutions were a natural development in agrarian societies based on land cultivation and remained attached to that land. Thus, under the feudal system, power was directly derived from land. The survival of these societies depended on the ownership, control and use of land.

Features of European feudalism

European feudalism had various features which revolved around a profoundly rural agrarian system based on relations pertaining to land. Land became the major means of production. Land, which was privately owned, was also the source of power and wealth during feudal Europe. Landlords, who owned land (manorial land), enjoyed services and loyalty from serfs. Land was the foundation of feudal systems and production relationships.

In addition, European feudalism was also characterised by the exploitation of man by man through the rent system. Under this system, the landlords lived by exploiting serfs who were required to pay them rents in the form of labour, kind or money.

Moreover, under feudalism, production was essentially for use value (direct consumption or subsistence). The peasants produced principally for their own subsistence. The surplus they produced was extracted from them by the feudal landlords and used for non-productive purposes such as for conspicuous consumption, supporting feudal military expeditions, homage, and maintaining large number of retainers. Limited agricultural technology also hindered feudal Europe to produce for a wider market. Therefore, feudal production remained mainly for consumption.

Furthermore, decentralisation of political authority was one of the principal features of feudalism. The classical feudal political arrangement was one where power was diffused and enjoyed by numerous feudal lords, each in complete control of his feudal state. The king was just a ceremonial leader without much power. However, over time, a semblance of central authority in the form of the monarchy developed. For example, the advent of the Norman Conquest (1066) in England brought some tendencies of centralised authority under King William the Conqueror.

Similarly, the church dominated as a powerful social institution in Europe. The church became a crucial feudal institution in Europe because it was given the right to own, control, and use the land given by the king or feudal lords, just like other feudal lords.

European feudalism also experienced the development of towns in some areas. Although feudal Europe was predominantly rural, there were towns, especially in

the later stages of feudalism. Such towns were centres of trade and craft production. Artisans and merchants dominated the feudal towns.

Likewise, European feudalism had persistent antagonistic relations between the two main feudal classes: the landlords and the tenants. Feudalism in Europe experienced frequent conflicts between the two classes due to exploitative production relations in which the landlords exploited the tenants.

Types of land ownership in feudal Europe

During this period, in England, for example, there were four kinds of land ownership. The first type was the crown land. This was the land owned by the king on behalf of all citizens. The king gave this land to the aristocracy (landlords) in return for dues, taxes, loyalty and military services (provision of warriors during wars). The second type of land ownership was the manorial land (owned and controlled by the feudal landlord). The peasants enjoyed access to this land in return for rendering labour and other services to the landowner. The landlord enjoyed considerable power and authority over his tenants. The lord had the power to levy taxes and to hold the court of justice. The third type was the church land. This was a vast amount of land owned by the church. It was also known as the monastic lands. Some land was occupied by the peasantry. The church extracted services and other dues from such tenants. The last type of ownership was called common land. This land was held in common by communities. It was the land to which community members, irrespective of their social status, had the right to equal access. The peasants who were the direct producers under feudalism could, and did, use this land to produce supplemental crops, graze their livestock, hunt game for meat and fish, collect firewood, extract other products, build cottages, and settle on such land as squatters. The common land offered the feudal peasants an independent means of livelihood since access to this land imposed no obligations.

Agriculture in feudal Europe

Agriculture was the chief economic activity in feudal Europe. Agriculture defined and determined the feudal relations in Europe. However, due to the low level of science and technology, this form of agriculture was based on the open-field system during the middle ages. The open field which was used in Europe, was a feudal system that applied and used traditional agricultural methods like the fallowing system. Under this system, the land was divided into three scattered small pieces, popularly known as the three-field system under the open field system. In this system, crop rotation was employed by medieval farmers with spring as well as autumn sowings. For



example, wheat was planted in one field. Likewise, oats, barley, peas or beans were planted in the second field, while the third field was left fallow. Each year, the crops were rotated to leave one field fallow for it to gain fertility.

The three-field system encouraged extensive instead of intensive land use. In this regard, the system usually led to the least utilisation of land, which caused low agricultural production. While the three-field system was the most celebrated development of feudal agriculture, the open field system was the most dominant, surrounding even the three-field system. Likewise, the open field system also involved shifting cultivation, although it was less popular than the three-field system. Similarly, the tools of production in the early period of feudalism were poor. The primitive wooden plough with iron share, the sickle and spade served as instruments of labour. The grinding of grain was for a long time carried out by hand until wind and water mills became widespread. Generally, the feudal agricultural system was less productive because it was associated with the traditional production practices, supported by the low level of science and technology.

The problems of agriculture under the open-field system in feudal Europe

The open-field system was a dominant feudal form of agriculture that survived for a long time in Europe. Although it served the purpose in feudal agriculture, the system had several shortcomings.

One problem was poor utilisation of land. The open-field system of agriculture left the land idle because not all land was utilised. Under this system, tracks of land were fallowed and, therefore, wasted. Moreover, most of the land, especially the fallow and unfenced land, was used for other purposes such as establishing unnecessary cart tracks and paths or common land for grazing and cutting trees for wood and timber and other public activities.

Another problem is that the feudal farms were easily attacked by pests and agricultural diseases partly because they were unfenced. They allowed free movement of pests, diseases, and destructive wild animals. There was also a low level of science and technology, which affected the farmers' ability to fight crop diseases and pests. In this regard, crops were highly vulnerable to most agricultural diseases and pests. This problem affected the quality and quantity of agricultural output in feudal Europe.

The use of primitive methods of farming and practices remained unchanged for centuries in Medieval Europe and affected progress in agriculture. For example, poor tools like wooden ploughs and hand hoes discouraged an expansive and intensive



agricultural development. Similarly, the fallowing system retarded agricultural development as it also imposed limits on the development of commercial agriculture. Besides, methods such as direct seeding had some negative results like wastage of seeds which were easily exposed to attacks by birds or rodents.

Political unrest was another shortcoming of the open-field system. The European feudal system was an aggression system. On the one hand, the landlords liked wars for expansionism, and, on the other hand, the exploited peasants reacted against lords forcefully through peasant revolts and civil wars. Therefore, agriculture under the feudal system suffered from frequent conflicts and chaos caused by the exploitative relations done by the landlords to the peasants and serfs. For example, in 1358, civil wars spread widely over Medieval Europe, which largely interfered and distorted agricultural development in Europe.

Another problem is that agricultural production remained low, and it was mainly for subsistence. Such a level of production could not meet the demands of the growing population. Food shortage led to frequent rural-urban migration as people escaped from hunger and famine. Subsistence farming through the open field system did not promote production for surplus. Low production was a result of disasters such as droughts, floods and pests.

The open-field system led to a serious problem of land degradation due to the application of poor methods of farming such as bush fallowing and overgrazing. These methods distorted land resources and agricultural development. In this regard, boundless grazing and selective breeding acted as agents for spreading diseases which negatively affected livestock keeping in medieval Europe.

Additionally, under the feudal system, agriculture remained traditional and primitive. Europe had to start developing and adopting new methods of crop cultivation and animal breeding as well as new agricultural implements. For instance, from the mid-17th century, Britain indulged in unprecedented agricultural changes by adopting new farming methods under the enclosure system. The enclosure system largely minimised and sometimes alleviated the challenges of the open-field system. However, the emergence of the enclosure system in Europe and its new methods, practices and outputs resulted in unprecedented transformations in the agricultural sector. This transformation in the European agricultural production system was popularly known as the Agrarian Revolution.



Activity 1.2

Visit the peasants near your school. Observe the activities the peasants perform in their areas then judge whether the agriculture under the open field system in Europe resembles the peasant agriculture in the society you have visited. Why do you think so?

The Agrarian Revolution

The Agrarian Revolution refers to the fundamental changes in land ownership and agricultural production in Europe, especially Britain, from the mid-17th to the 18th century. These changes aimed to improve the productivity of land and labour-power in the European agricultural production system. Agrarian Revolution was a gradual and complex transformation from traditional to modern European farming practices and land-owning relations. It involved, among other things, the discovery and use of new scientific methods of farming such as seed and animal breeding, new land tenure (enclosures), mechanisation and commercialisation of agricultural production. All these changes aimed to increase agricultural productivity to meet the needs of the growing population and commercial purposes. These fundamental changes transformed the old European feudal agriculture into a capitalist system, in which agriculture was now fully commercialised. Capitalist farmers, unlike feudal farmers, were interested in the production for the wider market to generate super profit. Enclosure system brought fundamental changes that led to the Agrarian Revolution in Europe:

The enclosure system

The enclosure system was one of the crucial changes that brought the Agrarian Revolution into existence in Europe. Under this system, large tracts of land were fenced and enclosed. The enclosure system differed from the feudal land tenure system under which most of the land was farmed by individual peasants each with a strip of an open field. Moreover, since the land was used ‘in common’, changing land use was not easily implemented, and changes in farming practice were slow to be implemented. Hence, to rectify the situation, enclosure system was introduced.

Land enclosure was supported by government laws that compelled all people to enclose their farms. Otherwise, they were required to sell their plots. As a result, all small peasants’ land and common land were amalgamated, fenced by hedges, and put under the private ownership of few commercial farmers. The commercial farming replaced the previous feudal open field system, hence, many people became landless. For example, between 1730 and 1820, over 3500 Acts of Parliament authorised the



enclosure of agricultural land. This resulted in widespread tendencies of the enclosure farming system.

Enclosure system went hand in hand with new farming techniques. Farmers implemented new farming practices such as selective animal breeding, controlled crop rotation, and more efficient production on marginal farmland. More importantly, the enclosure system created rural working classes who were often forced to move to industrial urban areas to look for work. Besides enclosure Acts, which were an indirect force, the enclosure system was attained through agreements between merchants and landlords, especially bankrupt lords and peasants. The bankrupt lords were indebted to merchants and were unable to pay money. In turn, merchants took their pieces of land and enclosed them.

Reasons for the adoption of the enclosure system

Several reasons triggered the transition from open-field to enclosure systems in Britain. One of the reason was the population growth. The rapid population increase in Britain created more demand for food supply to feed the growing population in towns and cities. The ever-increasing market for food supply necessitated the improvement in agricultural production methods to sustain the increasing population. Consequently, the enclosure system became inevitable for transforming the agrarian production system in Europe. For example, in Britain, the population rose from 6 million to 17 million between 1750 and 1851. This demographic change could not be sustained with the old feudal open-field system of the Middle Ages. Thus, the enclosure system was adopted to fill the food supply gap and industrial raw materials in the emerging industrial towns.

The second reason was the expansion of the domestic and international markets. Under enclosure system, agriculture was mainly for commercial purposes to meet the growing markets at the domestic and international levels. The capitalist farmers wanted more areas of land in enclosed plots to rear improved breeding of sheep. Thus, they enclosed common lands and established sheep rearing farms for more profit realisation. In Europe, Flanders (Belgium) served as the biggest market for British wool and woollen products.

The third reason was the growing needs for the modernisation of agricultural methods and practices in Europe. The new methods and practices aimed to achieve high quality and quantity of agricultural harvests. Agriculture became modernised through intensive farming methods such as proper manure, crop rotation, seed selection, and modern



tools such as iron ploughs and seed drills. Likewise, the land was privately owned. All these aspects of modernisation could be realised through the enclosure system.

Generally, the enclosed land started to be cultivated using scientific methods. The government supported the enclosure system in Britain through various Parliamentary Acts. The Acts demanded that all feudal lords fence their land and produce enough food to feed the entire population. They also legalised the eviction of peasants from their usual land. Therefore, the eviction forced some peasants to move from rural to urban areas for alternative job opportunities.

Impact of the enclosure system in Britain

The enclosure system had many positive outcomes in Britain. It brought long-term investments in different sectors such as crop and animal farming in Britain. The system also developed the best ways to plan crop rotation to improve soil fertility. Crop rotation led to the decline of fallowing and encouraged intensive commercial agriculture. Besides improving crop rotation, the enclosures stimulated scientific and technological advancements in agricultural production. New discoveries were evident in the 18th century. Additionally, the enclosure system expanded agricultural production by enabling more affluent landowners to expand the land under their control. Generally, the enclosures made the land more productive by increasing both land and labour productivity.

Land enclosures had some detrimental effects on the peasants and tenants. The enclosure system increased poverty, rural depopulation and homelessness. Moreover, the system enabled forced proletarianisation of peasants. It created a class of landless people who became wage earners, searching for agricultural work in rural areas and industrial jobs in towns. This system transformed the form of labour from serfdom to wage labour. Consequently, proletarianisation massively impoverished peasants, who became idlers and forced tramps to engage in social evils such as theft, prostitution and pauperism. Moreover, the enclosure system led to the decline of European feudalism. It upset the local self-sufficiency of the manorial system of open-field system by uprooting landlords and peasants from their landholdings. Many of them became squatters, wage earners in commercial estates, industrial and mining centres. This development paved the way for the decline of the serfdom system in Britain.

Dimensions of Agrarian Revolution

The Agrarian Revolution had significant technological and scientific dimensions and changes in the European production system.



- (a) Introduction of land reclamation: Land reclamation was a vital process in the European Agrarian Revolution. This dimension involved a complex process of turning unusable and unproductive land to become valuable and productive land. It started in the Netherlands and spread to other parts of Europe. In Britain, for example, they used land reclamation to transform marshy and swampy land into productive agricultural land. For example, King Charles once sponsored the drainage of Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire to make them suitable for conducting agricultural activities. Under this system, unused and barren lands were made productive farmlands.
- (b) Mechanisation of agricultural production: By the 18th century, most agricultural activities in Europe were mechanised with few labourers. This dimension was achieved through the advancement of science and technology in European farming practices. This advancement led to the discovery and use of modern farming machines. For example, in 1701, Jethro Tully invented a Seed Drill machine for sowing seeds in a straight neat rows. In 1730, Joseph Foljambe invented a lighter plough used for cultivation. Again, in 1786, Andrew Michael discovered a slashing machine for clearing the field. Between 1850 and 1860, John Fore discovered the steam engine drill machine, which vastly improved agricultural production in Europe. All these farm implements expanded agricultural production.
- (c) Scientific seed and animal breeding: The dimension of genetic engineering was applied in agriculture by cross-breeding both selected animals and seeds to produce high-quality seeds and animal species to increase the quality and quantity of agricultural production. For example, sheep were selectively crossbred to ensure a high yield of meat, milk and raw materials such as wool and hides for textile industries. Thomas Coke and Robert Backwell introduced a new breeding system as far as sheep and cows were concerned.
- (d) Adoption of improved crop rotation system: This dimension introduced an advanced crop rotation method, known as a four open-field system, to replace the traditional three open-field system that promoted fallowing. The four open-field crop rotation systems came up with a seasonal alternation of grains with nitrogenous nutrients, stonecrops such as beans, potatoes and other root crops to replenish and maintain soil fertility. One vivid case of those new crop-rotation methods was the Norfolk four-course system, developed in Norfolk County, England. In this system, wheat was grown in the first year and turnips in the second, followed by barley, with clover and ryegrass



undersown in the third. Clover and ryegrass were cut for animal feeding or grazed in the fourth year. In the winter, cattle and sheep were fed the turnips. The four-field crop rotation system was advantageous as it increased soil fertility, crop production and animal keeping. Besides, it increased land for agriculture and introduced more food crops.

- (e) Spacing method: A reasonable distance from one plant seedling or animal offspring was put to maintain healthier crops or animals to increase the quality and quantity of agricultural production.

Activity 1.3



- (a) Read about the Britain Agrarian Revolution then list lessons that Tanzania can learn from it.
- (b) Share the findings with other students in the class.

Contributions of the Agrarian Revolution to industrialisation in Europe

The Agrarian Revolution significantly contributed to industrialisation of Europe in several ways. It increased the productivity of the land and food supply to the industrial population in Europe. Hence, it supported industrialisation in various parts of Europe.

In addition, the Agrarian Revolution provided raw materials for European industries. Studies have shown that the enclosure system increased the quality and quantity of raw materials like wool, wheat, barley, animal skins, milk and meat, which were highly needed to feed the growing industries. Consequently, the Agrarian Revolution boosted industrialisation in Europe.

Furthermore, the Agrarian Revolution facilitated trade and commerce which created a large reserve of domestic and foreign markets for European industrial goods. In this regard, Europe witnessed the expansion of new trading centres like Paris, Florence, Naples, Yorkshire, Cambridge and Lancashire due to rural-urban migration, which was forced by the enclosure system. These circumstances enhanced the growth of trade and commerce in different cities because the people employed in industries became good buyers of goods and services because they were employed in the emerging industries and other sectors. The increased purchasing power stimulated the expansion of trade and the rise of capitalist lifestyles in urban areas.

Similarly, the Agrarian Revolution created a class of industrial proletarians for European industries. The enclosure system, which was an essential dimension of the Agricultural Revolution, evicted most peasants and impoverished landlords from



their land holdings that had earned them a living. This purposeful eviction turned them into wage earners and chief suppliers of cheap labour in the rural commercial agricultural projects and industries in towns. These developments created a conducive environment for industrialisation in Europe.

The adoption of the enclosure system during the Agrarian Revolution ended the feudal mode of production. Most peasants and impoverished landlords failed to cope with the new farming methods. Many peasants abandoned their plots while others were evicted from their land, flocking into towns and paving the way for agricultural commercialisation. Among other things, enclosures changed the land tenure system. Under this system, land became a commodity and was sold to wealthy merchants who were the capitalists in the making. Thus, agricultural production was commercially oriented as distinct from subsistent one. This was an indicator of capitalist production, which was openly based on cash nexus.

The Agrarian Revolution further contributed to industrialisation through the promotion of urbanisation. The enclosure system pushed the landless people to emerging urban areas where they searched for employment opportunities. In this regard, the Agrarian Revolution partly led to development of towns. Such towns became the focal point of capitalist industrial development. Some of these towns were London, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Midland and Derbyshire.

The Agrarian Revolution also had an immense contribution to the development of infrastructure in many parts of Europe. The transportation of agricultural products from production areas to market places and towns as well as agricultural implements from industrial sites to production areas necessitated the construction of infrastructures such as canals, roads, and later railways. The infrastructures became vital links between production areas and marketing centres, ports or harbours for exporting goods outside of Europe. Consequently, the constructed infrastructures accelerated the pace of industrialisation in Europe.

Agricultural production became one of the critical sources of capital through selling or using land as collateral to earn loans from banks and selling agricultural commodities. The capital obtained was reinvested in other economic sectors like industry, banks, trade, and mining. Hence, the agrarian revolution accelerated the development of industrialisation in Europe.

Equally, the Agrarian Revolution stimulated the development of agro-industries which dealt with the production of agricultural implements. This transformation caused massive agricultural development, which pressed for more advancement in



science and technology to meet the growing demand for agricultural implements such as machinery, fertilisers and seeds. Accordingly, agro-industries enormously developed to meet the increasing demand for agricultural implements.

The Demographic Revolution

The Demographic Revolution was a rapid growth of population in Europe between the 16th and the 18th centuries. Between 1500 and 1750, the European population doubled from about 65 million to around 127.5 million. A large part of the population growth took place before 1625. After 1750, a new cycle of population expansion began due to the Industrial Revolution. The European population doubled to almost 300 million by 1900. The process led to various socio-economic and political changes that contributed to the development of capitalist relations in Europe. It played a vital role in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The Demographic Revolution increased the population of Europe by reducing the mortality rate, increasing childbirth rate and improving life expectancy.

Factors for the Demographic Revolution

Before the Demographic Revolution, Europe had a small rural population. They lived mainly by conducting small-scale agricultural activities and animal husbandry. Very few people lived in small towns, conducting small family-based factory activities. Agriculture, which was their mainstay, was basically production for subsistence.

Europe, and Britain in particular, began to experience a rapid increase in population from the 16th century. Several factors accounted for this development. One factor was the Agrarian Revolution, which largely contributed to the rapid population growth in Europe. Britain was the first European country to experience unprecedented changes in agriculture. The Agrarian Revolution came up with the enclosure system, which promoted commercial farming. Commercial farming led to the massive production of food. These changes resulted in an increased food supply, improved living standards and increased employments. Consequently, the changes reduced family malnutrition and related diseases, which had previously killed many people. They also increased the life expectancy of the population and made people comfortable. These changes improved human health and reproductive capacities, which triggered rapid and remarkable demographic changes in Europe.

The revolution in medicine was another contributing factor to the demographic change in Europe. Advancement in medical technology significantly improved the European health care system in fighting against human diseases and epidemics. The revolution enabled European societies to develop advanced technologies to prevent, control

and heal various diseases and epidemics. Hence, the improved medical technology reduced the number of deaths and mortality rates. It also increased life expectancy. Therefore, the revolution in medicine helped to manage the diseases before they could spread and cause further impacts.

Public health education was another factor for the rapid demographic change in Europe. The revolution went hand in hand with the provision of education and awareness on environmental sanitation, high standards of hygiene and an improved public health care system. For example, before the 16th century, most Europeans were not knowledgeable about personal hygiene and the importance of proper garbage management. This tendency caused eruptions of diseases, such as the Bubonic plague in the 14th century. However, from the 16th century onwards, people became aware of public health education. Public health awareness was essential, and it minimised the spread of communicable diseases such as cholera, diarrhoea and typhoid, which had killed many people in Europe.

The disappearance of plague and epidemic diseases also contributed to demographic change in Europe. Before revolution in medicine, epidemic diseases killed many people partly because of the primitive methods of controlling and treating human diseases. These threatened the life of people and reduced life expectancy. The black death of 1348, for example, killed many people in Europe. Studies show that the epidemic killed half of the population in the continent. However, the disappearance of these recurrent epidemics in the aftermath of revolution in medicine witnessed rapid population growth and improved life expectancy and subsequent demographic change in Europe.

Early marriage for young women also contributed to the Demographic Revolution. Early marriages meant that women could bear more children than was previously possible. For example, during the mercantile period, in many European countries, it was legal for young women to get married at 14 years old. Many people, especially teenagers, began to marry and immediately start a new big household. On the other hand, the same period experienced an increase in income, which also influenced early marriages in Western Europe. Therefore, early marriage encouraged population increase because women started to bear children at their teens. Thus, the average number of children during that time was 5 to 6. This number encouraged rapid population growth and produced a Demographic Revolution.

The growth of towns, cities and states also contributed to the Demographic Revolution in Europe. The rapid growth of towns in Europe, such as London, Paris, Sevilla, Vienna, Naples, Antwerp, Lancashire, Hampshire, Manchester and Yorkshire, attracted



many people to dwell in them since they promised good life in terms of employment, sanitation and the like. Thus, many rural people shifted to towns seeking a better life. There were good housing, a hygienic environment and good services such as health, education and food. These services guaranteed population growth. Thus, a Demographic Revolution was inevitable.

The impact of the Demographic Revolution on the development of industrialisation

The Demographic Revolution was essential to the history of capitalism in Europe. It provided cheap labour for European industrialisation. Many wage earners were employed in the factories after the Industrial Revolution. The Demographic Revolution also provided reliable markets for the goods manufactured in industries. This development was because population increase created a considerable demand for industrial goods. Likewise, the Demographic Revolution facilitated the growth of cities in Europe since people whose land was confiscated by merchants went to towns to sell their labour power. Finally, the demographic revolution influenced the growth of trade and money circulation, especially during the European commercial revolution.

Exercise 1.1

1. How did agriculture under an open system pose a challenge to those who practised it?
2. How did the Demographic Revolution contribute to industrialisation in Europe between the 16th and the 18th centuries.

Rise of the Scientific Revolution

The Scientific Revolution was a radical change in scientific theories, methods, and practices in Europe between the 15th and 18th centuries. The revolution was accompanied by various scientific discoveries, innovations and inventions which revolutionised production processes and productivity. The Scientific Revolution paved the way for the rise of the Industrial Revolution, which replaced feudal cottage and handicraft industries like handlooms, windmills and wooden ploughs which consumed more labour force but produced less. The Scientific Revolution involved experiments, practical use of scientific knowledge, research, and scientific institutions' development. A visible Scientific Revolution came during the Era of the Renaissance, which



preceded Medieval Europe. The Renaissance period inaugurated the period of the Scientific Revolution.

The dimensions of the Scientific Revolution in Europe

The Scientific Revolution in Europe brought many changes in production. This revolution produced many innovations. One of the important effects of Scientific Revolution was the invention of new production machines in Europe. These machines included iron ploughs, steam engines, digging drainage and threshing machines.

The other effect of Scientific Revolution was the development of civil and mechanical engineering technology in Europe. It transformed various engineering practices such as the extraction of coal (gun powder method in England) and the construction of bridges, roads and railways. In England, for example, railway construction for coal production began in the early 18th century. Coal was used instead of charcoal in iron smelting. Since coal was more efficient, iron became cheaper and quicker to produce. Significant ironworks began to be located in coal fields instead of the forested areas.

The Scientific Revolution also brought dramatic changes in European textile industrial technology. For example, different machines were discovered. These machines include the flying shuttle, invented by John Kay in 1733, and the Spinning Jenny, invented by James Hargreaves in 1767, capable of producing sixteen threads at once. Richard Arkwright invented the Spinning Water Frame in 1769 which increased the production of both kinds of cotton yarn. Samuel Crompton invented the Spinning Mule in 1779, and Edmund Cartwright invented the Power Loom in 1785.

Causes of the Scientific Revolution in Europe between 1600 and 1850

The Scientific Revolution in Europe resulted from either direct or indirect causes. Some of these causes included demographic change, which significantly contributed to the Scientific Revolution in Europe. Studies reveal that population increase in Europe necessitated the improvement of production technology to offset the problem of food shortage. Thus, efficient tools and machines were invented. Such tools included iron ploughs, seed drills and other kinds of planters. The changes came to be known as the Scientific Revolution in Europe.

The role of early scientists was another cause of the Scientific Revolution in Europe. Scientists played a significant role in the Scientific Revolution by inventing different machines. For example, James Watt invented the steam engine, Jethro Tull invented the seed drill machine, and Dr Daimler in Germany perfected the petrol engine, which powered different vehicles and aeroplanes worldwide. Their discoveries brought



greater changes as production increased, and people started to modernize. These remarkable discoveries fostered the Industrial Revolution.

Industrial development also triggered the emergence of the Scientific Revolution in Europe. The transition from cottage to factory systems of European industrial production necessitated the advancement of science and technology. For example, England, the first country to undergo Industrial Revolution in Europe, invested in scientific research, innovations, and technological inventions, culminating in the rise of Scientific Revolution in the country during the Renaissance period. Again, by the mid-19th century, the Second Industrial Revolution came up with more sophisticated and complex technologies, including chemical and engineering technologies to produce capital goods. It transformed European industrial technology from simple to complex. Therefore, all these developments were termed as the Scientific Revolution.

The increase in research, experiments and practical uses of scientific knowledge also led to prospects of the Scientific Revolution in Europe. Scientists such as Thomas Newcomen, Colonel Dracker and Mathew Bolton whose research and inventions took place in the 17th and 19th centuries led to the improvement of various scientific phenomena and aspects and increased the awareness that knowledge of nature was practically useful to the people. All of them aimed at making new discoveries and deeply exploring the world and its elements. Moreover, the industrial research centres, engineering universities and colleges as well as research institutes developed between the 18th and 19th centuries and facilitated the development of scientific and technological knowledge. These institutions fostered the birth of new ideas, findings and discoveries, which resulted in technological development. Again. With these institutions, there was a shift from the “trial and error” strategy of the invention to scientific research and education with these institutions. All these processes increased scientific revolutions.

The scientific development was also attributed to the presence of market. The availability of large markets overseas, especially in the colonies, broadly stimulated technological advancements in Europe. M.W. Flinn well argues in his book titled the *Origins of the Industrial Revolution* that excessive demand for industrial goods in colonies did not match with the industrial production. Consequently, industrialists and entrepreneurs were forced to innovate in terms of new processes in the manufacturing of industrial goods so as to meet the demands.

Additionally, the Commercial Revolution stimulated the pace of the Scientific Revolution in Europe. The rise of mercantile overseas trading activities influenced

maritime technological advancements, which were weak and dangerous before the Scientific Revolution. Later, it led to the advancements of marine technology as European countries started to navigate in different parts of the world. Explorers such as Christopher Columbus, the first European to reach America, and Vasco da Gama, the first European to use a sea route passing via the Atlantic Ocean and Indian Ocean, contributed to expanding overseas trade. Later on, European nations started to trade among themselves.

Furthermore, from the 17th century, they started to go beyond their boundaries to trade with far away nations, which later led to legitimate trade. In short, trade expansion overseas directly contributed to the Scientific Revolution since more scientific discoveries were experienced to improve navigation. Such discoveries included the compass bearing, which came later in maritime technology.

The role of the Scientific Revolution in the rise of capitalism in Europe

The Scientific Revolution in Europe contributed to the rise and development of capitalism in several ways. First, it increased production in all sectors, such as agriculture and factories. For instance, in agriculture, the application of new farm equipment and modern farming and animal husbandry significantly increased production, which increased food supply to the people and raw materials to industries.

Second, the Scientific Revolution led to the decline of feudalism or serfdom. It abolished serfdom in rural areas and created a new class of wage earners using new technology. Most of the new working class were peasants who abandoned their landlords in the countryside and flew to towns to work in industries.

Moreover, the Scientific Revolution led to the collapse of the feudal cottage factories. It came with more advanced equipment, which simplified work and increased quality. Consequently, goods from cottage industries lost their competitive status to goods from industrial factories. Moreover, the Scientific Revolution produced machine merchandise which replaced wind, water, human and animal labour. The mechanisation of production was seen in the use of the steam engine.

The Scientific Revolution led to the discovery of advanced sources of energy such as coal which generated electricity for industrial production. This made European industries more effective and efficient. The factories in Europe began to produce sufficient and quality goods. New sources of energy also led to higher productivity.

With the Scientific Revolution, transport and communications were also improved. The revolution facilitated the construction of modern railways, roads, canals, and



seaports. For instance, in England the period between 1760 and 1830, is referred to as the Canal Era. Canals stimulated inter-regional trade and facilitated the transportation of bulky goods such as coal, iron, timber, stone and clay. There was also advanced road construction between the 1750s and 1790s. One such advancement was pioneered by a Scottish engineer John Loudon McAdam, who invented the macadamized road, where by single-sized crushed stone layers of small angular stones were placed in shallow lifts and compacted thoroughly. The roads were instrumental for transporting passengers and industrial goods. These transport networks simplified the transportation of raw materials to feed the industries, transport labourers to the production areas, and transport manufactured goods to reach the markets, which were critical factors for the industrial revolution.

Exercise 1.2

1. Assess the contribution of the Agrarian Revolution to the development of capitalism in Europe.
2. Account for the Scientific Revolution in Europe from the mid 15th century to the early 18th century.

The concept of mercantilism

V. I. Lenin defines mercantilism or merchant capitalism as the first stage in the development of capitalism which was based on overseas trade and commerce. Mercantilism can generally be defined as a label commonly given to the doctrine and set of practices attributed to European nation-states, from the 15th to the 18th centuries, regarding the nature and regulations of international economic relations.

Mercantilism was a system of capitalism based on trade and banking rather than production of goods. A mercantile capitalist did business; buying cheaply and selling dearly, and or lending money at high-interest rates. At this stage of history, production of goods, even those sold in the market, was organised by the direct producers themselves, not by merchant capitalists. Moreover, mercantilism was premised on a belief in the virtue of accumulating treasure by nation-states in the forms of gold and silver (bullion or precious metals). Treasure could be collected either through trade or through plunder, and, in many cases, both methods were used during mercantilism.

Increasingly, trade took the upper hand. Nation-states sought to accumulate treasure through maintaining a favourable balance of trade by ensuring an excess of the value of exports over the value of imports. This ensured a continuous inflow of gold



and silver because nations paid for their imports using these valuable metals. Most European nation-states sponsored and participated in this system. Some of these mercantile nation-states were Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and Holland.

Characteristics of mercantilism

Mercantilism was guided by various activities and programmes which represented the typical characteristics of mercantilism in Europe. There were six main characteristics.

One characteristic of mercantilism was national unification. This involved the formation of strong centralized states by unifying small feudal states which were based on decentralised political institutions. During mercantilism, unification was a necessary step in developing nation-states which upheld the mercantile doctrine. These nations were under the control of absolute monarchs. These nation-states, England being one of them, sought to accumulate treasure at the expense of their rivals. The unification widened the scope of national markets, established uniform weight and measures, and removed internal trade barriers to promote economic growth and access to a reliable labour force. It also helped to maintain peace and stability to protect merchant interests.

Protectionism was another characteristic of mercantilism in Europe. European nation-states introduced this economic policy to encourage a favourable balance of trade. The most important protectionist measure was that each nation promoted and protected its industries and domestic markets against foreign competition. They did so by stimulating export industries through bounties, monopolies, importing skilled artisans from other countries and restricting the importation of finished foreign goods. England serves as an important example in this case as it enacted various Navigation Acts. The most important Navigation Acts were those of 1651 and 1660, which were passed under Oliver Cromwell.

Another characteristic was bullionism. During this period, wealth and power were reflected in a treasure of the nation's money stock (gold and silver). Therefore, mercantilist nations and merchants used all necessary means to collect these precious metals. Merchants and mercantile states were involved in plundering bullion, restricting the outflow of these precious metals from the nation, and compelling foreigners to trade in gold and silver. All these strategies aimed to increase the stock of money for their nations.

Moreover, expansionism was another feature of mercantilism. When the competition between European nation-states for the accumulation of treasure became intense, foreign lands were invaded and colonized by these states to serve their mercantile economic



interests. Monarchs granted royal charters to trading companies, authorizing them to establish colonies. National armies were used to subjugate indigenous populations in the colonies. Laws were passed to compel colonies to produce raw materials for the colonizing power and to buy finished products made by the industries of the colonizing power. This exchange was unequal as the colonies had an unfavourable balance of trade and they had to pay in bullion. There was also a tendency to use coerced labour (e.g. slave labour in West Indies and the Americas) as a strategy for ensuring that colonial products were cheaply produced. The British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company serve as example of companies which were given charters to establish colonies in India. Colonies were established in the Americas (both North and Latin America), West Indies and other places.

Similarly, national rivalry and militarism characterised mercantilism in Europe. In competing for colonies and other economic interests such as trade routes, European nation-states found themselves in military confrontations and increased rivalries. Thus, this necessitated them to invest in militarism so that they could outsmart their competitors. Thus, this period witnessed many wars between European mercantilist states, such as England against Spain, competing to control America and West Indies; England against Holland, competing to control India and East Indies; and England against France, competing to control Canada and West Indies (Seven Year War 1756-1763).

The final characteristic of mercantilism was populationism. Mercantilists desired large populations because of their economic advantages to the nation-states and merchants. The larger population was favoured because it provided cheap and abundant labour force for production activities, soldiers for military forces and huge national markets for industrial goods. Therefore, mercantilist states indulged in various strategies to encourage population growth. For instance, in France, early marriage to a girl of 13 years old was made legal. On top of that, many mercantile states rewarded those families with many children to encourage big families.

Factors for the rise of mercantilism

Several factors stimulated the rise of mercantilism. The Agrarian Revolution was among the earliest factors for the rise of mercantilism in Europe. The introduction of scientific methods of farming in agriculture necessitated the transformation of the agricultural sector from production for consumption (use-value) into production for exchange (surplus value) where the increased agricultural outputs were sold in the market for profit generation. Thus, it increased commodities for exchange like



cotton, wool, hides and foodstuffs, which attracted many Europeans to specialize in overseas trade for accumulating wealth throughout the world. The practice ended in the development of international trade which was an elaborate system called mercantilism.

The emergence of handcraft industries also contributed significantly to the rise of mercantilism in Europe. The development of science and technology during the transition from feudalism to capitalism witnessed the rise of craftsmen and artisans who were involved in manufacturing different commodities like ornaments, plates, mirrors and clothes. European merchants emerged as middlemen who bought those goods and sold them to final consumers in and outside Europe. This act boosted the development of mercantilism.

The development of financial institutions also led to the rise of mercantilism in Europe. The formation of banks, for example, raised capital by providing credit and loans to merchants for investing in trade and commerce. Insurance companies boosted trade confidence for merchants to carry bulk goods to long distances as their goods and capital were protected by insurance. In this regard, the world witnessed the expansion of both domestic and international trade between 15th and the mid-18th centuries. Some early financial institutions which served this purpose were the Barclays Bank and Lloyds Insurance Company in Britain.

The development of marine technology also played a role in the emergence of European mercantilism. The advancement of maritime technology resulted in discoveries of more advanced scientific applications; better use of wind systems, compass direction, arithmetic calculation and maps; and building marine vessels such as boats and ships. All these advancements improved the transportation of goods for exchange. With ships, for example, merchants could carry bulky goods to distant areas at a reasonable speed. Equally important, these new vessels like ships assured merchants' travels in the high seas and therefore increased trade trips to and from Europe and other continents.

The rise of nation-states and monarchs similarly played an important role in the rise of mercantilism in Europe. The rise of nation-states with powerful monarchs, especially absolute monarchs had a lion's share in the development of mercantilism.

The emergence of mercantile nation-states resulted from national unification which had various socio-economic and political advantages that promoted the development of trade. Such socio-economic and political advantages included the expansion of national markets, strengthening national defence and security, a uniform legal



system, uniform weights and measures, and the introduction of national currency. All these developments prepared conducive environments for the prosperity of the mercantile system.

The monarchs who had formed friendly bondage with merchants also contributed significantly to the rise of mercantilism. The bondage was based on mutual relations that the merchants wanted good commercial policies, peace and security for their commercial pursuits, which were provided by the monarchs. On the other hand, the monarchs wanted money to finance the running of the government, the money which would be provided by merchants. Moreover, some of the monarchs sponsored explorations and voyages that became important for the prosperity of mercantilism. For example, Prince Henry the Navigator sponsored the voyages of Portuguese adventurers like Vasco da Gama to India; King of Spain sponsored the voyage of the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus to the Americas. Both voyages had a landmark on the development of international trade and, therefore, mercantilism.

The rise of a mercantile class was also crucial in the emergence of mercantilism in Europe. This group of European professional traders participated in overseas trade. This class acted as engineers of the whole commercial system. These people injected their capital into trade and engaged in overseas voyages to distant places, carrying goods for exchange to generate super profit. The merchant class also established their own trading companies like the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company for trading and accumulating wealth from overseas countries. This contributed to the expansion and consolidation of mercantilism in Europe.

European explorations and the discovery of the New World also triggered the rise of mercantilism in Europe. Exploration of the world was made by European sailors and adventurers such as Bartholomew Diaz (Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, in 1488), Vasco Da Gama (India in 1498) and Christopher Columbus (Americas, in 1492). For instance, Columbus' arrival in the New World (America) had a role in the development of mercantilism because the place was endowed with mineral deposits and fertile land for agriculture, which attracted European merchants to open economic investments such as plantations and mining centres. Consequently, such investments required massive slave labourers from Africa. The labour demands led to the establishment of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Likewise, Da Gama found an alternative route to the Oriental markets (India and China), which were essential to the prosperity of international trade in spices, cotton pieces, rice, silk, fur and the like. This route became important after the blockade of the common route through the Middle East. The route was closed by the Ottoman Empire King Mehmed II,



the Conqueror, in 1453 after Muslim Arabs had defeated European Christians in the Crusade wars. Thus, Da Gama's discovery was so important for international trade to the Far East, contributing to the development of mercantilism.

Exercise 1.3

1. Analyse the main provisions of the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660.
2. How are today's trade relations among the three continents of Africa, America and Europe similar or dissimilar to the earlier ones? Provide the reasons for any answer.

Contributions of mercantilism to industrialisation in Europe

Mercantilism was an essential phase in the development of capitalism. It contributed to industrialisation in many ways. The accumulation of capital, which formed the foundation for industrialisation, was one of the contributions of mercantilism to industrialisation. Mercantile activities contributed to industrialisation by accumulating vast amounts of capital which was reinvested in various European capitalistic sectors such as industry, financial institutions and agriculture. For example, the profit obtained from the slave trade went into developing commercial and industrial seaports of Britain, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and the like. The development of sectors such as industry marked the rise of capitalism in Europe.

Mercantilism also led to the promotion of science and technology. It played a significant role in the advancement of science and technology such as maritime technology. This technology led to trade expansion which also pressed for more technological development to suffice the needs created by mercantile commercial activities from various regions or continents, namely Asia, Africa and the Americas. Technological advancement meant industrialisation. The commercial contacts enabled technology transfer which contributed significantly to European industrialisation. For instance, the knowledge of textile production was acquired during trade contact with Indians in Asia.

Mercantilism contributed to industrialisation by ensuring the availability of raw materials for the evolving industries in many parts of Europe. Through mercantilism, important raw materials were made available for industrial development. Such raw materials included cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, silk, fur and indigo. These raw materials contributed to the Industrial Revolution, especially the textile industries,



which according to Hobsbawm were regarded as “the pacemaker” of the British industrialisation.

Mercantilism also contributed to industrialisation by expanding internal and external markets for industrial products. The availability of local and foreign markets largely contributed to the development of European industrialisation. Mercantile commercial activities established markets in the Americas, Africa and the Far East. This expansion created more demand for manufactured goods such as clothes, drinks, beads, looking mirrors, and ornaments from Europe, which necessitated more advancement in the industrial sector to satisfy this expanding market. For example, one of the expanded markets was the colonial market. British colonial population rose from 30,000 in 1700 to 3 million in 1776. This increase also meant the expansion of the market for British industrial commodities.

The development of mercantile towns and cities played a significant role in the rise of industrialisation in Europe. These towns acted as trade centres and ports for big exchange activities and landing cargoes, respectively. Therefore, they became large cities or trading towns and the epic centres of industrialisation and heavy international commercial transactions. Some examples of such towns were Manchester, Liverpool, Amsterdam, Naples, Florence and Vienna.

Mercantile financial institutions like banks and insurance companies similarly contributed to the rise of industrialisation in Europe. In the heyday of mercantilism, several financial institutions were set up to facilitate trade and commerce. Examples of these institutions included the Barclays Bank, established by two brothers David and Alexander in 1756, and the Lloyd Insurance Company, created in 1750 by Alexander Lloyd. These financial institutions played a vital role in promoting industrialisation in Europe since they lent capital to both traders and industrialists. Such capital was re-invested in industrial development. Some institutional structures that developed to serve mercantilism significantly aided the process of industrialisation. Such institutions were banks, insurance companies, capital markets and joint-stock companies.

The rise of capitalist business ethics also influenced the emergence of industrialisation in Europe. Before mercantilism, feudalism worked on social nexus, producing mainly for immediate consumption. Therefore, under the feudal system, production was not motivated by exchange value and profit-making. The lords instead produced for extravagant spending. However, the situation changed with the advent of mercantilism; the merchants began to produce for exchange value as they were motivated by profit maximisation under cash nexus. Cash nexus and profit maximisation became the



backbone of the capitalist production system, which had its roots in the merchants. Therefore, the rise of capitalist business ethics and the related factors as pointed earlier, essentially transformed capitalism from the mercantile stage to industrial capitalism in Europe.

Impacts of mercantilism on America and the Caribbean

Mercantilism had many impacts on the socio-economic and political set-ups of the Americas and Caribbean. These impacts resulted from the long historical relations created through colonisation, slave trade, and commercial exchanges. The following are the impacts of mercantilism on the Americas:

Mercantilism led to the colonisation of America and the Caribbean Islands. The discovery of the American continent by Christopher Columbus in October 1492 opened a new era of colonial domination of American states. For example, Britain colonised North America (today's USA), Jamaica and Trinidad. Portugal colonised Brazil. Spain controlled Argentina, Mexico, Peru and Chile while French and British controlled Canada. By the 18th century, the Americas and the Caribbeans were under the domination of the European mercantilist powers.

Mercantilism also led to the development of agricultural production in America. The presence of European merchants in America laid the foundation for establishing large-scale agrarian plantations, producing mainly tropical crops such as tobacco, sugarcane, tea and cotton. The agricultural plantations were primarily located in southern America, and they primarily used African slave labour. These farms were left to America by European merchants after the American independence in 1776. Hence, these farms significantly contributed to the US industrialisation, which later overturned Britain to become the new world superpower.

Urbanisation was another impact of mercantilism on America. The influence of European merchants and African slaves on different parts of America resulted in the emergence of big cities and towns such as (James Town) in Virginia, New York, and towns in Texas. Most of these towns developed because of the commercial centres that attracted many merchants to trade there. These became essential ports and trading centres which attracted millions of people from different parts of the world.

Additionally, mercantilism contributed to the rise of American industrialisation. The enslavement of Africans, which was one of the practices of mercantilism, became an essential source of labour to the American industrial development, particularly in northern America. The raw materials like cotton, sugar and tobacco produced by slaves in southern America fed the industries of the north owned by European merchants.



Thus, after the American independence, those industries were left to America and served as the starting point for American industrialisation.

Mercantilism also left social problems in America. It was the root of racism in America and the world at large. Slavery and the slave trade developed the culture of racism in America, resulting in the rise of struggles by the people of African origin to free themselves from racial injustice in the New World.

Furthermore, mercantilism led to intensive exploitation of American resources. The rise of mercantile activities in America was purposely introduced to exploit American resources like land, minerals, and human resources. These were essentially done to boost capitalist economic development in Europe. Therefore, the merchant economic demand exacerbated the transfer of crops, minerals and forest products from America to Europe for capitalistic industrial development. For example, Peru's gold was one case of the exploited resources to Europe, leaving the country increasingly poor.

Lastly, depopulation was another impact of mercantilism on America. Mercantilist activities in America depopulated the indigenous Americans, the Indian-Americans. Eurocentric scholars pejoratively referred to them as the 'Red Indians.' Many of them died because of the new diseases brought by mercantilism. These diseases included smallpox, measles and cholera. Furthermore, the plantation and mining economies killed many Indian-American labourers. They were forced to work in these unfamiliar areas. Thus, mercantilist activities in America marked the beginning of the decline of the Indian-Americans population in the Americas.

Activity 1.4



Conduct a library study on human trafficking from Africa to Europe and the Middle East. Then, write a short essay on the forces behind this human trafficking and how similar it is to that of the mercantile period.

The impact of mercantilism on Africa

Africa was directly integrated into the world capitalist system through mercantilism. Mercantilism in Africa appeared through the Triangular Slave Trade. Therefore, Africa was not spared from the impact of this integration. Some of the social, economic and political impacts of mercantilism included the following.

Mercantilism led to economic stagnation in Africa through the institutionalization of slave trade. Economic stagnation during mercantilism was connected to the loss of African labour-power, decline of agricultural activities, and the collapse of African



trade systems. Africa lost human labour-power through slave raiding. Many energetic young men and women were shipped to America, leaving back the aged and children who were economically non-productive, leading to economic underdevelopment in Africa. Furthermore, mercantilism led to the decline of agriculture in Africa. This was caused by the lack of human labour to engage in agricultural activities because the energetic people were enslaved. The decline in agriculture was also caused by panic and fear among African societies who were insecure partly due to violence and wars created by the slave trade. Therefore, they were always running and hiding, not fully engaging in agricultural production. Reduced production culminated in severe famine and hunger among many African societies, especially in West and Central Africa.

Mercantilism also led to the decline of African local and regional trade contacts. The African local and long-distance trade contacts were disrupted by the introduction of the Triangular Slave Trade. The most affected trade contact was the Trans-Saharan Trade. Some trading centres along this trade route like Timbuktu, Djenne and Gao disappeared due to the decline of the Trans-Saharan Trade. Therefore, the loss of African manpower, the decline of agriculture and the collapse of African indigenous trade triggered economic stagnation in Africa.

Mercantilism also exacerbated the intensive exploitation of African resources due to the introduction of unequal trade systems. These resources included agricultural products (palm), natural resources (gold), forest products (ivory) and slaves. In this system, African valuable items, especially natural products, were exchanged for European less valuable items, especially luxurious goods such as looking mirrors, spices, beads and destructive guns. Africa did not benefit from the trade. Instead, the Europeans were the ones who developed at the expense of Africans.

Technological stagnation was another impact of mercantilism in Africa. African local handcraft industries declined during the mercantile period because skilled craftsmen and Artisans were taken as slaves. African handcraft industries were left with no expertise. On the other hand, the European manufactured goods flooded the African markets. These goods out-competed the African locally-produced goods. Therefore, African goods remained unsold, leading to the collapse of African iron smelting industries, pottery, gold mining, and cloth-making industries in different parts of the continent.

Mercantilism integrated Africa's economy into the world capitalist economic system. The integration made African economies dependent on and responsive to the needs of world capitalism. This integration was done through the introduction of the slave trade, importation of European manufactured goods and unequal exchange. Therefore,



the integration destroyed the African self-sufficient economy and created grounds for the underdevelopment of Africa.

Politically, mercantile activities planted the seeds for the collapse of indigenous African political organizations. Some African states which had started to gain momentum during the transition from communalism to feudalism declined. For instance, states which benefited from the Trans-Saharan Trade all declined because of constant slave warfares.

Mercantilism created grounds for the future establishment of colonialism in Africa. This was facilitated by the influence of European traders, explorers and missionaries who collected important information related to African economic potentialities to feed and attract their mother countries and extend colonial domination over African states. Colonisation was evident after the abolition of the slave trade. Thus, in the 1880s, most African states were put under the control of European imperialist powers such as German East Africa (Tanganyika, Rwanda, and Burundi), Togo and Cameroon.

Mercantilism also led to the rise of African centralized states. This was possible in those societies which benefited from mercantile activities. For instance, some African societies specialised in selling war captives as slaves to acquire wealth and guns which helped them to expand and/or conquer the weak neighbouring states. For example, Asante, Oyo, and Dahomey consolidated themselves to become strong centralised empires at the expense of weak neighbouring states. Therefore, their participation in the slave trade partly gave them that advantage.

Depopulation was another impact of mercantilism. The slave trade led to massive trafficking of Africans to Europe and America to offer labour in European owned plantations and mining centres. About ten million African slaves were ferried to America. This reduced the socio-economic and political stability of the African continent due to loss of manpower, especially energetic youths aged between 15 and 35 years.

Mercantilism was also linked to the destruction of African culture. It interfered with African ways and values. The new interactions led by the European merchants brought with them Christianity and European manufactured goods which forced Africans to abandon their goods and culture such as traditional ceremonies, beliefs and wearing styles.



Exercise 1.4

1. What do you understand by the term *mercantilism*? Briefly explain its characteristics.
2. Explain how the European international trade system contributed to the underdevelopment of Africa.
3. Assess the impact of mercantilism on America.
4. Describe the contributions of Mercantilism to the development of capitalism in Europe

Africa's contribution to the development of capitalism in Europe and North America

The development of capitalism in Europe and North America is closely linked to the exploitation of African resources through international trade, especially the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade which developed during the mercantile period between the 15th and 18th centuries. During this period, Africa became part of the world system and acted as a source of raw materials, cheap labour (slave labour), areas for investment and markets for European industrial goods. In this relation, Europe and America benefited at the expense of the African continent.

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was the largest inter-continental human trafficking, whereby many African slaves were shipped to America and the Caribbean Islands. Africans offered labour-power in the European-owned agricultural plantations and mining centres. The trade involved the connection of three continents, namely Europe, which acted as a managerial and manufacturing zone; Africa, which acted as a market and labour reserve (slave labour); and America, which acted as a market and investment zone. The integration made a triangular shape as shown in Figure 1.1.

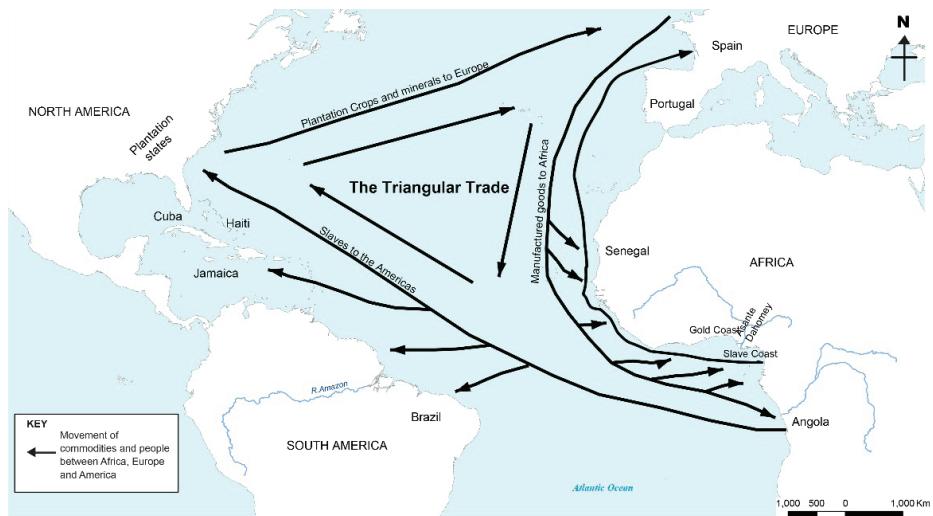


Figure 1.1: Triangular Slave Trade Routes across the Atlantic Ocean

Figure 1.1 illustrates the trade routes of the Triangular Slave Trade across the Atlantic Ocean. The European merchants took mainly African slaves from Africa to America to work in plantations and mining centres. They produced tropical agricultural products and minerals. These raw materials were then transported to Europe to feed European industries that manufactured finished goods which were then sold to America, Africa, and Europe.

Conditions that forced European merchants to take slaves from Africa to America and the Caribbean

The development of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Triangular Slave Trade) resulted from the development of navigation technology and merchant capital in Europe. The scientific study on winds and ocean currents revolutionised transport systems on water bodies, which in turn opened trade contacts among Europe, America and Africa (Triangular Slave Trade) under the following conditions:

The geographical discovery of the New World. The world exploration made by European sailors succeeded in 1492 after Christopher Columbus discovered the New World: The American continent with fertile land as well as gold and silver mineral deposits. This attracted both Portuguese and Spaniards who established gold and silver mines in Latin America, Sugar plantations in the Caribbean Islands and tobacco and cotton plantations in North and South America. The established agricultural plantation and mining centres needed African slaves labour.



Another condition was labour. All these European investments in America were made before the Industrial Revolution, and there were no machines thus, most production activities depended on human labour. In the beginning, the European merchants used the indigenous people as labourers, but they were affected by diseases and could not withstand harsh working conditions. Thus, many of them died. To address the problem, European investors turned to Europe, where their governments gave two types of labour, indentured labourers who were mostly poor whites and criminals who were long term prisoners or those sentenced to death. However, these also were affected with smallpox and died. Europeans also felt guilty of humiliating and oppressing their fellow Europeans in those tedious activities in the mining and plantation centres. As a result, Europeans turned to Africa for labourers. Those African labourers were energetic, resistant to tropical diseases and could withstand the harsh working conditions. Based on such experiences, the merchants started recruiting African slaves by ambush, kidnapping and forcing them to work in American agricultural plantations and mining centres.

The distance from Africa to America was also essential for taking Africans as slaves compared to people of other continents, especially Asia. Economically, transporting African slaves was relatively cheaper than other alternatives such as the coolies from Asia. It was economically profitable for European merchants to take African slaves.

Ways of obtaining slaves in Africa

Obtaining slaves involved the use of various ways: First, the use of warfare. In this regard, European merchants tricked neighbouring African societies into fighting. The war captives were then sold to them as slaves. For example, between 1726 and 1727, the Sudanic states of Dahomey were conquered by Oyo to get war prisoners or slaves for sale. Second, there was the selling of criminals. In this method, some Africans imprisoned for theft, adultery or witchcraft were condemned and, therefore, sold as slaves. Another way was raiding, kidnapping and ambushing. In this method, the slave raiders captured people from villages and sold them as slaves.

Trading relations between Africa, Europe and America and their impact

Trading relations between Africa and the outside world has a long history. However, the most visible trade relations with huge landmarks began in the 15th century. This trading relation involved three continents, namely Africa, Europe and America.

Before indulging in the details of the relations, it is important to understand the commodities which the European merchants obtained from Africa. It is worthy to



note that Africans did not take the initiative to leave their continent for Europe or America in search of overseas goods. Instead, European merchants came to trade with Africans. From Africa, the Europeans obtained commodities such as ivory, dyewood, gum, beeswax, gold, leather, slave and timber. From Europe, Africans received metal frying pans, second hand-clothes, cigarettes, wines, looking mirrors, footwear, guns and gun powder. Thus, Portuguese, Dutch, British, French and Spanish merchants were all trading with the people of the West African Coast from the 15th century.

Europeans migrated in thousands to the New World. In the 1520s, some European immigrants went to settle permanently in the Americas and Caribbean. They opened gold and silver mines as well as agricultural plantations in these areas. Such mines and plantations needed stable supplies of slave labour. These slaves had to be taken from Africa, hence the beginning of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. It is popularly known as the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade because it was conducted across the Atlantic Ocean. Sometimes, it was famously known as the Triangular Trade because it involved three continents, namely Africa, America and Europe. The trade contacts between those three continents created a triangular-like shape. Thus, it was named “Triangular Slave Trade.”

Africans did not benefit from the triangular slave trade. This is because the trading relations which developed were unhealthy for the development of the African economy. While Africa contributed to the development of Europe and the Americas, the African continent was left underdeveloped. Trade became the main source of early accumulation of capital in Europe. Principally, this trade contributed to the development of merchant capitalism. For example, in the 1770s European merchants were shipping about 190,000 slaves from Africa. About 160,000 slaves (84 per cent) were employed in sugar cane plantations in the Americas and Caribbean; they produced coffee, cotton, indigo and tobacco. Sugar cane plantations used a large population of slaves because sugar was highly demanded in Europe. The demand for sugar increased partly due to increased tea and coffee consumption which developed new sugar industries.

Between 1651 and 1854, Britain protected her sugarcane producers in her overseas empires by imposing heavy tariffs on foreign sugar. By 1750, France was offering bounties to French slave ships that left France for Africa to buy slaves. The French government made an additional payment for every slave to the French slave merchants landed alive in the French empires. Sugarcane was the most valuable commodity sent to France from the island of St. Domingo (St. Domingo). It was also the largest raw material imported into Britain from Jamaica.



Between the 17th and the 18th centuries, Britain was the leading nation in buying slaves from Africa and taking them to work in sugarcane plantations in Jamaica. The value of sugar rose from £ 630,000 between 1699 and 1701 to £ 2,364,000 between 1772 and 1774. The slaves from Africa produced all such wealth. In other words, all the wealth those slaves produced in the Americas and Caribbean went to Western Europe. Such wealth was then reinvested in agriculture and industries in Europe.

Important slave seaports and towns emerged. During the 18th century, Liverpool was Britain's main slaving port. Between 1700 and 1807, ships from Liverpool carried about 1.5 million Africans across the Atlantic. Most Liverpool ships went to the Caribbean islands, where captains sold Africans to plantation owners. In turn, the slave trade promoted shipbuilding industries in Britain. Liverpool became important because of her geographical position. It was the main outlet for Britain's industrial products to Africa and the New World.

Some state-chartered companies were formed in Europe to exploit the lucrative trade. They included the Dutch West Indies Company (1621), the French *Compagnie des Indes Occidentals* (1664), the French *Compagnie du Senegal* (1673), the French *Compagnie du Guinea* (1684) and the British West Indies Company. European merchants invested in these companies under the condition that they had to supply a fixed number of slaves each year from Africa to the New World.

In Central and South America, the gold and silver mined by African slaves were minted into coins. Europe entered the era of the money economy. Money was used to promote and develop industrial technology in Europe. James Watt, for example, was sponsored by the profits accumulated from the slave trade to manufacture the steam engine in 1769. The money was provided by a British plantation owner living in Jamaica.

Contribution of African slave labour to the development of capitalism in Europe and North America

The slave trade variably contributed to the development of both Europe and North America. African slave labour had social, economic and political impacts on both Europe and North America.

Europe

Industrialization in Europe was closely linked with the slave trade. The slave trade led to vast amounts of capital, raw materials and cheap labour, which later stimulated industrialisation in Europe. The money obtained from the slave trade was also used



to finance scientific innovations and research findings which put a landmark to the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

The expansion of trade and commerce also expanded the scope of European manufactured goods like mirrors, beads, guns and clothes. These goods were sold to different parts of the world through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade route. Thus, the European merchants who engaged in the slave trade became powerful and wealthy capitalists.

The growth of science and technology in Europe was motivated by the capital accumulated from the slave trade. The wealth obtained was used to finance scientific studies and technological discoveries, especially on the wind system, ocean currents, motor engines, machines and ship building to quicken the development of mercantile capitalism. This later had a positive push toward the development of industrial capitalism.

There was also the development of financial institutions like banks and insurance companies. Rich slave trade merchants invested in financial institutions that later became crucial capitalist infrastructure. These financial institutions were the Barclays Bank, established by two brothers David and Alexander Barclay in 1759 by using capital accumulated from the slave trade, and Lloyds Insurance Company. Both institutions were used to lend money to European capitalists. Hence, they speeded the development of capitalism in Europe

Trade had a vital contribution to the development of towns and cities in Europe. This was a common experience to the big trade centres and the European sea ports used for commercial transactions and landing of slaves during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. These emerged to become larger commercial centres and cities in Europe such as Paris, Liverpool, Amsterdam, Manchester and London.

North America

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade resulted in the establishment of large scale plantations of tobacco, sugar cane and cotton using African slave labour. This contributed to transforming the American agrarian sector by adopting scientific methods and farming techniques.

Industrial development in America was also a result of the availability of cheap labour of African slaves who ensured the production of agricultural and mineral raw materials to feed industries located in North America. They promoted development



in America by offering reliable labour to solve the earlier labour problems which faced European merchants at the advent of mercantilism.

Another impact was the stimulation of population growth in America due to the influx of European merchants and African slaves who were brought to offer labour in agricultural plantations and mining centres. The increase in population resulted in the growth of towns and market centres which expanded trade and commerce in America.

Moreover, the massive number of African slaves in America led to urbanisation and the growth of towns. Most coastal areas became large towns. The towns that emerged include Hawaii, Massachusetts, Miami and New York. These towns became influential trading centres and quickened development in the USA.

Effects of the slave trade on Africa

While the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was a blessing to Europe and North America, it was a disaster to Africa because it accelerated African underdevelopment in several ways.

The trade led to the loss of the African workforce for economic production. Africa lost her important able-bodied and skilled young men and women in the slave trade. A large number of Africans were exported to America and some to Europe, while millions of others died during the process of capturing and transportation. Africa was mostly left with children and the aged or handicapped, who could relatively not produce. This, therefore, marked the beginning of the underdevelopment of Africa.

The trade also led to the decline of African science and technology. The trans-Atlantic Slave Trade destroyed the African productive forces by creating slave warfare that discouraged the development of local African scientists due to the existence of fear and panic or taking away the brilliant Africans to America as slaves. This process eroded the bright African personnel who could spur the development of science and technology in Africa. Likewise, the trade involved importing European goods to Africa, which flooded the markets, leaving African-made goods market less. With the lack of market, African traditional industries were bound to fail, hence dwindling the development of science and technology.

The African agricultural sector was also left stagnant in its methods and outlooks. Taking the African workforce in the form of slaves left Africa with a critical shortage of labour power for the development of the agricultural sector. Thus, hunger and



famine became common phenomena in Africa. Many African children, the disabled and the aged died of malnutrition due to food crisis.

The slave trade also contributed to the decline of African local industries by importing European manufactured goods. These out-competed local African goods in the markets and destroyed the African arts of iron-workings, pottery, textiles, production of brass and weaving. The decline of African local industries was also associated with the shipment of the abled African handicraftsmen as slaves to America and Europe, leaving Africa with aged, young, handicapped and women. These could not fully participate in African handicraft industries since the industries required muscular and energetic people as they were mainly supported by hand technology.

Africa also witnessed the decline of the African local trade routes, which were instrumental for African development and trade transactions. Most of these routes experienced a drastic decline, immediately after the development of the Trans-Saharan Trade. For example, there was a decline in trade between the inland areas and the Mediterranean. The East African long-distance trade and Trans-Saharan trade declined because of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, which diverted the wealth and items to this new trade.

The trade was also based on unequal terms of exchange. Most European goods exchanged for African goods were consumer goods, with less value. Such goods included drinks, clothes, looking mirrors, beads and guns. However, Europeans collected valuable items such as animal skins and hide, ivory, gold, and human labour (slaves) from Africa. Therefore, this trade relation exploited Africa's natural and human resources through unequal terms of exchange.

The slave trade contributed to African political instability and the decline of some African states. This was due to the warfare, insecurity, and fear created by slave-raiding activities. African societies had no stability or continuity because of slave warfare. For instance, the Congo Kingdom collapsed because of Portuguese slave activities, and many more states in West Africa experienced the same fate due to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Activity 1.5



With the help of your history teacher in groups compare the effects of the current human trafficking to Europe and Middle East to those of the slave trade.



Abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

As noted earlier, from the mid-18th century, the Industrial Revolution in Europe first took place in Britain, the British attitudes towards slavery and the slave trade changed. Their attitudes shifted to investing in capital-intensive projects which could generate more profits. To them, the slave trade was no longer a sustainable project for the realisation of more profit. Thus, instead of being sold as commodities, those African slaves were to be left in Africa to produce raw materials like palm oil, cotton, cocoa and minerals to feed European manufacturing industries. Based on such changes in the British economic investments, the slave trade was legally abolished in the second half of the 19th century, although efforts and campaigns began in the 18th century. Two views account for the abolition of the slave trade: the economic theory (Afro-centric view) and non-economic theory (Euro-centric view). Generally, the Eurocentric view states that the slave trade was abolished because of humanitarian reasons, while economic theory argues that the slave trade was abolished because of economic reasons.

Non-economic theory (Euro-centric view)

The Eurocentric view for the abolition of the slave trade is based on humanitarian factors. The factors were first advocated by French philosophers like Voltaire (1694-1778), Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). These philosophers came up with liberal ideas of liberty, fraternity, equality and brotherhood which underscored humanity and slave trade as crimes against humanity. These liberal ideas enlightened and changed the mind-set and attitudes of European merchants towards black Africans and the slave trade. Thus, Africans were recognized as humans; not to be bought and sold as commodities.

The role of humanitarian societies led by the European influential personalities and groups such as William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, and Fowell Buxton also contributed to the abolition movement. These people through their groups devoted themselves to fight against all forms of injustice like slavery and the slave trade. They preached that all human beings were equal because they were all created by God. Thus, it was inhuman to enslave a fellow human being. Some of these movements ended up forming humanitarian societies like William Wilberforce's Social Reformers of 1787 which advocated for the abolition of the slave trade.

Moreover, the role of religious movements by European Evangelical bodies and groups contributed to the abolition of the slave trade. These groups condemned



slavery and the slave trade that it was inhuman since it caused many sufferings and deaths of African slaves. They believed that God created all human beings, and He was the only one with authority to take off human. Therefore, it was a sinful and evil act to conduct the slave trade. Among the prominent groups and evangelists who fought for the abolition of the slave trade were the Catholic Church, John Wesley and their allies.

The economic theory (Afrocentric View)

The Industrial Revolution of the 18th century in England was the main reason for abolishing the slave trade; it led to the development of the industrial or competitive capitalism. Industrial capitalism could not fit with slave labour. This was because slaves were considered a burden during the Industrial Revolution era as machines could now do slaves' jobs. Industrial capitalism also required free labour motivated by wages and not slaves tied up to slave masters. Industrial capitalism needed to advance the instruments of production for effective competition, but slaves could not handle the sophisticated tools because they were inherently destructive in nature. Lastly, industrial capitalism needed markets for their manufactured goods; therefore, the only source could be workers who received wages and could have purchasing power, contributing to more development of capitalism.

The competition over sugar markets between France and Britain also created grounds for abolishing the slave trade. Up to the 18th century, Britain dominated the sugar market. However, from the second half of the 18th century, France started producing sugar in Reunion and Mauritius using cheap Africa slave labour. Therefore, its production cost was low. Accordingly, they sold their sugar at a lower price than Britain did. French sugar out-competed British sugar in the European markets. This made Britain start campaigns for the abolition of the slave trade to deprive off the French East Indies source of cheap labour and therefore raise the cost of production, which would force France to sell her sugar dearly, giving a market advantage to the British who were already using machines in their production.

The American Independence of 1776 made Britain lose her important economic investments of agricultural plantations and mining centres in America. The end of the British monopoly of economic investments in North America reinforced Britain to advocate for the abolition of the slave trade since it was no longer beneficial to her. American investments in agriculture and mines mainly used slave labour. However, when America gained independence, there were no economic advantages to Britain to patron the same trade. Therefore, Britain started to campaign against the trade, which ended with its abolition.



Slave revolts also contributed to the abolition of the slave trade. With time, slaves realised that they were being highly exploited. Thus, they organized frequent revolts in the forms of protests and demonstrations against evils brought by slavery and the slave trade. They campaigned for its abolition. For example, slaves in the West Indies, frequently revolted against their masters. These frequent revolts became common in many areas where slave labour was dominant. Hence, they forced the patrons of slavery and the slave trade to think otherwise. For example, these revolts were seriously taken by the Republican Party under Abraham Lincoln and declared slavery and the slave trade illegal in America. Also, Anti-Slavery treaties were introduced in British colonies in 1834 in the Caribbean, Danish in 1847, French in 1848, and the Dutch in 1863. The treaties played a significant role in the abolition of the slave trade.

Exercise 1.5

Between the Eurocentric and Afrocentric views of the abolition of slavery and slave trade in Africa, which view do you think is the most convincing and why?

Effects of the abolition of the slave trade

The abolition of the slave trade was a long and gradual process. It took a long time partly because the trade was so profitable to the beneficiaries. This trade was also strongly rooted in many societies which were not ready to freely surrender. Slavery and slave trade proceeded even up to the early colonial period in some areas. However, the slave trade later ended. The end of the slave trade marked the beginning of “legitimate” trade. This was a new trade and economic system based on the exchange of agricultural and natural products like palm oil, rubber, animal skins, ivory, coffee, groundnuts, cocoa and minerals. This was a new form of exploitation of African resources by European merchants to feed their home industries. Thus, the so called legitimate trade carried elements of illegitimacy because the system was based on unequal terms of exchange. In this trade, Africans supplied Europeans with valuable agricultural and natural products while Europeans provided Africans with less valuable consumer goods like cigarettes, alcohol, beads and guns.

Another impact of the abolition of the slave trade was the influx of European explorers and missionaries in Africa under the umbrella of stopping the slave trade. Among other activities, missionaries spread Christianity and explored various areas of Africa. For example, German explorers and missionaries like Johann Ludwig Krapf and



Johannes Rebmann, of the Church Missionary Society, came to East Africa in 1844 and established a missionary centre at Rabai in Kenya. Besides, Christianisation, they established economic undertakings such as agricultural estates, which were important for industrial development at home.

Politically, the abolition of the slave trade resulted in the direct colonisation of Africa. The 1884/85 Berlin conference terms demanded the abolition of the slave trade by imperialist powers. European powers took it as an excuse for annexing African territories. For example, Britain took control of Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1874 and Nigeria in 1860; France controlled Porto Novo and Côte d'Ivoire in the 1880s to stop the slave trade.

Revision exercise 1

1. What were the problems associated with agricultural production in feudal Europe?
2. Account for the transition from open-field to enclosure systems of farming in Britain.
3. Assess the impacts of the enclosure system in Britain.
4. How did the Agrarian Revolution contribute to the rise of Capitalism in Europe?
5. Attempt a characterisation of Mercantilism in Europe between the 15th and 18th centuries.
6. Account for the rise of Mercantilism in Europe.
7. Assess the impacts of Mercantilism on Europe, America and Africa.
8. Examine the contributions of Mercantilism to the rise of Capitalism in Europe.
9. Why were Africans enslaved and taken to America and the Caribbean between the 15th and 18th centuries?
10. Discuss the role played by African labour in the development of European capitalism.
11. Analyse six effects of slave trade on Africa.
12. Evaluate the reasons for the abolition of slaves trade in Africa.

Chapter Two

Competitive capitalism and industrial revolutions in Europe

Introduction

This chapter continues with the discussion on the development of Capitalism in Europe. It pays attention to the second phase of Capitalism, also known as Industrial Capitalism, which went hand in hand with industrial revolutions. This phase was dominant from the 1750s to the 1870s. In this chapter, you will learn about the concept of Competitive Capitalism, the Industrial Revolution in Britain, and the rise of working-class movements. You will also learn about the spread of the Industrial Revolution to other countries and how this in turn promoted the rise of Competitive Capitalism. The competencies developed will enable you to analyse the rise of Competitive Capitalism and industrial revolutions as processes associated with the rise of Capitalism in Europe.

The concept of Competitive Capitalism

Competitive Capitalism, also known as Industrial Capitalism or *Laissez-faire* Capitalism, according to V. I. Lenin, is the second phase of capitalism after mercantile capitalism. Competitive Capitalism was directly associated with industrial development in Europe. Under this system, private individuals (the bourgeoisie) exclusively owned the major means of production, which was industrial capital. Hence, the system was characterised by the existence of new social classes, namely the owners of the major means of production, the capitalists or bourgeoisie and the producers, the workers or proletariats. The system began in Britain in the second half of the 18th century where the Industrial Revolution was first experienced. However, it became a more dominant system in the 19th century when industrialization spread almost all over Europe and the US. It is referred to as Competitive Capitalism due to competition that existed in industrial production between and among, the capitalists and, the industrial capitalist nations. This phase was characterised by free trade competition among industrial capitalists, particularly in area of industrial production. At this stage of capitalism, the export of manufactured goods and the import of raw materials became the cornerstone of the European economy.



The economic system of Competitive Capitalism was based on the Free Trade Policy. The policy resonated with the ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. According to Adam Smith's popular book *The Wealth of Nations* published in 1776, all business and economic activities are regulated with the laws of supply and demand and the law of competition. Adam Smith insisted that governments in the world should not interfere in the economic life of the people. People are to be free to produce and export industrial products. Once such freedom was granted, the result would benefit everyone. Factory workers would have jobs; factory owners would get profit; likewise, buyers would receive better quality goods at lower prices. Like, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, in his book *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* published in 1817, stated that workers' wages needed to be determined by the laws of supply and demand.

The ideas of Adam Smith and David Ricardo were followed and implemented by almost all European nations between 1830 and 1865. Britain was the first to adopt a Free Trade policy in the 1830s. In 1846, Britain declared a free trade policy as a new policy of the national economy. By this policy, Britain removed import duties from all imported goods. This enabled English factory owners to obtain raw materials from Britain's overseas colonies more cheaply. The same factory owners sold their finished goods more profitably. Britain repealed the Corn Laws in 1846 and the Navigation Acts in 1849. These changes enabled England to import more food to feed factory workers. English commerce became free. In 1851, England conducted the first international exhibitions of the fruits of her industrial progress in London. Many European countries went to London for learning and copying. In 1860, France and Britain made the first negotiations to make their nations a free trade zone. Both countries witnessed a full development of industrial capitalist system.

Basic characteristics of competitive capitalism

- (a) The emphasis was on export of commodities to non-capitalist countries and import of raw materials from those peripheral countries to the metropolitan countries. At this phase, the Industrial Revolution led to massive production of goods which demanded large and profitable markets. At the same time, those industries in Europe needed bulky raw materials to feed them. Hence, the system was characterised by the export of commodities from industrialized countries and the import of raw materials from non-capitalist countries of Africa, Latin America, and Asia.
- (b) During this phase, there was the mechanisation of production. The scientific and technological advancements experienced from the 18th century to the 19th

century resulted in the mechanisation of most industrial production. These scientific and technological advancements called for the Industrial Revolution, which was the mother of Competitive Capitalism. Thus, massive industrial production was experienced in Europe.

- (c) The formation and development of two social classes, namely the owners of the major means of production, the capitalists or bourgeoisie and the producers who mainly lived by selling their labour-power, the workers or proletariats. This phase of capitalism marked a clear distinction between the two classes. The capitalist directly exploited the worker by lengthening working hours and paying them low wages. The two classes developed irreconcilable conflicts.
- (d) The rise of industrial working-class movements and organisations became common in Europe during this phase. Due to capitalist exploitative tendencies, workers came up with their organisations to demand for their rights, such as better working conditions and better salaries. Thus, the period was characterised by the mushrooming of workers' movements and organisations. For example, Luddism, Chartist and Trade Unionism were vivid examples of solving class movements in England in the 19th century. Labour Party was created in England in 1900 and Social Democratic Labour Party (SDP) was formed in Germany in 1867. Likewise, France experienced the first workers' revolution, the Paris Commune, in 1871.
- (e) The nature of enterprises was small and competitive as both were at the initial stage of development. Many enterprises had small capital. Many enterprises produced goods of their interests. They unlimitedly produced and sold their products anywhere. Thus, there was an unlimited competition between and among those enterprises. At that stage, monopolies had not yet emerged to eliminate others from production.
- (f) The state played a minimal role in the production process as it was left to individuals. The government practised a "*Laissez-faire*" policy by which demand and supply were the driving force for the economy. Generally, competitive capitalism practised free trade. There was no market monopolisation, embargo or trade tariffs. This implies that there were limited and minimal trade barriers. In this period, the economy was not protected against other countries. Therefore, trade restrictions in the form of higher tariffs were not enforced. Countries traded with each other freely.



The concept of Industrial Revolution

Industrial Revolution refers to the series of technical changes that transformed industrial production from cottage to factory system. It involved a complex process that brought dramatic social, economic, technological and political changes in human history. Generally, the Industrial Revolution entailed the beginning of higher growth rates of industrial production; cumulative structural changes in the economy; and the complex relationships such as changes in class structure and relations, urbanisation and emergence of new political institutions.

Phases of the Industrial Revolution

Between the mid 18th and the late 19th centuries, Industrial Revolution evolved into two main phases, notably the First Industrial Revolution and Second Industrial Revolution.

The First Industrial Revolution (1750s - 1840s)

This period witnessed the beginning of structural transformations in the history of European industrialisation. To historians, these transformations were categorically associated with the emergence of the First Industrial Revolution, which existed between the 1750s and 1840s. This phase was characterised by initial innovations. The industry at this phase focused on producing consumer goods, primarily dominated by textile industry. Before providing the details of the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, it is better to highlight its background.

The cottage system (Putting-out system)

The cottage industry was a small-scale industry with light machines that applied simple technology. Its labour force consisted of family units or individuals working at home with their own equipments. Under this system, the methods of production were old (pre-industrial) techniques. The production of goods was increased through employing more labour and lengthening labour time (longer working hours). The cottage system was characterised by the putting-out system, which predominated the pre-industrial period. Under this system, the producers (craftsmen or artisans) did not involve themselves in selling their goods. Rather, they put them out for middlemen to sell them to the market. Having sold the goods taken from the craftsmen, the middlemen also bought back raw materials and put them out for craftsmen to produce more goods. Accordingly, this industrial system was called the putting-out system. It preceded the Industrial Revolution and it was very influential during the mercantile capitalist era.



Features of the cottage system

The cottage system achieved some mechanisation, but it was rather primitive and piecemeal. Mechanisation was mainly powered by animals, wind and water. Its production was dominated by hand technology, because it involved the use of manual labour. Cottage industries used simple machines operated by hand. This usually resulted in slow and low production of industrial goods.

The cottage system operated in the putting-out system, which meant that the producer (craftsman or artisan) did not sell, and the seller (merchant) did not produce. Hence, there was no direct participation of producers and sellers in the whole production process as Industrial Capitalism. While craftsmen controlled production, merchants acted as middlemen who facilitated the exchange of commodities. This was quite different from Industrial Capitalism, whereby the capitalist controlled all processes from production to the selling of goods.

The guild system guided the cottage system. This system was based on an apprenticeship as an entry qualification to specialisation such as craftsmanship. Entering into a specialization was a very restrictive process which demanded very serious training. This system was dominant in towns. Hence, under this system, occupational specialization was strictly by training and experience. The guild system was established to protect and safeguard the interests and rights of a group of certain handicraftsmen like tailors and weavers.

In the cottage system, industries were locally organised. Such industries were located at home. The labour unit was a family. The family remained both an economic and social unit. It was a domestic system of production as home life and workers were closely related. Producers tended to use simple technology to address the needs of people. Thus, this kind of industrial undertaking was simple and financed by a small capital. Most industries were located in the villages and river valleys. The towns served mainly as commercial centres, which were under a strict guild system. Thus, many industries shifted to villages to escape from the guild restrictions. Likewise, most industries under the cottage system were powered by water and wind power technologies. Water could be easily obtained in the river valley, hence, industries were located along those river valleys.

Proletarianization of the producers was a widespread phenomenon preceding the factory production system. Cottage system went hand in hand with proletarianization of independent producers. Many peasants lost ownership and control of the means of production through the enclosure system. On the other hand, the merchant



manufacturers loaned the producers (craftsmen or artisans) who became indebted under the putting-out system. These independent producers were impoverished, and they had no option for livelihood, but to become proletarians. Similar proletarianization process happened to the impoverished land lords.

The transition from cottage to factory system, 1750s-1870s

Activity 2.1



With a help of library research, each student should:

- (a) Compare the relationship between agriculture and industrial development as it evolved in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries and in Tanzania during the post-colonial period and comment on that relationship.
- (b) Share the findings with your classmates in class.

As noted earlier, before the Industrial Revolution, production of goods was done under cottage industries, which were small scale industries. They were usually run manually at home. Under this system, production was slow and inefficient. However, the cottage industries struggled to keep pace with the growing demand due to the increase of population. As a result, entrepreneurs and inventors sought ways to increase production, which ultimately led to the invention of the factory system in the mid-18th century. The factory system was a manufacturing system based on the concentration of industries in specialised and often large establishments. In short, this is defined as a system of industrial production whereby all operations and production processes are under one roof. The system developed in the course of the industrial revolution in Britain and later in other Western European powers.

From the mid-18th century, the factory system was associated with the following features: (a) industries increasingly got concentrated in towns, (b) there was an increased mechanisation of industrial processes, especially the use of steam power, and (c) ownership of factories became concentrated in fewer hands. By the late 18th century, there were significant observable transformations or developments. Production increased through improvement of production techniques such as improving labour productivity. Karl Marx calls it “revolution in Department I Industries,” which produced consumer goods (produced for immediate use).

Activity 2.2

Guided by your history teacher, do a library research on the significance of the cottage system to the development of factory system in Western Europe.



Britain as the first country to industrialise in Europe

Britain was the first country to undergo industrialisation in Europe. She was, therefore, the first country to experience the Industrial Revolution. Britain had no examples to emulate. Then, question arises: why did Britain, and not any other country, industrialise first? This question calls for the examination of internal dynamics of industrial development within Britain and the external forces which hastened the whole process of industrialization. In this regard, we should identify Britain's relative advantage over others. The following were the reasons for British industrialisation.

The first reason was its geographical position. Being an island, Britain was safer, especially during the war. It was geographically isolated. While other European nations living close to each other concentrated in fighting, Britain concentrated on production and capital accumulation, which strengthened her economy. Britain accumulated much capital and raw materials from overseas trade and supplied goods to other European nations who were fighting.

Moreover, Britain's environment was endowed with plenty of rare natural resources, such as coal and iron. These essential resources became important for industrialisation. For instance, coal was the most important source of energy. It revolutionised steam power (steam engine), which was very important for industrialisation.

Likewise, Britain had good harbours, rivers and canal systems, and well-developed marine transport systems. By the early 19th century (1820), England had 40 per cent of the world's shipping companies. Through these transport networks, England easily got raw materials to feed her industries, cheaply transported labourers to the production areas and cheaply transported manufactured goods to the market centres. Other European powers had no such advantages.

The Agricultural Revolution was another reason for British industrialisation in Europe by the mid-18th century. The agrarian transformation took place because of adoption of the new methods of farming (crop rotation), use of agricultural machinery (seed drill), new crops (clover; fodders) as well as new animal breeds. All these increased agricultural production thereby leading to abundance of raw materials such as wool to feed the growing woollen industries in Britain. The Agricultural Revolution increased food production, which made people comfortable and healthy. This led to rapid growth population that acted as labourers and buyers. Through enclosures, the agrarian revolution purposely created labour force that was instrumental in industrial development in Britain. Therefore, under these circumstances, industrialisation was relatively guaranteed in England.



The remarkable success in mercantile trade and commerce largely contributed to British industries in Europe. From about the mid-17th century, Britain accumulated huge capital, which was later invested in industrialisation. Ways such as enslavement (slave trade), plundering (piracy and looting), navigation acts, unequal exchange, colonisation and the enclosure system were responsible for capital accumulation. For instance, by the 18th century, Britain had the lion's share of the world colonial possessions. She was controlling almost twenty-five per cent of the world colonies. She had colonies in the Caribbean, Australia, Canada and the Americas. In these colonies, she produced raw materials such as sugar, cotton, and tobacco. These were prime movers of British industrialisation. These colonies also acted as ready-made markets for her manufactured commodities. This assured Britain's realisation of super profits through unequal rates of exchange. Thus, by the second half of the 18th century, Britain had accumulated vast amount of wealth which was invested in the industrial development.

A cluster of inventions and innovations was another critical factor for Britain's industrialisation. The inventions and innovations were the impetus for industrialisation because they advanced new machines and production methods. One industrial branch that received enormous development in innovation in the 18th century was the textile industry, especially the spinning sector. A new method of iron extraction was also another area that experienced a massive transformation. In 1783-84, the puddling and rolling method of extracting iron was invented. Coal was also used instead of charcoal in iron smelting. Since coal was a more efficient fuel, iron became cheaper and quicker to produce. Large ironworks were then located in coal fields which saved forests. The availability of cheap and abundant iron ore stimulated growth in other industries like machine building, shipbuilding, construction, hardware, and agriculture. The steam engine was another important innovation in the second half of the 18th century. It had a far-reaching impact on industrialisation without which the industrial revolution could be delayed.

The government also contributed to the emergence of British industrialisation. It passed favourable trade and economic policies that positively supported a steady growth and stability of the economy. The government practised maximum intervention to its merchants and ensured a peaceful environment for people to do their business effectively. The government also strategically protected and promoted the British merchants with no or minimal internal tariffs. For example, it enacted many laws to protect them and their wealth (trade) favourably. The Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 serve as examples of such laws. With their government's help, British merchants freely and comfortably traded domestically and internationally to become the most



dominant merchants in the mid-17th century. This dominance gave them advantages over other western powers in capital accumulation.

The rapid development of financial institutions also accelerated the pace of British industrialisation. From the early 17th century, Britain enjoyed the recommendable pace of capital accumulation through primitive accumulation. It was among the first countries to establish and develop very strong financial institutions such as banks and insurance companies with this capital. These institutions were crucial pillars of industrialisation in Britain. Banks such as Barclays provided capital in the form of loans to assist upcoming capitalists in investing and reinvesting in industrial development. Equally significant, insurance companies, like the Lloyd Insurance Company, assured and instilled peace of mind and confidence in merchants to invest heavily in big ventures such as industrialisation because insurance covered the security of their capital (assets) and production. Therefore, the development of these institutions was one of the instrumental forces for British industrialisation, contrary to other western powers whose financial institutions' development was still infant. Other visibly well-developed institutions in England and later vital to industrialisation were joint-stock and stock (market) exchange companies.

The Demographic Revolution played an important role in the emergence of British industrialisation. In the 18th century, Britain experienced a rapid population growth due to the agricultural revolution. Agricultural development guaranteed enough food production and a comfortable life to people. Then, the high population created a high demand for industrially manufactured goods, thus ensuring a reliable market. It also provided cheap labour to the industries as many town dwellers sought jobs, and others were employed in rural commercial agriculture to produce raw materials. With all these, the Industrial Revolution was guaranteed in Britain.

The great success in business ethics and entrepreneurial skills also contributed to the development of British industrialisation. Britain which had many entrepreneurs with good capitalist business ethics and trading skills, developed from their experiences in international trade since the 15th century. These people knew how enterprises could be managed to realise super-profits. In this regard, capitalist ethics and spirits were developed earlier in Britain than in other western European powers. This gave an advantage to Britain to start a cash nexus which is the backbone of capitalistic industrial development. This differed from other powers that proceeded with a social nexus of feudal relations for a long time, inhibiting their efforts to achieve industrialisation. With abled entrepreneurs, Britain easily and swiftly entered into industrialization. These entrepreneurs promoted industrialisation because they had both capital and experience in investment and profit-making in the society.



The Industrial Revolution and the rise of working-class movements in England

From the Marxist point of view, a worker or a proletariat is defined as a person who does not own any means of production such as factories, machines, land, mines, buildings, or vehicles. Still, he/she survives by selling his/her labour power for wages. A working-class movement is a group of workers or wage earners having the same interests of struggling against exploitation and oppression in their areas of work (industries and farms). The shift towards industrialisation often led to poor living and working conditions, such as overcrowded housing and poor sanitation for the workers. Moreover, many new unskilled jobs could be performed equally well by women, men, or children. Thus, factory wages were driven down to subsistence levels. As such, factories were characterised by poor working conditions, long working hours and low wages. From the early 19th century, these harsh conditions gave rise to working-class movements in which workers struggled to improve their conditions through collective actions.

The factory and workers' protests

Industrialisation created a new environment for work. During the First Industrial Revolution, the transition from cottage to factory systems concentrated workers in big industrial units in emerging industrial towns. The workers were incorporated into a specialised division of labour where they performed only a tiny part of the total labour going into production. At the same time, the instruments of production were concentrated in the hands of a small class of industrial capitalists. A new form of industrial discipline had to be elaborated and imposed. The previously “free” workers started working under the threat of economic deprivation during the First Industrial Revolution.

In the early period of industrialisation, the new industrial working class was less organised, except that in the traditional industries which had gained experience in the guild system. These workers faced many problems, and they reacted by making protests. Early industrial workers made three types of protests. Firstly, they used peaceful strikes. This type of protest was very rare. Secondly, they reacted by presenting petitions to the King, Parliament, and the magistrate. This type of protest was an appeal to the traditional authority for solving their grievances. For example, up to 1809, the magistrates had the power to fix wages. Usually, this form of protest was unsuccessful. It was the practice during the paternalist order of society that was then passing away. Thirdly, they reacted by rioting. The majority of the workers preferred rioting. This was because petitioning did not yield expected results. At the same time, workers' movements or a combination were in most cases forbidden by law.



Combination laws forbade workers to join together to force employers to pay better wages and improve working conditions. Such laws were passed at different times during the 18th century and early 19th century. These laws against combinations or grouping or association culminated into the General Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800. These Acts made all combinations illegal. Those who acted contrary to these laws were prosecuted. Those who were convicted were severely punished. Regarding the pattern of protests, rioters usually attacked persons or the property of their employers. They also attacked those workers who offered to work while others were on strike. There were usually two types of riots: (a) riots aimed at protecting the worker against wage cuts and (b) riots aimed at protecting workers against the threat of new machinery or factory system. Such protests led to machine breaking events. Although riots in the 18th century mainly occurred in secrecy, the latter manifested themselves openly in the early 19th century. The most famous episode of violent protests was known as Luddism, which is described in more detail below.

Luddism or Luddite Movement, 1811-1817

Luddism was the name given to groups of workers in England who were organised to destroy manufacturing machines, believing that the machines caused unemployment. In short, the Luddite movement was the widespread machine breaking movement from 1811 to 1817. It was an underground movement whose membership was subject to the administration of oaths. The movement was named after its legendary leader, General Ned Ludd, who signed threatening letters sent to employers and government leaders. In reality, the movement was not unified as workers of different employers or industries fought in isolation. Thus, perhaps many General Ludds were organising different groups of workers in England. If there was one Ludd, the movement would be unified under his leadership. However, it would be very naive to describe the Luddite movement as a blind opposition to machinery. What was at issue was the freedom of the capitalist to destroy trade customs. Capitalism destroyed occupation by new machinery, the factory system, or by lowering wages and undermining standards of craftsmanship. The new capitalist system angered workers who witnessed very dramatic changes, which were negative to them.

Causes of the Luddite movement

Many causes were responsible for the rise of the Luddite movement in England. Some of the factors were as follows:

The economic depression and its impact on England: Luddism was a very active movement during the depression, especially between 1811 and 1812. The economic



depression resulted from many events such as the Napoleonic Wars. France imposed Napoleon's Continental System during the wars, which practically blockaded British trade with continental Europe. England retaliated by introducing the British Orders-in-Council, which blockaded trade with France and her allies.

There were also the American Embargo Act of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809. These two American Acts virtually closed the American market to British manufacturers. Thus, all these disrupted the market for British textiles. As a result, the industries of Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands were stagnant. The British textile industry was the most affected sector, negatively affecting the workers whose salaries were lowered. The employers reduced wages and introduced labour-saving devices such as power-looms and shearing frames. These devices economised on labour and cheapened their value. Thus, they seriously offended the working class. Hence, Luddism erupted from the economic difficulties that emerged because of these economising strategies.

Crop failure also led to Luddism. The failure raised the prices of food (bread), which led to the bread crisis. The crisis became even deeper in 1801 when Russian Tsar Paul I imposed an embargo on British ships and their crews in his spheres of influence. This embargo meant that the bread scarcity became worse because Britain could not import wheat and flour from the Baltic state, which substituted as alternative sources during hard times. With the Russian embargo, England could not access this area. As a result the price of bread kept rising from 1801 to 1813. The higher price of bread had negatively affected many workers who were paid meagre salaries. Thus, many poor families starved. Under this circumstance, workers organised themselves against the system through the Luddite movement.

Unemployment caused by the inventions of machines and factories also triggered the outbreak of the Luddite movement in England. In this regard, human and animal labour was replaced with machines. Thus, many workers were laid off. There were no more employment opportunities in the new industrial system. Thus, workers came up with the Luddite movement to show their discontents with the new machines.

Luddism was also influenced by the intensive exploitation of workers by industrial capitalists. Industrial owners concentrated much on profit maximisation on the expenses of workers' interests. With this new capitalist industrial system, workers were exploited in two main ways: they were lowly paid and subjected to long working hours. The wages paid were lower than the output they produced in the factories. Besides, workers worked for long hours, ranging from 14 to 16 hours which exhausted them. The workers were not paid for the extra working hours. Such maximum exploitation



compelled workers in England to rise against the new capitalistic industrial system.

Poor living and working conditions constituted other grievances that forced the Luddites to resist a new industrial system. One of their demands was going back to their pre-industrial customary life, which was noiseless, clean and better. These claims were against what happened with the new factory system that caused massive pollution. The Industrial Revolution caused air, water and noise pollution. These had negative health impacts on poor workers whose settlements were overcrowded, hence, substandard homes with poor sanitation. All these led to diseases such as cholera and dysentery. As a result, the workers demanded the return to their old lifestyle of handlooms.

Organisation of the movement

The organisation of the Luddite movement was a bit complex. The movement was greatly secretive, organised mainly during the night. Membership into the movement was by the administration of an oath. Members took a solemnly oath to keep the secret about the movement. The Luddites mainly attacked machines using a big hummer called Enoch Taylor. The pattern of attacks went as follows: (a) There were threatening letters signed by General Ludd. These letters were sent to employers as alerts for their calls to make necessary changes, failure to which they were liable to the Luddite attacks. (b) Letters were then followed by the actual breaking of machines, which was done by small, disciplined groups whose members were armed with clubs, sticks, swords, guns, pistols, hatchets and hammers. The groups moved swiftly and quietly from village to village or from factory to factory at night, destroying the machines.

Strengths of Luddism

The Luddite movement started in March 1811, both in towns and the countryside. The movement was active between 1811 and 1812 when England was in the deep economic depression. Minor and scattered Luddite outbreaks continued to occur until 1817. In essence, the Luddite movement systematically smashed machines that were putting handicraft workers into poverty and starvation. The movement mainly happened in the Textile industrial towns. The signal for Luddism came first from framework knitters in the Midlands. The movement was more evident in the Midlands (Nottingham, Derbyshire and Leicester); South Yorkshire and Lancashire. Generally, Luddism was not a blind protest. It was not even a form of primitive trade unionism. According to Edward P. Thompson (1963), *The Making of the English Working Class*, some Luddites were the most articulate of the industrious classes. A few had read Adam Smith (a Scottish political economist), and more had studied



trade union law. Furthermore, croppers, stockings, and weavers could manage a complex organisation; all had dealings with Parliament via their representatives. Moreover, croppers and shearers were skilled and privileged workers. They were among the aristocracy of the woollen workers. Weavers and frame-work knitters were out-workers with long artisan traditions.

These workers were aware that their status had been made insecure by the introduction of machines, which could change them overnight from elite into an order of men who were not relevant to the manufacturing industry. They believed that protection against displacement by machinery was their constitutional right. The Luddites smashed only those machines or frames which manufactured under-priced or cut-up works.

Being the first organised workers' movement in Britain, Luddism brought more lessons and consciousness to workers and society. It exposed the evils of capitalistic exploitation as the main discontents of workers and how they were supposed to respond to them. In this respect, Luddism laid a foundation for developing other workers' movements such as Trade Union, Chartism and New Model Trade Unionism. Therefore, the legacy of Luddism has remained essential in the history of working-class movements in Britain and the world at large.

Despite its achievements, Luddism had several inherent weaknesses, which contributed to its failures:

The Luddite movement lacked an effective leader. The movement had no single unified leadership. Even the said leader General Ned Ludd has never been proven to have led the movement. It seemed there were many unknown Ludds. Available evidence does not suggest the presence of this leader leading as a unitary movement. In this regard, the movement was in most instances directionless because it lacked a strong leader with a well-defined philosophy and ideology. This was one of the significant weaknesses of the movement, which contributed significantly to its failure.

The movement also failed since most Luddites were poor. What they got was a minimum wage to support their daily survival. This financial constraint made them fail to manage and finance their activities in good order; thus, it weakened the movement to a total failure.

Another weakness was ineffectiveness and lack of consistency. The movement was not consistent because sometimes the Luddites were active, especially when the economic crisis erupted. When the wages and working conditions were somewhat improved, they stopped their movement. This weakened the movement because it lacked continuity and cohesiveness.



The limited scope of the Luddite movement laid a foundation for its failure. The movement was done in isolation. It was localised and restricted to certain areas with many factories such as Lancashire, the Midlands and South Yorkshire. It was not nationwide. To other workers, it seemed like it was none of their business. It was only for those in the textile industrial towns. It just involved a few labourers who reacted against their employers in isolation. This situation enabled the government to easily contain them.

The government repression also contributed to the failure of Luddism in England. The government acted against the movement so repressively and oppressively. It stood with the capitalists and perceived the Luddite movement as a crime against the system or state, private property, dangerous to the English economy. Thus, those who were found and caught organising the movement were severely punished by the government. All the early movements were declared illegal. For instance, in 1812, the government passed a law that made the breaking of machines a capital felony. This government repression weakened the movement; thus, it was bound to fail.

Luddism was conducted when workers had no enough experience in organising mass movements. They had, therefore, low level of class consciousness. For instance, the Luddites failed to unite against the common cause. The minimal level of consciousness affected their unity. Thus, only workers of the same factory or occupation rose against their employer. Disunity, therefore, became one of the major stumbling blocks in organising a strong working-class movement.

Luddites looked backwards to old customs and paternalist legislation, which could never be revived. The movement wanted the revival of pre-industrial customary life. They wanted the old technology which was under the cottage system to prevail. This was largely impossible. This was fighting against time and the reality of progress.

Exercise 2.1

What is the significance of studying the Luddite Movement in Tanzanian schools?

Chartism or the Chartist Movement, the 1830s -1850s

Chartism was a nationwide working-class movement that agitated parliament reforms to achieve the socio-political demands of industrial workers in England. The chartists aimed to gain political rights and influence for the working classes. The movement got its name from the People's Charter that listed the six political demands. It was



the first movement to be both working class in character and national in scope. It grew out of protests against the injustices of the new industrial and political order in Britain. The development of this movement can be summarised into three broad phases:

- (a) The formative phase of Chartism, 1829-37: This was a period when the ground was being laid for the movements before it assumed a mass national character;
- (b) The popular phase of Chartism, 1838-42: This was a period when the movement assumed a national character and came into direct confrontation with the might of the ruling class; and
- (c) The decline and disintegration of Chartism, 1843-50: The movement lost its cohesiveness. However, there were some episodes in this period when Chartism once again resumed its mass national character. However, these were essentially insignificant.

The Rise of Chartism

The chartist movement used various strategies to present its demands and interests to the government. The most dominant strategy was presenting the petition to Parliament. Chartism presented three petitions to Parliament in its course of struggles, and all petitions were summarily rejected. The first petition was presented to Parliament in June 1839 with over 1.25 million signatures. The second petition was presented in May 1842, signed by over three million people. In April 1848, a third and final petition was presented. Besides the petition, the movement used riots, such as the riot of 1839 in Birmingham which pressed for the government to accept the petition. Furthermore, strikes and demonstrations, national conventions, newspapers (*the Northern Star*) and pamphlets were used to awaken workers to demand their primary interests and rights. Land Plan Project was also used to enrich the workers to become independent from the capitalist tentacles of exploitation. This project began in the mid-1840s, and failed in the 1850s.

Causes of the Chartist

The Chartist movement was a products of many causes and discontents. The first cause of Chartism was the impact of the British Reform Act of 1832. In the 2-year campaign for the Reform Bill, from 1830, workers collaborated with the Whig Party, which represented the interests of the rising industrial bourgeoisie (middle class) against the Tory Party, which represented old feudal interests based on landed gentry. The industrial bourgeoisie was still largely excluded in Parliament and therefore

had no political power to meet their rising economic power. During the agitation, the middle class drafted in working-class crowds to frighten the old ruling class. For instance, they campaigned for the abolition of rotten boroughs (constituencies that could elect an MP despite having very few voters, the choice of MP typically being in the hands of one person or family) and extension of the vote to all people with property. The Reform Act of 1832 indeed increased the political power and influence of the middle classes. However, after the Reform Act, the working class felt betrayed by the bourgeoisie because nothing changed in their part. For example, the bourgeoisie still suppressed trade unionism and the working-class press. They also refused to repeal the Newspaper Stamp Act of 1819. In this regard, the working class conducted their independent movement against the industrial capitalist system, which was both exploitative and oppressive. This marked the beginning of the independent working-class movement called Chartism.

The New Poor Law was another important cause of the Chartist movement. This law stemmed from an amendment of the Old Poor Law in 1834. The New Poor Law oppressed and humiliated the poor (who were mainly workers). This is because the Old Poor Law, passed in 1597 and 1601 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, gave authority to parishes to charge rates to raise money for relieving the poor. Under this law, the parishes could relieve the poor according to the local circumstances. However, the amended law responded to the needs of the capitalists (middle class) who complained that the poor relief was too lavish. This extravagance, they argued, encouraged the poor to remain idle. To them, poverty (unemployment) resulted from working-class laziness. Thus, they advocated a less generous poor law to combat working-class idleness.

Consequently, the law was amended in 1834. The New Poor Law came up with unfriendly provisions for the poor. For example, the new law repealed the mandate that parishes could provide relief to the poor. It also created a workhouse test for all able-bodied paupers. That is, outdoor relief for able-bodied paupers was abolished. They had to go into a workhouse where families were separated. The workhouses were hated by working men; they were nicknamed 'prison.' Lastly, it introduced the principles of 'less eligibility and deterrence.' The amount of relief given was to be less than the lowest wage offered in the labour market. The idea was to deter people from seeking relief before they sought work. It was based on the wrong belief that those who sought relief were lazy. The working class generally hated the law. For example, when the law was introduced in the North in 1837, the protest was intensely carried by public demonstrations, petitions and anti-Poor Law literature. This was common to most English towns from the mid-1830s. These protests gave rise to



the Chartist movement in England. When the economic depressions started late in 1836, the feelings of this aggrieved working class were further aggravated. Amidst this atmosphere of discontent and alienation, the working class organised, at both local and national levels, towards a working-class organisation, namely Chartism.

Protectionist policies such as the Corn Law of 1815 also triggered the rise of the Chartist movement in England. The government passed the Corn Law that aimed to protect the internal market to the advantage of bourgeois production. The policy restricted the importation of food from outside countries. Accordingly, the shortage of food and high prices of foodstuffs resulted in economic depression in England. It also increased the unemployment level, which intensified hardship for the workers and led to the Chartist movement.

Additionally, Chartism was caused by the coercive nature of the state against workers in England. The government strongly supported industrial owners at the expense of the working class. Thus, it suppressed all the workers' efforts to struggle for their rights. The government enacted laws that suppressed trade unions and imprisoned all those who were leading the unions and movements. Workers became discontented with the situation.

Lastly, low wages and poor working conditions largely influenced the rise of Chartism in England. During the Industrial Revolution, the workers were given low wages. The working condition was very poor and worked hard for long hours. They became annoyed by the situation; thus, they organised themselves and presented charters to the government to get an opportunity to enter Parliament and improve the workers' remuneration rates.

The Chartist programmes for political reforms

By 1835, the establishment of workers' organisations in London and the northern industrial districts had risen radical associations to struggle for workers' affairs in England. The central personality in these associations was Irishman Feargus O'Connor, who was too radical. In 1836, the London Working Men's Association (LWMA) was formed, and William Lovett became the Secretary of the association. Most members of these association were skilled artisans. They worked in close collaboration with radical members of Parliament.

In April 1837, the Birmingham Political Union (BPU) was revived. It was under the leadership of Thomas Attwood, a banker who had plans for currency freedom as a solution to the country's economic problems. However, the issue of political reform gained the upper hand soon. Both the LWMA and the BPU drew up programmes for



parliamentary reform, which they promoted in a nationwide campaign. There were six programmes for political reforms:

Universal manhood suffrage: Chartism struggled for all men to have the right to vote. Thus, they demanded universal manhood suffrage that would allow all adults above 21 years to vote and be voted to the national assembly (Parliament).

Equal electoral districts: This was another programme. The Chartists campaigned for equal size of electoral districts (constituencies). The workers wanted to have equal representation in Parliament.

The third demand of Chartism was a vote by secret ballot: The popular voting system in Britain and Europe at large was by open ballot. This system was intimidating and it limited democracy to voters. Thus, the Chartists demanded secret voting to achieve fair and free elections.

Annual parliamentary election: The Chartists campaigned for annual parliamentary as opposed to five years duration. This aimed at raising accountability and responsibility to the Member of Parliament (MP). To them, the five-year term encouraged unaccountability and irresponsibility.

Abolition of property qualification: Poor people, most of them industrial workers, were not allowed to vote and to be voted for. Only the capitalists had the right to vote and be voted for because they owned property as an essential qualification. Thus, the Chartists wanted to abolish property qualification for a person to vote or be voted for. It denied workers' right to participate in politics since many workers, if not all, did not own property.

The last demand of Chartism was the payment of Members of Parliament (MP): The Chartists campaigned for payment of MPs because, by then, British MPs were not paid salaries. Partly, this is because most MPs were rich, middle-class capitalists and landed aristocracy who had cash. Therefore, they were self-sufficient. Workers found this as a big problem. If they were admitted to parliament, they would fail to attend the sessions for lacking money. Thus, they campaigned for the payment of MPs.

Significance of Chartism

Chartism was indeed an expression of British working-class consciousness because it pursued aims beyond narrow, short-term ends, which is a characteristic of trade union or working class consciousness. The Chartists had their eyes on parliament, which was the seat of bourgeois political power. The Chartists correctly pointed out that bourgeois monopoly of political power supported the bourgeois exploitation of



the working class. Law (or political power) protected private property, but labour was not. According to the Chartists, the only way to end the exploitation of the working class was to end the bourgeois monopoly of power in Parliament.

The chartist demands were important, and they were later implemented in the parliamentary reforms. By the 1850s, MPs in Britain accepted that further reform was inevitable. Further Reform Acts were passed like manhood suffrage in 1867 and 1884. By 1918, five of the six Chartist demands had been achieved, only the provision that parliamentary elections be held every year was never fulfilled. This was a great success for the working class. It gave them a new hope that they would have representatives in Parliament, and their problem would be addressed. Indeed, they formed their political party (Labour Party) in the early 20th century which later managed to have MPs and even took state power.

Weaknesses and failures of Chartism

After more than a decade, the movement lost its cohesiveness. The Chartist popular phase lasted for not more than four years. The movement suffered several weaknesses, which caused its total decline.

Membership and organisation problem: During the Chartist period, the development level of the productive forces was mixed between that of old forms of the industry and the new form of industry. The mix was reflected in the diverse nature of Chartist membership. Those in old decaying trades were more militant than those in the new factories. While old trades had long traditions of organisation, especially craftsmen, others did not. Thus, there was always a conflict of values and methods between the violent and moderate groups. In short, the movement split militant members, on the one hand, and moderate, on the other.

Leadership problem: One obvious problem with Chartist leadership was the lack of unity. Thus, bitter quarrels and personality clashes were quite common. The radical and militant Chartists were led by Fergus O'Connor, while the moderate Chartists who favoured collaboration and round-table discussion were under William Lovett. This problem frequently caused hot deliberations in the national conventions, which ended up with undecided issues and frequent withdrawals of the moderates from the conventions. This split among the leadership affected the membership as well.

Unclear ideology: Although the Chartists grasped the realities of political power, they did not indicate how the capture of Parliament would end their exploitation. There was no reference to the abolition of the wage system or the working-class annexation of the means of production. No theory of socialism could clearly suggest a revolution

led by the proletariat over the capitalist system. The sanctity of Parliament as an institution was also not questioned. The Chartist movement sought admission into the corridors of power to share it with the bourgeoisie. They did not seek the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, Chartism was a phase in the quest for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which started in the 17th century.

Poor economic base: The Chartist movement was also affected by financial constraints to facilitate its projects, campaigns or programmes. The movement failed to successfully finance its Land Plan Project, which mainly survived by O'Connor's fortunes. The same was experienced in preparing some publications. The movement depended on O'Connor's newspaper *The Northern Star*, which was later sold because of financial problems. The movement was running through charitable contributions from poor workers. Therefore, they could hardly contribute a large sum of money as most of them were paid low wages. This lack of funds led to the failure of various Chartist activities and programmes. For example, in 1839, when Parliament rejected the petition, the Chartists had a plan to have a month-long boycott called "Holy Month." However, this plan was unsuccessful because they had no funds to support them during the strike.

Government manoeuvre through oppressive and repressive actions. The government purposely suppressed many Chartists' activities. For example, in the last national convention of April 1848 held in London, the Chartists decided to present the National Petition to Parliament once again. The plan was to start with a public meeting at Kennington Common and take the petition across the River Thames to Parliament in a large procession. The idea was to have the whole crowd present the petition to Parliament. The government viewed this as a threat to peace. It marshalled military forces of the strength of 170,000 to block the crossing of the Thames. The crowd assembled, and militant speeches were delivered. However, owing to the presence of the military, the march was called off. Therefore, the plan failed, and O'Connor advised the crowd to disperse and personally took the Petition to Parliament in a Taxi. The government also imprisoned many Chartist leaders to threaten and weaken the Chartists' efforts to wage struggles against the system.

Trade Unionism and the New Model Trade Unionism (the 1850s – 1870s)

A trade union is an association of workers in the same profession or industry with common interests and needs. Trade unions are formed in organisations and working places to improve wages, working conditions and housing conditions and reducing working hours. They also aim to reduce exploitation of workers by their employers. In the mid-1830s, especially with the collapse of the Grand National Consolidated



Trades Union, trade unionism gave way to political radicalism and Chartist at the national level. However, in the 1840s, Britain witnessed the resurgence of unionism. Many national unions emerged when Chartist began to decline. National unions arose among potters, cotton spinners, printers, miners, and flint glassmakers. This tendency continued until the 1850s when a new form of trade union emerged. So, the 1850s saw the consolidation of the reactivated trade union movement, consisting of the “new model unions.” The landmark in this development came in 1851, with the formation of the “Amalgamated Society of Engineers” (ASE) under the leadership of William Allan.

The constitution of the engineers’ union was taken as a model, copied by other ‘amalgamated societies’ of skilled workmen. Between 1852 and 1875, amalgamated societies of carpenters, iron founders, tailors, compositors were formed. The British working-class organisations were in the form of new model trade unions. These unions were new not only in their structure but also in their mode of operation.

Characteristics of the New Model Trade Unions

They were national craft unions. The New Model Trade Unions tended to be centrally controlled, unlike the earlier unions that were mainly local in scope and organisation. These unions were national in scope for instance the Amalgamated Society of Engineers accommodated all engineers in Britain.

They achieved a permanence of membership hitherto unknown. Unlike the earlier phase of unionism, where members were in fluid, mostly in temporary terms (e.g. some became members just when they were in crisis), this period witnessed members of the union achieving permanence of membership. Members of new model unions joined their unions permanently.

Full-time salaried officials ran the union activities. These constituted the first generation of a long line of the professional trade union bureaucracy, contrary to the old unions, which were run and organised by people who had to work full time in the industry and attend union activities in their spare time. Some union officials were then employed to cater for daily union businesses.

Because the new model unions consisted of highly skilled workers, they built up large funds (from large subscription fees and other contributions). They were thus able to finance a generous welfare system focusing on sickness, funerals, unemployment benefits and strike funds. This was not the case with the old unions and other prior workers’ movements because they collected small funds.

As unions of skilled workmen, they were highly restrictive in practice because they aimed at protecting their vested interests and professions. Thus, they charged high membership fees and allowed into membership only those who had served their full period of retraining or apprenticeship. For example, ASE was for engineers only; no mechanist could be admitted into it. High membership fee restricted those poor workers who received meagre salaries.

Calling strikes to improve wages was generally rejected in favour of more reconciliatory methods of achieving their goals. They did not like political confrontations with their employers. Instead they wanted economic gains out of their professions. Strikes were their last resort after an undecided fate of workers, which was very rare.

Factors for the emergence of the New Model Trade Unionism

As already said, the New Model Trade Unionism emerged in the 1850s with ASE (1851) as its first organisation that became a model of all forthcoming unions. These labour organisations emerged due to the following factors:

- (a) The technological revolution (the Second Industrial Revolution) based on the rise of heavy industries gave rise to a powerful “labour aristocracy” such as the engineers. The technological revolution created a class of highly skilled craftsmen in the new industries, especially in engineering. The gap between the labour aristocracy and the unskilled labour widened. There was no basis for unified action. The highly skilled labour wanted a new form of union which could accommodate their needs and interests, which were quite different from the old and semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Thus, the new model fitted the highly skilled workmen.
- (b) The mid-Victorian economic prosperity diverted many unions from the pursuit of social revolution. Instead, they indulged in opportunism, trying to get as much as possible from the system. The economic prosperity of the mid-1850s reduced unnecessary frictions between workers and employers because wages were raised, working conditions were improved, and high profits were realised. Hence, a new form of labour organisation was needed to fit with this unprecedented economic growth.
- (c) The failure of Chartist invalidated mass politics in Britain. By the 1850s, mass political campaigns through demonstrations and strikes yielded minimal success that culminated to the failure and collapse of chartism. Therefore, a sober and quiet organisation at the trade level was then preferred. The New Model Unionism became an alternative to mass political campaigns.



Exercise 2.2

1. What was new with the New Model Unionism in Britain?
2. Relate the Amalgamated Society of Engineers to *Chama Cha Walimu Tanzania*.

Significance of the New Model Trade Unionism

The New Model Trade Unionism was essential as it changed workers' conditions and attitudes. The workers managed to bargain with their employers on terms of job, wages, working conditions and working hours. The unions improved the conditions of workers in Britain in the sense that they achieved their rights through non-violent means.

The New Trade Unions pointed the way towards awareness and consciousness for workers. The stable trade unions put deliberate efforts to educate workers on their rights and the proper ways of demanding such rights. The working class became confident in demanding their rights as workers' problems could be resolved through constitutional means. Trade unionism acquired government recognition, unlike Luddism and Chartism. This helped the workers to do their activities comfortably and freely.

Trade unions raised large funds from the entrance fee and annual subscription. The funds accumulated were properly managed, and they helped the members to run their activities smoothly such as providing education to their fellow workers and assistance to the sick and the members who lost employment. Their financial strength helped them to become stronger and to improve the workers' conditions and living standards.

The importance of trade unions was also vividly seen in their influence on the rise of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC), a base of workers' political party. It planted the idea of professionalism. In this regard, workers achieved their political and economic rights. The New Model Trade Unionism had a clear constitution that guided the actions of the workers. It had permanent members with strong solidarity that laid a foundation for the establishment of the British Labour Party.

Weakness of New Model Trade Unions

Their importance aside, new trade unions had several weaknesses. For instance, they accommodated only skilled and semi-skilled labour while isolating unskilled labourers who were the majority. Moreover, they mainly focused on the economic interests of



workers and gave little consideration to other issues, especially social and political ones. In other words, the new model unions were opportunistic. Furthermore, their reliance on peaceful means of struggle in many instances delayed the attainment of the intended goals. However, a few incidences of violent methods such as strikes and demonstrations were used. Lastly, this form of labour organization suited mostly in the stable economic system with high economic prosperity. It could not work in other situations such as in economic crises. For example, from 1873, New Model Trade Unions lost their relevance and power due to the economic depression, giving way to the formation of the Unskilled General Unionism.

Exercise 2.3

1. How would you differentiate the British New Model Unions from Trade Unions in the Post-colonial Tanzania?
2. Assess the significance of the New Model Trade Unions in England between the 1850s and 1870s.

The Second Industrial Revolution (the 1840s-1870s)

The Second Industrial Revolution, which took place between the 1840s and 1870s, marked the second phase of European industrialisation. During this period, European industrialisation moved from simple to complex and sophisticated industrial technologies. Thus, the Industrial Revolution during this period spread from Britain to other countries in various parts of Europe. The following part highlights features of the Second Industrial Revolution in Britain which set precedence for the spread of the Industrial Revolution to other European countries.

Features of the Second Industrial Revolution in Europe

During this period, Britain experienced the Second Industrial Revolution from the 1840s to 1870s. The period was also popularly known as the Mid-Victorian period (1840-1872) in Britain. This was a period when capitalism was consolidated in Britain. Generally, this phase saw the rise of British heavy industries based on capital goods. Such industries concentrated on coal, iron, steel, railway construction, machine production and chemical engineering. The development of the Second Industrial Revolution was, among other factors, precipitated by rapid industrialisation taking place outside Britain, thereby creating markets for Britain's capital goods. This is because Britain, the workshop of the world, was the only country capable of supplying the capital goods, especially machinery, coal, iron and steel, which were



the mainspring of industrialisation in other countries, especially in Germany, France, the USA, Italy and Belgium.

The spread of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the US

The first phase of the Industrial Revolution was primarily confined to Britain. To proceed to enjoy the profits of the Industrial Revolution, Britain protected her technology by prohibiting the export of machinery, skilled workers, and production technologies. However, some British entrepreneurs saw profitable industrial opportunities overseas. At the same time, other western European countries were attracted to the British achievements and, therefore, were motivated to get the British technologies for them to industrialise as well. Thus, various strategies were used to acquire British technology. The subsequent paragraphs explains how the Industrial Revolution spread to other European countries and the US. Figure 2.1 shows the spread of the Industrial Revolution in Europe in the 19th century.

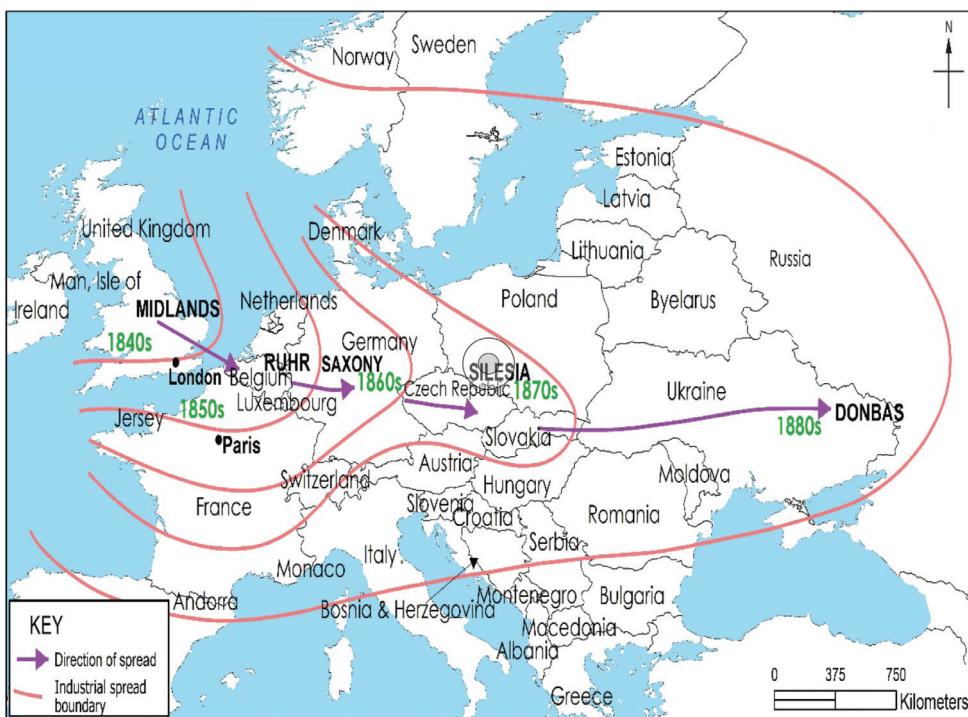


Figure 2.1: A map showing the spread of industrial revolution in Europe in the 19th century.

Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc./Kenny Chmielowski

Studies show that British scientist, John Cockerill, brought the Industrial Revolution into existence in Belgium. This scientist developed machine shops at Liège around



the early 19th century, which became the focal point of Belgian industrialisation. Thus, Belgium became the second country after Britain to undergo the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Like her predecessor (Britain), Belgian Industrialisation was centred on iron, coal, and textiles.

In France, the industrialisation process was slower than in either Britain or Belgium. While Britain was industrialising, France was still in the political revolution and later the Napoleonic wars, which caused unfavourable conditions for industrial development. The situation discouraged significant investments in industrial innovation. France also had a weaker bourgeois class which could not stand alone even in the revolution. Hence, they sought the assistance of peasants and other people. This collaboration slowed the capitalist speed in industrialisation because they had to accommodate some peasants' needs even after the revolution. This was quite different in Britain where the class of capitalists was so strong and stood firm to industrialise the country. However, by 1848, France had become an industrial power. Despite, the great growth under the Second Empire, France remained behind Britain.

In Germany, the Industrial Revolution came much late because the country was still divided into many small states until 1871. This condition hindered Germany in her industrial development. Thus, despite its vast coal and iron resources, Germany did not begin its industrial expansion and development until after 1871 when national unification was achieved. However, a smooth transition from feudalism to capitalism contributed to a rapid industrial growth in Germany after the unification. Unlike Britain and France, which attained the Industrial Revolution after political revolutions, the German landed gentry, called Junkers, prepared a conducive environment for the emerging capitalists to take over by supporting them financially and politically. Thus, after the unification, German capitalists started without any uncertain political condition which was an added advantage to the German industrial development. Interestingly after the unification, Germany's industrial production grew so rapidly. By the 1890's, Germany surpassed Britain in steel production and had also become the world leader in chemical industries. During the same period, German companies transformed themselves into bigger monopolies in the form of cartels and trusts. Thus, by the late 19th century and early 20th century, Germany had already become one of the greatest industrial powers in the world, competing mainly with the US.

Industrialisation in the USA also came late partly because the society of the US never experienced a feudal relation, which was the base of transformation in western Europe. So, the country had no rich feudal lords who could transform themselves into capitalists, as it had happened in Britain. It was until the second half of the 19th century, especially after the American Civil War (1861-1865) when the USA



began to experience rapid industrialisation. The war enriched the first generation of American capitalists such as John Rockefeller, Cornelius Vanderbilt and J. P. Morgan who led the process of rapid industrialisation. Moreover, the resources available such as land, water, coal and iron ore plus a big territory which was a result of the union of American states (formerly the thirteen British American colonies) were the added advantages for American industrialisation which was pioneered by the Northern American industrialists. Moreover, immigrants who made America their home contributed to the America's industrial development. For example, among the immigrants were some European immigrants who were attracted to the United States by the idea of profit maximisation, especially British immigrants who formed about a half of the managers and machine-makers in the US in the 19th century. These immigrants became instrumental in developing industries in the United States. Their presence positively changed the US towards industrialization. Thus, by the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, the US became the most powerful industrial power in some sectors, especially in labour productivity, machinery production, electrical engineering and chemical industry, even surpassing Britain.

Activity 2.3

With the help of your history teacher, discuss why the traditional industrial system in Africa did not transform into the factory system as it happened in western Europe.

The Second Industrial Revolution and the development of competitive capitalism

In essence, industrialisation gave birth to competitive capitalism. This is because industrialisation led to the complete decline of agrarian-based feudal relations which were replaced with urban-based industrial relations in the 19th century. In particular, the Industrial Revolution facilitated a great shift from an agrarian society to industrial or modern society.

The spread of industrialization in Europe and the USA led to a dramatic expansion of the financial sector, which helped in the rise of industrial capitalism. Banks had previously served as warehouses for valuables, clearing houses for long-distance trade or lenders to nobles and governments. During the industrial capitalism, they served the needs of everyday commerce and the intermediation of credit for large and long-term investment projects. This changing role of banking institutions promoted the development of industrial capitalism in Europe and the US in the 19th century.



With the Industrial Revolutions in Europe and the US, the policy of colonial expansion became more visible and gained more strength in the late 19th century. The Industrial Revolution created a growing market demand for manufactured goods. Likewise, the need for cheap raw materials increased. The areas to invest surplus capital were also highly needed. This forced the European industrial powers to acquire colonies in politically and militarily weak states of Asia and Africa. These colonies provided a good opportunity for the investment of surplus capital. Besides, Asia and Africa were endowed with natural resources, and they had huge potential populations to absorb industrial finished goods. The colonial policy formulated from industrial development led to the further development of capitalism into competitive capitalism.

Moreover, the Industrial Revolution led to the abolition of the slave trade and the introduction of 'legitimate trade' in Africa. The trade facilitated the exploitation of African natural resources like rubber, palm oil and coconut which were used to make oil for lubricating machines in Europe. Asia and Latin America supplied a lot of agricultural and natural resources to Europe and the US which also led to further development of industries giving rise of competitive capitalism in both areas.

Industrial Revolution in Europe led to the emergence of new social classes. As industrialisation was gaining momentum, wealth was increasingly concentrated into a few hands. Thus, industrialisation created new social classes, namely the owners of the major means of production such as industrial capital, known as the capitalists or bourgeoisie, and the producers (those who sold their labour-power), known as the workers or proletariat. On the one hand, the factory owners (capitalists) employed workers and paid them. They also controlled the sale of goods to make super-profits. On the other hand, the factory workers lived in misery due to exploitation. This kind of production relations was instrumental in strengthening and stabilising competitive capitalism among the western powers.

There was stiff competition among enterprises in their consolidation into a few hands. In the 1870s, other nations started to challenge Britain's industrialisation which was also industrialising rapidly. The centre of wealth and power was transferred from the former industrial nations to newly industrialising nations. The transfer was necessitated by a new competitive system of production and demand.

It brought technological changes in Europe and a new system of production. These changes destroyed the traditional lifestyle and brought a modern industrial life whereby the largest population come to live in urban centres, depending on industrial production and wage labour relations for survival.



Development of free trade: Free trade became necessary to expand the market and sources of raw materials overseas. It also permitted transportation of goods and commodities without economic barriers or tariffs. The trade influenced the production of large quantities of goods for markets outside Europe, leading to competition.

Military industrial revolution among the European nations was necessary to protect their industrial gains. Strong and powerful military arsenals were manufactured leading to competition as other nations started to import them.

In sum, competitive (industrial) capitalism was characterised by the dominance of industrial capital which acted as the major means of production; the existence of two social classes, i.e., bourgeoisie and proletariat; exploitative relations of production; massive production of both goods and services due to mechanization; free trade (laissez faire system) which allowed free competition in all sectors; massive export of goods to outside markets and the rise of working-class movements because of class conflicts between the capitalists and workers.

Revision exercise 2

1. With examples, explain how and why did the Industrial Revolution spread to Belgium, Germany, France, USA, and Italy between the 1840s and 1870s. What was the impact of such spread?
2. Assess how the spread of industrialisation in Europe and USA led to the emergence of competitive capitalism.
3. With examples, account for the transition from cottage to factory system.
4. Relate the growth of the factory system to the rise of working class consciousness in Britain.
5. Explain why Britain was the first country to industrialize in Europe.
6. Discuss how workers struggled against capitalism in the period from the early 1800s to the 1870s.
7. Highlight the six chartist demands.
8. Assess the significance of Trade Unionism in Europe.
9. Compare and contrast between the German industrialization and the USA's industrialization.
10. Why did Britain industrialize earlier than France?



Chapter Three

Imperialism and the territorial division of the world

Introduction

The preceding chapters have examined the first two phases in the rise of capitalism, namely mercantile capitalism and competitive capitalism. This chapter discusses the third phase in the development of capitalism, known as monopoly capitalism. Some scholars regard this phase as the imperialist stage of capitalism. This phase began in the second half of the 19th century when capitalism transformed itself from competitive to monopoly capitalism. In this chapter, you will learn about various conceptions of the term 'imperialism', its basic economic features and its development. You will also learn how imperialism manifested itself from the last quarter of the 19th century through military alliances and colonisation in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East. More specifically, you will learn about the relations between the development of monopoly capitalism or imperialism and the territorial or colonial division of the world among capitalist powers. The competencies developed will enable you to analyse the nature and character of the rise of capitalism into a monopoly or imperialist phase and the impact of this development on the world.

Activity 3.1

Relate German colonization of German East Africa in the 1880s with the emergence of imperialism in Europe.

The concept of imperialism

The concept of imperialism has attracted a hot debate on its meaning and motives. The concept can be linked to capitalism, trade, political situations and expansionism. Generally, there are two dominant positions regarding imperialism: the bourgeois and the Marxist views.



The bourgeois view of imperialism

To the bourgeois scholars, imperialism is expansionism or the desire of one state to expand outside its territories for political or social reasons. These scholars dissociate imperialism from capitalism, arguing that the former is a political phenomenon while the latter is an economic phenomenon. Joseph Schumpeter, who is one of proponents of this view, traces the history of imperialism from the period of the ancient Roman Empire. He, therefore, links it with political motives and refers to it as “political atavism.” This, according to him, recurs in various types of states and civilisations.

Bourgeois scholars also identify extreme nationalism (jingoism) and racism as causes of imperialism. They cite the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) as an example that explains British jingoism. Additionally, strategic reasons are cited as a cause of imperialism. The colonisation of many places, such as Egypt and Sudan, is linked to the need to control the route to India (the Suez Canal) and the Nile River. Moreover, the balance of power is seen as an important factor linked to imperialism. For example, France’s loss of Lorraine and Alsace in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) upset the balance of power, and France had to compensate for this loss by seeking alternative territories elsewhere. During the Cold War era, the notion of balance of power between the USA and the USSR was used to explain the imperialist activities of these powers. In other words, territorial loss by any power in one continent had to be compensated for in another or the same continent. Thus, while the USA had Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo), the USSR clung to Angola. Likewise, the USA control of South Africa meant that the USSR had to fight for Namibia and Mozambique.

Exercise 3.1

1. Analyse the bourgeois definition of imperialism.
2. To what extent is Schumpeter’s view that all states are by nature imperialist correct?

The Marxist view of imperialism

To Marxist scholars, however, imperialism is linked with the development of capitalism. To them, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, which is also called monopoly capitalism. The prominent propagators of this scholarship were Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir I. Lenin, who were also supported by bourgeois scholar called John Hobson. Rosa Luxemburg, for instance, wrote against revisionism, and she was influenced by



the threat of capitalist war. According to her, for capitalism to survive, it had to find external markets. By external markets, she meant non-capitalist areas such as peasant colonies where capital had not found legs. It was, therefore, central for capitalism to expand outside its boundaries. Imperialism was, thus, an inherent and vital feature of capitalism. She emphasized that the intensification of this system leads to imperialist war which proletariats should not support because it is not their war.

V. I. Lenin, another Marxist scholar, wrote *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism* in 1916. In this book, Lenin saw capitalism as a phenomenon that had developed through the mercantile, competitive and monopoly stages. He specifically linked imperialism with the monopoly stage of capitalism. By monopoly capitalism, he meant a stage in the development of capitalism that was characterised by the concentration and centralisation of capital into fewer hands as well as the merging of bank capital and industrial capital to form finance capital or financial oligarchy. Other features, according to Lenin, included the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities, the division of economic territories among monopolies, and the division of the world among great capitalist powers. This stage of the development of capitalism was reached in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Lenin emphasised that imperialism specifically refers to a stage in the development of capitalism where the export of capital, rather than excessive production, predominates. During this stage, the capitalist countries were faced with decline in net incomes due to various factors, such as high production costs and workers' demands for higher wages. In Lenin's theory of imperialism, the high rate of profit in the colonies was an essential factor. Generally, the Marxist view underscores that, with imperialism, there was a rise in finance capital and the financial oligarchy. European nations were exporting more financial capital than industrial commodities. Finance capital had to be exported to the backward lands where societies were less developed, hence easy to exploit. Such societies had little or no capital, very cheap land, plenty of raw materials and cheap labour. Wage rates were also low and markets were completely free of customs tariffs. All these tendencies occurred for profit maximisation.

Besides V. I. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, John Hobson also associated economic factors with the territorial division of the world among the western imperialist powers. Hobson, singled out issues such as unplanned economy that led to under consumption of manufactured goods in Europe. These issues forced imperialist powers to look for alternative markets outside Europe. To address the issues, the European powers expanded to the less developing countries. They could not survive without foreign trade.



Exercise 3.2

1. Why do the Marxists link imperialism with capitalism?
2. To what extent is Lenin's conceptualisation of imperialism valid with regard to the colonisation of developing countries?

Economic features of imperialism from the Marxist-Leninist View

Activity 3.2

Evaluate the relevance of John Hobson's argument to the current economic relations between Europe and Africa. Use Tanzania as a case study.

Marxist scholars analysed the features of imperialism based on the economic theory. V. I. Lenin is credited with providing a convincing Marxist and historical analysis of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. In his publication, he analyzed five fundamental economic features of imperialism.

The first feature was the concentration of production and centralisation of capital which led to monopolies. These monopolies played a decisive role in economic life. At that stage, there was a rapid process of concentration of production in a large company. This concentration of production aimed at limiting free competition, which dominated the competitive phase of capitalism. The concentration and centralisation of capital allowed for the formation of large enterprises or companies which controlled the economic system and limited the power of small enterprises. Small enterprises were swallowed by bigger ones, and those which failed to compete perished. The concentration of production led to the transition from the dominance of free competition to monopolies, which abolished freedom of competition. Heavy industries and new branches of industries such as chemical, electrical engineering and automobile experienced quicker concentration of production than small and light industries did. At that stage, therefore, monopolies controlled the economic life of capitalism. Different forms of monopolies were developed, ranging from syndicates, cartels and trusts to concerns.

The second economic feature of imperialism was the merging of banking capital and industrial capital, which led to the formation of financial capital or financial oligarchy. Banking systems developed into powerful monopolies, and they squeezed small banks out of the game. The principal function of banks during this period was



to serve as mediators of the economy. The financial capital owned by few capitalists who combined their industrial and banking capital to establish financial institutions now controlled the economy by assisting and defining other sectors. This process became one of the most common features of monopoly capitalism, hence financial capitalism. The financial capital favoured only a few powerful banks, which became decisive in all dimensions.

The third feature was the export of capital as distinguished from export of commodities. Monopoly capitalism led to the concentration of capital that resulted in huge surplus capital. According to V. I. Lenin, this necessitated the export of capital from Europe and America to other parts of the world for investment and accumulation of super profit. The established monopolies started looking for areas where the cost of production was low. These included areas with cheap labour, available markets, land and raw materials. Thus, Asia, Africa and Latin America became destinations for capital transfer in the form of large-scale estates, mining industries, shopping malls, construction companies and the like.

The fourth feature was the division of the world among monopolistic companies. International monopolistic companies were formed to share or divide the world among themselves. Monopolies developed interests in dividing the world market among themselves because the export of capital and foreign connection had increased. This aimed at limiting unnecessary competition to maximise profits. For example, before the First World War, the petroleum market was divided between the American Standard Oil Trust, controlled by Rockefeller, and the Royal Dutch Shell Group in which the British capital was dominant. The market for electrical equipment was shared between the German General Electric Company which was founded in Berlin in 1883 and the American General Electric Corporation, which was formed in 1880 and controlled by the Morgan group. International monopoly agreements embraced even such fields as the production of armaments. The largest firms that engaged in manufacturing arms were Vickers-Armstrongs Limited in Britain, Schneider-Creusot in France, Krupp in Germany and Bofors in Sweden.

The fifth feature was the territorial division and re-division of the world among the capitalist states was done. This was a result of a struggle for control over foreign lands, a struggle for colonies and semi-colonies. This was entirely for economic purposes. Imperialists wanted areas for markets, investment, cheap labour and cheap raw materials. Thus, they divided the world among themselves. The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) for example, completed the division process in the last quarter of the 19th century with the partition of the African continent.



Exercise 3.3

1. Explain the concept of imperialism from the Bourgeois and Marxist perspectives.
2. Discuss the economic features of imperialism from the Marxist-Leninist view.

Manifestation of European imperialism in the 19th century

European imperialism was clearly manifested in the way each power was busy building up its empire by seizing overseas territories. The scramble for and partition of Africa was a good example that clearly indicated that imperialism was at work. Another sign was the formation of military alliances. An alliance is a cooperation or agreement between two or more states. It involves signing treaties of protection of one country against nations which are not in the alliance. Different European nations formed alliances to achieve collective security. The alliance strengthened the powers of the nations (the allied). If a country waged a war with one nation, it would have to fight all the allies as well under the condition that an attack on one was an attack on all. Alliances were often made in reaction to national rivalries. When one country felt threatened by another, it often looked to secure friendships with other nations. By 1900, Europe had several national rivalries.

One case of the national rivalries emerged after the creation of Germany in 1871. Germany was created out of the many smaller Germanic states opposed by France, resulting in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Germany invaded France and forced her to sign a humiliating peace treaty. The second case was the Ottoman Empire. Since the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire in Eastern Europe was declining, Russia sought to take advantage by expanding westwards into the Balkans. Austria-Hungary wanted to prevent Russia's expansion. The situations in both cases necessitated the formation of alliances because hatred and competition had developed from the national rivalries. To be secured and powerful, an alliance was necessary. For example, the creation of a unified Germany in 1871 had disturbed the old balance of power set during the Vienna Congress of 1814/1815 in Europe. Fear of Germany encouraged France and Russia to ally in 1894, termed as Dual Alliance. This pushed Germany into a closer alliance with her neighbours, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The members of these rival power blocs maintained mass armies through compulsory military service. Rapid developments in military technology forced them to spend huge sums on their armies.

The earliest military alliances were those formed by the signatories of the Vienna Congress in 1815. These were the Quadruple Alliance (Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia) and the Quintuple Alliance (Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia and France). These alliances wanted to maintain the status quo that is to defend monarchist governments in Europe. However, the most remarkable military alliances were those formed after the unification of both Italy and Germany in 1870 and 1871, respectively. These alliances were formed to give common military assistance to one another in case of war. The signatory powers were bound to consult one another on all important international issues involving the acquisition of colonies in different parts of the world. Their existence also aimed to control and suppress socialist ideas in the respective signatory powers and ensure that such ideas did not spread worldwide. The alliances aimed to promote good diplomatic relations among the member states. Examples of these alliances were the League of the Three Emperors, the Dual Alliance, the Dual Entente and the *Entente Cordiale*.

The League of the Three Emperors was formed in 1872 by emperors Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary, Wilhelm I of Germany and Alexander II of Russia. The chief architects of the alliance were Julius Andrassy, Otto von Bismarck and Prince Gorchakov. The treaty came into effect in 1873 and collapsed in 1887. It was engineered by Bismarck, who feared that Austria, France and Russia might unite and start a war against the newly united Germany. Thus, Bismarck wanted to achieve a European balance of power.

The Dual Alliance was formed by Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1879. The countries promised to defend each other in case of war with Russia but promised to get directly involved in the war in case one nation was attacked by any European nation, be it France or Britain. In 1882, Italy joined the Dual Alliance to make it the Triple Alliance.

The Dual Entente, on the other hand, was formed by France and Russia in 1893 to countercheck the Triple Alliance of 1882. This was because antagonism between Germany and Russia had increased due to the treaty of the Berlin Congress of 1878. Russia accused Britain, Germany and Austria-Hungary of favouring the Sultan of Turkey. The coming into power of King Wilhelm II of Germany in 1888 and the sudden fall of Otto von Bismarck in 1890 worried Tsar Alexander II of Russia so much.

Finally, the *Entente Cordiale* (1904) was an alliance between France and Britain, which had been traditional enemies for many years. The Anglo-Boer War of 1889 to 1902 made the two countries become friends. During this war, Germany, which was a long-time friend of Britain, supported the Boers because the Germans had developed



an interest in occupying South West Africa (Namibia). Furthermore, King Wilhelm II was anti-Russian and anti-British. With this *Entente Cordiale*, France recognised the British occupation of Egypt. In turn, Britain recognised the French interests in Morocco. Both nations agreed to support each other in their foreign policies in Egypt and Morocco. In 1907, Russia, France and Britain formed the Triple Entente to countercheck the activities of the Triple Alliance.

Exercise 3.4

1. Account for the development of the European military alliances.
2. To what extent were the military alliances a manifestation of imperialism?

Causes of militarism and arms race in Europe in the 19th century

After 1870, Europe witnessed a rise of militarism and arms race as another manifestation of imperialism. Both phenomena were a product of capitalistic development. The term militarism simply means the policy of aggressiveness and preparedness for large scale wars. Each European nation was aggressively created its own military forces and defences which prepared them for any military action. The created armed forces were divided into different departments like the navy, infantry, and the air force. Their primary task was to defend their national borders against invasion by enemies. National armies were also built to meet the challenges associated with competition for colonies in different parts of the world. The scientific and technological revolutions that occurred in Europe in the mid-1880s enabled European nations to build powerful national armies.

The arms race on the other hand, refers to aggressive competition in producing modern arms such as maxim guns, rifles and submarine warships. The arms race is also associated with a competitive acquisition of military capability between two or more countries. The competitive nature of this buildup often reflects an adversarial relationship. Militarism and the arms race rose from the idea that a state should ensure its own security and strengthen its own domestic and foreign policies by maintaining a large body of armed forces and a large stock of modern arms. Volunteer professional soldiers were replaced by conscript popular armies.

The development of European militarism and arms race in the 19th century resulted in technological revolution and European warlike culture (hawkish culture). Historians comment that Europe was virtually a warlike continent. In the late 19th century,



scholars identified only 230 years of peace over three strife-torn millennia stretching back to antiquity, which included only two years without war in the 17th century. Although the 18th century witnessed less bloodshed, peaceful respites were more like armed standoffs. The continent's ethnic diversity and centuries-long struggles among feuding peoples had developed a distinct ethnic hierarchy by the 1800s. This tendency necessitated European communities always to prepare better for war.

Hence, militarism and the arms race became a common manifestation of European life. Interestingly, the tendency became more powerful and visible from the mid-19th century when most communities were transformed into nation-states. Thus, each nation-state had to prepare well for war, an antiquity tendency that forced them to develop and compete in war technologies that resulted in necessary militarism and arms race.

By the mid-1800s, however, technologies from the First Industrial Revolution made their way into military operations such as steam locomotive-pulled trains for army transport, wrought and cast-iron cannons, ironclad steam-powered warships, and increased gunpowder output (sulphuric acid was a key ingredient in its production). By this time, other nations were anxious not to be left behind in Europe's hostile atmosphere; thus, they scrambled to acquire these technologies. The steam locomotives transported troops in Prussian army manoeuvres as early as 1839. Army units moved by rail during the Second War of Italian Unification (1859-1860), the American Civil War (1861-1865), and the Wars of German Unification (1864-1871). New tools, like lathes and milling machines, improved metal-shaping precision. They paved the way for the production of breech-loading, rapid-firing rifles and the first machine guns in the United States, Germany, and France. The obvious connection between industrial and military ability during the First Industrial Revolution caused nervousness in European capitals. The Second Industrial Revolution swept through Europe before the turn of the 20th century. In this period, steel replaced iron for many uses. In addition, greatly improved machine tools created even more precise metal parts. Similarly, powerful steam turbines supplanted increasingly inefficient reciprocating engines. More highly concentrated sulphuric acid became available, and oil began to supplement coal as an energy source.

Engineers and scientists also created electrical power and equipment, wireless telegraphs, telephones and nitrogen-based high explosives. These breakthroughs revolutionised the art of warfare by spawning killing machines that included repeating rifles, shooting twenty to thirty bullets per minute; improved machine guns, spewing 600 bullets per minute, semi-recoilless rapid-firing field artillery, firing hundreds



of shells per hour, and artillery shells, packed with extremely powerful nitrogen explosives. Steam power, steel, electricity, advanced optics, and the new explosives also ushered in the early prototypes of the modern battleship. These technological transformations were the manifestations of militarism and the arms race in Europe in the 19th century.

Militarism and arms race were necessary during this time in order to assist European powers in expanding overseas to fulfil various demands of the Industrial Revolution which was underway across Europe. The growing industrialisation in Europe forced them to expand to other parts of the world in search of cheap labour, raw materials, and areas for marketing the surplus industrial manufactured goods as well as areas to invest their surplus capital. This expansion was a military-oriented task accompanied by conquests and many more. Hence, militarism and the arms race were intensified to serve this purpose.

National glory and prestige (greatness) were also associated with the rise of militarism and arms race in Europe. During the heyday of industrialization in Europe, countries with strong military technology and personnel received more glory from the neighbouring countries. Powerful nations were associated with military strength. For example, Germany degraded the British naval power because her infantry soldiers outnumbered navy soldiers, contrary to military principles. Hence, in the quest for national glory, prestige and greatness, Europeans invested in militarism and arms race in the 19th century.

Activity 3.3



Conduct a library research to find out the rationale for having military alliances in Europe in the 19th century.

The impact of militarism and arms race on the world

Militarism and the arms race affected the lives of human beings in different spheres of life. Militarism and the arms race contributed to the production of strong firearms, including weapons of mass destruction which had negative impacts on world societies.

In the first place, militarism and the arms race intensified the formation of European military alliances. Military rivalries were responsible for making alliances in Europe. Germany, for instance, was compelled to embark on a stronger alliance with Austria and Italy in 1882 for fear of French military preparations for revenge against the defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870/1871. With the alliance, all members felt



fully armed. Thus, alliance developed false confidence, tension and panic among European powers. Generally, military alliances created insecurity in many parts of Europe in the 19th century.

Militarism and the arms race contributed to the growth of ultra-nationalism in Europe. Arms race and militarism influenced national prestige and pride, as they determined power and respect. Strong militaries could command more respect than the weaker ones. People pressed their government to strengthen their militaries for the attainment of national goals such as national glory and prestige. Germany, for instance, was more determined to build a large empire in Europe by annexing her neighbouring countries like France in the early 1870s. Russia wanted to expand her control to the Balkans and to liberate the Slavic speaking Balkan states from Turkish control.

Arms races and militarism encouraged aggressive foreign policies. Stronger European militaries like Germany, Britain, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary felt confident to carry out expansionist policies to weaker European nations which could not sustain the huge demands of giant European powers. Consequently, the competition and rivalries over the acquisition of colonies in Africa and Asia increased. This competition intensified the scramble for Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East. The scramble for the Congo Basin among Belgium, Britain, Germany and France and the scramble for the Far East among Germany, Russia and France resulted from military power.

The arms race and militarism influenced the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918). They intensified division and enmity among European powers, thus creating a war atmosphere that worried many nationalities. Uncertainty, fear and suspicion featured and covered Europe due to tension created by militarism. Indeed, militarism put Europe on the brink of a deadly war as it paved the way for the instant occurrence of war among the rival powers. The pending war from the mid-19th century ultimately broke out in 1914.

Militarism and the arms race also stimulated further technological advancement. This advancement was partly contributed by fierce competition in producing military weapons among major European powers. Besides military technology, transport and chemical industries developed. Such advancements promoted further technological developments in industries related to aspects such as spacecraft, marine, car and chemical production.

Environmental destruction and loss of biodiversity was another impact of militarism and arms race. Weapon testing took place in the atmosphere, water bodies and forests. Testing military weapons destroyed and polluted the environment. Gases



and explosions from power plants produced poisons which damaged forests, water bodies and farmlands. For instance, in 1945, dangerous radioactive material escaped into the atmosphere after the world's first nuclear explosion instantly vaporised the tower from which it was launched. An atomic bomb reduced the centre of Hiroshima to smouldering ruins but the full effect of the bomb would take years to materialise.

Generally, the armaments race resulted from intensification of tensions among the great powers in the decade leading up to 1914. It factored especially heavily into the decisions for war in Germany, Britain, and Turkey. The latter two nations' entry into the war, more than anything else, transformed a European conflict into a world war.

Exercise 3.5

1. Exound on the development of militarism and arms race in Europe.
2. "Militarism and the arms race were detrimental to the world system." Comment.

The Berlin Congress of 1878 and the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague

Some events acted as a background and impulse to the calling of the Berlin Congress and the formation of Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA). In 1853, for instance, France and Russia scrambled over the Balkan region. In this scramble, the Sultan of Turkey accepted the French guardianship. The sultan's decision did not please the Tsar of Russia who eventually declared war on Turkey. In the same year, Britain, France and their allies took on the vast Russian empire in the Crimean War (1853-1856). Described as a "perfectly useless modern war", the Crimean War was fought in the Black Sea Region, although major campaigns took place well beyond that area. Like all wars, it was grim. More than 500,000 people lost their lives. The invasion of Turkey by Russia prompted Britain and France to send their troops to Turkey to defend the sultan. Russia was finally defeated and forced to sign the Paris Treaty with France in March 1856. According to the terms of the treaty, territories around the Black Sea became neutral zones. Second, Russia was forbidden to conduct military operations in neutral zones. In addition, the neutral zones were declared free trade zones for all powers. Moreover, Russia was ordered to abandon her claims of protecting the orthodox Christians living in the Turkish empire. Finally, Sultan Abdul Hamid II was ordered to protect and treat the Christians better.

Although the Paris Treaty seemed to settle the Balkan conflicts, the Sultan of Turkey failed to observe those terms. The administration of Turkey became more chaotic and tyrannical. The sultan misused government funds to satisfy his desire for luxuries. The Turks were heavily taxed. Turkey was facing a huge foreign debt. Christians were mistreated, persecuted and considered a minority group. Consequently, the Turks lost trust to their government. Following that situation, in 1875, they came up with great revolts in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania, Bessarabia and Wallachia. Sultan Abdul Hamid II used excessive force to suppress the revolts, which aroused an international outcry. All European powers condemned the sultan. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia met to discuss the Turkish problem. They forced the sultan to introduce new administrative reforms for all Turks' common good, especially the Christians. The sultan, however, rejected everything. Russia became furious and threatened to fight the sultan. In April 1877, Russia declared war on Turkey which ended in 1878. It was known as the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia joined Russia to fight the sultan of Turkey. This was one of the myriad wars fought between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire.

The invasion of Turkey by Russia threatened the imperialist interests of Britain and Austria. Specifically, Austria wanted to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina while Britain wanted to prevent Russian imperialism in the Balkan region. The two powers, namely Austria and Britain, met in 1878 to discuss the justification of the war. Finally, they ordered Russia to pull her troops out of Turkey and sign an armistice. Failure to do so, Russia was to be ready for attacks from Britain and Austria. Russia capitulated to the demands of Austria and Britain. Hence, the San Stefano Treaty was signed in March 1878 at San Stefano in the Ottoman Empire. Russia and Turkey agreed on the terms of the treaty. Hence, Russia was to take territory in Asia and the valuable district of Bessarabia at the mouth of the Danube River. The Sultan granted Bulgaria, Bosnia, Montenegro and Herzegovina their independence.

Britain and Austria, however, were not satisfied by the terms. They ordered Russia to revise those terms. They demanded that the European Congress settle the question. As a result, the Congress was held in Berlin under the chairmanship of Otto von Bismarck. The European powers resolved during the congress that Bulgaria was to be divided into small states while Britain was granted Cyprus from Turkey. Russia retained Bessarabia, Kars, Batoum and Adragna. On the other hand, Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Activity 3.4



In a group of five students, discuss the effects of the Berlin Congress on Africa. Present the findings of your discussion in the class.

The concept of the Berlin Congress of 1878

The Berlin Congress was a meeting of the representatives of Russia, Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the four Balkan states of Greece, Serbia, Romania and Montenegro. The congress was held from 13th June 1878 to 13th July 1878 in Berlin, Germany. The congress aimed to revise the San Stefano Treaty to establish peace between the Ottoman Empire of Turkey and the Russian Empire following the end of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878). This was a diplomatic meeting of the major European powers at which the Treaty of Berlin replaced the Treaty of San Stefano, which Russia and Turkey had signed on March 3, 1878. The Berlin Congress was another manifestation of imperialism that developed out of the Crimean War and a dialectical child of the same phenomenon that had started in Europe. It was convened following some imperialistic events which occurred in the Balkan region where a huge Turkish Empire, with culturally diverse inhabitants ruled by Muslim Sultans, existed. The rival European imperialist powers in the Balkan region were Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. These powers wanted to develop trade interests. Each member also wanted to be the guardian of the holy places in Jerusalem.

The Treaty of Berlin was an important event in European history, and it shaped the continent's future for the last part of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century. Although the congress achieved peace in Europe for three decades, the seed of future major conflicts, notably the capitalist crisis of the First World War (1914-1918) was hidden in it.

Causes of the Berlin Congress of 1878

Various factors led to the Berlin Congress in 1878. The first factor was Pan-Slavism. The Balkan area of Eastern Europe and neighbouring Greece was under Ottoman control for a long-time. Under this situation, they were dominated, exploited and oppressed by Ottoman rulers. They lost their culture and identity. Fortunately, in the early 1870s, Germany and Italy achieved the long-waited nation-state unification due to the rise of nationalism in Western Europe. This became a good lesson to the Slavs who rose against the Ottoman rulers to form the United Slavic nation in the Balkan.



The second factor which led to the Berlin Congress was the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. The Ottoman ruthlessly suppressed the rebellion and massacred thousands of innocent people, including children and women. The atrocity of the Ottomans created great resentment in Europe, especially in Russia. Russia wanted to control the Balkans for cultural and geopolitical reasons. It tried to recover the losses of the Crimean War. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the Ottoman Empire was defeated, and the Berlin Congress was called to resolve this re-occurring war so as to maintain peace in the region.

Another factor was that Bismarck was determined to ensure peace in the whole of Europe. Bismarck understood that a peaceful Europe would benefit Germany. To maintain peace, he formed *Dreikaiserbund*, an alliance of three emperors of Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary. This followed the Balkan crisis, which had deteriorated the relationship between Russia and Austria. Bismarck was left worried; thus, he arranged the Congress of Berlin to review the treaty of San Stefano. This was a treaty between Russia and Turkey that ended Ottoman control of the Balkan region and created an independent Bulgarian principality controlled by Russia.

The 1878 Congress of Berlin came up with the provisions to grant full independence to three Balkan states, namely Romania, Serbia and Montenegro. Besides, Bulgaria was split into three parts: the principality of Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia. Third, the Ottoman territories given to Russia by the treaty of San-Stephano were confirmed by other member states, and the Ottoman Vilayet (Ottoman district) of Bosnia came under the control of the Austria-Hungary Empire.

In sum, the Berlin Congress of 1878 was not a complete success, but it kept peace in Europe for almost three decades. The seed of resentments remained hidden under the apparent calmness. The treaty was not liked by Russians and Slavs of the Balkan region. All these factors led to the First World War (1914-1918) which claimed millions of lives and destroyed huge amounts of wealth.

Establishment of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague in Holland

The International Court of Arbitration has its roots from The Hague Peace Conference of July 1899. The court was established to administer and settle international disputes caused by the European imperialist contradictions and rivalries. The existing disputes among European imperialist powers convinced the big powers to see the importance of resolving disagreements through multilateral talks. With respect to arbitration, the 1899 Convention provided for the creation of the permanent machinery which



would enable arbitral tribunals to be set up as desired and would facilitate their work. This institution, known as the Permanent Court of Arbitration, consisted in essence of a panel of jurist designated by each country according to the convention. Each country was entitled to designate up to four persons from whom the members of each arbitral tribunal could be chosen.

About 26 countries attended the peace conference. The attendees agreed on the need to establish an International Court of Arbitration where all disagreements between the European powers and the USA, except those related to the struggle for independence or territorial integrity, would be submitted. The conference drafted the agreement for establishing the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) not as a court but as an administrative organisation to assist temporary tribunals, including the commission of inquiry and reconciliation to solve disputes among states. The Permanent Court of Arbitration was established in 1900 and began operating in 1902. A few years later, in 1907, a second Hague Peace Conference, to which the states of Central and South America were also invited, revised the convention and improved the rules governing arbitral proceedings. This was an initiative of the US President Theodore Roosevelt and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia. The conference aimed to ensure long-lasting peace to all people, limit the progressive development of existing armament, and halt naval race between Great Britain and Germany. The peace treaty accomplished the establishment of the new Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) for settling disputes. The Hague was made its headquarters. It consisted of 15 judges who had to serve for three terms; each term had three years and four persons appointed from the member states to be members of the court.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) headed and settled international disputes related to commercial and investment treaties, territorial and maritime boundaries, human rights disputes, genocides, wars and crimes against humanity. The PCA settled different cases, including territorial conflicts over Timor Islands between Netherlands and Portugal.

The name of this court changed overtime due to the prevailing events which affected the world. For example, following the impact of the First World War (1914-1918), the deliberations in the Versailles Conference declared the change of name from PCA to the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ). PCA comprised of different chambers like the International Criminal Court (ICC), which dealt with world criminal cases. It should be noted that the PCA and the ICC dealt with world disputes at The Hague. Such disputes could be either criminal or non-criminal cases and were housed in the same building, famously known as the Peace Palace.





Exercise 3.6

1. Explain the events which led to the formation of PCA.
2. Discuss the weaknesses which made PCA fail to maintain peace in Europe.

The colonial rivalry in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East

European rivalries for colonies in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East were more evident in the 19th century. These rivalries clearly manifested imperialistic tendencies. The rivalries began as early as the 16th and 17th centuries, especially for the control of America and West Indies. The rivalries were under mercantile capitalist influences. Following the Industrial Revolution in Europe, rivalry for colonies in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East was evident. This rivalry became intense as capitalism reached its highest stage of monopoly capitalism, known as imperialism. At this stage, the Industrial Revolution created economic demands such as raw materials, cheap labour, areas for investment and markets. These demands necessitated the European powers to expand to other parts of the world such as Africa, the Middle East and the Far East.

The rivalries for colonies in Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East among European powers were therefore a manifestation of imperialism in the 19th century. The desired outcome during this time was colonisation, which called for European domination of these colonies to get exclusive economic rights.

The scramble for and partition of Africa and other parts of the world

Africa was the last continent to be colonised by European imperialist powers. The biggest part was colonised in the last quarter of 19th century. Scholars have provided different views to explain the scramble for and partition of Africa. Generally, they have used two broad views to explain the motives behind the conquest, occupation and eventual colonisation of Africa. These views fall within the framework of the bourgeois and Marxist explanations.

The bourgeois or Eurocentric view

Bourgeois scholars believe that the scramble for and partition of Africa mainly resulted from non-economic motives. They divide the non-economic factors into several groups, including socio-psychological, religious, diplomatic, and strategic factors. Generally, the bourgeois or non-economic motives fall under the Eurocentric



perspective. The perspective emphasised on political and cultural explanations as forces/motives for colonization of Africa. Some of the Eurocentric perspectives are elaborated below;

Social Darwinism had to do with Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and natural selection initially intended to study animal behaviours. His theory was commonly known as survival for the fittest. He argued that only superior animals and races would survive at the expense of weaker animals/races. In the 20th century, social scientist adopted Darwin's idea and used it to explain human behaviour. For example, some colonial historians used this theory to justify the conquest of 'subject races' or 'backward races' by the 'master race.' They viewed this as the inevitable process of natural selection by which the stronger races dominated the weaker races in the struggle for existence. Thus, the partition of Africa was consequently seen by them as part of this inevitable, natural process that the stronger race (Europeans) had to dominate the weaker race (Africans).

Evangelical Christianity is another bourgeois theory for the scramble for and partition of Africa. This theory is based on the notion that Europeans colonised Africa to spread Christianity which enabled Africans to withdraw from prevailing evil practices in the continent at that time. The missionaries also claimed to have humanitarian reasons such as abolishing the slave trade and solving the problems of diseases, hunger, famine and wars. The slave trade and slavery were to be attacked at their roots, inside the African continent. Thus, the European colonial scramble for Africa was powered by none other than the Christian and humanitarian imperatives.

These were also diplomatic factors advanced to explain scramble for and partition of Africa. There were two diplomatic theories. The first was the national prestige theory. It was propounded by Carlton Hayes who believed that imperialism was a nationalistic phenomenon. It was believed that having colonies in Africa symbolised prestige. Therefore, the country which possessed many colonies in Africa was also regarded as richer and stronger than the one that did not. In this view, territorial expansion was fed by feelings of national consciousness and national pride. During the second phase of the 19th century, European giants like Germany, Italy, France, Britain, Belgium, Spain and Portugal claimed to be superior to other nations. The possession of colonies became a test and proof of a nation's superiority. They believed that a nation that did nothing about colonial acquisition would be left behind. It was, thus, prestigious for a small country like Belgium to colonise the large Belgian Congo as was for Britain, which had many colonies.

The second diplomatic theory was based on the European balance of power. Its proponents, such as F. H. Hinsley, emphasised Europe's need for peace and stability at home as the primary cause of the partition. According to Hinsley, the decisive date for the shift towards an extra-European age (or an age of imperialism) was 1878. From that year, at the Congress of Berlin, Russian and British rivalries in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire brought the European nations a great crisis. European statesmen averted this crisis in power politics and drew back. Power politics from that point on to the Bosnian crisis of 1908 were removed from Europe and played out in Africa and Asia. When conflicting interests in Europe threatened to destroy European peace, European powers had no choice but to carve up Africa for preserving the European diplomatic balance that stabilised itself by the 1880s.

Besides socio-psychological, religious and diplomatic motives, bourgeois scholars recognise strategic reasons for the scramble for and partition of Africa. Scholars like Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher believed that the motive to colonise Africa was its strategic nature to the colonisers. For example, they stressed the strategic importance of Africa to European powers as an alternative way to India. For Britain, most of Africa had to be occupied for safeguarding her interests in India. In their view, Africa was not occupied because of what it could offer materially to the Europeans but because it was a gateway to European interests elsewhere. Africa was strategically important because of the Nile River, Suez Canal, strategic harbours, and ports that could be useful for navigation. For instance, it was believed that the Suez Canal was the main cause of the British occupation of Egypt in 1882.

The Economic theory or Marxist perspective

This theory is attached to two prominent scholars, namely V. I. Lenin and J. A. Hobson. In principle, the two scholars emphasised that the economic needs of European capitalism were the main forces behind the imperialist expansion into Africa. Hobson claimed that overproduction, surplus capital, and under-consumption in industrialised nations led them to place larger portions of their economic resources outside the area of their political domain and to expand to new areas. Thus, in Hobson's view, European rivalries and conquests over Africa were caused by overproduction, under-consumption, and surplus capital and Europe.

V. I. Lenin, borrowing from the central arguments of Hobson, emphasised that new imperialism was characterised by the transition of capitalism from what he called a pre-monopolist orientation in which free competition was predominant to the stage of monopoly capitalism and finance capital which intensified the struggle for the partition of the world into colonies. He emphasised that new imperialism or



“monopoly capitalism” necessitated Europeans to move out of Europe in search of raw materials, markets, cheap labours, and areas for investment. While competitive capitalism survived on the export of commodities, monopoly capitalism survived by exporting capital through banks and industries.

Other scholars adopted this perspective by stressing the importance of economic factors such as the need for new markets and raw materials in the scramble for and colonisation of Africa. Third world nationalists and radicals are examples of those scholars who adopted the views of Hobson and Lenin. Similar to radical western scholars, they portrayed imperialism and colonialism as the outcome of blatant economic exploitation.

Generally, proponents of the economic imperialism theory emphasise the need for markets and areas for investment as the major forces for the occupation of Africa. The idea of underconsumption was related to the decline of the labourers’ purchasing power since they were underpaid. Conquest and occupation were also due to the need for areas for investment. Therefore, Hobson and Lenin’s argument did not primarily explain the scramble for and partition of Africa; rather, they were concerned with the expansion of European states or nations in other parts of the world.

In Africa

Colonial rivalries intensified the scramble for and partition of the African continent. Areas with good climatic conditions, fertile soils, minerals, navigable rivers and other water bodies experienced intensive scramble. Such areas included East Africa, West Africa, Central and Southern Africa. The densely populated areas were also highly scrambled for since they provided labourers and markets for the European industrial goods.

Three examples of imperialistic events can provide the real picture. First, Britain and France collided over Egypt and Sudan. The two powers mobilised their troops ready to clash at Fashoda Village in Sudan in 1898, commonly known as the Fashoda incidence. Second, in South Africa, the British and the Dutch fought to control South Africa’s diamond and gold. The clash took place from 1899 to 1902 in what became known as the Second Anglo-Boer War or the South African War. In this devastating war, the Boers were defeated. During the war, the Boers were supported by King Wilhelm II of Germany. This brought Britain and Germany into conflicts and tensions. Third, France and Germany, which had been traditional enemies since 1870/71, also collided over the control of Morocco. Their imperialistic interests almost brought the two powers into war during the Moroccan Crises between 1905 and 1911.



In the Far East

Russia, Japan, Britain, Germany, USA and France had developed trading interests in China and Korea. In 1874, Britain occupied the Fiji Islands through military conquest. USA and Germany divided the Samoa Polynesian Island between themselves. In 1884, Germany colonised part of New Guinea. In 1895, Japan colonised Chinese provinces of Manchuria, Korea and Port Arthur.

The occupation of China and Korea by Japan annoyed Russia and France. In 1898 Russia declared war on Japan which led to the Russo-Japanese War. Japan was defeated and expelled from Manchuria, which was very rich in coal, a crucial energy source in industries. The defeat of Japan by Russia forced Japan to seek a military alliance with Britain. The alliance was signed in 1902. Britain trained the Japanese army and supplied Japan with modern arms. This alliance improved the Japanese army. Satisfied with the mighty improvement of its military army, Japan declared war of revenge on Russia in 1904. Russia was defeated in 1905. Consequently, Japan reoccupied Manchuria, Korea and Port Arthur.

In the Middle East

Germany and Britain competed with each other for the occupation of Iraq. Germany planned to construct a railway line from Berlin to Baghdad. The economic interest of the two powers was to exploit oil from Iraq. Britain, which had already developed trading interests in Iraq, interpreted Germany's plan of building the railway as a trick to occupy Egypt and control the Indian corridor. As a result, Britain and Germany became suspicious of each other.

Generally, between 1876 and 1914, the European nations had seized about 25 million square kilometres of colonial territories. The colonies were 1.5 times larger than the whole of Western Europe. Britain alone had seized 22.5 million square kilometres of colonial territories, with 259.1 million people. By 1914, Britain's colonial possession had increased by 11 million square kilometres, with an extra population of 141.6 million people. The European colonial rivalries in Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East were powered by the economic impulses associated with development of capitalism to its highest stage in Europe. Capitalism at the monopoly stage created economic demands that could not be fulfilled in Europe alone; thus, Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East had to be scrambled for and partitioned to fulfil European economic motives in the last quarter of the 19th century.



The transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism

The transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism was a complex process that involved multitudes of issues and players. Competitive capitalism or industrial capitalism, characterised by small competitive enterprises, gave way to monopolies in the late 19th century.

Processes that facilitated the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism

The transition from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism (imperialism) resulted from the development of productive forces and relations of production in bourgeois societies. Large-scale technical advances and the growth and concentration of industry became common in the late 19th century. In metallurgy, for instance, new methods of steel smelting, such as the Bessemer process and the Siemens-Martin process, were introduced. There was also a rapid spread of new sources of power such as the dynamo, internal combustion engine, steam turbine and the electric motor. All these new inventions accelerated the development of industry and transport.

The advancement in science and technology facilitated mass production of electric power in fuel-burning power stations and, later, large hydro-electric stations. The use of electric power created new branches of the chemical industry and metallurgy. The use of chemical methods was extended to various branches and processes of production. Due to improvements in the internal combustion engine, motor transport and later aviation advanced by leaps and bounds. The technological revolution facilitated the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism.

The Great Depression of 1873 was another important event that contributed to the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. Until the middle of the 19th century, the capitalist countries were still predominantly occupied by light industries. Numerous enterprises of comparatively small size belonged to individual owners, and the relative importance of joint-stock companies was comparatively slight. The economic crisis of 1873 collapsed many businesses of this kind and strongly boosted the concentration and centralisation of capital. The predominant industries of the main capitalist countries shifted from light to heavy industries. A great amount of capital was also needed for metallurgy, engineering and mining industries. This time witnessed an increase in joint-stock companies, which further increased capital centralisation.

The volume of world industrial production grew threefold between 1870 and 1900. World steel smelting, for instance, grew from 0.5 million tons in 1870 to 28 million



tons in 1900. In the same period, the world smelting of pig-iron rose from 12.2 million tons to 40.7 million. The development of power engineering, metallurgy and chemistry led to a growth in the world output of coal. Between 1870 and 1900, coal production grew from 218 million tons to 769 million tons, whereas petroleum production rose from 0.8 million tons to 20 million tons. The growth of industrial production was closely connected with the development of railway transport. In 1835, ten years after the first railway construction, there were 1,500 miles of railway track in the world. In 1870, there were over 125,000, and by 1900, it had reached 500,000 miles. Maritime routes came to be served by large vessels driven by steam-operated machinery and internal combustion engines. These growths in industrial production were key to the development of capitalism to the monopoly stage.

The emergence of other capitalist competitors to Britain also fueled the development of monopoly capitalism. During the 19th century, the capitalist mode of production spread rapidly throughout the world. At the beginning of the 1870s Britain, the oldest bourgeois country, still produced more cloth, smelted more pig-iron and mined more coal than the USA, Germany, France, Italy, Russia and Japan combined. Britain held the leading place in world industrial production and an undivided monopoly of the world market. However, towards the end of the 19th century, the situation underwent a marked change. In the younger capitalist countries, their large-scale industries had grown up. Owing to this, Britain lost her industrial leadership and her monopoly position on the world market. In respect of the volume of industrial production, the USA took the first place in the world, and Germany took first place in Europe. Russia was moving rapidly along the path of industrial development despite hindrances from numerous surviving elements of serfdom in the country's economic and social system and by the rotten Tsarist regime.

As the transition to imperialism took place, the contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations of capitalism came to assume ever more acute forms. Economic crises of overproduction began to recur more frequently. Their destructive force increased, and the number of unemployed surged. Besides the growth of poverty and misery among the working masses of town and country, wealth was unprecedentedly concentrated in the hands of a few individuals called the exploiters. The sharpening of the irreconcilable class contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat intensified economic and political struggle by the working class.



Relations between capitalist alliances and the development of monopoly capitalism in the subsequent division of the world

The territorial division of the world among the biggest capitalist powers went hand in hand with the dominance of monopolies and finance capital. In these monopolies, the export of capital had acquired pronounced importance. The need for capital exportation necessitated the division of the world among the international trusts. Therefore, the transformation from competitive to monopoly capitalism intensified the Europeans scramble for the spheres of influence and the partition of the world.

Monopoly capitalism was associated with the economic division of the world between alliances of capitalists and the territorial division of the world among the bourgeois states. It constituted the struggle for the occupation of foreign lands, popularly called colonies or semi-colonies. While colonies refer to the countries possessed by imperialist metropolitan states, semi-colonies are economically underdeveloped countries that are objects of colonial exploitation from imperialist powers. Thus, semi-colonies are economically and politically dependent on imperialist states but retain formal independence.

Defenders of the bourgeoisie (bourgeois scholars) argue that imperialist rule over the colonies carried a “civilising mission.” Colonisation to them meant to lead backward people on the path to progress and independent development. In reality, imperialist rule over the colonies was directly related to the economic demands created by European industrial development. Therefore, imperialism subjected the colonial and dependent countries to economic backwardness, and hundreds of millions of the inhabitants of these countries suffered oppression, exploitation, poverty, hunger, ignorance and lack of rights. The seizure of colonies by the imperialist powers led to the unprecedented oppression and racial discrimination. In Lenin’s view, capitalism was transformed in its imperialist phase from the liberator of nations, which it had been in the period of struggle against feudalism, into a terrible oppressor of weaker nations.

In the mid-18th century, Britain colonised India, a country with rich natural resources and a population exceeding the metropole. In the middle of the 19th century, the USA seized extensive territories belonging to her neighbour, Mexico, and in the following decades established its domination over several countries of Latin America. In the 1860s and 1870s, the colonial possessions of the European countries still occupied a comparatively small part of the overseas territories.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, in the transition to the monopoly stage of capitalism, the map of the world underwent radical changes. The developed capitalist countries followed the oldest colonial power (Britain) on the road of territorial



conquest. France became a great colonial power towards the end of the 19th century, with possessions of 3.7 million square miles. Germany seized a million square miles of territory with 14.7 million inhabitants. Belgium occupied 900,000 square miles with 30 million inhabitants. The USA conquered the most important foothold in the Pacific Ocean (the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, Hawaii, and Samoa) and indirectly dominated several South and Central American countries.

Between 1876 and 1914, the imperialist powers conquered about 10 million square miles of territory. The area was one-and-a-half times the size of the metropolitan countries themselves. Many countries were reduced to semi-colonial dependencies of the imperialist states. These semi-colonies included China, with its population amounting to about a quarter of all mankind, Turkey and Persia (Iran). By the beginning of the First World War, more than half of the world population was under the rule of the colonial powers.

The imperialists established and maintained their power over the colonies by methods of bogus treaties or agreements and coercion, utilising the superiority of their military techniques. The history of colonial domination was full of wars of conquest and brutality against the colonised people. Bloody clashes between the colonising countries also characterized it. Lenin called the war of the United States against Spain in 1898 "the first war of the imperialist type, marking the beginning of the epoch of imperialist wars." The Filipino revolt against their conquerors was cruelly put down by the American forces. Likewise, the Hehe resistance against the Germans was brutally ended by the German forces in German East Africa.

Towards the beginning of the 20th century, the division of the world was complete. The colonial policy of the capitalist countries led to the conquest of all the lands unoccupied by the imperialists. The completion of the division of the world placed on the order of the day the struggle to re-divide it. The struggle to re-divide the already divided world was one of the fundamental features of monopoly capitalism. This struggle eventually took the form of a struggle for world domination, leading to imperialist wars on a world scale. The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), the First World War (1914-1918), the Second World War (1939-1945) and Cold War (1945-1990) serve as examples of the wars that resulted from the struggle to re-divide the World. The imperialist wars and arms race brought severe hardships upon the peoples of all the capitalist countries and claimed millions of human lives and destroyed property. At the same time, wars and militarisation of the economy were profitable matters for the monopolies, which gave them particularly high profits.



Revision exercise 3

1. Explain the concept of imperialism from the bourgeois and Marxist interpretations.
2. Examine the basic economic features of monopoly capitalism as stipulated by V.I. Lenin.
3. Account for the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism.
4. Examine the bottlenecks that complicated German unification.
5. Analyse the factors for the development of military alliances in Europe.
6. “The alliance system brought Europe into “trouble.” Discuss this statement with vivid examples.
7. Describe the events that led to the Berlin Congress of 1878.
8. Analyse the outcomes of the Berlin Congress of 1878.
9. The 1878 Berlin Congress resulted from “imperialistic circumstances.” Support this statement with five points.
10. Explain the reasons for the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague in Holland, 1899.
11. Discuss the reasons for the colonial rivalries in Africa, the Middle East and the Far East.
12. Relate the partition of Africa to the development of monopoly capitalism.
13. Why and how did capitalism change its political relations with the periphery between the 1880s and 1914?
14. To what extent was the First World War an imperialist war?
15. ‘While the Great Depression of 1873 was a blessing to the US and Germany, it was the opposite to Britain.’ Comment on this assertion.



Chapter Four

Rise of democracy in Europe

Introduction

From the 15th to the 20th century, the rise of capitalism was associated with major changes in economy, culture, technology, and politics that structured Western Europe. In this chapter, you will learn about the background to the rise of democracy and the principles that governed politics in Europe. Furthermore, you will learn about the English Revolution (1640-1689), the Glorious Revolution (1688), the French Revolution (1789), and the contributions of the 1848 Revolutions to the development of democracy in Europe. Similarly, you will learn German and Italian unifications. The competencies developed will enable you to apply democratic principles in solving various challenges at the family and the national levels.

Background to the rise of democracy in Europe

The term “democracy” is derived from a combination of two Greek words, *demos* which means “people” and *kratos*, which means “rule.” Therefore, democracy is about the rule of the people. Various scholars have defined the concept “democracy” at different times. The 16th President of the USA, Abraham Lincoln, defined democracy as a government of the people, by the people and for the people. In contrast, Joseph Schumpeter defined it as a political method and mechanism for choosing political leadership. Therefore, according to Schumpeter, democracy is an institutional arrangement for reaching political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide using a competitive struggle for people’s votes.

The rise of modern democracy in Europe can be traced back to the 15th century CE. This is when Europe witnessed the rise of nation-states with full-fledged institutions such as the parliament, which is a typical example of the characteristics of democracy in modern states. The European rulers utilised the aggressive methods implied by Renaissance political ideas to build their governments. The Renaissance political ideas were first developed in present-day Italy then spread to France, England and Spain.



Up to the 1780s, there were about four political systems in Europe. First, there was an absolute hereditary king in which the sovereignty was embodied in the king as the ruler. Second, the absolute kings who claimed to rule by divine right, meaning that they were responsible to God only, although they had to respect the fundamental laws of the land. This system was common in France, Austria and Prussia. Third, there was constitutional monarchy which was also highly practised. This was common in England and Holland, whereby there was a balance between the authority and power of government on the one hand, and the rights and liberties of the citizens, on the other. Fourth, there existed Republics in Switzerland, Genoa, Venice, the United Provinces, and the elective Monarchy in Poland and Papal states.

Activity 4.1



If these ruling systems were applied in today's Tanzania how would people respond? And why?

Principles that governed politics in Europe

Politics in Europe was dominated by absolute monarchy between 1500 and 1800. The monarchy was the most prevalent form of government in the history of Europe. Absolute monarchy meant that the state's sovereign power or ultimate authority rested in the hands of the king, who claimed to rule by divine right, derived directly from God. The monarchical power was not limited by any institution or earthly authority such as parliament, constitution or church. The absolute monarchy exercised ultimate control over the state and its subjects, as head of state and government. Consequently, the king or queen was not subject to the will of people, the clergy or the nobility. The King's Council made all important decisions about political, economic and social aspects of life.

The divine right of kings implied that whoever could attempt to oust the king from his office or restrict his powers was contrary to the will of God. Monarchies were described as absolute in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Age of Absolutism began with the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) and ended with the French Revolution (1789). There were four (4) principles that governed absolutism.

The first principle was the Divine Right, in which the king had absolute powers. This principle governed politics in Europe before the rise of democracy. Under the Divine Right principle, the king got authority from God. He represented God on earth, and, therefore, he was answerable to God only and not to their subjects. It was believed that God created monarchies to represent him on earth. Stuart was the founder

of the theory. The theory came to the fore in England under James I of England (1603–1625, also known as James VI of Scotland 1567–1625). Kings Charles II and James II of England continued to uphold the theory. The Stuarts were believed to be the representatives of God on the earth. Louis XIV of France (1643–1715) strongly promoted the theory as well. The theory of Divine Right denied democracy of the majority people.

Throughout Europe, the divine right of kings was the theological justification for absolute monarchy. With the rise of nation-states and the Protestant Reformation, the theory of Divine Right justified the king's absolute authority in both political and spiritual matters. The Catholic Church, as an institution, controlled the states since religion was not separated from state affairs. The church enjoyed state political and religious powers as well as privileges with disguised religious control. For example, the law obliged all citizens to belong to the Catholic Church in France and Anglican Church in Britain. Respect to the state meant respect to the church. Since it was the period of feudalism, the church-owned estates, and tenants who worked on its land. Rents and taxes collected belonged to the church. The widespread absolute monarchy in Europe declined substantially after the French Revolution and the First World War, which promoted theories of government based on popular sovereignty.

The second principle was royal ruling dynasties. In this principle, the position of an absolute monarchy was usually hereditary. It was inherited according to a statutory or customary order of succession, usually within one royal family tracing its origin through a historical dynasty or bloodline. The heir to the throne was known well in advance of becoming a monarchy to ensure a smooth succession. Primogeniture, in which the eldest child of the monarchy was first in line to become a monarchy, was the most common system in hereditary monarchy. The order of succession was usually affected by rules on gender. Historically, ‘patrilineal primogeniture was favoured. That meant inheritance based on seniority of birth among the sons of a monarchy or head of the family, with sons inheriting before brothers. In the male-line, males inherited before females of the male line. Sometimes inheritance went to a female royal heir. For example, as King James I of England was 52 years, and since his second marriage was childless after 11 years, the heir presumptive was his Protestant daughter Mary. Examples of inheritance of the absolute monarchy based on the hereditary principle were found in England: The Tudor Monarchy, which ruled England from the time of King Henry VII (1485) to Queen Elizabeth I (1603); and the Stuart family from King Charles I (1603) to King James II (1688). The Tudor dynasty ruled England's monarchy for 120 years. Another series of rulers from a single family or dynasty (usually known as “House of Royal Family”) was found



in France/Spain where Bourbon ruled for 200 years. Henry of Navarre started the Bourbon line. In Austria/Spain, the Habsburg dynasty also ruled the monarchy for more than 500 years. In Prussia, similarly, the Hohenzollern dynasty also ruled the monarchy for more than 500 years. The Romanov dynasty ruled the Russian monarchy for 300 years. The key to the power and success of absolute monarchy depended on how they solved their financial problems.

The third principle was absolute monarchism. In absolute monarchy, kings or queens held supreme autocratic authority. Principally monarchies were not restricted by written laws, legislature, or unwritten customs. Many European monarchies claimed supreme autocratic power by divine right, and their subjects had no right to limit their powers. Kings or queens controlled all parts of society as much as possible. The earliest absolute powers to rise in Europe were Portugal, Spain, Holland, France and England. Examples of absolute monarchies were Kings Charles V and Phillip II of Spain, Kings Henry VII and Charles I of England, and Kings Louis XIV and XVI of France. Absolute powers of the kings were dominant in Europe, limiting the freedom and rights of the people. The principle of absolutism empowered kings or queens to rule without consulting advisors and parliament.

The fourth principle that dominated European politics before the rise of liberal democracy was the aristocratic leadership system. The term is derived from the Greek word *aristokratia*, meaning ‘rule of the best’. Aristocracy refers to the form of government whereby power is held by individuals from the social elite or from noble families. The aristocratic system placed powers in the hands of a small, privileged ruling class, the aristocrats. However, the transfer of power was often hereditary. Aristocracies dominated political and economic power for most of the medieval and modern periods, almost everywhere in Europe. Aristocracies used wealth and land ownership to form a powerful political force. The English Civil War involved the first sustained and organized effort to reduce aristocratic power in Europe. In the 18th century, a rising merchant class attempted to buy aristocracy and partly succeeded. However, the French Revolution in the 1790s forced many French aristocrats into exile and caused consternation and shock in the aristocratic families of neighbouring countries. After the defeat of Napoleon I in 1814, some surviving exiles returned, but their position within French society was not recovered.



Exercise 4.1

1. What were the advantages and disadvantages of absolute monarchy in the development of democracy?
2. Why did the absolute monarchies prefer the aristocratic system of leadership in their kingdoms?

The rise of opposition to absolutism and divine rule in Europe

The transformation of European politics was motivated by the need to change the old ruling system of absolute monarchy to democratic states. The absolute rule witnessed opposition from various groups. Absolutism and divine rule created a sense of a need for changes in Europe. The absolute monarchy was a decaying feudal institution. The rise of mercantilism created new classes which opposed absolute monarchism. The opposition to absolutism and divine rule in Europe came from great thinkers, intellectuals, merchants, philosophers, usurers/bankers and industrialists. The philosophers, writers and great thinkers called for liberty, equality and fraternity to dominate societies in Europe. These people wrote their ideas to conscientise people about the social, political and economic situations. Their ideas created awareness and sharpened the minds of ordinary citizens, especially the lower classes (peasants, agricultural and industrial workers). Their ideas influenced fundamental changes and promoted democratic ideas, which facilitated political revolutions in many European countries such as England and France. These ordinary citizens started to oppose the divine rule, which barred people's freedom of press, opinion and association.

The emerging capitalist class looked at the absolute monarchy as oppressive and ineffective in administering nation-states. The nobility and the Roman Catholic Church were not taxed, whereas peasants and middle class were heavily taxed. The middle class consisted of the rising capitalist class, namely merchants, shippers, usurers/bankers and industrialists. They complained that taxing was too much for them to manage. They also accused kings of misusing national resources. Moreover, they complained that the economic reforms proposed by the finance officers under monarchies in England and France were a burden to peasants, merchants and industrialists. They also accused the nobility of being too extravagant. For example, in France, Robert Turgot and Necker opposed King Louis XVI's extravagance. Besides high taxes, there were many oppressive laws. Repressive laws contributed to the rise of opposition to absolute monarchism.



The opposition was intensified because the divine rule blocked democracy in Europe. As time went on, intellectuals, merchants, bankers and industrialists opposed the divine rule which prevented people's freedom. All these groups were fighting for liberal democracy and meaningful changes in the governance of their European countries. The liberals emphasised the necessity of political equality within European societies. They also stressed the need for the freedom of press, worship and transparency in electoral processes.

Under the monarchy, absolutism intensified frequent conflicts among European neighbours. Early modern Europe was dominated by Wars of Religion, notably the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), during which the major European monarchies developed into great centralized states sustained by their colonial empires. In the early modern period, the main European powers were the Kingdom of France with its colonial empire and the Portuguese Empire of the Kingdom of Portugal (personal union with Spain 1580–1640) and the Portuguese Empire. Others included the Spanish Empire of Habsburg Spain (after 1700 Bourbon Spain), the British Empire of the English and the Scottish Union of the Crowns (after the 1707 Kingdom of Great Britain).

Many wars drained national treasuries, making some monarchies bankrupt. Some of these wars were the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) and the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) when England engaged in the war between continental Catholic and Protestant nations. Other wars included the Bishops' Wars (1639–1640) and the English Civil Wars (1642–1651). The wars among these monarchies created economic hardships for ordinary people. Others were being arrested and imprisoned without trial. All of these intensified the need for change. Thus, the economic and social changes that took place from the 15th century CE played a significant role in the struggles for political changes in Europe. People wanted new democracy and its institutions that would serve the interests of the mass.

Exercise 4.2

1. Explain the principles that governed politics in Europe before the rise of modern democracy.
2. Historicize the rise of opposition to absolutism and divine rule in Europe.



3. Discuss measures that monarchies took to rescue the monarchy from collapsing.
4. Account for the development of anti-monarchism in Europe.
5. Why did the rising capitalist class resist the absolute regime in Europe?

The English Revolution (1640-1689)

The English Revolution in 1688 was preceded by the English Civil Wars waged from 1642 to 1651 in England. The civil wars were a culmination of long-term conflicts between the English monarchy and the masses which composed of the rising capitalist class, middle class and peasants who resented the monarchy rule in favour of the parliamentary rule. The civil wars succeed in reducing the powers of the monarchy by increasing some powers of the parliament. However, these parliamentary powers, which were based on liberal democracy, were still limited by the monarchy. The civil wars were a revolution that prepared a favourable condition for the English Revolution, leading to the triumph of liberal democracy and parliamentary rule.

Causes, aims and effects of the 1640 English Revolution on Britain

The English Civil War (1642–1651) was a series of civil wars and political machinations between parliamentarians “Roundheads” and Royalists “Cavaliers”, mainly over the manner of England’s governance and issues of religious freedom. It was part of the wider wars of the three kingdoms. The first (1642–1646) and second (1648–1649) wars pitted the supporters of King Charles I against the supporters of the long parliament, while the third (1649–1651) saw fighting between supporters of King Charles I and supporters of the Rump Parliament. The wars also involved the Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates. The war ended with parliamentarian victory at the Battle of Worcester on 3rd September 1651.

The English Civil War started in 1642. The causes of the English Civil War can be traced from the time of King James I (1603–1625). The major cause was the growing opposition against the absolute monarchy in England. King James I and his son Charles I had a lot of weaknesses in their leadership. They met a strong opposition from people because they strongly believed in the Divine Right of the King’s principle. For example, based on this principle, King James I abused his political powers when he remarked in 1609 that “there are no privileges and immunities which can stand against a divinely appointed king.” His remarks to the members of Parliament led to



intense hatred by English puritans. This hatred reached the climax during the reign of his son, King Charles I.

After his death in 1625, King James I was succeeded by his son King Charles I (1625-1649). Under his rule, England faced many political, economic and social problems. In 1629, the king dissolved the Parliament and ruled England without Parliament up to 1640. This brought him into serious problems as he devised his new methods of taxing the people without the parliament's approval. Accordingly, no more laws were formulated to promote the common good of England.

The religious intolerance of King James I and King Charles I contributed to the rise of the English Civil War. During the reign of King Henry VIII, Anglicanism was made the state religion of England. When James I came to power, he favoured the Catholics in various aspects. In 1633, for example, Charles I appointed William Laud the Clergy as Archbishop of Canterbury. The King allowed a Catholic archbishop William Laud to impose Catholic rituals and ceremonies on all churches. The Archbishop authorised games, football, dances, and archery in the church courtyards on Sunday. This led the Anglican Protestants whom the teaching of John Calvin had influenced to form a radical movement known as Puritanism. It desired to purify the Anglican Church that had become spoiled by the Catholic rituals and observances. The movement condemned the Episcopal system of the Catholic Church government. This annoyed King James I as he regarded the Puritans as traitors.

Moreover, the religious reforms imposed by the Catholic Archbishop William Laud aroused armed rebellion throughout Scotland. Enjoying powers and privileges of the Bishops under the Court of Star Chamber and the Council of North, Archbishop William Laud introduced more religious reforms. He ordered the Anglican Bishops of Scotland to wear a white cloak like those worn by the Catholic Bishops. In 1637, he imposed the Episcopal system of the church government upon the Scottish Presbyterians. This included the common prayer book. The religious reforms irritated the Scottish who then rebelled against Archbishop Laud and King Charles I. In 1639, King Charles I was forced to convene a general conference of all churches at Glasgow to consider the issue of the Common Prayer Book. The conference abolished both the Episcopal system of the church government and the common Prayer Book. This angered King Charles I who immediately stopped the conference before the consensus had been reached. King Charles I also mobilised his army to suppress the armed rebellion. The Church assembly replied by mobilising its volunteers. The whole episode culminated in the civil war of 1642. King Charles I established the High Court of Commission and used it to impose new laws. The English Anglicans

interpreted that King Charles I was trying to restore Catholicism in England. The people revolted against Charles I and Archbishop William Laud. King Charles I mobilised in vain the troops to suppress the revolts.

Economic hostilities also caused the English civil war. The hostilities began during the reign of King James I and increased during the reign of King Charles I. King James I introduced his means of taxing the people, that had not been sanctioned by the Parliament. When the Parliament questioned that, James I responded by dissolving the House of Commons and the House of the Lords in 1611. When King Charles I came into power in 1625, he also introduced illegal methods of taxation, which put him into conflicts with the Parliament, Puritans and the general public.

Between 1628 and 1629, inflation was too high in England. At the same time, government expenditure was expanding. But King Charles I had no funds to implement his policies. This economic crisis forced the King to call the Parliament in 1628. He wanted the Parliament to endorse the budget to enable him to finance his policies. Although several statutes of Edward I and Edward III, notably their confirmations of Magna Carta, had made it illegal for the Crown to exact any taxes without the consent of the Parliament, the prerogative of levying ship money in times of war had never fallen. Earlier in 1619, King James I had aroused no popular opposition by levying £40,000 of ship money on London and £8,550 on other seaport towns. In 1628, Charles I, having prolonged Parliament in early summer and after his ascent to the Petition of Right, proceeded to levy ship money on every county in England without Parliament's approval by issuing writs requiring £173,000 to be returned to the exchequer. This was the first occasion on which the demand for ship money aroused serious opposition.

When the Parliament met for a session, it came up with a document called the Petition of Right (1628). It was a document sent by the English Parliament to King Charles I to complain about a series of breaches of the law. It required King Charles I to accept that he had no right to impose taxes on people without the consent of the Parliament. He had to accept that he had no right to imprison people without legal cause. He also had to accept that he had no right to put a person on trial by court-martial during peace as well as to accept that he had no right to force his soldiers to live into people's private houses.

King Charles I was compelled to accept the petition, but he later ignored its principles and decided to dissolve Parliament in 1629. For eleven years, he ruled England without Parliament. The King ruled the monarchy by decrees. He resumed his old tricks of raising money using various illegal means. For example, he revived obsolete



feudal laws and collected fines from all who violated them. He forced rich burghers (middle-class people) to apply for knighthood and then charged them high fees for their titles. He also sold monopolies at exorbitant rates and admonished his judges to increase the fines in criminal cases. In addition, he confiscated land from people who failed to provide any documentary proofs of their ownership of lands. Those who refused to provide proof of land ownership were fined. He also introduced an illegal form of tax called the “Ship money.” Ship money was a tax of medieval origin levied intermittently in the Kingdom of England until the middle of the 17th century. Assessed typically on the inhabitants of coastal areas of England, it was one of several taxes that English monarchies could levy by prerogative without the approval of Parliament. The attempt of King Charles I from 1634 onwards to levy ship money during peacetime and extend it to the inland counties of England without Parliamentary approval provoked fierce resistance. Ship money was one of the grievances of the English propertied class in the lead-up to the English Civil War. The kings of England had exercised the right of requiring the maritime towns and counties to furnish ships in the time of war. This duty was commuted for a money payment. All these measures put him into conflict with the people.

King James I’s spirit was continued by King Charles I, who wanted England to war with France. To wage that war, the monarchy needed money to finance the army. He presented the request to the Parliament, but the Parliament rejected the king’s request. Members of the Parliament who refused to endorse the fund for the war were severely punished. As a result, the king became unpopular among his people.

In 1640, King Charles I was forced to summon the parliament. The first phase of the revolution had started. The parliament met and, in 1641, passed the Triennial Act, which contained three resolutions:

- King Charles I should summon the parliament after every three years.
- The parliament impeached Archbishop William Laud and abolished the Court of High Commission.
- The parliament coerced Charles I to swear that he will not dissolve the parliament again.

No consensus was reached between the king and members of the parliament. As a result, England entered a period of bloodshed, the English Civil Wars. The war started in Scotland and spread to other parts of England in 1642. The English Civil Wars (1642–51) were waged between Parliamentarians and supporters of the monarchy (Royalists). The tension between Charles I and the House of Commons had been



mounting for some time. In 1641, King Charles I and the Parliament confronted issues of military funding and control. To prevent the Parliament from usurping royal privilege, which Charles viewed as a divinely granted right, he entered Parliament to arrest five members, including Oliver Cromwell. However, he failed. As a result, there was an army split in loyalties; that is, Royalists against the Parliamentarians, with whom the Scottish Covenanters allied themselves. After his unsuccessful attempt to arrest the five members of Parliament, both sides prepared for war.

In 1642, the war broke out. Oliver Cromwell, one of the leaders of the Puritans, organised his forces into an army. In 1646, his army forced King Charles I to surrender. King Charles I was captured in 1648 and tried under a special court for treason. The court found him guilty and condemned him to death on 30th January, 1649. This marked the end of the “Divine Right of King” in England. Therefore, the War had its roots in long-term social, religious and economic causes, namely tenurial insecurity, economic instability, indebtedness, and a desire to have the Roman Catholic Church restored to its pre-reformation position and immediate political factors that triggered the outbreak of violence. It was an expression of strong opposition by the English majority to absolute monarchy.

Exercise 4.3

1. Explain the causes of the English Civil Wars of 1642-1649.
2. Why did King Charles I refuse to observe the Triennial Act of 1641?
3. Discuss the reasons behind King James I's efforts to restore the Catholic faith in England.

Impact of the English Revolution of 1640 on Britain

The English Revolution of 1640 had far reaching effects on Britain. They included the following:

- (a) The civil war ended in 1646 after the defeat of King Charles I. The king was tried for treason before the High Court of Justice. King Charles I's Secret Pacts and encouragement for supporters to break their parole caused Parliament to debate whether to return the king to power. Those who still supported Charles' place on the throne, such as the army leader and moderate Fairfax, tried again to negotiate with him. The army, furious that Parliament continued to countenance King Charles I as a ruler, then marched on Parliament



and conducted ‘Pride’s Purge’ (named after the commanding officer of the operation, Thomas Pride) in December 1648. Troops arrested 45 members and kept 146 out of the chamber. They allowed only 75 members in, and then only at the Army’s bidding. This Rump Parliament received orders to set up, in the name of the people of England, a High Court of Justice for the trial of Charles I for treason. Fairfax, a constitutional monarchist, declined to have anything to do with the trial. He resigned as head of the army, so clearing Cromwell’s road to power. At the end of the trial, 59 judges found Charles I guilty of high treason as a ‘tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy.’ He was beheaded on 30th January, 1649. After the Restoration in 1660, nine of the surviving regicides not living in exile were executed and most others were sentenced to life imprisonment. After the regicide, Charles, Prince of Wales as the eldest son was publicly proclaimed King Charles II as King of England on 17th February, 1649.

- (b) Oliver Cromwell dissolved the monarchy system and became a ruthless military dictator from 1653 to 1658 in England. He replaced the English monarchy with the Commonwealth of England which, from 1653, was known as the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. Oliver Cromwell led the armies of the Parliament of England against King Charles I during the English Civil War, subsequently ruling the British Isles as Lord Protector from 1653 until his death in 1658. He acted simultaneously as head of state and head of government of the new republican commonwealth. He became an Independent Puritan, taking a generally tolerant view towards many Protestant sects of the time. He entered the English Civil Wars on the side of the ‘Roundheads’ or Parliamentarians against Royalists “Cavaliers”, mainly over the manner of England’s governance and issues of religious freedom. The Civil War was also part of the wider wars of the three kingdoms. Cromwell was one of the signatories of King Charles I’s death warrant in 1649 and dominated the short-lived Commonwealth of England as a member of the Rump Parliament (1649–1653). Cromwell’s forces defeated the Confederate and Royalist coalition in Ireland and occupied the country, ending the Irish Confederate Wars. During this period, a series of Penal Laws were passed against the Roman Catholics, a significant minority in England and Scotland but the vast majority in Ireland. A substantial amount of their land was confiscated. Cromwell also led a campaign against the Scottish army between 1650 and 1651. On 20th April, 1653, Cromwell dismissed the Rump Parliament by force, setting up a short-lived nominated assembly known as Barebone’s Parliament, before being invited by his fellow leaders to rule as Lord Protector of England



(which included Wales), Scotland, and Ireland from 16th December, 1653. As a ruler, he executed an aggressive and effective foreign policy. Nevertheless, Cromwell's policy of religious toleration for Protestant denominations during the protectorate extended only to "God's peculiar" and not to those considered to be heretics, such as the Quakers, Socinians and Ranters.

- (c) Puritans (those who did not support the Anglican Church) became England's main religion and tried to impose their ways on everyone. The Puritans were English Protestants in the 16th and 17th centuries who sought to purify the Church of England of Roman Catholic practices, maintaining that the Church of England had not been fully reformed and should become more Protestant. The Puritans were members of a religious reform movement, known as Puritanism, which arose within the Church of England in the late 16th century. They believed that the Church of England was too similar to the Roman Catholic Church, and that it needed to eliminate ceremonies and practices not rooted in the Bible. Puritanism played a significant role in English history, especially during the Protectorate period. Puritans were dissatisfied with the limited extent of the English Reformation. They were also not happy with the Church of England's toleration of certain practices associated with the Roman Catholic Church. They alternatively formed groups and identified with various religious groups advocating greater purity of worship and doctrine as well as personal and corporate piety. Puritans adopted a Reformed theology, and they were Calvinists. In church polity, some advocated separation from all other established Christian denominations favouring autonomous gathered churches. These Separatist and independent strands of Puritanism became prominent in the 1640s, when the supporters of a Presbyterian polity in the Westminster Assembly could not forge a new English national church. Puritans supporting Parliamentarianism became a major political force in England and came to power as a result of the First English Civil War (1642–1646). Almost all Puritan clergy left the Church of England after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the 1662 Uniformity Act. Many continued to practice their faith in nonconformist denominations, especially in Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches.
- (d) The war restored the power of the English king after the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658. Cromwell was succeeded by his son Richard, 1658–1660, whose weakness led to power vacuum. The English army and Parliament rejected Richard Cromwell. Oliver Cromwell's former General George Monck mounted a coup, causing Parliament to return to London, Prince Charles as



King Charles II. Thus, King Charles II, the son of Charles I, was restored by Parliament to rule England. The Royalists returned to power in 1660. King Charles II who left England for France, was restored to power by inviting him back to England from exile. This was a setback to the needed liberal democracy in England.

- (e) The War destroyed the economy of London and England at large. The warring sides destroyed infrastructure and buildings. People also lost their lives. The economy was devastated, making it difficult for the government to serve people. This added the economic woes and debts burden which England had already accumulated. The civil war increased the burden of taxation to London, leading to a major economic crisis, not only because of the interrelationship between its economy and that of the rest of England but also because of its function as the hub of the social and economic networks of the kingdom and of the rest of the world. Despite difficulties, London remained the economic powerhouse of the nation.
- (f) Constitutionally, the wars established a precedent that an English monarchy cannot govern without Parliament's consent. The war was a victory for parliamentarians who wanted more democracy by limiting the powers for the monarchy against the royalists who wanted to preserve the monarchy.
- (g) The War also laid the foundation for the English Glorious Revolution of 1688, which reduced the power of the monarchy into a constitutional monarchy.

Exercise 4.4

1. Discuss the lessons drawn from the English Civil Wars of 1642-1649.
2. Analyse the social-economic impact of English Revolution of 1640s on Britain.

The Glorious Revolution (1688)

The Glorious Revolution, also called “The Revolution of 1688” or “The Bloodless Revolution,” took place from 1688 to 1689 in England. It involved the overthrow of Catholic King James II, who was replaced by his Protestant daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, William of Orange. The English Revolution was a direct expression of strong opposition to absolutism in England. It took place in three different phases.



The first two phases of the revolution involved major bloodshed. Conversely, the last phase did not involve bloodshed. That is why the revolution is called glorious.

Causes and objectives of the revolution of 1688 in Britain

Although the advent of the Glorious Revolution was in June 1688, its root causes went back to the reign of King Charles II (1660-1689). King Charles II assumed power in 1660, during the restoration of the English absolute rule, following the period of Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth.

King Charles II introduced new reforms to correct the mistakes committed during the reign of the Cromwell family. For example, he restored the House of Parliament made up of the nobles and the clergy of higher ranks. The House of Commons was made up of the gentry' people (merchants, professional people from towns and cities, and landowning people of good family). Bishops were restored to Parliament, which established a strict Anglican orthodox. The period, which also included the reign of James II (1685–88), was marked by an expansion in colonial trade and the Anglo-Dutch Wars. He established the Anglican Church as the Church of England. He also introduced the courts of law and the system of local governments. Despite such reforms, Charles II failed to solve other problems. The Parliament had looked at the restoration of Charles II in 1660 as a basis for a long-term solution to the problems of relations between crown and parliament, public finance, religion and foreign policy. Moreover, the king failed to separate the powers of the office of the king and those of the parliament. The members of the parliament used this weakness as a loophole to formulate new laws that led to his downfall.

Apart from the parliamentary reforms, King Charles II also failed to reconcile the Puritans, the dissenters from the Anglican Church and the Catholics. Thus, an atmosphere of religious intolerance continued to plague the English people, and the Catholics were the most disadvantaged people. In 1670, King Charles II signed a secret treaty with King Louis XIV of France to run his government and financially support the soldiers. King Louis XIV pledged to assist King Charles II but under the condition that King Charles II was to get a total of 200,000 sterling pounds annually. In return, King Louis XIV demanded him to relax the laws against the Roman Catholics and gradually declare Catholicism as the state religion of England. This implied that King Charles II himself was to be converted to Catholicism. King Charles II also had to support the French policy against the Dutch. When the secret treaty leaked out, a new wave of anti-Catholicism swept England.



In 1673, the Parliament issued a decree called the Test Act of 1673 against King Charles II. The Test Act excluded from military and public civil office all those who refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy of the Church of England's rites, or who refused to receive the communion according to the rites of the Church of England and those who refused to renounce belief in the Roman Catholic doctrine of Communion. This Act enforced upon all persons filling any office, civil or military, the obligation of taking the oath of supremacy and allegiance and subscribing to a declaration against transubstantiation and of receiving the sacrament within three months after admittance to office. The oath for the Test Act of 1673 was: "I, (Name), do declare that I do believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of the bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever." The Act made it compulsory for all people, including the Catholics, to receive the Anglican Sacrament. The Catholics who refused to abide by it were denied the right to vote, hold public office, preach, teach or join university. They were not even allowed to assemble for meetings. The Test Acts were a series of English penal laws that served as a religious test for public office and imposed various civil disabilities on Roman Catholics and nonconformists. The underlying principle was that only people taking communion in the established Church of England were eligible for public employment. The severe penalties pronounced against recusants, whether Catholic or nonconformist. Similar laws were introduced in Scotland concerning the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. However, the Tory government repealed them in 1828.

The laws made the holding of public office in Britain conditional upon subscribing to the established religion. Although Scotland had imposed such a law in 1567, the harsh laws against recusants in England were sufficient in themselves to deter Roman Catholics and dissenters from putting themselves forward for office. However, in 1661, membership of town corporations and all offices under the crown were denied to those who refused to take communion in the Anglican Church. In 1678, except the Duke of York (future James II), all Catholics were excluded from Parliament. In the 18th century, religious tests in Scotland were not always enforced, except for university posts. In England, the test could be met by occasional communion. The Test Acts were finally repealed in 1829 by the Catholic Relief Act, and university religious tests were abolished in the 1870s and 1880s.

King Charles II was more indifferent to the Test Act. He did not take any strong measures against the Catholics. The Anglicans interpreted this indifference as an intention to restore Catholicism in England. Consequently, the Parliament, which



consisted mostly of the radical Puritans, impeached Charles II in 1685. His place was taken by his brother, James II (1685-1689).

When King James II came to power, he inherited difficult and complicated problems from his predecessor. He needed time and resources to address them. However, like his brother Charles II, he introduced new reforms that quickly contributed to his fall. King James II made frequent efforts to reject the Test Act, appointing Catholics to various posts in the civil service and the military. For example, he appointed Catholic James Parker as the Principal of Oxford University. He also dismissed an Anglican Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, who refused to admit a Catholic student.

King James II allowed some religious freedom to Catholics in Ireland and Scotland. He revived the Court of High Commission and renamed it the Ecclesiastical Court. The king used this court for conversion and application of his religious policies. The reform irritated the Anglicans and Puritans in England, Ireland and Scotland because the Parliament declared the Court of High Commission and its activities illegal in 1641. The non-Catholics who tried to resist this new change were executed under the order of James II. For example, Jeffrey, who was a close associate of King James II, executed 315 people and banished about 850. His opponents interpreted this act as a plan of James II to return to absolutism.

In his effort to maintain a strong army, James II formed an army that consisted of 30,000 Catholic soldiers. He stationed the soldiers in London. The establishment of this army scared the people in London, particularly the Puritans and Anglicans. People interpreted this act as his trick to restore a new militant rule dominated by Catholics, equivalent to that of Oliver Cromwell, dominated by the Puritans.

Many people were concerned about the outbreak of another civil war, like that of 1642 to 1649. Between 1687 and April 1688, James II issued two declarations of indulgencies. They required all people to be given full freedom of religion, especially Catholics. They made clear that Catholics and Anglicans had the right to be appointed to high positions, irrespective of their religious principles. The clergymen were ordered to announce such changes in their churches for two weeks. The declaration of indulgencies made King James II have enemies from every corner of England. The Anglicans, Puritans, Dukes and writers were all against him. Seven Anglican Bishops requested him to uplift the declarations, but King James II refused to do so. Instead, he took them to court. They were charged for seditions. Ultimately, they were sentenced to prison. About 300 people were executed, and more than 1,000 were exiled to Australia. Besides the declaration of indulgencies, King James II invited the Pope from Rome to England and officially restored him to his old position.



The advent of the Glorious Revolution came in June 1688. Two events led to a political crisis. The first was that the second wife of King James II gave birth to a male infant. The birth of James Francis Edward on 10th June, 1688 displaced Mary as heir and created the prospect of a Catholic dynasty. Since the mother was a Catholic, the implication was that the son would be the heir to the throne. He was the only son of King James II. From his first wife, who was an Anglican, the King had raised two daughters; however, none of them had the right to become the heir. The birth of the new boy from a Catholic mother brought great fear among the Puritans and Anglicans that the new heir might restore Catholicism and declare England a Catholic monarchy. In this attempt, France, the traditional enemy of England, would support the heir to achieve the goal. Considering the fact that King James II had suspended many laws that had been passed by the 1673 Test Act, the Puritans and Anglicans reached the conclusion that they had all the rights to overthrow the king.

The second was the prosecution of the Seven Bishops on 15th June, 1688 an event that was a series of perceived assaults on the Church of England. Their acquittal on the 30th sparked anti-Catholic riots and destroyed King James II's political authority. The fear of France and the ruling from outside the law prompted the Puritans and Anglicans to overthrow King James II in December 1688. King James II, his second wife and their infant son fled to France. The revolutionary English politicians issued an invitation to William III of Orange to secure the English throne.

Exercise 4.5

1. Account for the developments that led to the 1688 Glorious Revolution.
2. “The Glorious Revolution was a struggle between the Monarchy on one hand and the Parliament and religious freedom on the other.” Discuss.
3. Show the legal justification of the Glorious Revolution in 1688.

Impact of the Glorious Revolution on the development of democracy

England replaced one king with another with only a few cases of bloodshed. It did not bring any civil war with it. In January 1689, Mary, one of the daughters of James II and her Dutch protestant husband, Prince William of Orange, were crowned as new Queen and King of England. This marked the triumph of the Glorious Revolution. This event destroyed absolutism with its principle of the Divine Right of Kings. In



the place of absolutism, Parliament became a supreme organ of the government. The constitutional monarch was now completely dependent on the parliament for any decision. No son or daughter of the monarch could become a monarch as a matter of the right of inheritance. Every succession was to be approved by Parliament. The ministers of the monarchy were now responsible to the Parliament. The idea of parliamentary sovereignty came to prevail in England after the Glorious Revolution.

The Glorious Revolution also settled down many areas of disagreement. Parliament won by taking all executive authority. Only Protestants were to become English sovereigns. Any king or queen, propagating Catholicism as a state religion, would not be allowed to take the throne. All administrative powers were now vested in Parliament. The monarchy was to be elected by Parliament. The financial powers and prerogatives of the monarchy were drastically cut down. However, Parliament was dominated by wealthy people from the emerging capitalist classes who were tired of the absolute monarchy that had put economic pressure on them through taxes and other levies.

Moreover, the revolution promoted nationhood and identity among the English people. The people of all classes united and eventually destroyed absolute rule in England. Thus, the real power of the nation came into their own hands peacefully through Parliament. After the Revolution, the English citizens could freely express themselves and follow any religion. Catholics were no longer harshly treated as they had been before the revolution. Neither the Puritans/Anglicans nor the Catholics developed the spirit of revenge.

Additionally, the revolution proved the supremacy of the Parliament over the Executive Council. William III and Mary were offered the throne by Parliament. The revolution transformed the absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy where its powers were limited by Parliament. A king or queen became a ceremonial head of state while the prime minister became the head of the government. In other words, the revolution reduced the powers of the king or queen from the absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. The king or queen became the head of state without executive powers. This was the beginning of the new rule based on their national constitution.

As a result of the revolution, powers of the three arms of the state were separated. The sovereignty (ultimate power of the state) was divided between the office of the king, parliament and judiciary. The king was then to rule with the consent of the parliament. A Bill of Rights of the citizens, which became the cornerstone of the modern British constitution, was passed. All laws were then to be made by Parliament, not by the king/queen. The king, nobilities, prime minister and all citizens were



bound by such laws once enacted and passed by the Parliament. The king or queen could not suspend the laws.

The revolution resulted in the abolition of feudalism in England. Feudalism was replaced by capitalism. Immediately after the revolution, the Agrarian Revolution took firm roots throughout England. The enclosure system was consolidated and intensified, whereby more food and livestock were produced. The Corn Laws and Navigation Acts were also consolidated. As a result, English capitalist farmers and merchants grew into full-fledged capitalists. The ideas of John Calvin (Calvinism) influenced the English people, who changed ideas and attitudes towards the world of work. Calvin insisted on hard work, sobriety, thrift, competition and postponement of pleasure. He linked sin and poverty with weakness and moral corruption.

Another impact of the revolution was that England's foreign policy became separated from France's policy. England developed its own independent foreign policy as opposed to French interests. Parliament enacted laws and accepted policies that promoted the class interests of England in foreign counties. Such policies included colonial administration, trade and commerce and immigration. As a result, the Glorious Revolution brought fundamental and unique changes that eventually promoted democracy, not only in England but also in the whole of Western Europe.

As the Constitutional government was installed in England, several Acts were passed. In 1689, for example, the government passed the Bill of Rights. The Bill declared William and Mary the constitutional King and Queen of England. From then on, the king, the queen and their heirs to the throne must be Anglicans. The absolute monarchical powers were greatly restricted. The king or queen could no longer suspend laws, dispense laws, levy taxes, make royal appointments, or maintain standing armed forces during peacetime without parliament's permission. The king was to levy taxes with the consent of the parliament.

The Bill of Rights, passed in March 1689, granted the king power to enforce martial law. With this law, the king could maintain a standing army for one year at a time, and no longer. The Mutiny Act limited the maintenance of a standing army during peace time to one year. Thus, the Act empowered Parliament to discipline the English army. The government did that through laws that compelled the army to be under the control of Parliament. The Act also ensured the conduct of annual parliamentary sessions. Parliament had to provide a budget for the army annually. It also enacted a law that established a court-martial. As a result, all discipline-breaching soldiers were brought to the court-martial to stand trial.



Moreover, the government passed the Religious Tolerance Act of 1689. This Act granted freedom of worship to Nonconformist Protestants who had pledged to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and rejected transubstantiation. These nonconformist Protestants dissented from the Church of England, namely Baptists, Congregationalists or English Presbyterians. Nonconformists were allowed to have their own places of worship and their own school teachers, so long as they accepted certain oaths of allegiance. The Act did not apply to Roman Catholics, nontrinitarians, and atheists. It continued the existing social and political limitations for dissenters, including their exclusion from holding political office and joining university. Additionally, dissenters were required to register their meeting houses and were forbidden from meeting in private homes. Any preachers who dissented had to be licensed. Generally, although the Act gave the freedom of religion to all people, no complete religious freedom was given to Catholics. Catholicism remained an alien religion. Catholic emancipation would be delayed for 140 years.

Additionally, the Triennial Act which was promulgated in 1694, stipulated that a parliamentary meeting had to be conducted every three years. Fresh elections would be held for the parliament in the third year. The Act re-established the principle of regular parliamentary sessions.

Besides the Triennial Act, Parliament passed the Licensing Act of 1695. The Act replaced the Licensing of the Press Act of 1662 that was passed during the monarchy regime. The monarchy thought that the 1662 Act would prevent the frequent abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed books and pamphlets by regulating printing presses. However, under Press Act of 1695, the press no longer became under the full control of the government. All types of printing were granted the freedom of the press. They could then freely criticise the acts of the government. Furthermore, the Act allowed British Catholics to publish their catechisms and prayer books uncensored.

Parliament also passed the Settlement Act of 1701. The Act restricted the succession to the English and Irish crowns to Protestants only. It provided a clause on the procedures for succession to the throne. This deposed the descendants of Charles I, except his Protestant granddaughter Princess and later Queen Anne as the next Protestant in line to the throne, to be followed by electress Sophia of Hanover. After her, the crowns would descend only to her non-Catholic heirs. The reason behind the Act was the perceived assaults made on the Church of England by King James II, a Roman Catholic. King James II was deposed in favour of his Protestant elder daughter Mary II and her husband William III. The need for the Settlement Act was



prompted by the failure of William and Mary, as well as that of future Queen Anne, to produce any surviving children. It was also prompted by the perceived threat posed by the pretensions to the throne by remaining Roman Catholic members of the House of Stuart. The line founded by Sophia of Hanover was the most junior surviving one amongst the descendants of King James I. However, it consisted of convinced Protestants who were willing to uphold the Church of England. As Sophia died on 8th June 1714, less than two months before the death of Queen Anne on 1st August 1714, Sophia's son duly succeeded to the throne and started the Hanoverian dynasty in Britain. The Act played a key role in the formation of the Kingdom of Great Britain. England and Scotland had shared a monarch since 1603 but had remained separately governed countries. The Scottish parliament was more reluctant than the English to abandon the House of Stuart, members of which had been Scottish monarchies long before they became English ones.

Under the Settlement Act, anyone who became a Roman Catholic, or who married one, was disqualified from inheriting the throne. The Act also placed limits on both the role of foreigners in the British government and the power of the monarch with respect to the Parliament of England. Some of those provisions were altered by subsequent legislation but generally provided that every king/queen had to take an oath at the time of his or her coronation that he/she would in no way attempt to restore Catholicism, and that he/she should only believe in Anglicanism.

The Act also stated that the King/Queen of England would only declare war on another country in defence of England after getting the approval of the Parliament. In this respect, the act aimed at strengthening the guarantees of ensuring a parliamentary system of government. The independence of the judiciary from the executive was also pronounced. The salaries of the judges were fixed. No judge could be removed from office by the king/queen unless both Houses of Parliament had full knowledge and consented. This provision aimed at assuring the independence of judiciary.

The Act also prevented the monarchy from pardoning anyone from being impeached by the House of Commons. Thus, the English Glorious revolution aimed at destroying the absolute monarchy that was regarded as a remaining feudal institution that limited majority democracy. The revolution aimed to eliminate the unlimited power of absolute king over their economic, political and social life. The rising capitalist classes in England became anti-monarchy as the monarchy imposed heavy taxes on them and dispraised oppressive and discriminatory laws. The rising capitalist classes regarded the monarchy as a stumbling block to their economic progress. The revolution paved the way for Britain to industrial capitalism. All in all, the settlement Act strengthened the Bill of Rights of 1689.



The Glorious Revolution, therefore, helped to promote political stability and the capitalist economic development of England. The ideas of John Locke in his work called the Civil Government (1690) promoted democracy not only in England but also in the entire world. Locke argued that a civil government was the one that had been set up by the people. Its duty was to protect the natural rights of life (people), liberty and people's property. He concluded by insisting that the people had the right to rebel against a tyrant government.

Exercise 4.6

1. How can the English political developments between 1640-1701 be related to the post-colonial Tanzania's political developments?
2. Compare and contrast the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964.

The French Revolution of 1789

The French Revolution was a radical political and societal change in France that began with the Estates General of 1789 and ended with the formation of the French Consulate in November 1799. It was a conflict between the monarchy and the revolutionaries from the commoners and middle class. The French Revolution is also called Revolution of 1789. It was a revolutionary movement that shook France between 1787 and 1799 and reached its peak in 1789.

Aims of the French Revolution of 1789

The revolution had several aims. One of them was to abolish the absolute monarchy in France. The monarchy controlled every aspect of life, and it had created a lot of political and economic problems such as growing French foreign debt and declining economy. It also failed to address the food crisis in the 1780s. Besides, the French monarchy was oppressive. The Bastille in Paris was a symbol of the oppressive and despotic leadership of the French monarchy. It acted as a higher prison of all victims who opposed the king; such victims were arrested under the King's royal chits, known as *Lettre de cachet*. During the French Revolution, Bastille became a symbol of the absolute and oppressive power of the ruling Bourbon monarchy. Revolutionaries stormed into Bastille on 14th July, 1789.

The revolutionaries also aimed to establish a French republican constitution that would guarantee civil rights such as freedom of worship, expression, association



and voting. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (with several Articles) and of the citizen passed by France's National Constituent Assembly on 26th August, 1789 was the first step towards writing a constitution for France. It was a fundamental document of the French Revolution that granted civil rights to some commoners, although it excluded a significant segment of the French population. The Declaration was drafted by Marquis de Lafayette in consultation with Thomas Jefferson. Influenced by the doctrine of "natural right", the rights of man were universal. Thus, Article I stated that human beings were born and remained free and equal in rights. Those social distinctions could be found only on the common good.

Another aim of the revolutionaries was to have a constitution that would limit the power of the monarchy. Article III of the document stated that sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. Nobody, no individual could exercise any authority that did not proceed directly from the nation. A new constitution would lift press censorship and allow widespread distribution of political writings, mostly written by liberal members of the aristocracy and the upper middle-class. People were to be tried under the law of the constitution and not by the king's will. The accused and suspects had to be tried and only sentenced when proved guilty.

The revolutionaries also aimed at eradicating all feudal institutions that were regarded as a stumbling block to the rise and development of capitalism in France. The Assembly passed a series of radical measures such as the abolition of feudalism and state control of the Catholic Church. The medieval fortress, armoury, and political prison in Paris, known as the Bastille, became symbols of the monarchy's abuse of power which fell on 14th July 1789.

Exercise 4.7

1. Discuss the goals of the French Revolution.
2. Discuss the composition of the French revolutionaries. Did they have common goals?

Causes of the French Revolution

The French revolution was very intense between 1789 and 1795. It was an expression by the French people against absolutism for its political weaknesses, economic problems and growing social inequalities in France. The French kings who glorified absolutism were Louis IX (1643-1715), Louis XV (1715-1774) and Louis XVI



(1774-1792). The revolution occurred during the reign of King Louis XVI. This was the time when feudalism in France was at its peak. The revolution brought about a sudden change of the feudal absolute political regime of King Louis XVI, rising to the capitalist regime under Napoleon Bonaparte I. The causes of the revolution were long-term political, social and economic ones, which badly affected France under the monarchy.

Political causes of the French revolution related to how France was administered under the monarchy system. The French traditional ruling system, known as the *Ancien Régime*, was responsible for the revolution. King Louis XVI failed to reform France's political and economic systems, which he inherited from his predecessors, namely King Louis XIV and King Louis XV when he assumed power in 1774.

The monarchy regime had three classes of people known as the *Estates-General* (that is, the Assembly or Parliament). The second Estate consisted of the ruling class and the nobilities. There were about 400,000 people. Richer nobles were about 100,000 families who owned the largest and wealthiest land in France. They had a lot of privileges, such as exemption from taxation. They enjoyed the highest ranks in the government and in the army. They also first collected taxes from the third Estate. Estate consisted of the clergy who were 100,000 at the time of the revolution. This included the Bishops and priests of high rank in the church who enjoyed many privileges. They ran both the Catholic church and some aspects of the country. Apart from keeping register of births, deaths and marriages, the clergy also collected tithe. The Third Estate consisted of the commoners such as peasants and artisans and people of the middle class like lawyers, doctors, bankers, tax collectors, treasury officials, bondholders and merchants. Their population was about 24.5 million people (96 per cent of the French population) on the eve of the Revolution. They owned only 30 per cent of land in France. The burden of taxation and all economic difficulties fell upon the commoners. The monarchy became unpopular as it allowed 360 different feudal codes to be applied in France. It also enabled the aristocrats to enjoy a lot of privileges at the expense of members of the Third Estate.

Kings had royal councillors, royal controllers of finances and provincial royal commissioners known as *Intendants*, but these officials did not influence the government as kings controlled all public matters. Using the *lettre de cachet*, the king could imprison any person without trial since the king's will was the law. Due to the lack of the rule of law, members of the Third Estate were frequently subjected to the police power of the aristocrats. For example, on one occasion, King Louis XIV said, "I am the State, or the State is myself." On another one, King Louis XVI



said, "The thing is legal because I wish it." The political system denied the middle class, wealthy and well-educated people from political powers and influence in the government of France. They also had no right of being promoted to the French army. All commissioned ranks were preserved for the nobles. Thus, the absolute monarchial political system excluded the majority, giving privileges to the minority who were the ruling class.

Budgetary issues also culminated in the revolution. The French state faced a series of budgetary crises during the 18th century, caused mainly by structural deficiencies. The French King controlled expenditure but not revenue. National taxes could only be approved by the Estates-General, which had not sat since 1614 as its revenue functions had been assumed by regional *parlements*, the most powerful being the *Parlement de Paris*.

The monarchy became very oppressive and aggressive in collecting taxes from commoners. Peasants and artisans had to pay taxes known as *banalités* as they had to use bake ovens, grinding mills and winepress mills of their landlords. Peasants paid land rents to the lords of manors for the lands they farmed on. The hunting rights of noblemen (system of game laws) passed through the fields of the peasants. These destroyed their crops without any compensation and thus strongly irritated the peasants. Livestock keepers were allowed to graze their cattle on the common pasture land of their landlords, provided they accepted to pay grazing rent in the form of cheese. They were allowed to harvest hay for their livestock from the common meadows, provided that they accepted to pay the harvesting rent. Pig keepers had to pay rent in pork to their landlords to be allowed to feed their pigs with nuts or fruits of oak trees from the common woodlands.

There was an economic burden to members of the Third Estate because they paid many taxes. Conversely, members of the First and Second Estates were excluded from paying most of such taxes. One of the taxes was the poll tax which was one over twenty of one's income. Another tax was *gabelle* which was a land tax. This was in the form of salt and was paid directly to the king by everyone who was seven years of age and above. It was the most hated tax. Another tax was *corvée* which was a labour tax. It required members of the Third Estate to provide labour in constructing and maintaining roads and public buildings. Those who failed to pay it had their private property confiscated by the kings. Another tax was *taille* which was a direct tax. The government collected these taxes. Most of tax collectors were corrupt and greedy. These taxes were a burden to poor peasants and artisans who lived in untold miseries. These taxes rose during the 18th century when France fought the Seven

Years' War (1756-1763) with Britain over Canada. France lost Canada and India to Britain. The war ended with a huge national debt.

Furthermore, in 1772, Poland was partitioned and annexed to Austria, Prussia and Russia. This signalled France's declining economic, military, and political influence in continental Europe as the three countries annexed large parts of Poland without reference to France, which was historically the master of Poland. The loss of Canada and Poland exposed the weakness of France.

France also participated in the American war of independence in 1776 to take revenge on Britain following the French loss of Canada in the Seven Years' War. Duc de Choiseul was a French military officer, diplomat and statesman who actively reorganised the French army and navy for a future war of revenge against Britain, and Pierre Beaumarchais was at the centre of an arms traffic to support American insurgents. During the reign of Louis XVI, France faced a major economic crisis partly due to the cost of intervening in the American Revolution and exacerbated by a regressive system of taxation as well as poor harvests in the late 1780s. France spent 1.3 billion Livres to support the Americans directly. Besides, France sent soldiers to America to fight against Britain. The financial aid that France issued to the American freedom fighters led the French government into bankruptcy. The French soldiers who participated in the war were inspired by the American ideas of democracy. On their return to France, they wanted democratic reforms by joining members of the Third Estate to carry out the revolution. Marquis de Lafayette was an example of the French soldiers who joined hands with the Third Estate. By this time, members of the Third Estate had already piled up grievances against the government.

In the 1870s, the government was close to bankruptcy since the French economy declined. The national foreign debt was alarming. In 1788 alone, about 6 per cent of the French revenue was used to support the royal family and the palace. The burden was the cost of financing the military and past wars. The French army was financed via loans. Unemployment soared, inflation rocketed, and national production went down.

King Louis XVI took several measures to restore the government to financial stability but failed. One of the measures was the nomination of Anne Robert Turgot as the new Finance Minister. By doing so, the king thought that Turgot would make some reforms in the national economy and save France from its difficulties. Turgot drafted edicts in which he proposed to do the following, among others:



- (a) Abolish useless sinecures, that is, church benefices and offices of value which involved little or no responsibilities;
- (b) Abolish internal customs barriers which were increasing the prices of grain;
- (c) Abolish guilds which limited the introduction of new workmen and new processes; and
- (d) Abolish the law that exempted the nobility and clergy from paying taxes.

When the edicts were presented to members of the First and Second Estates, the nobility and clergy respectively, rejected all of them, asking King Louis XVI not to register them. To the nobility and the clergy, the edicts would overturn the privileges that they had been enjoying for centuries. They requested King Louis XVI to order Turgot to resign. As a result, King Louis XVI dismissed the edicts and sacked Turgot from office in 1776.

In Turgot's place, the king nominated Jacques Necker as the Minister for Finance. Necker took office when France was still financing the American wars of independence. In 1781, France's national foreign debt had increased up to 3,400 million Livres. Expenditures were overturning income at the rate of 80 million Livres a year. In 1786, the gap had reached 110 million Livres. Fearing to be sacked like his predecessor, Necker voluntarily decided to resign in 1783. In his place, the king appointed Charles Alexandre de Calonne as the new Finance Minister. In his career, De Calonne attacked the privileges of the nobility and clergy. He proposed abolishing the corvée, reducing the salt tax, increasing the stamp tax and replacing the *taille* with land tax.

In 1787, the Assembly composed of prominent clerics, noblemen, important landowners and officers of estates was held to discuss his proposals. Members of the Third Estate were not represented. The Assembly dismissed all the proposals and advised King Louis XVI to sack the minister. Minister De Calonne was sacked in the same year. His place was taken by Archbishop of Toulouse, Lomenie de Brienne. He headed the office from 1787 to 1789. While in his office, he served only to protect the interests of the First and Second Estates. Such nominations and sacking of the reformist finance ministers made members of the Third Estate have no confidence in the King. The office of the King symbolised a tyrannical government. As members of the Third Estate raised more grievances against Louis XVI, he finally presented the problem to Estates-General in May 1789 and proceeded by convening the Estates-General. This French Parliament was an assembly representing the Three Estates of French society. Each of the Estates picked its own deputies. The local assemblies that selected the deputies also drew up *cahiers* (grievances lists) to accompany the representatives to



Paris. The *cahiers* raised by members of the Third Estate denounced the absolute royal power of King Louis XVI and infringements on personal liberty and unjust taxation. No cry was later listed against King Louis XVI or the union of the church and state.

The Estates-General assembled on 05th May, 1787 at Versailles, with about 1,200 representatives. The Third Estate was represented by 600 people, while the First and Second Estates were represented by 300 people. The major complaint of the Third Estates was bad uses of the public money by the monarchy. Members of the Third Estate, however, had their special proposal to Louis XVI. They wanted the king to form a single permanent assembly or parliament of the three-branch Estates- General. The king, nobles and clergy opposed the proposal. However, some nobles and clergy rightly joined the Third Estate in the National Assembly. As a result, the Third Estate declared itself the only National Assembly that is the national representative body. The revolution started in that style. King Louis XVI closed their meeting hall, but this did not help. The deputies of the Third Estate met on a nearby tennis court on 20th June, 1789. They took an oath not to disband until France had a new and written constitution. Although the king had troops to crush the National Assembly, he hesitated to command his troops to do so.

The political causes of the French revolution involved the development of political inequalities in France. Biased French judges and unfair arrests without trial, using the '*lettre de cachet*' left the impression of the tyrannical rule. Most of the people who severely suffered were those who opposed the king's political, economic and social policies. These were sent into the Bastille prison. People wanted equality and the rule of law to prevail before the citizens.

Religious intolerance was another important social cause of the revolution. A strong union existed between the Catholic Church and the French monarchy. The church had many properties and its officials lived a luxurious life while peasants and artisans had many problems and grievances. Religious intolerance spread countrywide, causing a sense of lack of religious freedom. The only public worship that had been practised for a long time was Catholicism. Other Christian denominations were not tolerated. Although various forms of Protestants existed from the 16th century, they were not recognized by the law in France. Great thinkers like Voltaire demanded the government to introduce religious tolerance and other forms of freedom, like of press and opinion. Lastly, thinkers demanded also an immediate end of torture, such as breaking on the wheel and mutilation that Third Estate members suffered from the *lettre de cachet*.



The privileges of the nobles and clergy at the expense of the commissioner was another reason for the French revolution. Third Estate members were liable to compulsory militia service, whereas the clergy and nobles were not liable to the service. The church also owned huge wealth amidst poor peasants. As the largest landowner in France, the Catholic Church controlled property and collected massive revenues from its tenants. The church had also enormous wealth from the collection of tithes. The church revenue was estimated to be 150 million livres in 1789. It owned around 6 per cent of land throughout France. Moreover, its abbeys, churches, monasteries and convents, as well as schools, hospitals and other institutions formed a visible reminder of its dominance in French society. The Church was also permitted to collect tithes, worth a nominal one-tenth of agricultural produce, and it was exempted from direct taxation on its earnings. This was a sign of social inequalities in French society, and the revolutionaries wanted to do away with it.

The control of the education system by the Catholic Church was another cause for French revolution. Although France had improved on the system of the Renaissance education in the middle of the 16th century, the educational institutions were badly distributed. The education system, therefore, needed reforms. The government involvement in education was not that great, and the Catholic Church had effective control over the educational system. The king left all matters about education to local bishops and the religious orders. Nevertheless, the state showed concerns about the education system in many ways. For example, in 1698 a decree was issued that children from the age of seven were obliged to attend Catholic schools up to the age of fourteen. One significant educational development was the change of the scholar's language from Latin to French. Enrolment in elementary schools was relatively high, and 562 secondary schools boasted 74,747 students, 40,000 of whom had scholarships. The revolutionaries wanted the French language to be used as the medium of instruction.

The revolutionaries also considered the provision of education to be a duty of the state. They also considered the rights of parents, the potential benefits of higher education, the economic needs of the nation, the necessity for training teachers, and the suitable status of the teaching profession in the republic. The revolutionaries wanted to change the old education system by removing every influence of the Catholic Church on the education system. Most revolutionary leaders believed that only men should have the right to education because they would engage in state affairs including wars. Conversely, women did not need education because they had to take care of the family and to raise children at home.



By 1794, the government began to reform the education system. An education decree on the training of teachers was issued. The school curriculum had to contain republican morality; public and private virtues; and the techniques of teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, practical geometry, French history, and grammar. Only authorised books had to be used, as described in the convention. In addition, the revolutionaries adopted a single dialect of French to be used in all French schools. In 1798 the government tried unsuccessfully to take control over private schools. However, in 1799, the government managed to control private schools in some regions. To have a competitive advantage over private schools, the government recognised attending public schools as a condition to civil service. The reforms on education aimed to enable commoners to acquire a better education and eliminate the social gap between the privileged and the commoners and the Catholic Church's influence on education.

Besides the long-term structural problems, there was an immediate cause for the Revolution. In 1788, France witnessed widespread starvation because of bad weather. In 1789, there was severe winter. All major rivers of France were frozen. The Marseille port in Southern France was blocked by ice. The economic decline affected the poor peasants and artisans. Revolutionary agitators were active among handicraft workers, shopkeepers and wage-earners in Paris. A shortage of wheat raised bread prices, unemployment and the number of beggars. These caused an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. Wages were kept low, and inflation became rampant. This constrained the few resources available in the countryside. In the rural areas, peasants and artisans turned against the aristocrats and landlords. They burnt castles to destroy records of manorial dues and rents. The situation prompted the aristocrats and landlords to surrender all their privileges voluntarily. Some rural dwellers drifted to towns but as unskilled labour. These could not get employment easily. When a mob of hungry women demonstrated against starvation and high bread prices on 5th October 1789, Marie-Antoinette (the Queen of France, 1755-1793) told them to eat cake and to serve themselves from the leftovers of bread from the dustbin. As the nation was starving, the king misused much public money to satisfy his wife's lust for material wealth, contributing to his downfall.

The palace was invaded. The lives of Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette were under threat. The King and his wife were captured and led to Paris. The king tried to escape death but was recaptured at Varennes and finally hanged by guillotine on 21st January, 1793.

Therefore, the French had accumulated a lot of political, economic and social grievances and discontents. The underlying causes of the French Revolution were the failure of the French monarchy to manage social and economic inequalities, the inability



to adequately finance government debt that had resulted in economic depression, unemployment and high food prices. The problems resulted in a crisis that Louis XVI proved unable to manage. These long-term factors and immediate one precipitated the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789.

Exercise 4.8

1. Discuss the contribution of absolute monarchy to the outbreak of the French Revolution.
2. Explain the relationship between the Catholic Church and the French Society during the revolutionary period in France.
3. Exound on the course and causes of the French Revolution.

Contribution of the French Revolution to the development of democracy in Europe

The French revolution contributed greatly to the development of liberal democracy in Europe. In the first place, the French Revolution brought fundamental changes not only in France but also in Europe generally. French monarchy ceased to exist, and it became a republic. A provisional government known as the National Convention was formed. On 21st September, 1792, it dethroned King Louis XVI and proclaimed France a Republic. King Louis XVI was tried and executed by the guillotine in January 1793 together with his wife Marie-Antoinette. A newly written constitution was adopted with three organs of the French government, namely the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislative Assembly. The organs functioned independently but with checks and balances of the other. The head of the government could neither make laws nor levy taxes without the consent of the Legislative Assembly.

Secondly, the revolution laid down the foundations for the emergence and development of liberal democracy in Europe. The ideals of the French Revolution such as liberty, equality and fraternity, inspired the campaigns for the abolition of slavery and universal suffrage. The values and institutions that the French Revolution created have dominated French politics up to the present. The revolution was a political transformation that ended the Bourbon monarchy under the absolute government of King Louis XVI in 1789. It was a struggle between, on one hand, the conservatives who wanted to preserve the absolute monarchy and its principles and on the other, the rising French capitalist classes and the over-exploited peasants who wanted principles of liberal



democracy to prevail in France. The French Revolution was due to deep-seated economic, political and social problems rooted in the structure of the French society itself under the monarchy system. The rising capitalist class considered the absolute monarchy oppressive and ineffective in promoting their economic interests against the manufacturers and bankers from other European nations. Thus, the king, clergy and nobles had to be removed from political power and replaced by the emerging capitalist class, which believed in liberal democracy.

In addition, the revolutionary government issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the citizen. This document laid down the ground for natural human and civil rights which became the cornerstone of democratic governments in the world. Such rights included liberty, equality before the law, and resistance to oppression. The freedom of speech and press and religious tolerance. To promote the freedom of speech and press, the French revolutionary leaders encouraged many publications such as newspapers, pamphlets and journals. Evidently, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reflected the ideas of the French Revolution.

The democratic principles of French Revolution were adhered to by many countries in the world. The principle of people as the source of all sovereignty. The idea of the rule of law based on the principles of equality before the law also derives from the French Revolution. In other words, the French Revolution led to the establishment of democratic governments in Europe and the world in general.

The revolution brought many divisions among the agitators. The divisions were in the form of clubs. Such divisions were also manifested within the legislative assembly, also known as the National Assembly. The most radical groups in the National Assembly were the Jacobins and Cordeliers. The Jacobins represented radical left-wing politicians who were against the monarch in favour of the rise of the French republic. On the contrary, Cordeliers were staunch constitutional monarchies who defended the king against popular agitations.

Members of these and other groups persecuted each other, leading to the reign of terror throughout France. Among the victims of the terror were Mirabeau, who was killed in 1791; Madame Roland in 1793; Danton (1794) and Robespierre (1794). This division became common within European nations. For example, there were liberals, republicans, conservatives and socialists. Differences were found even within political parties such as the centrists and leftists.

The French Revolution sowed seeds of patriotism and nationalism not only in France but also throughout Europe. In 1799, Bonaparte Napoleon I came to power. During



the Napoleonic wars (1804-1814), France sent the revolutionary armies to foreign countries for conquests. The French Revolutionary armies conquered Belgium and Holland. Some states in Italy and the Rhine in Germany came under France. By the end of 1795, only Austria and Britain remained at war with Republican France. Due to the Napoleonic wars, many countries in Europe attached themselves to France for support and inspiration. People in those countries saw the French armies as bearers of liberty, equality and fraternity. Some government leaders of European countries became so much afraid of the French Revolutionary ideas. Among them were the leaders of Austria, Prussia and Russia. Between 1792 and 1793, Austria, Prussia and Russia attacked, annexed and divided Poland among themselves. Poland had been a traditional ally of France. Their major worry was that once French revolutionary ideals or principles were implanted in Poland, they would spread into the three countries and cause instability and revolutions.

The revolution promoted a sense of patriotism and nationalism in Europe. The 1848 revolutions in Prussia, Italy, Austria and Hungary had the recourse to the ideals of the French Revolution. During and after the revolution, the term *nation* no longer referred to the king alone (recall that King Louis XIV said, “The State is myself.”) but to all the citizens. The believers of the ideals of the French Revolution, wherever they were found in Europe, mobilised their national armies to fight for liberty, equality and fraternity. Some national rights and symbols were also inaugurated. These included the introduction of one national flag, the national anthem and national holidays.

The revolution had cultural significance as well. During the French Revolution, France did not exist as a nation yet. There were still many different ethnic and linguistic groups that had to be united to form the current nation of France. To bridge the divide between the different regions of France and the different classes involved in the revolution, symbols were used to convey certain ideas. The liberty cap, the tricolour flag, Marianne and other symbols played an important role in creating a national identity in France. The revolutionary government declared French as the national language of France. All French citizens were to speak it and write it articulately. This helped to promote social harmony and coherence in France. As a result, numerous regional dialects were replaced by one national language. Other European countries imitated some of these cultural values, including the national language. After its unification in 1860, for example, Italy adopted the Italian language as its national language in place of Latin of the ancient Roman Empire. Latin was, therefore, left as an official language of the Holy See.

The revolutionary government established many public, elementary and secondary schools. These were used to teach patriotism and the national language to French



children for building France as a strong nation in Europe. The language was used as a medium of instruction in schools. Education was used to instil and inculcate a sense of national patriotism and loyalty.

The revolution also played a major role in destroying feudalism, thus giving way to the rise and development of capitalism in France. The National Assembly abolished all feudal privileges, serfdom, game laws, salt tax (*gabelle*) and the tithe. These were replaced by equality of taxation and equal opportunity in public service. Feudal classes such as feudal lords or lords of the manor, and the church, lost their land. New classes such as merchants, industrialists and bankers worked without hurdles, such as those imposed during the monarchy regime. The new government assisted them. Other countries such as Italy and Austria followed the example of France to destroy feudalism, gradually replacing it with capitalist values.

The French Revolution created a new generation of literature by the emergence of new French writers and philosophers who portrayed liberal values. Prominent writers and philosophers of the revolutionary period were Voltaire (1694-1778), Diderot, Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). As members of the Third Estate, they had lived as victims of social injustices. Voltaire, for instance, attacked the Catholic Church for its vices. He condemned the *lettre de cachet* and called for its immediate end. He criticised the nobility who competed for honour instead of solving people's problems. Montesquieu advocated for the establishment of a government with three arms, namely the executive, the parliament and the judiciary. Each arm would check and balance the other to create a society that could preserve the liberty of the individual. Diderot advocated for the abolition of all forms of taxes, except land taxes, something that pleased French people. Rousseau insisted on the general will of the people as a source of sovereignty.

The legacies of the ideals of the French Revolution are still relevant to many nations in the world today. Although the revolution caused major bloodshed and destroyed property, it promoted liberal democracy and nationalism in Europe and the world at large.

Exercise 4.9

1. Examine the causes and aims of the French Revolution of 1789.
2. The French Revolution of 1789 played a great role in the development of democracy in Europe. Discuss.



3. Why was the Catholic Church a target of the revolutionaries in France?
4. Account for the rise of liberal democracy in France.

The 1848 revolutions in Europe

The 1848 revolutions were a series of political revolutions or republican revolts against monarchies throughout Europe. Their single most striking feature was simultaneity. The revolutions began in the Italian peninsula (Sicily) and spread to Paris, Vienna, Milan, Rome, Venice, Berlin, Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt, Copenhagen, Budapest and Dresden. In other words, the revolutions immediately spread to most of the European countries. The revolutionaries demanded socio-political reforms against absolutism and conservative governments. They also opposed the 1815 Vienna Act over European foreign domination. However, there was no coordination among the revolutionaries in different countries.

The aims of the 1848 revolutions were first to reduce the powers of the monarchy and introduce the constitutional monarchy. Secondly, they aimed to solve the socio-economic problems in European society. The Europeans also wanted to end the hated Vienna arrangements.

Causes of the 1848 revolutions

Several economic, political and social conditions led to the outbreak of the revolutions in Austria, France, Hungary and the Balkan Region in 1848. In the economic sphere, the revolutions were caused by general economic discontent. This discontent was driven by harsh economic conditions and heterodox ideologies, which ultimately led to a series of revolutions in 1848. Economic hardships caused by crop failure precipitated the 1848 revolutions. The European potato failure was a food crisis that struck Europe in the mid-1840s, leading to a severe famine. The famine created immense suffering for those living in Europe as it led to a great number of deaths. It is estimated that roughly 40,000-50,000 died in Belgium and Prussia due to starvation. Further, 10,000 people died in France. As a result of these crop failures, prices began to rise significantly. Many people's income was spent on high priced food, creating an atmosphere of discontent from the general public in Europe. In the mid-1840s, high prices, followed by indebtedness, poor business conditions and wide spread-unemployment, reflected poor economic conditions in Europe. Among European peasants, the revolutions were triggered by their loss of communal lands to commercial farmers.

On the other hand, the European working class resented long working hours, poor living conditions and the pressure of industrialisation. The population in French rural areas rose rapidly, forcing people to flee to main cities searching for wage employment. However, even in the cities, life became difficult due to high inflation and unemployment.

Political factors for the revolutions were the results of heterodox ideologies which began to emerge well before the revolutions. One of these ideologies was ‘liberalism’ which began to develop during the 1840s opposing the monarchical regime and its undemocratic principles. Before 1848, monarchical Europe consisted of a society of orders, practised and survived for centuries. Absolute kings spent a lot of government money while the majority of people suffered from economic and social problems. The nobility and the aristocracy ruled above the law. These increased frictions between the commoners and the rulers (the kings) as the first were dissatisfied with the political system. Liberalism was an ideology that believed in the equality of all people in influencing decision making processes. Communities in Europe demanded a constitution that would allow people to act accordingly and give everyone equal treatment under the law. Liberalism aimed to eliminate the monarchical order, its institutions, political structure and power of the aristocracy. Classical liberalism, which started in the 1820s from Spain and France, had spread throughout Europe. The middle and working classes aimed to get an elected representative parliament rather than to give consent for an ultimate power figure to make decisions. The elected representative parliament would allow middle-class workers to have a say in law-making decision.

As the aristocracy believed that liberalism was a threatening ideology, the monarchy and aristocracy became more conservative, defensive and repressive to the new ideology to preserve their *status quo*. The liberals were determined to destroy absolute monarchies. In Denmark, for example, the absolute monarchy faced radical demonstrations led by the National Liberals. These liberals demanded a constitution after the death of King Christian VIII. Through these demonstrations, the new king installed a new cabinet that consisted members of the National Liberal Party. Due to this ideology, political authorities in Europe faced difficulties that essentially forced them to make peace with liberalists to put an end to uprisings. This provides evidence that liberalism caused the 1848 revolutions; the situation in Denmark is illustrative. The influences of the 1789 French Revolution gave birth to the principles of liberty and fraternity. So, the principle of equality influenced the development of liberal ideas in Europe in the 19th century.



Another important ideology that began to emerge during the 1840s was nationalism. Nationalism upheld the idea of the superiority of a nation over others. The ideas of nationalism advocated a national unity bound by a common language, culture, shared history and political independence. Like the ideas of democracy, liberalism, and nationalism also gained popularity despite forceful efforts to suppress it. In the 1840s, the Empire of Austria became the most affected empire by nationalism. With people of many nationalities such as Russians, Austrians, Hungarians and Poles (Polish people), an atmosphere of instability had been created throughout the empire as these nationalities were struggling for hegemony. Because of nationalism, the revolutions appeared as wars of independence from the Austrian Empire rather than a reform revolution.

A strong sense of nationalism also existed among Italians and Germans. Nationalism was extremely popular in Germany during the 1840s due to the Rhine crisis. The Rhine crisis was a threat from France of a likely invasion to take over the Rhine land. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Rhine was given back to the Prussian military control. However, after a diplomatic defeat, France was adamant about taking back control over the Rhine as their natural border. The Rhine issue created huge popularity between France and Germany which led to a widespread ideology of nationalism emerging within both countries. The Rhine crisis unleashed the “breakthrough of modern German nationalism. German nationalism was the idea to unite all German-speaking nations under the influence of a sole German nation.

There were heterodox ideologies of liberalism, nationalism and socialism, which led to the 1848 revolutions. In Germany, nationalists split into two groups; namely the liberal nationalists, headed by scientists, doctors and physicians and the radicals. The Prussian King Frederick William feared all German states would unite, and he would lose power and influence. The aristocracy's fear of nationalism signifies that nationalism was such a prominent ideology with a profound impact. Italy also experienced discontents due to nationalism during the mid-1800s. Young Italy, a political movement that emerged in 1831, was founded by Giuseppe Mazzini. It encouraged many Italian states to fight for independence and become unified. Young Italy aimed to educate people on politics to realise that a unified Italy was the best for their people. Mazzini aimed for the liberation of Italy from the Austrian empire, and he effectively influenced many people.

Conversely, Marxists believed that liberals, middle class, workers and nationalists experienced a class struggle which ultimately caused the 1848 revolutions. Marxists believed that the classes went through struggles that caused the revolutions. In his



book *The Age of Revolution*, Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm linked the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution with the process of rising bourgeois class. However, Europe faced many more difficulties rather than the rise of the class of bourgeoisie.

The role of the Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815 was also important in the outbreak of the revolutions. The Congress was an international diplomatic conference to reconstitute the European political order after the downfall of the French Emperor, Napoleon I. This meeting of ambassadors of European states was chaired by Austrian statesman Klemens von Metternich. The four powers which were instrumental in overthrowing Napoleon (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain) attended the conference. The Congress aimed to provide a long-term peace plan for Europe by settling critical issues arising from the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars. The goal was not simply to restore old boundaries but to resize the main powers so they could balance each other and remain at peace. The conservative leaders of the Congress also sought to restrain or eliminate the republicanism and revolution which had ended the constitutional order of the European old regimes, and which continued to threaten it.

In the settlement, France lost all its recent conquests, while Prussia, Austria and Russia made major territorial gains. Prussia added smaller German states in the west, Swedish Pomerania, 60 per cent of the kingdom of Saxony, and the western part of the former Duchy of Warsaw. As for Austria, she gained Venice and much of northern Italy. Russia gained the central and eastern parts of the Duchy of Warsaw. It ratified the new kingdom of the Netherlands, which had been created just months before from the formerly Austrian territory that in 1830 became Belgium. The powers developed the Concert of Europe that was a system of dispute resolution adopted by the major conservative powers of Europe to maintain their power, oppose revolutionary movements, weaken the forces of nationalism, and uphold the balance of power. The Congress brought about a balance of power in Europe and prevented further conflict. The Congress dissolved the Napoleonic world and attempted to restore the monarchies that had been overthrown. Many common people did not support it as it prevented the thriving of liberal democracy in their countries.

The Vienna Congress laid down the balance of power principle to prevent any European state from gaining a dominant position in Europe. The Vienna Peace Settlement of 1815, which put the smaller states of Italy and Germany under Austria, precipitated the revolutions of 1848, which intended to destroy the dominance and control of the big states over the small ones. The Act was signed at Vienna (the capital of Austria) chaired by Metternich, the former Chancellor of Austria. The Congress advocated



balance of power by placing the small states under the bigger ones. For example, the Italian Provinces of Lombardy, Venetia and Parma, Tuscany, Medina Pius and the German states came under Austria. Some states in Italy, Spain, Poland and Germany resisted this arrangement. According to the Vienna Act, the overthrown, hated, and despotic leaders were restored. For example, those overthrown by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars (that is, King Louis XVI in France, Ferdinand I of Naples and Ferdinand VII of Spain) were restored.

Social factors also contributed to the rise of the 1848 Revolutions. For instance, the epidemic diseases such as cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis and influenza in East and Central Europe led to high death rates and psychological effects on the majority. The people blamed their kings for the failure to address the health problems. The rapid growing population in Europe also caused the need to develop systematic and reliable health services for a healthier population. As many monarchies faced financial difficulties, they could hardly offer reliable health services to the population in rural and growing cities.

Clearly, a combination of political and economic crises caused the 1848 revolutions. Discontents were driven by long-term economic problems, which led to unrest and revolts. The revolutions began as a series of republican revolts against European monarchies as radicals demanded democratic governments. The outbreak of the 1848 revolutions marked the climax of the new forces of change of liberalism, democracy, nationalism, socialism, industrialism and republicanism against reactionary conservative forces in Europe.

Exercise 4.10

1. Were there any differences in causes between the 1848 revolutions and the previous French Revolution of 1789 in Europe?
2. Discuss the role played by the Congress of Vienna of 1814–1815 in the 1848 Revolutions in Europe.
3. Examine why Britain was not affected by the 1848 revolutions.



The contribution of the 1848 revolutions to the development of democracy in Europe

The revolutions facilitated the unification of Italian kingdoms and the Papal States into Italy in 1870 and Germanic states into a united Germany in 1871. The fall of Metternich and his Vienna Peace Settlement of 1815, which was an obstacle to the unification, paved the way towards the unification both in Italy and Germany. The Revolutions also led to the rise of new statesmen like King Victor Emanuel II, Count Camilo de Cavour and Otto von Bismarck who became key characters during the unification process.

The revolutions also enhanced the parliamentary system in some European countries. Monarchies in Germany, Italy, Austria and Belgium had their power reduced. The separation of powers between the Prime Minister/Chancellor as the head of the government and the king as the head of state stemmed from the 1848 revolutions.

Besides, the era of 1848 revolutions marked the end of feudalism and serfdom in Austria since the Emperor Francis Joseph I passed the Emancipation Act of September 1848. The Act allowed peasants to own and inherit land without compensation to the nobles. Serfdom was also abolished in Hungary. This emancipation paved the road to capitalism and liberal democratic principles in these countries.

The revolutions also helped to spread the liberal democratic ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity in European countries. France retained universal male suffrage. In Austria, the revolution facilitated the formation of the Constituent Assembly and the emancipation of the peasantry. It was an era of European transformation from the age of absolutism into the age of democratic society. All middle-class people, industrial workers and peasants wanted change.

The revolution also contributed to the spread of socialism in Europe. The utopian and later scientific socialist ideas spread rapidly to many European countries. On the one hand, the liberals were opposing the undemocratic principles and ideas of absolutist kings who had been ruling Europe since the 15th century. On the other hand, the socialists were opposing the growing influence of liberalism which protected the interest of the capitalist classes, especially industrialists, bankers and commercial farmers and business sectors. The peasants and factory workers used the socialist ideas to air out their dissatisfaction with capitalism and liberal governments. The socialists were against liberal democracy as it would promote the interests of the capitalist class and not of the working class and peasants. The socialists wanted dictatorship of the working class in the state.



Activity 4.2



With the help of library research,

- (a) Find out the sources of Germany's economic dominance in the European Union. Does it have any relations with the historical unification of Germany?
- (b) How is the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall similar to and different from the 1871 unification of Germany?

The rise of Germany and Italy as centralized states

The rise of Germany and Italy has its roots in the unification of both countries. On one hand, the unification of Germany into a politically and administratively integrated nation state officially occurred on 18 January 1871 when Bismarck brought all territories under Prussian control and crowned Wilhelm I Kaiser of Germany. On the other hand, Italy declared a united nation-state in 1870.

The unification of Germany

Germany could not be located on the world map before 1871. What existed were only loose and small states which either belonged to the lands or were under the Holy Roman Empire. Examples of such states included Prussia, Hanover, Hamburg, Baden, Württemberg, Saxe-Weimar, the Rhine States and Bavaria. Therefore, German unification was an amalgamation (union) of different Germanic states that came to form a nation-state known as Germany in 1871.

For many years, the Germans had remained a disunited society. Indeed, the German lands were composed of more than 300 individual principalities and city-states that largely operated independently of one another. Though certain powers dominated different parts of the German lands throughout the Holy Roman Empire's history, it was not until the 17th century that early modern Germany's two greatest powers, Prussia and Austria, began to expand and take more and more of German territory under their respective territories. However, the independence of these small Germanic states remained a huge obstacle towards a unified Germany. This is because their political disunity was easily exploited by Austrian rulers. For example, Prince Metternich, who was the Chancellor of Austria, imposed on the Germans the Carlsbad decree to weaken and divide Germany even further.

The Carlsbad decree stipulated that all German universities had to be supervised by the Austrians. German university students were forbidden to form students'

associations. Those who violated this law were expelled and were not allowed to join any other university college. The press was put under strict censorship, while all political meetings were made illegal. However, from 1848 onwards, the Germans changed completely. They started campaigns to create their own country known as Germany. Their campaigns culminated in the proclamation of the newly united nation of Germany in January 1871. The unification event was, however, a process that took so many years. The following historical events were part and parcel of the reasons for German Unification (1862- 1871).

The Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) were one of the historical events which partly stimulated the unification process of Germany. In 1806, about 200 princes of the free cities of the Ecclesiastical states along the Rhine region (South Germany) volunteered to support Bonaparte Napoleon in his campaigns in the Rhine against the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II of Austria. They pledged to give him soldiers to reinforce Napoleon's troops. This kind of military alliance facilitated the unification process because the princes renounced their allegiance to Emperor Francis II of Austria and accepted to cooperate with Napoleon. In expressing his appreciations, Napoleon handed over the Ecclesiastical states to the princes. He encouraged them to unite those states from 200 small states into 39 larger states. This action was followed by the formation of the confederation of the Rhine states. The confederation later came to be known as the South German Confederation.

Another event that encouraged German unification was the Congress of Vienna of 1815. Known also as the Concert of Europe, the Congress attempted to forge a peaceful balance of power in Europe by resizing the main powers. It approved the 39 states of the Confederation of Germany. In 1816, the German *Diet* (an assembly for the whole of Germany) was set up. The *Diet* discussed the creation of a single German army. Frankfurt became the headquarters of the federation. This was another signal of the beginning of the long-awaited unification.

Equally important, liberals led to the unification of Germany. In the 19th century, all German states produced a group of liberals. These people, in their totality, looked forward to real German unity. They advocated for an elected parliament and government which would be responsible to all people. Their pressure forced some German princes to reform their governments. The prince of Bavaria, for example, reformed the government and set up a new government that represented the peasants, towns' people and nobles in 1818. This act motivated the princes of Württemberg, Saxe-Weimar and Baden to do the same.



Reforms in the German education system also played a crucial role in the German unification. Following the formation of the German Confederation in 1815, the system of education in Germany was reformed. German students and their professors were no longer bound by the Carlsbad decree. They became free to move from one university to another. This kind of freedom gave them exposure and new ideas, which motivated the unification of Germany. Additionally, the press was no longer put under strict censorship. Instead, it was free to campaign for the unification cause. Such reforms partly contributed to the unification of Germany because some liberal ideas spread fast among the German students. Since then, all university professors, lecturers and scholars have advocated for a united Germany.

Another major force that encouraged German unification was the French Revolution of 1830. Known as the July Revolution, the 1830 revolution was against King Charles X and his conservative policies in France. The revolution facilitated the unification process of Germany because German liberals were inspired to follow the example of their counterpart liberals of France. German states experienced liberal protests. The protests were expressed through celebrations and revolutionary speeches in which the great demand of the people was the unification of Germany and a liberal form of government. The prince of Hanover responded to that by producing a new constitution in favour of the demands of the liberals. The constitution was, however, suppressed in 1837 by the king.

Coupled with the above factors was the Prussian economic reforms of 1818. Prior to the formation of the German Confederation in 1815, Prussia effectively levied customs duties on all goods which entered her boundaries. In 1818, however, reformers enacted the Prussian Customs Law, which later brought all Prussian territories into a customs union known as the *Zollverein*, free from internal economic barriers. This meant the removal of all duties for goods from the members of the German Confederation. The economic reforms facilitated the unification of Germany because all states within the German Confederation could easily trade with Prussia. Having achieved a customs union, reformers then started to agitate for political reorganisation that aimed to abolish the confederal system, establish greater political union and achieve national power.

The German unification was also caused by the French Revolution of 1848 and Prussian uprisings of 1848. In February 1848, a revolution against King Louis Philippe occurred in France. The revolution facilitated the unification of Germany because, between March 12th and 17th, 1848, Prussia was also swept by uprisings and riots which were against King Frederick William IV (1840-1861), who was also a staunch believer of the Divine Right of Kings. In this uprising, the liberals demonstrated against him, demanding the freedoms of the press and speech. They also demanded

the representative government and trial by jury. During the uprisings, many people were killed by the forces of King William IV. The pressure of the uprisings eventually forced the king to grant the freedom of the press and speech to the people. The Prussian *Diet* (the Assembly) was called to look into the possibility of having a new constitution. The *Diet* met at Frankfurt in May 1848, whereby representatives came from all groups of people.

The appointment of Otto von Bismarck as the new Prime Minister of Prussia in 1862 also gave fresh impetus for the unification of Germany. In 1862, he returned to Prussia and was appointed Chancellor by the new King; Wilhelm I. Bismarck was now determined to unite the German states into a single empire, with Prussia as its core. With Austrian support, he used the expanded Prussian army to capture the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark in 1864. He then escalated a quarrel with Austria and its German allies over the administration of these provinces into an 1866 war in which Prussia was the victor. Prussia then annexed a further territory in Germany. However, unable to persuade the southern German states to join his North German Confederation, Bismarck provoked hostilities with France to unite the German states. The German victory in the Franco-Prussian War won over the southern German states, and in 1871, they agreed to join the German empire. Wilhelm I of Prussia became the emperor.

Generally, the unification of Germany was a complex process with many events such as wars, demonstrations, conflicts, and enactment of laws. It also took many years of ups and downs until the unification was realised in 1871.

Exercise 4.11

1. Discuss the political dimension of the unification of Germany.
2. To what extent was the unification of Germany successful?

The impact of Germany's unification

The unification of Germany was solemnly proclaimed on 18th January 1871. This was after France had acknowledged a humiliating defeat by the Prussian royal forces. Otto von Bismarck now became the “iron chancellor.” Bismarck’s policy in the new German nation brought about positive and negative impacts.

In the first place, the democratic features that had started to take firm roots between 1848 and 1870 among the Germans were then suppressed by Bismarck’s government.



Since then, the political parties suffered from untold humiliations under Bismarck's administration. These parties were the German Social Democratic Party, the National Liberal Party, the Catholic Centre Party, and the Conservative Party.

Secondly, Bismarck's government came into bitter conflicts with the Catholic Church. The misunderstanding arose because Bismarck opposed the Papal claims of the doctrine (dogma) of Papal infallibility. The doctrine specified that when the Pope defines doctrines concerning faith or morals, he cannot make errors because he is guided by divine assistance. Many German Catholics refused to accept the decree of infallibility. Those who accepted it reacted by forming their own political party called the Catholic Centre Party. Some members of this party entered the German Parliament (*Reichstag*) and strongly criticised Bismarck's administration. This made Bismarck hard on them. The Jesuits who strongly criticised his rule were expelled from Germany. All Catholic priests were banned from inspecting schools, education, and appointments. Worse still, all activities of priests were then controlled by the state. And all church schools were forced to accept examinations set by the state. The Catholics, priests and even bishops who objected to this order were sentenced to jail.

Bismarck also came into conflict with socialist factory workers. Their conditions in the factories were terrible as they worked for long hours but were paid lowly. The workers demanded that the major means of production such as land, banks, railways and factories be controlled by the state so that they too may have access to them. They even formed their own political party known as the Social Democratic Party. Bismarck, who was totally opposed to socialism, persecuted members of the Social Democratic Party. In 1878, Bismarck suppressed the socialist papers, disbanded their clubs, stopped their meetings and banished their leaders.

Bismarck's policy on the economy was, however, desirable. Between 1876 and 1877, he introduced a common German currency. He also established the National Bank of Germany, together with a national postal system. He encouraged individual German capitalists to construct railways and coordinate their activities in the interests of the state. New commercial, civil, criminal and military laws were made.

He also encouraged industrialisation and trade as important sectors which could enable Germany to strengthen her political power. Hence, during his reign, coal mines and steelworks sprang up in Saxony, Silesia, Alsace and Lorraine. Chemical industries were established, while the Siemen's Company took the lead in installing electrical industries. The introduction of the common German currency and the establishment of the National Bank of Germany enabled German overseas trade grow fast. The population of Germany also grew fast and overtook that of France.



By 1880, Germany had become a giant nation politically, economically and militarily because of Bismarck's internal policy. This was the time when Bismarck began to aspire for creating colonies in Africa. In 1879, he had already adopted the policy of protectionism by imposing high custom tariffs on imports to protect the home industries. Thus, he believed that the acquisition of colonies would further strengthen Germany economically and politically since such colonies would also be closed under the tariff law to the trade of other nations.

The unification of Italy

For many centuries, Italy had been divided into small and independent states. However, the Italian process of unification started in 1815 when Italy was reorganised. Most of the old political divisions were restored and the power of Austria was doubled by her acquisition of Venetia. This meant that 13 states were set up in Italy. The states mostly fell into five main groups. Reading from the South to the North, these groups were (a) Naples and Sicily (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies); (b) The papal States (ruled by the Pope); (c) Modena, Parma and Tuscany (Central Italy); (d) Lombardy and Venetia (under the Austrian Empire), and (e) the kingdom of Sardinia (which included Piedmont and Savoy).

The overriding cause of the Italian unification was the wave of nationalism that swept not only the Italian independent states but also the independent states of Germany.

Italians were struggling for a united Italy due to several reasons. One of these was the influence of the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1814), which helped unite Italy in several ways. Firstly, they helped to spread the ideas of the French Revolution among the Italians. In 1796, Napoleon captured and occupied some independent states of Italy, including the Papal States of Rome. Charles Albert introduced new laws which cut down the privileges of the Italian feudal nobles. Secondly, after the Napoleonic Wars, promotion to government posts were no longer based on one's status but on demonstrated talents and abilities. Consequently, this compelled the Italians to begin learning to work and think with others beyond the boundary of their states. This helped to reduce divisions among those states which had existed for many centuries. Lastly, the presence of the French rule in Italian states was ruthless. The French police harassed the Italians by forcing them to pay taxes to support the French government in Paris. The Italians were not happy with the harassment they endured. As a result, they organised some revolts demanding self-autonomy which ended in unification.

The second reason for the Italian unification was the role played by Count Camilo de Cavour. He was one of the Italian nationalist leaders who played a great role in



the unification of Italy during the 19th century. He worked together with his fellow nationalist leaders like Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi to end disunity among the Italians and called all Italians to unite against foreign rule. By so doing, they shaped the public opinion, which positively took up the call for unification later. For example, the people of Piedmont cooperated with other states like Sicily, Savoy, Venetia and Lombardy to fight hard against the French and Austrian foreign rule and eventually created a new mighty nation of Italy in 1870. Cavour played a crucial role in the Italian unification. As a soldier, he used both violence and diplomacy to ensure that a united Italy was achieved. He once became very instrumental during the violence of the 1820s when the Italian nationalists organised secret groups to torture and assassinate the Austrian rulers who had occupied Piedmont. Such secret groups were known as the *Carbonari*. Members of this group demanded national independence, national constitution and freedom of expression. Cavour also travelled to other European nations and Latin America. The travel helped him gain new political experiences in the republican governments. The experiences he gained influenced him to adopt diplomacy instead of violence. Such a change in attitude made him popular among the people of Piedmont and other states. For example, King Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia worked tirelessly with Cavour in the creation of a united Italy.

As a diplomat and politician, Cavour founded a newspaper called *Risorgimento*, (in English ‘Rising Again’ or ‘Resurrection’) in 1847. The newspaper carried nationalistic ideas such as the need for all the Italians to have their own national constitutional government. Such ideas instilled in the people of Italy the need to unite and create their own nation state. Then, in 1848, Cavour entered Parliament of Piedmont. In 1850, he was appointed the Minister for Commerce, and in 1852, he was made the Prime Minister of Piedmont. During his career as the Minister for Commerce and as the Prime Minister, he introduced many reforms which transformed Piedmont into a modern state. Piedmont became the unifying centre of the new nation of Italy. He removed all trade tariffs and duties from all imported goods. His government built railway lines, set up cooperative societies and the banking industry. Such reforms made Piedmont economically powerful. Its strong economy, in turn, was used to modernise its army.

In 1858, Camilo Cavour and King Louis Napoleon III of France signed a dual entente at a place called the Spar of Plombiers. This alliance treaty came to be referred to as the Compact of Plombiers. With this treaty, France promised Cavour full military assistance to drive Austrians out of Lombardy and Venetia. Cavour on his part promised to surrender Nice and Savoy to France. Confident of such military support, Cavour picked frontier quarrels with Austria in 1859. This was followed by a war



between Piedmont and Austria. As the war ensued, France sent a contingent army. Austria was defeated and surrendered Lombardy. Its dukes and troops were expelled from Modena, Parma and Tuscany. To keep his promise to France, Cavour handed over Savoy and Nice to King Louis Napoleon III. The victory over Austria enabled Cavour to establish the first Italian Parliament in Turin, the capital of Piedmont, in 1861. King Victor Emmanuel II was made the first President of united Italy. Cavour became the first Prime Minister of united Italy. But he died in the same year before witnessing the event of the total unification of Italy. He left all Italian states united with Piedmont, except the states of Venetia and Rome. Venetia and the Papal State of Rome were still under Austrian rule.

By 1861, all states were united, except two. The two states outside the union were Venetia (held by Austrians) and Rome (held by the French troops on behalf of the Pope). In the efforts to take Venetia, Italy allied with Prussia in a war against Austria in 1866. The Italians were beaten by the Austrians at Custozza. The war, however, was won by the Prussians and, despite the Italian failure, Bismarck rewarded Venetia to Italy. Therefore, only Rome remained. Finally, in 1870, when the Franco-Prussian War broke out, Napoleon III, in his need for troops, had to withdraw the garrison from Rome, and the Pope's stronghold fell to the Italians without fighting with France. Following this incident, the Pope was left with sovereign rights over the 'Vatican City' a mile and a half square territory. By 1870, Italy was thus united and free.

Besides the Napoleonic Wars and the central role played by Count Camilo de Cavour, the terms of the Vienna Congress (1815) also facilitated the unification of Italy. In 1814, Napoleon Bonaparte was removed from power. Austria used Napoleon's downfall to convene a congress in Vienna. The terms of the Vienna Congress helped to plant the seeds of the unification of Italy because it empowered Austria to occupy the Italian states of Lombardy and Venetia, which had been under Napoleon's rule before 1815. The two states, as well as other states that were under Austrian rule, were being ruled ruthlessly. Italians had no freedom of press and opinion. Austria introduced censorship in education. Italian freedom fighters who wanted change were imprisoned, persecuted and even murdered by the Austrian policemen. The Austrian officials introduced the old laws which exempted the noblemen from paying taxes. Such harassments prompted Italians to form a secret militant movement in the 1830s, known as the *Carbonari*, to fight for their self-autonomy.

Moreover, the 1848 revolutions, which swept the whole of Europe, facilitated the unification of Italy. Such revolutions did not spare the states of Italy. All Italian states revolted against Austrian rule. They did so because there was a revolution in Austria also. Prince Metternich of Austria had been overthrown by the liberals. King Charles



Albert of Piedmont used this occasion to attack the Austrian troops in his kingdom and succeeded in forcing about 20,000 Austrian soldiers out of his kingdom.

As a supplement, Italian cultural influences and history also facilitated the Italian unification. The majority of Italians spoke Latin, and they were staunch Catholics. They had common traditions and history as well. These factors made them develop nationalistic sentiments with a great desire to liberate themselves from the ruthless rule of Napoleon of France and Austrians. The ideas of Italian philosophers and writers also facilitated in uniting Italians. Out of this unity, they developed a desire to have their own nation of Italy. One of the famous writers in Italy during the 19th century was poet Alessandro Manzoni, whose novel entitled *The Betrothed* was published in English in 1828. The marriage covenant spoken in the novel was a fiction that stood for the unity that the people of Lombardy were called to develop with other independent Italian states. The novel called for the people of Italy to develop political strategies which could help them achieve national unity, which was a necessary condition for national greatness.

Exercise 4.12

1. Discuss the significance of the unification of Italy in Europe.
2. Compare and contrast between the unification of Germany and that of Italy.

Strategies for achieving the German and Italian unification

The two states achieved their unification after a long series of struggles and wars. Various strategies were employed to achieve their end goal for strong, free and united nation-state.

First, in achieving unification, Germany and Italy employed a military approach against both internal and external enemies. For example, Bismarck, through his policy of “blood and iron”, declared military wars against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France in 1870-71 to liberate German territories like Schleswig and Holstein. The same approach was used by Italy; Piedmont under Cavour applied force against Austria in 1859 in the liberation of Lombardy. In 1860, Garibaldi acquired Naples and Sicily using his 1000 Redshirt military men.

Second, when the military approach failed, Germany and Italy adopted a diplomatic approach by signing treaties. Bismarck and Cavour signed treaties with European

powers in the course of unification. For instance, treaties made 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.

Moreover, due to prevailing circumstances, both Italy and Germany used collaborative forces against common enemies by forming alliances and seeking foreign assistance from their allies. For example, in 1859, Cavour, the Premier of Piedmont, secured an alliance with France to fight Austria and liberate Lombardy.

Another strategy employed during the process of unifying small German and Italian states was expansionism. In their unification, both states conquered and incorporated weaker states using their economic influence or military strength. Generally, in both nation-states, unification was mainly achieved through military campaigns.

The impact of the German and Italian unification on Europe

The two unifications produced many impacts that directly shaped the global landscape in politics, economy and socio-culture. They even influenced the world balance of power.

National unification contributed to the rapid industrialisation of both Germany and Italy. Unification enlarged the domestic markets, led to pacification, increased power for national defence, introduced the national currency and instituted uniform weight and measures. All these socio-economic and political changes were stimuli for industrialisation. Hence, the two new nations easily achieved the industrial revolution and thus joined Britain and France for the global politics of glory and greatness, including the race for colonies.

The unification also stimulated German and Italian imperialism, which was evident towards the end of the 19th century. Imperialistic tendencies were exemplified by events such as the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-1912. Italy, as the great power, could not tolerate seeing Austria and Turkey continue to hold territories, which she regarded as rightfully hers. Many more cases were evident in Africa, like the Italo-Ethiopian war of the 1930s. Germany entered the race for colonies in Africa. For example, she competed with Great Britain over the control of East Africa.

National unification also influenced the rise of military alliances in the world. Both Germany and Italy fully participated in the formation and development of military alliances. Germany became the first to make a military alliance with Austria in 1879. Italy joined it in 1882 to form the Triple Alliance. The formation of the Triple



Alliance eventually compelled Britain, France and Russia to form their own military alliance called the Triple Entente. Later these military alliances culminated into the First World War.

The two great powers that emerged after the unification contributed to the development of the dictatorial or authoritarian system in the world. After the unification, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini developed the Nazi and fascist governments respectively which also became patrons of these systems in the world. The two systems greatly affected many people worldwide, such as the persecution and massacre of millions of Jews in Germany and Europe. Besides, Nazism and Fascism were directly responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War.

Although the unifications of Germany and Italy had many things in common, they also differed in some aspects. Whereas the unification of Germany brought the country into conflict with the Catholic Church, the situation was different in Italy. The Papal States were incorporated into united Italy. The Pope was given sovereign rights of the Vatican City area and recognised as the supreme sovereign of the Vatican City state. However, he was denied political power over Rome and left as a religious leader and ruler of the Vatican City. In respect of this change, Denis Richards in his book *Modern Europe 1789 – 1945*, argues that, in the protest, the Pope retired as a voluntary prisoner to his palace of the Vatican where no Pope ever emerged until a treaty was arranged with Mussolini in 1929.

Exercise 4.13

1. With examples, explain the background to the unifications in Germany and Italy.
2. With examples, analyse the reasons and strategies used to achieve unification in Italy and Germany from 1848-1870/71.
3. Evaluate the impact of the unification in both Germany and Italy.

The unification in both Germany and Italy had everlasting impacts on each country and the world at large. It created a desire for independence and unity, economic growth, and strong nationalism. However, it also brought bloody wars, separations and dictatorial politics.



Revision exercise 4

1. Define each of the following terms and state its relationship with the history of the revolutions in Europe.
 - (a) Absolute monarchy
 - (b) Liberal democracy
 - (c) The Triennial Act of 1641
 - (d) The Test Act of 1673
 - (e) The Ecclesiastical Court
 - (f) The Bill of Right of 1689
2. What were lessons of the 1848 revolutions to the development of democracy in Europe?
3. Discuss the contribution of the 1848 revolutions to the development of democracy in Italy.
4. How did the German capitalists benefit from the 1848 revolutions?
5. Why did the nobles, clergies and aristocratic people fight for monarchies in Europe?
6. Discuss the main issues which the English monarchy faced when they came into conflict with the rising capitalist classes in England.
7. Compare and contrast the English Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the 1848 revolutions in Europe.
8. Account for the rise of constitutional monarchy in England.
9. Why did the liberal democracy prevail against the socialist democracy in Europe in the 19th century?
10. Assess the role of the American War of Independence in the rise of the French Revolution of 1789.
11. Examine the impact of the unification of Italy on Papal States.
12. Examine the contribution of the 1848 revolutions towards the development of democracy in Germany.
13. Examine the contribution of German and Italian unifications to politics and democracy in Europe.



Chapter Five

The rise of dictatorship in Germany, Italy and Japan

Introduction

The world experienced the rise of fascism in the inter-war period, 1919-1939. Fascism was a political regime that stressed on a nation and race above an individual. It stood for a centralised autocratic government headed by a totalitarian dictatorial leader. Fascism was developed in Italy and other European nations after 1919 as a reaction to the political, economic and social difficulties brought by the First World War and the spread of socialism and communism. It started in Italy when Benito Mussolini took over power in 1922 and in Germany, where Adolf Hitler was a fascist dictator from 1933 to 1945. While fascist movements were practised in some European countries and Japan after the First World War; fascism in Italy and Germany was more systematically and thoroughly practised. In this chapter you will learn the causes, rise and development of fascism with its impacts on the world history. The competencies developed will enable you to safeguard democracy against dictatorship.

Activity 5.1



- In a group of five students, conduct library research on the impacts of Fascism and Nazism on Africa.
- Present your findings to the class.

Causes of the rise of the dictatorship

Dictatorship refers to autocratic form of government in which all powers rests on a dictator or group of people who are above the law. Power is assumed by force. Dictators suspend constitutions, and they are unrestricted by the law, constitutions or other social and political factors in the state.



The meaning and origin of Fascism

Fascism can be traced back to the historical struggles for democracy in Europe. The rise of fascism in Europe and Japan in the inter-war period was caused by various factors. This section provides the background of the rise of fascism, its causes, and impact on Italy, Germany and Japan.

The word *Fascism* is derived from the Latin word *Fasces*. It means a bundle of rods rounded on an axe. The bundle was used as the magistrate's emblem of power in Ancient Rome. In 1919, Benito Mussolini, who ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943, adopted the same word to mean a group or squad or club of people with powers to rule Italy. After the First World War, Mussolini organised some workers, encouraging them to demand their political rights. By 1920, the workers who had formed workers' clubs transformed themselves into an Italian fascist political party.

Fascism, under Benito Mussolini, became a political system in which the state had all the powers. All citizens had to work for the country and the government. He used a strong army and a police force to keep law and order. Thus, fascism was an ultranationalist and authoritarian political philosophy. It combined elements of nationalism, militarism, economic self-sufficiency and totalitarianism. It opposed communism, socialism, pluralism, individual rights, equality and liberal democratic government.

Historical background of Fascism

Fascism emerged in Italy under Benito Mussolini in 1922. The growth of democratic ideologies and popular participation in politics in the 19th century threatened conservative monarchical elements in European society. Italy was hit hard by economic problems after the First World War. Fascism developed as an attempt to counter Italian political, economic and social problems by forming political parties based mainly on the middle classes and petty bourgeoisies, exploiting their fear of political domination by communists. To gain political power, Fascists played with people's fear of communist revolutions with its chaos, anarchy and general insecurity. They appealed to nationalist sentiments and prejudices, exploited anti-Semitism and portrayed themselves as protectors of law and order, Christian morality and private ownership of property.

The rise of communism

The Russian Revolution of 1917 played a role in the rise of fascism. The First World War led to the collapse of the central powers of Germany, Austro-Hungary and the



Ottoman Empire in 1918. This collapse created a political vacuum in Europe, and the communists attempted to seize power in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Austria and the Balkan states. Fascism drew support from sections of the European population such as capitalists who feared nationalisation of their assets by the communists, and Catholics who feared that communism would stop freedom of worship, expression and association.

Economic and social unrest

The First World War resulted in socio-economic problems and social unrest in Europe. In Italy, the unrest made nationalists dissatisfied with the government's failure to redress the unrest. Thus, anti-democratic ideology emerged whereby the Fascist party won support from the middle classes who also suffered from inflation, rising food prices and unemployment caused by the First World War. These conditions facilitated the rise of fascism.

Exercise 5.1

How did the rise of the USSR contribute to the rise of fascism in Europe?

The role of the Versailles Peace Treaty in the rise of dictatorship

The Versailles Peace Treaty played a role in the rise of dictatorship in Italy, Germany and Japan. The treaty was the settlement signed by Germany and the Allied Nations on 28th June, 1919. It officially ended the war between Germany and the Allied Powers. The leaders of the great powers and their allies who had won the War attended the Conference. These were the US President Woodrow Wilson, Britain's Prime Minister David Lloyd and France's Prime Minister George Clemenceau. Other allied countries which sent their delegates to the Conference were Belgium, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, Romania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Canada and Brazil.

Each great power had its aims in the Treaty. France had lost 1.3 million soldiers and 400,000 civilians. It was more physically damaged than any other nation. Most of its railways, bridges, factories and sources of coal and iron ore had been destroyed. Prime Minister Clemenceau intended to ensure the security of France by weakening Germany economically, militarily, territorially and by replacing Germany as the leading producer of steel in Europe. The French wanted a frontier to protect France from a German invasion and compensate for French demographic and economic inferiority. The American and British representatives refused the French claim. However, the French accepted a British pledge to ally with France if Germany attacked them

again. Clemenceau accepted the offer in return for the occupation of the Rhineland for fifteen years and that Germany would also demilitarise the Rhineland. French negotiators required reparations to make Germany pay for the destruction caused throughout the war and reduce German military and economic strength. The French also wanted the iron ore and coal of the Saar Valley to be annexed to France. France, British Dominions and Belgium opposed mandates and favoured annexation of the former German colonies.

Britain also had demands in the Treaty. She had incurred high financial costs but little physical devastation during the War. Britain favoured reconciliation that would force Germany to pay reparations and not to repeat the aggression of 1914. Prime Minister Lloyd George opposed revenge and attempted to compromise between Clemenceau's demands and the US President Wilson's Fourteen Points because Europe would eventually reconcile with Germany. Prime Minister Lloyd George wanted reparation terms that would not cripple the German economy so that Germany would remain a viable economic power and trading partner in Europe. The Prime Minister wanted British war pensions and widows' allowances to be included in the German reparation sum to ensure that a large amount would go to the British Empire. He also intended to maintain a European balance of power to prevent any French attempt to establish itself as the dominant European power. Also revived Germany would be a counterweight to France and a deterrent to Bolshevik Russia. Prime Minister George also wanted to neutralise the German navy so as to keep the Royal Navy as the greatest naval power in the world. Moreover, he wanted to dismantle the German colonial empire with several of its territorial possessions and dominions by making them fall under Britain and its allies. Hence, the territories and dominions had to be under the mandate of the established League of Nations, a position the dominions strongly opposed.

The United States had several demands to make during the Conference. Before the American entry into the war, President Woodrow Wilson delivered a speech known as *the Fourteen Points* on 8th January, 1918 with American peace objectives: rebuilding the European economy, self-determination of European and Middle Eastern ethnic groups, promotion of free trade, the creation of appropriate mandates for former colonies, and above all, the creation of a powerful League of Nations that would ensure global peace. The League was to provide a forum to revise peace treaties as needed and deal with problems that arose from those treaties. President Wilson spoke of the German aggressors, with whom there could be no compromised peace. Wilson firmly opposed the harsh treatment on Germany. While the British and French wanted to annex the German colonial empire to large extent, Wilson favoured the



right of self-determination through creation of mandates. To ensure that Japan did not refuse to join the League of Nations, President Wilson favoured transferring the former German colony of Shandong, in Eastern China, to Japan rather than returning it to Chinese control.

Italy had also its demands. Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando wanted to secure the partition of the Habsburg Empire. Italy favoured a compromise between Clemenceau and Wilson. Premier Orlando obtained certain results such as the permanent membership of Italy in the Security Council of the League of Nations. Italian nationalists saw the war as a mutilated victory for what they considered to be little territorial gains achieved. Orlando was ultimately forced to abandon the conference and resign. Italian nationalists called for a greater expansion that would enable Italy to be a great power.

After the discussion, the Versailles Peace Conference found Germany guilty of war. The terms of the Treaty required Germany to disarm, pay reparations and renounce all of its overseas colonies. The Treaty stripped Germany of its 65,000 km² territorial possession with 7 million people. It also required Germany to give up the gains made via the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and grant independence to the protectorates that had been established. Germany was required to recognise Belgian sovereignty over Moresnet and cede control of the Eupen-Malmedy area. To compensate for the destruction of French coal mines, Germany was to cede the output of the Saar coal mines to France and the control of the Saar to the League of Nations for 15 years. The Treaty restored the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine to France that had been occupied by Germany since 1871. France claimed that the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine were part of France and not part of Germany. In Central Europe, Germany had to recognize the independence of Czechoslovakia which had been controlled by Austria, and cede parts of the province of Upper Silesia. Germany had to recognise the independence of Poland and renounce all rights and titles over the territory. The portions of Upper Silesia were to be ceded to Poland, with the future of the rest of the province to be decided by a plebiscite. The province of Posen, which had come under Polish control during the Greater Poland Uprising, was also to be ceded to Poland. Pomerelia (Eastern Pomerania) was transferred to Poland so that the new state could have access to the sea and became known as the Polish Corridor. The sovereignty of southern East Prussia was to be decided via a plebiscite while the East Prussian Soldau area, which was astride the rail line between Warsaw and Danzig, was transferred to Poland outright without a plebiscite. An area of 51,800 sq. km was granted to Poland at the expense of Germany. Memel was to be ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers. Germany was to cede the city of Danzig and its hinterland,



including the delta of the Vistula River on the Baltic Sea, for the League of Nations to establish the Free City of Danzig.

Moreover, the Treaty required Germany to renounce sovereignty over former colonies. It also converted the territories into League of Nations mandates under the control of Allied states. Togo land and German Kamerun (Cameroon) were transferred to France. Rwanda and Burundi were allocated to Belgium, whereas German South-West Africa went to South Africa. Britain got part of German East Africa which she named Tanganyika. As compensation for the German invasion of Portuguese Africa, Portugal was granted the Kionga Triangle, a 395 km² area of German East Africa in northern Mozambique. The treaty transferred German concessions in Shandong in China to Japan. Japan was granted all German possessions in the Pacific north of the Equator and those in the south of the Equator went to Australia, except for German Samoa, which was taken by New Zealand.

The Treaty also engaged in military restrictions. It imposed comprehensive and complex restrictions upon the post-war German armed forces (the *Reichswehr*). The provisions intended to make the *Reichswehr* incapable of offensive action and to encourage international disarmament. Germany was to demobilise sufficient soldiers by 31st March 1920 to keep an army of not more than 100,000 men in a maximum of seven infantry and three cavalry divisions. The treaty laid down the organisation of the divisions and support units, and the General Staff was to be dissolved. Military schools for officer training were limited to three, one school per arm, and conscription was abolished. Private soldiers and non-commissioned officers were to be retained for at least 12 years and officers for a minimum of 25 years, with former officers being forbidden to attend military exercises. To prevent Germany from building up a large cadre of trained men, the number of men allowed to leave early was limited. The number of civilian staff supporting the army was reduced, and the police force was reduced to its pre-war size, with increases limited to population increases; paramilitary forces were forbidden. The Rhineland was to be demilitarised, all fortifications in the Rhineland and 50 kilometres east of the river were to be demolished, and new construction was forbidden. Military structures and fortifications on the islands of Heligoland and Düne were to be destroyed.

Germany was prohibited from engaging in arms trade. Limits were imposed on the type and quantity of weapons Germany could own and was prohibited from manufacturing or stockpiling of chemical weapons, armoured cars, tanks and military aircraft. The German navy was allowed to have six pre-dreadnought battleships. It was limited to a maximum of six light cruisers not exceeding 6,000 long tons, twelve destroyers



not exceeding 800 long tons and twelve torpedo boats not exceeding 200 long tons. Germany was also forbidden to have submarines. The workforce of the navy was not to exceed 15,000 men, including manning for the fleet, coast defences, signal stations, administration, other land services, officers and men of all grades and corps. The number of officers and warrant officers was not allowed to exceed 1,500 men. Germany surrendered eight battleships, eight light cruisers, forty-two destroyers, and fifty torpedo boats for decommissioning. Thirty-two auxiliary ships were to be disarmed and converted to merchant use. Article 198 of the Treaty prohibited Germany from having an air force, including naval air forces, and required Germany to hand-over all aerial related materials. Moreover, Germany was forbidden to manufacture or import aircraft or related material for six months after the signing of the Treaty.

The Treaty also agreed on reparations for the destructions done during the First World War. The War Guilt clause required Germany to disarm, make territorial concessions, and pay reparations to certain countries that had formed the Entente powers. Germany accepted responsibility for the losses and damages caused by the war due to the aggression of Germany and her allies. The Treaty required Germany to compensate the Allied powers. In 1921, the interim treaty required Germany to pay an equivalent of 132 billion gold marks (then \$31.4 billion or £6.6 billion, roughly equivalent to US\$442 billion or £284 billion in 2021) in gold, commodities, ships, securities or other forms. The money would help pay for Victors' occupation costs and buy food and raw materials for Germany.

To ensure compliance, the Rhineland and bridgeheads east of the Rhine were to be occupied by Victor's troops for 15 years. If Germany had not committed aggression, a staged withdrawal would take place; after five years, the Cologne bridgehead and the territory north of a line along the Ruhr would be evacuated. After ten years, the bridgehead at Coblenz and the territories to the north would be evacuated, and after fifteen years, the remaining Allied forces would be withdrawn. If Germany reneged on the treaty obligations, the bridgeheads would be reoccupied immediately.

Consequently, the Treaty played a major role in the rise of fascism in Germany. The Germans felt that the Treaty was unfair and oppressive to Germany as they were required to sign the War guilty clause. The German government was not represented in the Treaty. Yet, their government was forced to accept the Treaty. The treaty led Germany to develop social, political and economic problems. Adolph Hitler and his Nazis blamed the Weimar government for accepting the oppressive and humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty for Germany. The Germans' increased bitterness about the Treaty made Hitler gain popularity in Germany. He promised the Germans that he would reject the terms of the Treaty and eliminate its injustices. The Treaty also



disappointed Italy and Japan as allies of the Triple *Entente*. Italy did not get what she expected, as pointed out above. Japan also expected to gain more territories in southeast Asia and the Pacific, but she did not get them.

Exercise 5.2

1. Why did Britain and the USA prefer to arrange soft terms to Germany in the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919?
2. What were the main issues that the Great Powers differed on the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919?
3. Why did the German Nazi resist the Weimar Republic to sign the War Guilt clause?

The Great Economic Depression and the rise of Dictatorship Governments

The Great Economic Depression was an important event in the world history that facilitated the rise of fascism in Germany and Japan. Italy was already a fascist state since 1922. It also suffered from the Depression. The following section discusses the causes and contribution of the Depression to the rise of fascism.

The Great Economic Depression (1929-1933) and the rise of Dictatorship Governments in Europe

The Great Economic Depression was a worldwide economic slump that started in the United States of America (USA) in 1929. The stock exchange market collapsed in October 1929 when the prices of shares started to fall drastically as customers withdrew their savings from banks and sold their shares at very low prices. By June 1930, the average price of a share was 25 per cent of its peak level and was still falling down. As a result, the USA could not lend more loans. Banks began to demand payment of previously issued loans.

The Depression spread all over the world. It was a severe worldwide economic stagnation in production and trade. The Depression was characterised by mass unemployment, financial crisis, inflation, surplus agricultural output, especially in North America, low purchasing power and closing down of banks and other financial institutions. Additionally, over 4,200 banks in the USA were closed down between 1929 and 1932. People lost their savings, something which reduced their purchasing power. The Depression ended in 1933.



The Depression was caused by overproduction in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The application of science and technology increased the production of agricultural and industrial goods. The amount of goods produced was beyond the consumption capacity of the market. Low wages lowered workers' purchasing power.

Additionally, foreign trade policy of economic nationalism and isolationism had a great impact on Germany, Italy and Japan as the USA and Britain applied protectionist policies to protect their industries and domestic markets from foreign competition. In 1930, the President of USA, Herbert Hoover, asked the Congress for an increase of tariff rates for agricultural goods and a decrease of rates for industrial goods. Individual members of Congress were under great pressure from industry lobbyists to raise tariffs to protect them from the negative effects of imports. The 1930 Smoot-Hawley Act raised tariffs which made foreign goods difficult to penetrate the American market. Before 1929, links between the world economy and Latin American economies had been established through American and British investment in Latin American exports to the world. Because of high levels of US investment in Latin American economies, the US government had to protect its market, especially in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru. The Great Depression hit Latin American export industries hard. World prices for commodities such as wheat, coffee and copper plunged. Exports from Latin America to the US fell in value from \$1.2 billion in 1929 to \$335 million in 1933. As a result, the US passed the 1934 Reciprocal Tariff Act to protect the American market in Latin America.

The US protected her industries by charging high import duties with an ambition to export more of her products, while other countries also reacted by putting high protective policies. This restricted international trade and left most countries flooded with surplus products in home markets. Finally, the industries and businesses began to run off the buyers since the industrialists could not export abroad and could not sell at home since their people were already suffering economic hardship. Britain also responded to the US protectionist policy by establishing the Sterling Area and decided to use British pound sterling as their own currency. Through this policy British colonies were required to sell their raw materials to Britain. Colonies were also required to import goods from Britain. As Germany, Italy and Japan had few colonies, they suffered a lot from the American tariffs and British protectionist policies.

Thus, the Great Depression caused economic distress to Western European industries and agricultural sectors. As a result, this paved the way for Germany and Japan to adopt fascism. The Depression encouraged Mussolini of Italy to develop tight economic policies to address the economic and social effects of the Depression.



Exercise 5.3

1. Why did the Great Economic Depression start first in the USA and not in Germany or Britain?
2. Explain the effects of the US tariffs on German and Italian economies.

The contribution of the Great Depression to the rise of dictatorship governments in Europe and Japan

The Great Depression affected both the people and governments. There were widespread bankruptcies and poverty whereby the world market became limited because of the decline of the purchasing power of the people and the government.

For the countries like Germany and Italy, the effects of the Great Depression were rubbing salt into their wounds, following the burden of unfair terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty. In Germany, for example, more than 6.5 million people lost their jobs and inflations became unbearable. The government of Germany printed more banknotes, hoping that it would be a kind of remedy for inflation. The Germans realised that the monies were worthless. The few workers who remained in their jobs needed a wheelbarrow to carry home their wages in billions of worthless German marks. A state of frustration reigned; not knowing exactly whom to trust, Germans became ready to listen to any political leader who promised them food, work, order, law and good government.

Adolf Hitler successfully exploited the effects of the Great Economic Depression to rise to power. Germans voted for the Nazi party enabling it to secure 107 seats in Parliament in 1933. They voted for the Nazi party, believing that Hitler's policies would solve German economic, political and social problems.

Italy was also hit by the Great Depression. The country had accumulated huge foreign debt while inflation was very high. The Italian money had declined in value. In 1914 the exchange rate was five Lira to one US\$. By 1921 the exchange rate was twenty-eight Lira to one US\$. The Italian government printed more money, but this did not solve their financial problems. The printing of money contributed to hyper-inflation and the devaluation of the Lira. The living cost of people increased five times. The unemployment problem was unbearable, many Italians accused their government of being the real cause of such economic ills. Similarly, in Japan, the depression caused the Japanese army and navy to take action. They installed a fascist government, invaded Manchuria, and colonised it.



Exercise 5.4

- How did the Great Depression contribute to the rise of dictatorship in Europe?
- Discuss the effects of the Great Depression to government and people in Europe and America.
- How was Africa affected by the Great Depression?

Rise of Italian Fascism (1922-1945)

Italian fascism was a radical, authoritarian and nationalist political ideology associated with the Fascist party under Benito Mussolini, who ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943. The First World War (1914-1918) laid down favourable environment for the rise of fascism in Italy. After the war, fascist movements and parties emerged across Europe. Benito Mussolini and other veterans started a movement known as the *Fasci di Combattimento* in March 1919. This Italian fascist movement was organised as a political party. In the same year, Benito Mussolini founded the *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (National Fascist Party). In 1921, he was elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies. In 1922, Mussolini staged a march to Rome. He led 30,000 armed men through the streets to seize power as the Prime Minister of Italy. He established a dictatorship regime as *il Duce* “the leader”, with no accountability to Parliament. Benito Mussolini took over power to address the economic, political and social problems and to restore the national pride of Italy in Europe. By 1926, Italy was transformed into a totalitarian country.

Causes of Fascism in Italy

The rise of fascism in Italy was caused by various developments. The impact of World War I on Italy played a fundamental role in the rise of fascism. The war brought severe economic hardships to the Italians. The war affected the Italian economy which became afflicted with the unbearable debts incurred during the war. The decline in industrial and agricultural production contributed to unemployment, hyperinflation and the rise of food prices that precipitated social discontents.

Political factors also contributed to the rise of fascism. Italy was an ally of the Triple Entente which comprised of Britain, France and Russia against the Triple Alliance that comprised of Germany, Austro-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. The Italians were disappointed with little gains from the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919. Italy was



represented by Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando. During the First World War, France and Britain persuaded Italy to enter into the war against Germany. Italy was promised to gain some territories after the war. Such territories would include Trentino, Istria, South Tyrol, Trieste, part of Dalmatia, Adalia, Aegean Islands and a Protectorate over Albania.

However, Britain and France failed to keep their promises after the war. During the Versailles Treaty, Italy got Trentino, Istria, South Tyrol and Trieste territories. The rest were allotted to other European nations. For example, the City of Fiume was included in the frontiers of Yugoslavia. Albania was declared an independent country. Italians felt betrayed and humiliated despite their significant sacrifices during the war, which included the loss of 700,000 Italian soldiers. Italy felt that it did not benefit much from the Versailles Peace Treaty. Italy felt betrayed through the non-implementation of the secret Treaty of London (1915), which made Italy join the Triple Entente, leaving the Triple Alliance by declaring war against the German Empire and Austria-Hungary in exchange for territories after the end of the war. The non-implementation of the treaty showed that Italy was not a great power like Britain and France. Fascists believed that there was a need to build a strong Italy through the conquest of foreign societies for creating an Italian Empire outside Italy. As a result, Italy developed an armament policy which led to the accumulation of arms. This enabled Mussolini to consolidate the army and prepare it for military conquest to implement his expansionist policies.

Apart from the disappointment from the Treaty, many political parties such as the Catholic Popular Party and Socialist Party did not have a common vision to the Italian nation. Each party addressed its sectional interests. The Communist party became very radical while other parties concentrated on winning members rather than solving social, political and economic problems of Italians.

The weakness of the state in addressing Italians' problems also led to the rise and development of fascism. Mussolini presented himself as a strong liberation leader of all Italians. Therefore, Mussolini wanted Fascism to bring political stability in Italy. He exploited social instability to suspend the democratic institutions. This was achieved by creating external threats, real or perceived, that justified increasing executive power and reducing political freedom. Mussolini exploited the instability that followed the end of the First World War to seize power in Italy.

The fall of the Russian Empire under Tsar Nicholas II in 1917 also gave rise to fascism in Italy. Communism caused shocks and threats to the gains of liberal democracy Europe had struggled for since the English Glorious Revolution of 1688, the French



Revolution of 1789, and the 1848 Revolutions in Europe. Communism was also a threat to the Catholic church and Christianity at large in Europe. As the European governments faced economic distress and social problems after the First World War, communism spread rapidly in Germany, Italy, France, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Britain and Czech. The common people in Europe thought that communism would solve their economic, political and social problems. Mussolini believed that if the doctrine of communism was tolerated within Italy, it would bring the state into poverty. Practical evidence showed that, by 1918, communism had already penetrated and spread to many parts of Italy. It gained the majority of radical peasants and workers who were against capitalism. The capitalists supported Benito Mussolini because communism would have nationalised their investments such as industries, farms, banks and commercial buildings. Thus, fascism was a nationalistic, anti-liberal and anti-communist movement.

Thus, the effects of the First World War on the political system and economy of Italy, together with the rise of Russian communism, contributed to the rise of fascism in Italy in 1922. Thus, Italians believed in fascism as best-suited for governing Italy since, to most fascist members, democracy, socialism and liberalism were failed systems.

Mussolini as a Dictator in Italy (1922-1943)

When Benito Mussolini took over power in Italy in 1922, he banned all opposition political parties. The National Fascist Party remained the only political party and exercised all power of the state. Fascism rejected the liberal democratic government claiming that it did not promote the national supremacy and interests of Italy. Instead, the fascist government under Mussolini and Fascist Party defined the national will as protecting the rights of the national community above the rights of foreigners, removing obstacles to national unity and suppressing those seen as challenging it, expanding the size and influence of the national state, and seeking to expand its territory through conquest. Italian fascists combined elements of nationalism, corporatism, expansionism and anti-socialist's tendencies as state propaganda which enabled them to expand Italian territories by annexing Ethiopia in 1935 and Albania.

Fascists in Italy established the secret police in 1926. It carried out fascist orders, maintained order and peace, tortured and murdered all suspected opponents. For example, Matteotti was a socialist leader who was assassinated by the secret police.

In the economic sphere, the Fascist Party developed programmes to create jobs for the unemployed. More jobs were created in constructing public transport, developing agriculture in southern Italy and building new industries in northern Italy. Up to the



mid-1930s, the unemployment rate declined greatly. As a result, Mussolini secured more supporters.

Mussolini encouraged high birth rate to increase the population in Italy in order to generate sufficient workforce and services to the military, which mostly consisted of young Italian men. Because Italy had few colonies, it needed to establish a strong domestic market.

The leadership of Mussolini in Italy revived the economy that was ruined during the First World War. However, the entry of Italy into the Second World War on the Axis Powers with Germany and Japan contributed to the end of fascism in Italy. In 1943, Mussolini was captured and shot dead by Italian partisans.

Exercise 5.5

1. Why did Italian industrialists and bankers support the Fascist Party in the 1920s?
2. What role did the Versailles Peace Treaty play in the rise of Fascism in Italy?

The rise of German Fascism (1933-1945)

Nazism was an ideology established and practised in Germany by Adolf Hitler's National Socialist Party (the NAZI party). It was based on the superiority of a master race and totalitarianism. Nazism did not allow the practice of liberal democracy. It banned freedom of the press, assembly or association, and political parties. All anti-Nazi movements were banned. Nazism was against socialism and communism, which were threats to the very survival of capitalism. At the beginning, capitalists supported Nazism as they feared that Socialist and Communist parties would take over the government following the First World War.

Under Nazism, the German race became identified as the master race. Hitler successfully exploited the propaganda that the German race was the chosen master race on which the liberation and development of the world depended. Under this belief, non-Germans were seen as sub-humans destined to be slaves for the Germans.

German Nazism, like Italian fascism, was anti-socialism, anti-communism, and anti-liberalism. It was nationalistic and racist in nature. Generally, Nazism was most violent and suppressive, especially to the opponents. The Nazi leaders, who



were very few, ruled the majority by torturing the opponents especially the Jews in concentration camps where some were killed in gas chambers by the German army.

Causes of Nazism in Germany

The effects of the First World War, the rise of communism in the USSR, and the Great Depression remained the major causes of Nazism in Germany. These three events had profound negative effects on the social, political and economic lives of the Germans.

The First World War devastated the economy by causing inflation, unemployment and starvation. The Weimer government failed to address these problems. The Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 dictated difficult conditions for Germany as a war guilt. The terms of the Treaty required Germany to pay financial reparations of \$31.4 billion or £6.6 billion, disarm, lose territories and renounce its overseas colonies. Germany was ordered to hand-over Alsace-Lorraine to France and Malmedy to Belgium, the city of Memel to Lithuania, the province of Posen and a strip through West Prussia to Poland. Germany also lost its overseas province of Shantung in China and the Pacific Islands. Her colonial possessions in Africa were transferred to Britain (Tanganyika and part of Cameroon), Belgium (Rwanda and Burundi), and France (Togo and part of Cameroon). The loss of these territories was deeply resented by the German industrialists who lost sources of raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods. For most Germans, the loss of colonies was a blow to German glory and prestige in international politics. The Germans blamed leaders of the Weimar Republic as betrayers who accepted and signed the harsh terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty. The Republic became very unpopular as it failed to solve the economic hardships of the Germans in the 1920s. Hitler used this treaty to campaign against the Weimer Republic. He became popular, and his Nazi Party gained more seats in Parliament.

In relation to the effects of the First World War, the Dawes Plan of 1924 contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany. The Plan was proposed by the Dawes Committee, chaired by Charles G. Dawes. At the end of the First World War, the Allied and Associate Powers in the Treaty of Versailles decided that Germany should pay reparations. In 1921, the London Schedule of Payments established the German reparations figure at 132 billion gold marks. German industrialists in the Ruhr Valley, who had lost factories in Alsace-Lorraine, which went back to France after the War, demanded hundreds of millions of marks in compensation from the German government. Despite its obligations under the Versailles Treaty, the German government paid the Ruhr Valley industrialists, which contributed significantly to the hyper-inflation that followed. For the first five years after the war, coal was scarce in Europe, and France

sought coal exports from Germany for its steel industry. The Germans needed coal for home heating and for domestic steel production, having lost the steel plants of Lorraine to the French. To protect the growing German steel industry, German coal producers—whose directors also sat on the boards of the German state railways and German steel companies—began to increase shipping rates on coal exports to France. In early 1923, Germany defaulted on its reparations, and German coal producers refused to ship any more coal across the border. French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr to compel the German government to resume shipments of coal. This occupation of Ruhr, the centre of the German coal and steel industries, outraged many German people. There was passive resistance to the occupation.

To increase the chances of Germany resuming reparations payments, the Allied Reparations Commission asked Charles Dawes and his team to find a solution quickly. The Dawes committee was tasked by Britain and the United States to find a solution for the collection of the German reparations debt, which was determined to be 132 billion gold marks. The US declared that it would provide loans to the Germans, in order that they could make reparations payments to the United States, Britain and France. In an agreement of August 1924, the main points of The Dawes Plan were:

- (a) The Ruhr area was to be evacuated by foreign troops;
- (b) Reparation payments would begin at one billion marks the first year, increasing annually to two and a half billion marks after five years;
- (c) The *Reichsbank* would be re-organized under Allied supervision;
- (d) The sources for the reparations money would include transportation, excise, and customs taxes; and
- (e) Germany would be lent about \$200 million, primarily through issuing of bonds from the Wall Street in the United States.

The Plan successfully resolved the issue of First World War reparations that Germany had to pay. It ended a crisis in European diplomacy following the First World War. The economy of Germany began to rebound during the mid-1920s, and it continued with the payment of reparations, now funded by the large-scale influx of American capital. The Dawes Plan resulted in French troops leaving the Ruhr Valley. It provided a large capital influx to German industry, which continued to rebuild and expand. The capital now available to the German industry functionally transferred the burdens of Germany's war reparations from the German government and industry to American bond investors. The Dawes Plan was also the beginning of the ties between German industry and American investment banks. The Ruhr occupation boosted German



steel industry and German re-armament program. By reducing the supplies of coal to France, which was dependent on German coal, German industrialists managed to compete with France's steel industry while rebuilding its own. By 1926, the German steel industry was dominant in Europe.

However, the Dawes Plan was considered by the Germans as a temporary measure, and they expected a revised solution in the future. In 1928, German Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann called for a final plan to be established. The Dawes Plan was an interim measure and proved unworkable because it addressed the reparations question only and ignored other sectors. The Young Plan was adopted in 1929 to replace Dawes Plan. The Young Plan was an agreement signed between Germany and the Allies in order to address the reparations that were imposed during the Versailles Peace Treaty negotiations. This Plan was named after Owen Young, who was the United States Banker and who oversaw the plan. He was also a member of the Committee that drafted and oversaw the Dawes Plan. The Young Plan had the following provisions and directives.

- (a) It reduced the amount of Germany's total reparation from £6.6 billion to £2 billion only;
- (b) It limited the period for which Germany would pay the reparations to 59 years. Thus, Germany was expected to complete paying the reparation in 1988;
- (c) It set up the Bank for international settlements that was expected to handle the transfer of reparation funds;
- (d) It ended foreign control of Germany economic system; and
- (e) It made it easier for Germany to pay the reparations.

Besides the First World War effects, the Great Economic Depression also hit hard the German economy. The impact of the Depression forced American banks to end the new loans to Germany that had been funding the repayments under the Dawes and Young Plans. The financial crisis escalated out of control in mid-1931. This put heavy pressure on Germany, which was already in political turmoil following the development of violent Nazi and communist movements. The investors also felt harsh government financial policies forcing them to withdraw their short-term money from Germany, as they lacked confidence in Germany economy. The Reichsbank lost 840 million Marks on the first week of June 1931 only. The collapse of German economy was at hand. The U.S. President Herbert Hoover called for a moratorium



on payment of war reparations. This angered Paris, which depended on a steady flow of German payments. The moratorium was agreed upon in July 1931, and it slowed the crisis down. At the same time, an international conference in London in July 1931 reached an agreement to freeze Germany's foreign liabilities for six months from August 1931. Germany received emergency funding from private banks in New York, the Bank of International Settlements and the Bank of England. The funding only slowed the processes of economic deterioration. Industrial failures continue in Germany. German banks collapsed. Business failures became evident in July 1931. The crisis spread to Romania and Hungary.

In 1932, 90 per cent of German reparation payments were cancelled. Widespread unemployment reached 25 per cent as every sector was hurt. About 6 million Germans were unemployed. The government did not increase its spending to deal with Germany's growing crisis. They were afraid that a high-spending policy could lead to a return of the hyper-inflation that had affected Germany in 1923. Germany's Weimar Republic was hit hard by the depression as American loans to help rebuild the German economy were now stopped. The unemployment rate reached nearly 30 per cent in 1932. This led the unemployed mass to support the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) or the Nazi Party and Communist (KPD) party. The politically centrist Social Democratic Party lost most of its supporters almost, nearly collapsing. Hitler ran for the Presidency in 1932. Though Hitler lost it to the incumbent Hindenburg in the election, this marked a point during which both Nazi Party and the Communist parties rose in the years following the general election in July 1932. Thus, while the NSDAP was a small party in Germany in the early 1920s, it gathered more members and became a ruling Party in 1933.

In January 1933, Adolf Hitler became German Chancellor. He won the post when the Nazi Party had strong support from the working class, capitalists and the general civilians. Most Germans had lost confidence in the Weimer Republic. Nazism was a solution, as Hitler promised the Germans a better and happier life. Hitler promised to recover the German economy and to oppose the terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty.

Adolf Hitler, as a Chancellor, dismantled the Weimar Republic and replaced it with the Third Reich, meaning "Third Empire" under the Nazi Party. Following a series of legal, political, and propaganda manoeuvres, the German *Reichstag* passed the Enabling Act on 24th March 1933. The Enabling Act became the cornerstone of Hitler's dictatorship, which destroyed parliamentary democracy in Germany. It allowed Hitler to enact laws without the approval of Parliament or Reich President, Paul von Hindenburg. By July 1933, Hitler had banned all political parties except



the NSDAP. As the *Führer* or Leader, he began a process of consolidating power that enforced the Nazi Party's authority over existing state institutions.

Exercise 5.6

1. What were the characteristics of fascism in Germany?
2. How did the Dawes Plan give rise to fascism in Germany?
3. Why did Nazi economic and social policies attract the support of capitalists and working classes of Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s?
4. How did Adolf Hitler come to power in Germany?
5. To what extent did the spread of communalism contribute to the rise Nazism in German?

Dictatorship government in Japan, 1931-1945

Apart from the rise of fascist dictatorship governments in Europe, another fascist government rose in Japan South East Asia. Japan was the strongest industrial power in Asia following the Meiji Revolution of 1868. Its economy was linked to the world economic system. Thus, Japan, as a capitalist nation, engaged itself in the First World War. It was also hit hard by the Great Economic Depression. The rise of fascism became a threat to the aggressive activities of its neighbours in Asia and the Pacific Basin.

Fascism in Japan was a mixture of ideas such as Japanese nationalism, militarism and state capitalism. In Japan, military officers were responsible for the rise of fascism and dictatorial government. Traditionally, two rival political parties, *SEIYUKAI* (Conservative) and *MENSEITO* (Liberal), ran the Japanese government in different terms. However, between 1929 and 1931, Japan was hit hard by the Great Economic Depression. Inflation was high while unemployment soared in all sectors of the Japanese economy. Japan also faced rapid population growth restrained with limited space for that population to live and work.

The economic, social and political problems encouraged the Japanese army and navy leaders to become principal forces for the rise of the fascist and dictatorship government. In 1930 the Japanese army and navy leaders started their campaigns to



establish a *fascist* government. They called for the overthrow of the Parliamentary government. The military officers also called for forceful expansion of the Japanese empire to get raw materials, markets and investment areas. By 1931 they forced the *Menseito* government to resign. Parliament was dissolved, and the fascist dictatorial government was installed.

Causes for the rise of Fascism in Japan

Like Italy and Germany, fascism was a result of the impacts of the First World War and the Great Economic Depression in Japan. During the First World War, Japan joined the War on the British Triple *Entente* side. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles did not recognise the Japan's territorial and imperial claims. Moreover, the international naval treaties between Western powers and the Empire of Japan (Washington Naval Treaty and London Naval Treaty) imposed limitations on naval shipbuilding, limiting the size of the Imperial Japanese Navy in respect to capital ships to 10:10:6 for US, Britain and Japan respectively. The worsening relationship with the West revealed unfair treatment in the struggles to control the Pacific Basin. For example, the American expansion in the Asia-Pacific region affected Japanese plans to control the Basin as the Washington Naval Conference in 1921–1922 restricted Japanese power. Japan considered these measures as the refusal by the Occidental powers to treat Japan as an equal partner. Based on national security, these events released a surge of Japanese nationalism and ended collaborative diplomacy which had supported the peaceful economic expansion. Thus, military dictatorship and territorial expansionism were considered the best ways to protect Japanese economy.

Besides the effects of the First World War, the Great Economic Depression affected Japan negatively. The Japanese economy shrank by 8 per cent during 1929–31. The Japanese goods lost markets since other countries could no longer afford them. Large trading partners of Western Europe and the USA applied tariffs protecting their domestic markets from foreign goods. As a result, Japanese six industries, which were mainly for export, were badly affected. Colonies were, therefore, needed for acquiring raw materials, markets and investment areas. Additionally, Japan suffered from unemployment. Farmers were badly affected by the depression as prices of crops fell drastically. People began to point the finger at their government for incompetence in addressing economic problems. Moreover, politically, the Japanese had a long history of a weak constitution as it had limited power with no control of the ministers and no power to make decisions. Sometimes, the rich companies used the government's weakness to influence the decision and policies in the government. Hence, the government lost support from the Japanese as it could not solve economic



and social problems. Thus, this weak constitution pushed the Japanese people into supporting the nationalist movement that contributed to the rise of fascism in Japan.

The rise of militarism in Japan was another contributing factor for the rise of fascism. Due to the disappointment of the First World War, military officers from the army and navy were determined to make Japan a great nation through military conquest. Japan was characterised by the rise of extreme nationalism and a series of expansionist wars in the 1930s. It annexed Manchuria in 1931 to control coal and iron ore needed by Japan's metallurgical and automobile industries.

Therefore, Japanese involvement in the First World War, the harshness of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 as well as the Great Economic Depression and militarism contributed to the rise of fascism in Japan during the 1930s.

Exercise 5.7

1. Why did the Japanese Military Junta overthrow the liberal democratic government in the 1930s?
2. Discuss the contribution of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 to the rise of fascism in Japan.

Impacts of the rise of dictatorship governments on World history

The rise of dictatorship governments had economic, political and social impacts on the world history. The practice of fascist policies caused suffering, humiliation and miseries due to violations of human rights in Europe Africa, Asia and Latin America. The aggressiveness of fascist foreign policies to create empires caused political and economic traumas that culminated into the outbreak of the Second World War.

Political, economic and social impacts of the rise of dictatorship governments in Germany

The rise of the dictatorship government in Germany had deep impacts on German political, economic and social life. Its impacts were also felt in neighbouring European countries.

Political impact

The Nazi Party created a German totalitarian state (German *Reich* that is the “Third Empire”) that survived from 1933 to 1945. On 30th January, 1933, the President of the Weimar Republic, Paul von Hindenburg, who was the Head of State, appointed

Adolf Hitler as a new Chancellor of Germany or the head of government. Hitler began the Nazification of Germany, in which the Nazis dominated political affairs. In 1934, Hitler became the dictator of Germany by merging the offices and powers of the chancellery and presidency. Early in 1933, the Enabling Act, an amendment to the Weimar Constitution was passed in the *Reichstag* by a vote of 444 to 94. The Act allowed Hitler and his cabinet to pass laws which violated the constitution and the power of President or the *Reichstag*. The Nazis transformed Germany by replacing the liberal German Weimer Republic (1919–1933), which was a republic with a semi-presidential system. Hitler ruled Germany autocratically by asserting the “leader principle”, which called for absolute obedience by all subordinates. He established the government whose administrative structure was pyramidal, with himself—the infallible leader—at the top. Party rank was not determined by elections. Positions were filled through appointments by those of higher ranks. Parliament was reformed and cancelled national elections cancelled. The *Reich Local Government Law* of 1935 abolished local elections, and Mayors were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. The Nazis believed that the Third *Reich*, meaning “Third Empire”, was the successor to the earlier Holy Roman Empire (800–1806) and German Empire (1871–1918).

In 1933, Germany became a one-party state with a law decreeing the Nazi Party to be the only legal party in Germany. The Party eliminated all political opposition and consolidated its power. The Communist Party was banned. All political opponents were arrested and shot dead. Violent suppression of communists was undertaken nationwide, and 4,000 members of the Communist Party of Germany were arrested. Hitler created a security squad—(*Schutzstaffel* (SS) and secret police (Gestapo) to purge any Nazi opponents. An estimated number of 200 people were killed from 30th June to 2nd July, 1934.

The citizens were ordered to glorify militant nationalism and the state. The *Reichstag Fire Decree*, imposed on 28th February, 1933, stopped civil liberties such as rights of assembly and freedom of the press. The decree allowed the police to detain people indefinitely without charges.

The Nazi regime abolished the symbols of the Weimar Republic, including the black, red, and gold tri-colour flag, and adopted reworked symbolism. The previous imperial black, white, and red tri-colour was restored as one of Germany’s two official flags; the second was the *swastika* flag of the Nazi Party, which became the sole national flag in 1935. The Party anthem “*Horst-Wessel-Lied*” (“Horst Wessel Song”) became a second national anthem.



The Nazi Party developed radical anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism, aiming to make Germany free of Marxism and end the terms of the Versailles Treaty, which had constrained the German economy. It promised a strong central government, increased *Lebensraum* (“living space”) for Germanic peoples, a national community based on race, and racial cleansing through the active suppression of the Jews, who would be stripped of their citizenship and civil rights. The Party’s paramilitary organisations, such as the Brown Shirts, used physical violence to advance their political position, disrupt the meetings of rival organisations, attack members of rival organisations, and persecute the Jews on the streets.

Like the Jews, the Romani were persecuted by the Nazis. They were perceived to be sub-humans who serve as slaves for the Germans. The Romani were forbidden to marry people of the German origin. From 1935 onwards, they were shipped to concentration camps. Many were killed. About 2,500 Romani and Sinti people were deported from Germany's occupied region of Poland, which was called the General Government, where they were imprisoned in labour camps in 1939. They were exterminated at Belżec, Sobibor, or Treblinka. A further 5,000 Sinti and Austrian Lalleri people were deported to the Łódź Ghetto in 1941, where half of them died. The Romani survivors of the ghetto were moved to the Chełmno extermination camp in 1942. The Nazis deported all Romani people from Germany and confined them in camps. In 1942, a total of 23,000 Romani was deported to Auschwitz concentration camp, of whom 19,000 died. In the Baltic States and the Soviet Union, 30,000 Romani were killed by the *Schutzstaffel* and the German army. In occupied Serbia, 1,000 to 12,000 Romani were killed, while nearly all 25,000 Romani who lived in the Independent State of Croatia were killed. At the end of the war, 220,000 Romani, which equalled 25 per cent of the Romani population in Europe, were killed. A programme of systematic murder of the physically and mentally handicapped and patients in psychiatric hospitals was also implemented from 1939 to 1945. Initially, the victims were shot by the Nazi death squads (*Einsatzgruppen*). Gas chambers and gas vans using carbon monoxide were used by 1940. Moreover, under the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring, enacted on 14th July, 1933, over 400,000 individuals underwent compulsory sterilisation. Over half of them were considered mentally deficient, which included people who scored poorly on intelligence tests and those who deviated from expected standards of behaviour regarding thrift, sexual behaviour and cleanliness. Most of the victims came from disadvantaged groups such as prostitutes, the poor, the homeless, and criminals. Other groups persecuted and killed included the Jehovah’s Witnesses, homosexuals, social misfits, and political and religious opposition members.



All leadership of civilian organisations such as agricultural groups, volunteer organisations and sports clubs were replaced with Nazi party members. These civic organisations were either merged with the Nazi Party or dissolved. The Nazis declared a “Day of National Labour” for May Day 1933 and invited many Trade Union delegates to Berlin for celebrations. The day after, *Sturmabteilung stormtroopers* demolished union offices around Germany. All trade unions were forced to dissolve, and their leaders were arrested. Their buildings were confiscated by the State. The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service removed from their jobs all teachers, professors, judges, magistrates, and government officials who were Jewish or whose commitment to the party was suspected.

Torturing and murdering of these racial groups led Nazi Germany to develop poor relations with France, Britain, and the USA; they regarded Germany as an enemy of liberal democracy and human rights they had fought since the revolutions in the 18th and 19th centuries. The USSR regarded Nazi Germany as an enemy of communism. The Balkan states viewed Nazi Germany as determined to exterminate their race through barbaric and cruel methods.

The Nazi government relations with religious institutions changed. The Nazis wanted churches to distance themselves from political activities. When the Nazis took over power in 1933, roughly 67 per cent of the population of Germany was Protestant, 33 per cent was Roman Catholic, while Jews made up less than 1 per cent. According to the 1939 census, 54 per cent considered themselves Protestant, 40 per cent Roman Catholic, 3.5 per cent *Gottgläubig* (God-believing; a Nazi religious movement) and 1.5 per cent non-religious. Nazi Germany extensively employed Christian imagery and instituted a variety of new Christian holidays and celebrations. Nazi propaganda stylised Hitler as a Christ-like Messiah, a “figure of redemption according to the Christian model, who would liberate the world from the Anti- Christ.”

Hitler attempted to control churches by creating a unified Protestant *Reich Church* from Germany's 28 existing Protestant state churches. Pro-Nazi Ludwig Müller was installed as *Reich Bishop*, and the pro-Nazi pressure group German Christians gained control of the new church. They objected to the Old Testament because of its Jewish origins and demanded that converted Jews be barred from their church. Pastor Martin Niemöller responded by forming the Confessing Church which opposed the Nazi regime. When the Confessing Church synod protested the Nazi policy on religion, 700 of their pastors were arrested in 1935. In 1936, a Confessing Church envoy protested to Hitler against the religious persecutions and human rights abuses. Hundreds more pastors were arrested. The church continued to resist, and, by early 1937, Hitler



abandoned his hope of uniting the Protestant churches. Niemöller was arrested on 1st July 1937 and spent seven years in Sachsenhausen and Dachau concentration camps. Theological universities were closed. Pastors and theologians of other Protestant denominations were also arrested.

Nazi Germany considered Catholicism to be among the Nazis' chief enemies. The Catholic Centre Party was banned in 1933. Persecution of the Catholic Church in Germany followed. Hitler was determined to eliminate political Catholicism, rounding up functionaries of the Catholic-aligned Bavarian People's Party and Catholic Centre Party. All other non-Nazi political parties also ceased to exist by July 1933. The Concordat treaty with the Vatican was signed in 1933, amid continuing harassment of the church in Germany. The Treaty required the regime to honour the independence of Catholic institutions and prohibited clergy from involvement in politics. Hitler frequently disregarded the Concordat, closing all Catholic institutions whose functions were not strictly religious. Thousands of clergies, nuns and lay leaders were targeted, often on charges of currency smuggling or immorality. Most Catholic youth groups refused to dissolve themselves. Hitler Youth leaders encouraged members to attack Catholic boys in the streets. Propaganda campaigns claimed the church was corrupt, restrictions were placed on public meetings, and Catholic publications faced censorship. Catholic schools were required to reduce religious instruction, and crucifixes were removed from state buildings.

Pope Pius XI wrote a pastoral letter complaining about the systematic hostility of the regime toward the church. In response, the Nazis renewed propaganda against Catholics. Enrolment in denominational schools dropped sharply, and by 1939, all such schools had been disbanded or converted to public facilities. On 22nd March, 1942, the German Catholic bishops released a pastoral letter on "The Struggle against Christianity and the Church", protesting the Nazi persecution of the Church. As a result, a vast security network spied on the activities of clergy, and priests were denounced, arrested or sent to the concentration camp at Dachau. About 30 per cent of Catholic priests were disciplined by police during the Nazi era. The Nazis instigated a brutal suppression and systematic dismantling of the Catholic Church in conquered Poland. Hitler planned to exterminate foreign Christian faith imported into Germany. The Bible and Christian Cross were replaced in all churches, cathedrals, and chapels with *Mein Kampf* and the *swastika* copies. In 1941 the Nazi declared that "National Socialism and Christianity are irreconcilable."

Apart from religious control, the Nazi controlled the press and published books. The Nazi state-controlled newspapers feared that anti-Nazi writings would spread. Thus, the *Reich* Press Chamber shut down or bought newspapers and publishing



houses. By 1939, over two-thirds of the newspapers and magazines were directly owned by the Propaganda Ministry. The Nazi Party daily newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (“Ethnic Observer”), was edited by Rosenberg. Goebbels controlled the wire services and insisted that all newspapers in Germany only publish content favourable to the regime. The Propaganda Ministry under Joseph Goebbels issued directives on exactly what news should be published and what angles to use. Propaganda became less effective towards the end of the war, as people could obtain information outside official channels. Some dissenting authors of books left Germany for living in exile. Goebbels recommended that the remaining authors concentrate on books themed on Germanic myths and the concept of blood and soil. By the end of 1933, over a thousand books—most of them by Jewish authors or featuring Jewish characters—had been banned by the Nazi regime. Tens of thousands of books from dozens of figures, including Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Helen Keller, Alfred Kerr, Marcel Proust, Erich Maria Remarque, Upton Sinclair, Jakob Wassermann, H. G. Wells, and Émile Zola, were publicly burnt. Pacifist works, literature espousing liberal, democratic values and any writings supporting the Weimar Republic or those written by Jewish authors were targeted for destruction. The Nazis used two paramilitary organizations, the *Sturmabteilung* (SA; Storm Detachment), or the Brown shirts, and the *Schutzstaffel* (SS; Protection Squadron), led by Heinrich Himmler, tortured, intimidated and arrested perceived Nazi opponents.

Economic impact

The Nazis rejected all terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919, signed by the leaders of the Weimar Republic, as oppressive and destroying the German economy. Reparations payments required under the Treaty of Versailles had severe impacts on German economy. The government printed money to make the payments and repay Germany's war debt, but the resulting hyper-inflation led to inflated prices for consumer goods, economic chaos and food riots. When the government defaulted on their reparations payments in January 1923, French and Belgian troops occupied the German Ruhr industrial areas. Widespread civil unrest followed.

Germany also faced difficulties in the Depression. Six million Germans were unemployed. The balance of trade deficit was huge. The production in agriculture and industries went down. The Nazi Party formulated policies to address the economic chaos. Using deficit spending, public works projects were undertaken beginning in 1934, creating 1.7 million new jobs by the end of that year alone. Average wages began to rise. Aircraft industries and aerial drones were built. The Nazis regulated imports of raw materials and finished goods to eliminate foreign competition in the German market and improve the nation's balance of payments. The Nazis encouraged



the development of synthetic replacements for materials such as oil and textiles. Refineries producing synthetic oil and gasoline were built. The use of oil, iron and steel all tripled, creating a variety of different jobs.

Re-armament also played a major role in economic growth between 1933 and 1938. Re-armament started almost as soon as Hitler came to power. In 1933, 3.5 billion Marks were spent on producing tanks, aircraft and ships, and by 1939 the figure stood at 26 billion marks. The jobless were employed in building canals, public offices and new factories. This created millions of jobs for German workers. The re-armament strengthened the German fascist army, ready for pursuing conquest in central Europe and the subsequent rise of the Second World War.

As the Nazis enjoyed support from German industrialists, business community and elites, all trade unions were suppressed and merged into the National Labour Front in May 1933. Of all the people who suffered most were the Jews, who were removed from the unions and the civil service posts.

Generally, amid the Great Depression, the Nazis restored economic stability and ended mass unemployment using heavy military spending and a mixed economy. Using deficit spending, the regime undertook a massive secret rearmament program, forming the *Wehrmacht* (armed forces) and constructing extensive public works projects, including motorways. To reduce Germany's reliance on strategic imports of raw materials and food, in 1936 Hitler introduced a Four-Year Plan with priority given to agriculture and industry. By 1939, Germany's economy had become one of the giants in the world. The economy was then able to support the war.

Social impact

Nazi Germany glorified racism and anti-Semitism that became the central ideology of the regime. The Germanic peoples were considered by the Nazis to be the master race, the purest branch of the Aryan race. Discrimination and the persecution of Jews and Romani people were done systematically. Beginning in April 1933, the status of Jews and their rights were instituted. In 1935, the Nazis passed the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which stripped Jews of their basic rights. The laws denied German citizenship to the Jews. A supplementary decree issued in November defined a Jewish as any person with three Jewish grandparents or two grandparents, if the Jewish faith was followed. They also forbade the Jews to intermarry with non-Jews or have sex with pure-blooded Germans. The law also forbade German women under the age of 45 to work as domestic servants in Jewish households. The Nazis confiscated Jews' wealth. Jewish shopkeepers and businessmen suffered a lot. The Jews were denied



their right to occupy professional jobs in law, medicine, or education. No Jews were allowed to attend university studies. The Nazis declared the Jews as undesirable in German society. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were forced into exile, taking refuge in Switzerland, Russia, USA, France and Britain.

The Nazis established more than 30 concentration camps. The first major Nazi concentration camp, initially for political prisoners, was opened at Dachau in 1933. In November 1938, a youngster Jew killed a German diplomat in Paris. Hitler used the killing as an excuse to exterminate millions of Jews. Jewish synagogues in Germany were burnt to ashes. About 91 Jews were killed, 7,000 businesses were destroyed, and about 20,000 Jews were beaten up in one day. By 1945 more than 6 million Jews out of 8 million living in Central Europe had been murdered in Nazi concentration and extermination camps. Apart from the Jews, the Nazi killed other social groups that is liberals, socialists, and communists. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of German citizens with mental or physical disabilities were murdered in hospitals and asylums.

The Nazis also controlled the education system. Education focused on racial biology, population policy and fitness for military service. Career and educational opportunities for women were prohibited. Recreation and tourism were organised via the Strength Through Joy programme and the 1936 Summer Olympics showcased Germany on the international stage. Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels made effective use of film, mass rallies, and Hitler's hypnotic oratory to influence public opinion. The government-controlled artistic expression, promoting specific art forms and banning or discouraging others.

The Anti-Semitic legislation passed in 1933 led to the removal of all Jewish teachers, professors, and officials from the education system. Most teachers were required to belong to the National Socialist Teachers League. University professors were required to join the National Socialist German Lecturers. Teachers had to take an oath of loyalty and obedience to Hitler, and those who failed to show sufficient conformity to party's ideals were often reported by students or fellow teachers and dismissed. The Nazis censured the content of lessons and directed a list of acceptable textbooks for use in primary and secondary schools. Books deemed unacceptable to the regime were removed from school libraries. Primary and secondary education focused on racial biology, population policy, culture, geography and physical fitness. The curriculum in biology, geography, and even arithmetic, was altered to change the focus to race. Military education became the central component of physical education. Physics was oriented toward military applications, such as ballistics and aerodynamics.



Indoctrination in Nazi ideology was made compulsory in 1934. Students were required to watch all films prepared by the school division of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Students selected as future members of the Nazi Party elite were indoctrinated from the age of 12 at Adolf Hitler Schools for primary education and National Political Institutes of Education for secondary education. Detailed indoctrination of future holders of elite military rank was undertaken at Order Castles. From 1934, university students attended frequent and time-consuming military training sessions run by the SA. First-year students had to serve six months in a labour camp. An additional ten weeks' service was required of second-year students.

The Nazis also redefined the role of women and families. Women were expected to be strong, healthy and vital. They opposed the feminist movement as the creation of Jewish intellectuals. The Nazis instead advocated a patriarchal society in which a German woman would recognise that her world “is her husband, her family, her children, and her home”. Feminist groups were banned or incorporated into the National Socialist Women's League, which coordinated groups throughout Germany to promote motherhood and household activities. Courses were offered on childrearing, sewing, and cooking. Prominent feminists, including Anita Augspurg, Lida Gustava Heymann, and Helene Stöcker were forced to live in exile. The League published the *NS-Frauen-Warte*, the only Nazi-approved women's magazine in Nazi Germany. Women were encouraged to leave the workforce, and the creation of large families by racially suitable women was promoted. Women received a bronze award-known as the *Ehrenkreuz der Deutschen Mutter* (Cross of Honour of the German Mother)—for giving birth to four children, silver for six and gold for eight or more. Large families received subsidies to help with expenses. Nazi philosophy prevented many women from being hired to work in munitions factories in the build-up to the War, so foreign slave labourers were brought in. In 1943, Hitler signed a decree requiring all women under fifty to report for work assignments to help the war effort. After that, women were funnelled into agricultural and industrial jobs. By September 1944, 14.9 million women were working in munitions production.

Nazi leaders discouraged women from seeking higher education. A law passed in April 1933 limited the number of females admitted to university to 10 per cent of the number of male attendees. This resulted in female enrolment in secondary schools dropping from 437,000 in 1926 to 205,000 in 1937. The number of women enrolled in post-secondary schools dropped from 128,000 in 1933 to 51,000 in 1938. However, with the requirement that men be enlisted into the armed forces during the war, women comprised half of the enrolment in the post-secondary system by 1944.



In the health sector, Nazi Germany developed a strong anti-tobacco movement. In 1939, it demonstrated a causal link between smoking and lung cancer. The Nazi Health Office took measures to limit smoking by giving lectures and using pamphlets. Smoking was banned in many workplaces, on trains and among members of the military on-duty. Government agencies worked to control other carcinogenic substances such as asbestos and pesticides. As part of a general public health campaign, water supply systems were cleaned up, lead and mercury were removed from consumer products, and women were urged to undergo regular screenings for breast cancer.

Government-run health care insurance plans were available, but Jews were denied coverage starting in 1933. Jewish doctors were forbidden to treat government-insured patients. In 1937, Jewish doctors were forbidden to treat non-Jewish patients. In 1938, the right of Jews to practise medicine was removed entirely. Medical pseudoscientific experiments were performed on concentration camp inmates beginning in 1941. The most notorious doctor to perform medical experiments was Dr Josef Mengele, the camp doctor at Auschwitz. Many of his victims died or were intentionally killed. Concentration camp inmates were made available for purchase by pharmaceutical companies for drug testing and other experiments.

The Nazis also protected animal rights. Many Germans became fond of zoos and wildlife. The government ensured the protection of animals and the environment. In 1933, the Nazis enacted a stringent animal-protection law that affected what was allowed for medical research. The Nazis enforced regulations that required foresters to plant various trees to ensure suitable habitat for wildlife. A new *Reich*, Animal Protection Act, became law in 1933. The regime also enacted the Reich Nature Protection Act in 1935 to protect the natural landscape from excessive economic development. It allowed for the expropriation of privately owned land to create nature preserves which aided in long-range planning. Perfunctory efforts were made to curb air pollution.

Thus, the Nazi regime had more fundamental impacts on the world than the fascism of Italy and Japan.

Exercise 5 8

1. Why did the Nazi German develop Anti-Semitism in Germany?
2. Account for the Nazi's control of education system in Germany.
3. Evaluate the Nazi's economic recovery measures before the outbreak



of the Second World War

4. Why did the Nazi ban liberal democracy in Germany in the 1930s?

Political, economic and social impact of the rise of dictatorship governments in Italy

Benito Mussolini and his Fascist Party created deep effects on Italy from 1922 to 1943. The fascists desired a revolutionary transformation of Italy into a greater and glorified world power. They were determined to make Italy a powerful economic force not only in Europe but also in the world in order to achieve its political, economic and social aims in the international forum.

Political impact

Fascism established a totalitarian state which controlled all political affairs. In 1924 Mussolini called new elections for the Italian parliament in which Fascist Party won the vote. After the election, Mussolini declared all political parties illegal except the Fascist Party. He also established a political police force, which became the organisation for vigilance and repression of Anti-fascism. A Fascist Grand Council rubber-stamped Mussolini's decrees and made Parliament irrelevant. The Party under Mussolini organised strong squads, called "Black Shirt Militia", which were armed and uniformed. The militia used violence to reduce the influence of parliamentary opposition.

The Fascist Party was anti-communism and socialism. The Black Shirts and Secret Police used to stop the opposition by beating up socialists and communists and by eliminating them from local governments. In 1925, Matteotti, a socialist leader and a fearless parliamentary opponent of fascism, was murdered. Mussolini was also against liberal democracy by suppressing freedom of association and expression. Opponents of fascism were tortured and killed by police and the secret service. At one moment, Benito Mussolini mobilised working-class people and said, "We declare war on socialism, not because it is socialist, but because it has opposed nationalism." He believed that Italy was a rightful inheritor of the Roman Empire. Italian Fascists also claimed that modern Italy was the heir to ancient Rome and its legacy, especially the Roman civilisation. Fascists supported the creation of an imperial Italy which would ensure living space for colonisation by Italian settlers and established control over the Mediterranean Sea.

From 1870 to 1929 the relations between the Italian Kingdom and the Vatican (Holy See) were hostile. Before 1870, the Pope was one of Italy's most important secular rulers as well as the head of the Church. The unification of Italy in the 1860s had impacted the Catholic Church. The Italian Kingdom conquered the Papal States of Lazio (which includes Rome), Marche, Umbria and Romagna, and portions of Emilia and Latium in 1870. The Papal States resisted incorporation into the new Kingdom of Italy. For the following 60 years, relations between the Papacy and the Italian government were hostile, and the status of the Pope became known as the "Roman Question." The Roman Question was a dispute regarding the temporal power of the Popes as rulers of a civil territory in Italy. The Pope remained totally opposed to Italian nationalism. Pope Pius IX and his successors refused to recognise the right of the Italian king to reign over what had formerly been the Papal States, or the right of the Italian government to decide his prerogatives and make laws for him. The Pope asserted that the Holy See needed to maintain clearly manifested independence from any political power in its exercise of spiritual jurisdiction and that the Pope should not appear to be merely a "chaplain of the King of Italy." Pope Pius IX rejected the Law of Papal Guarantees by offering an annual financial payment to the Pope.

Mussolini's government normalised the relations with the Catholic Church by solving the Roman Question through the Lateran Treaty in 1929. The hostility ended with the Lateran Pacts between King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy and Pope Pius XI in 1929. It was signed by Benito Mussolini for the Italian government and by Cardinal Secretary of State, Pietro Gasparri, for the papacy and ratified by the Italian parliament of 1929. The Lateran Pacts was a political treaty recognising the full sovereignty of the Holy See in the State of Vatican City, which was thereby established, accompanied by four annexes: a) a map of the territory of Vatican City State, b) maps of buildings with extraterritorial privilege and exemption from expropriation and taxes (owned by the Holy See but located in Italy and not forming part of Vatican City), c) maps of buildings with exemption from expropriation and taxes (but without extraterritorial privilege), and d) The Italian government agreed to give the Roman Catholic Church financial compensation for the loss of the Papal States following the loss in 1870 of its territories and property. In 1948, the Lateran Treaty was recognised in the Constitution of Italy as regulating the relations between the state and the Catholic Church.

The Italian Fascist state censored news and banned all direct criticisms of fascism but did not attempt to screen the content of literary texts, theatrical productions or commercial films until the late 1930s. However, fascist newsreels and documentaries were screened at cinemas. Large numbers of citizens were obliged to participate in



state-organized spectacular rituals (ceremonies, parades, etc.) which aimed to mould a patriotic and martial spirit.

Economic impact

Mussolini regime focused on addressing the severe effects of the First World War and the Great Economic Depression, which led to mass unemployment, growing balance of payment problems and trade deficit. There were also problems in securing the world market in the 1930s.

Between the 1920s and the 1930s, Mussolini enjoyed political support from peasants because of his opposition to socialist agricultural collectivism. The industrialists and landowners supported fascism, fearing communist and socialist labour politics as well as urban and rural strikes. The Fascists promised a good business climate of cost-effective labour, wage and political stability. Unemployed people strongly supported fascism.

Agriculture became vital to Fascist economic policies and propaganda. To strengthen the domestic Italian production of grain, the government established protectionist policies to prevent the importation of grains from abroad in 1925. Farmers were heavily subsidised. The agricultural sector was improved by using modern technologies on pesticides and insecticides with the aim to provide raw materials. Draining of marshy land, such as the draining of the Pontine Marshes in southern Italy, increased production of wheat and Mediterranean fruits.

Fascists believed in taming capitalists by controlling labour and factory owners. Mussolini wanted to create an economic system that provided a "Third Alternative" to capitalism and Marxism. He promoted a corporatist economic system. The economy involved employer and employee syndicates being linked together in corporative associations to collectively represent the nation's economic producers and working with the state to set national economic policy. From 1926 following the Pact of the Vidoni Palace and the Syndical Laws, business and labour were organised into 12 separate associations, outlawing or integrating all others. These organisations negotiated labour contracts on behalf of all their members, with the state acting as the arbitrator. The state tended to favour big industries over small industries, commerce, banking, agriculture, labour and transport, even though each sector officially had equal representation. Pricing, production and distribution practices were controlled by employer's associations rather than individual firms. Labour syndicates negotiated collective labour contracts binding all firms in a particular sector. Nevertheless, enforcement of contracts was difficult, and the large bureaucracy delayed resolutions of labour disputes.

In the 1930s, Mussolini organised industrial and agricultural services into state-controlled labour unions and employer associations called “corporations.” Government officials appointed the head of each union and employer corporation. They negotiated wages and working conditions with each other. This “Third Way” corporatism attempted to unify workers and employers by requiring them to set aside their private interests in favour of the best interests of the fascist state. In practice, however, employers benefited more than the workers did. Generally, the alliance mentioned above between capitalists and the working classes aimed to reduce conflicts between them.

It is important to note that, although private sector remained strong, the state still controlled the economy. State permission was required for almost any business activity, such as expanding a factory, merging a business, or terminating an employee. All wages, including minimum wage, were set by the government. Restrictions on labour increased. While corporations still could earn profits, Italian Fascism supported the criminalisation of strikes and employees’ lockouts of employers. Additionally, Mussolini nationalised all independent trade unions into one government-operated syndicate, the *Confistrada*, which became the arbiter of all disputes between labour and management. In practice, the Fascists favoured employers over workers as Fascist unions did little to protect them against wage cuts and sackings as workers’ boycotts, demonstrations and strikes were made illegal in Italy.

Moreover, the Fascist regime embarked on massive public works programs, such as hydroelectricity development, railway improvement and rearmament. In 1933, the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale* (IRI-Institute for Industrial Reconstruction) was established to subsidize failing companies and soon controlled important portions of the national economy through government-linked companies, such as the Alfa Romeo. The Automobile production, especially that of the Fiat Motor Company, increased. The aeronautical industry was developed. After the 1936 League of Nations sanctions against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Mussolini strongly advocated agrarianism and autarchy as part of his economic “battles” for Land, the Lira and Grain. By 1939, Fascist Italy attained the highest rate of state-ownership of an economy in the world whereby the Italian state controlled over four-fifths of Italy’s shipping and shipbuilding, three-quarters of its pig iron production and almost half that of steel.

Social impact

Italian Fascism believed that Italians belonged to the Aryan and Mediterranean race. Mussolini emphasized that race was bound by spiritual and cultural foundations. The Fascist regime justified colonialism in Africa by claiming that the spiritual and cultural superiority of Italians as part of the white race justified the right for Italy



and other white powers to rule over the black race. Mussolini claimed that Fascist colonial goals were to civilise the inferior races and defend the purity of Western civilisation from racial miscegenation that he claimed would harm the intellectual qualities of the white race. He claimed that the white race needed to increase its natality to avoid being overtaken by the black and yellow races that were multiplying at a faster rate than whites.

Fascist regime also proclaimed that all women were inferior to men; civilians were inferior to soldiers, and all non-fascist party members were inferior to all members of the Fascist Party. Fascists emphasised that women role was to give birth and care for a new generation of warriors. Mussolini once said that “war is to man what maternity is to the woman.” In an effort to increase birth rates, the Fascist government initiated policies designed to reduce the need for families to be dependent on a dual-income. The most evident policy to lessen female participation in the workplace was a program to encourage large families. The government gave parents subsidies for a second child and proportionally increased subsidies for a third, fourth, fifth, and sixth child. Mussolini called for women to be honoured as “reproducers of the nation”, and the government held ritual ceremonies to honour women’s role within the Italian nation. In 1934, Mussolini declared that employment of women was a “major aspect of the thorny problem of unemployment and that for women working was incompatible with childbearing. Mussolini said that the solution to unemployment for men was “the exodus of women from the workforce.”

Fascist Italy also developed policies on gender roles and sexual morals. The rise of fascism was partly a consequence of fears about the power and status of men in a world in which gender roles no longer appeared distinct. Mussolini wanted women to return to their traditionally subservient positions as wives and mothers. As a result, Mussolini supported a demographic campaign to increase the birth rate, which would justify colonial expansion. This involved limiting female employment and encouraging marriage as he introduced a bachelor tax, restricting the availability of contraceptives, and increasing the severity of prison sentences for illegal abortions. However, in the sexual and family sphere, fascism reinforced traditional morals to the point of oppressing individuals who did not conform. Persecution of homosexuals, mainly among men was common. This was double standard exercised to the benefit of men and detriment of women in the state’s treatment of adultery. Fascist Italy reflected the belief of most Italians that homosexuality was wrong. Instead of the traditional Catholic teaching that it was a sin, a new approach was taken, based on contemporary psychoanalysis, that it was a social disease.

The Fascists pursued the moral hygiene of youth on sexuality. It promoted normal sexual behaviour in youth while denouncing deviant sexual behaviour. It condemned pornography, most forms of birth control and contraceptive devices (with the exception of the condom), homosexuality and prostitution as deviant sexual behaviour. Fascists regarded the promotion of male sexual excitation before puberty caused criminality among male youth. As a result, they pursued an aggressive campaign to reduce the prostitution of young women.

Mussolini did not like to quarrel with the Catholic Church as Italy was a strongly Catholic country. He knew that it would bring political and social crises if he would try to exclude and harass the Church as many Italians were Catholics, and they would turn against him. To this effect, in 1929, he concluded the Lateran Treaty with Pope Pius XI (1922- 1939). With this Treaty, the Fascist state recognised the independent Vatican State and acknowledged Catholicism as the state religion. However, in the Fascist effort to control education, the Minister of Education, Giovanni Gentile, replaced the teaching of Catholic doctrine in the elementary schools with philosophy. The Catholic Church objected to this replacement. Despite signing the Lateran Treaty, Mussolini was almost excommunicated over his “intractable” determination to prevent the Vatican from having control over education. In reply, the Pope protested Mussolini’s “pagan worship of the state” and the imposition of an “exclusive oath of obedience” that obligated everyone to uphold fascism. Once declaring in his youth that “religion is a specie of mental disease”, Mussolini “wanted the appearance of being greatly favoured by the Pope” while simultaneously “subordinate to no one.”

Hoping to keep the Church from opposing his fascist regime, Mussolini adopted pro-Catholic policies against abortion and divorce. Then in 1929, he signed a treaty with the church that made Catholicism the state religion. This agreement also restored the teaching of Catholic doctrine in secondary schools. For its part, the church accepted Mussolini’s fascist state and ended its involvement in Italy’s political affairs.

However, Mussolini entered into conflict with Jews by asserting Catholicism as a State religion. The relations between the Fascist regime and Jews with their Judaism was affected by the Fascists’ accommodation of the Catholic Church in the early 1920s. It sought to remove previous provisions of equality of faiths and impose state support of the supremacy of Catholicism. In 1928, frustration arose in the regime over Zionism in which Mussolini responded to the Italian Zionist Congress by asking the Jews on their self-identity: “Are you a religion or are you a nation?” However, the Jewish population of Italy was small and, thus, was not a political threat to Mussolini’s regime.



Schools and radios were used to propagate Fascism. Mussolini's government invested heavily in education as a means of developing future generations of fascists. Giovanni Gentile, Minister of Education, reorganised Italy's school system. He also wrote many articles and books clarifying the basic ideas of fascism. Ideological penetration of education was evident in primary schools, where politically 'reliable' instructors ensured that children were drilled in fascist 'values', including strict obedience to authority, a spirit of sacrifice and heroism, and protection and enhancement of the Italian 'race.' Fascist Party youth organisations assisted the process of ideological instruction through to university, with activities focused on pre-military training for boys and forms of civic service for girls. However, working-class youngsters were less likely to participate if they left school early to go into employment. The fascist regime was most successful in controlling the minds of children and teenagers. Many were left traumatised by Mussolini's fall from power during the Second World War, having been brought up to believe that their leader and fascism were invincible. Apart from schools, radios, wall posters and party meetings were also used to propagate Fascism in Italy.

Thus, Italian Fascism was rooted in Italian nationalism, national syndicalism, revolutionary nationalism and the desire to restore and expand Italian territories in order to create strong Italy in the world. It created a profound impact not only on Italy but also on the world.

Exercise 5.9

1. Examine the factors that enabled Fascist Italy to develop Anti-Semitism in Italy.
2. Compare Mussolini's fascist corporatism with capitalism and communism.
3. Why did Benito Mussolini and the Fascist Party attempt to develop a "Third Way" in Italy? Did they succeed?

Political, economic and social impact of the rise of dictatorship governments in Japan

The rise of dictatorship government in Japan in the 1930s had great impact on Japanese society and neighbouring countries in South East Asia.

Political impact

The development of the totalitarian regime in Japan began in the 1930s, following the end of liberal democracy. Japan, as the first industrialized Asian nation, had made progress toward a liberal democratic system of government since the 1890s. However, in 1932, Japanese Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was killed during a failed coup by nationalist army officers. This led military officers to increase their influence in the government. By the 1930s, many military officers held legislative and executive powers. They glorified expansionism, totalitarianism and greater militarism as strategies to solve Japanese economic problems it had faced at the time by conquering neighbouring countries to establish its colonial empire. The Fascist government determined to build Japan as a great power respected in international relations. The betrayal of Japan during the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 was perceived by the Japanese that Western powers, Britain and France, ignored the strength and role of Japan as a capitalist power in Asia. The Treaty did not recognize the Empire of Japan's territorial claims. This failure to gain new territories was considered by the Japanese as a refusal by the victorious powers to consider Japan an equal partner.

The military officers wanted the Japanese 'New Order in East Asia' by building Greater East Asia and the Pacific Basin with Japan as a leader just like the Italian '*Nuovo Ordine*' in the Mediterranean, and the Nazi '*Neuordnung*'. The fascists wanted to build Japan as a stronger nation in Asia and the world at large and which had a share in the global governance of the time. The entry of Japan in the Second World War aimed to fulfil that goal. Thus, the military officers wanted all Japanese to be obedient and loyal to their government to reach their goal. By 1942 Japan was occupying Manchuria, Indo-China and Pacific Islands, Macau and East Timor from Portugal, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Malaysia.

The Fascists were anti-Communist. They banned all political parties except the fascist party. The Japanese industrialists and farmers feared the penetration of communism in Japan would nationalize their properties and capital. In November 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, which was an agreement between them to exchange information and collaborate in preventing communist activities. The Japanese who supported communism and those who were against fascism were tortured and killed. Also, any Japanese who resisted the aims of the Fascist government was harassed, persecuted and killed.

Economic impact

The Fascist Japan formulated policies to address the effects of the Great Depression in the 1930s. The Depression was felt by falling prices. From 1929 to 1931, industrial



production fell for about 30 per cent, agricultural prices fell by 40 per cent, and textile prices fell for nearly 50 per cent. In 1931, rural impoverishment became severe. In 1934, rural communities were hit by famine. This rural disaster caused much anger and popular criticism against the government and big businesses. The increased trade barriers and tariffs imposed by the West added difficulties for Japan to trade in foreign trade. Thus, the government promoted carterisation and rationalization. Moreover, the free market was thought to worsen the depression, so agreements on output restriction were adopted. This restriction spread to virtually all raw-materials for industries.

Furthermore, in the 1930s, political and intellectual thinking gradually shifted from economic liberalism toward more economic control under state management due to the fear of the growing influence of Marxism, the success of the USSR and disappointment caused by some politicians and political parties. Many considered that the days of the US-style free-market economy were over and henceforth, state control and industrial monopoly would strengthen the competitiveness of the national economy.

Besides, the government adopted deficit spending. Deficit spending had a transformative effect on Japan. Japan's industrial production doubled during the mid-1930s. Further, in 1929 the list of the largest firms in Japan was dominated by light industries, especially textile companies. However, by 1940 light industry had been displaced by heavy industries such as Toyota automobile, chemicals and metallurgy as the largest firms in the Japanese economy. Production rose and unemployment declined.

Social impact

Japan believed in racism. The Japanese perceived themselves to be a superior race among the Mongoloids or Yellowish race in Asia. This perception convinced the Japanese that their race had the right to dominate others in Asia. This superiority complex was manifested in Japanese economic dominance which is powerful in terms of living standard and higher life expectancy.

Education was used in propaganda to promote patriotism and loyalty. Throughout the early 1930s, Japanese students were taught about their nation's new status as a world power and the responsibility they held in sustaining this status. General Hideki Tojo the Education Minister, in the 1930s continued militaristic and nationalist indoctrination in the national education system and reaffirmed totalitarian policies in government. Hideki was influenced by education typical of Japanese youth in the Meiji era. The purpose of the Meiji educational system was to train boys to be soldiers as adults, and the message was relentlessly drilled into Japanese students that war was the most



beautiful thing in the entire world, that the Emperor was a living god and that the greatest honour for a Japanese man was to die for the Emperor. Scholarships for higher education were neither granted for good grades nor hard work but to students who personified the Japanese military ideal of discipline, tradition, strength, and loyalty to the state. The state ensured that public education drove loyalty and patriotism to the Fascist state.

In the early 1930s, the Japanese government established the Board of Information, which censored the media and outlawed “dangerous thoughts,” that originated from the West and conflicted with the goals of the Japanese Imperial Army. History books were revised and history classes were transformed into courses on Japanese ethics and morals. Books about the divinity of the emperor and the duty of every citizen to worship at the imperial altar become compulsory reading in all high schools and colleges. At other educational institutions, such as one private Jesuit institution in Tokyo, the priests and the students were forced to undergo military training. This led the fascist state to enter into conflict with the Catholic church over-control of content and goals of education.

A woman’s role was the traditional one, a mother rearing many children. Japanese girls were taught that the highest honour for a woman was to have as many sons as possible who could die for the Empire, their nation.

Fascist Japan opposed Western politics and culture. Japanese military officers disliked Western cultural influence on Japan. For instance, young couples holding hands and kissing in public were seen as undermining Japanese traditional values. The anti-Western culture was also intensified by the United States Immigration Control Act that was passed by the American Congress, banning all Asian immigration into the United States. Indeed, with many Congressmen and Senators supported the Act and argued that the Act was necessary because the Asians worked harder than the whites. In 1924, a Japanese military officer Hideki Tojo, who was greatly offended by the Act, wrote with bitterness at the time that American whites would never accept Asians as equals and “It [the Immigration Control Act] shows how the strong will always put their interests first. Japan, too, has to be strong to survive in the world.

Fascists also carried out systematic measures to eliminate unwanted people in their society. These included homosexuals, the mentally retarded and the like. As Home Minister, Hideki Tojo ordered various eugenic measures including the sterilization of the “mentally unfit.”



Exercise 5.10

- How did the fascist policies contribute to the recovery of the Japanese economy during the 1930s?
- Analyse the reasons for Japan to create a Japanese Empire in Asia.

Domestic and foreign policies of the dictatorship governments in Italy, Germany and Japan

The fascist governments in Germany, Italy and Japan developed thorough domestic and foreign policies to address their economic, political and social problems. The three fascist governments were, to some extent, similar regimes. Japan was not an extreme fascist country; it did not exercise pure fascism as was the case with Germany and Italy where fascism took its real shape and practice. In Germany and Italy, fascism involved massacres, suppression of opponents and an extreme foreign policy that was characterised by aggressive expansionism.

Domestic policies

The three fascists developed stronger military power than Parliament. The military had absolute power to control all state affairs under the dictators. In Germany, Hitler had all the power under himself, and the army exercised all state affairs. He dissolved the Weimer Republic in 1933. The same applied to Italy; Benito Mussolini exercised more power than King Victor Emmanuel III, and the army exercised all state affairs, following orders given by their fascist leader. In Japan, General Hideki Tojo had more power than Emperor Hirohito had.

All three regimes were racist. They believed in a superior race that had to rule other inferior races. Germans believed that they were a master race of Europe and the entire world. This belief was rooted in Charles Darwin's notion of survival of the fittest. Hence a superior race had to survive at the expense of weaker races in this world. In Germany, Hitler segregated and discriminated non-Aryan/non-German, with Jews as the most targeted people. Having achieved total control over Germany, Hitler and the Nazi Party began to create the ideal German national community defined along racial lines, known as the *Volksgemeinschaft*. This effort was a two-part process. First, it entailed uniting all ethnic Germans in a single German state. Second, it excluded all minorities already within the German state who did not belong in the national community, especially the Jews. Fascist Italy believed in the superiority of the white race while the Fascist Japan believed in the superiority of the yellow race.



The three regimes formed different secret police to carry out fascist orders, especially exercising torture, killing and assassinating the opponents of the fascist regimes. For example, Hitler had the Gestapo; Mussolini had the *Squadristi*; and Tojo had the *dreaded Kempetai* in Manchuria. Political assassinations were common. The secret police tortured and murdered all those who were suspected to be opposing fascism and its policies. Communist supporters and their leaders in Germany, Italy and Japan were murdered.

Fascism was anti-communist. Fascist leaders in Germany, Italy and Japan suppressed communism, which was perceived as a threat to fascist regimes. They all believed that communism would bring poverty to their countries and nationalisation of properties. In Japan, members of National Socialist Japanese Workers' Party were persecuted and killed. As a result, communist leaders were assassinated and some imprisoned. Before the Nazi came to power, Germany had industrialists with a lot of influence in German's affairs. They had communism which had strong ties with the workers who were exploited by the capitalists. The communists favoured the nationalization of the major means of production and redistribution of wealth. However, during the Nazi regime Hitler strongly opposed communism and promised to protect the properties of private individuals. This made him popular, and he gained support from the middle class, wealthy landowners and industrialists who were threatened by the communist revolution.

Fascist leaders controlled education at all levels. The state developed censorship in all education materials, media and printing houses. They pursued this strategy to control intellectualism and ensure that all levels of education praised and promoted fascist ideologies. For example, Hitler ordered all anti-Nazism books to be destroyed. New books glorifying Nazi policies were written. Any person who was found with printed materials that were criticising Nazism was tortured, imprisoned or murdered. Mussolini controlled education in Italy to strengthen the fascist regime politically, socially and economically. In Japan, there was a heavy centralized ideological system that promoted militarism through sports and (Tudor and Kendo) games in schools.

The fascist government embarked on policies and measures to address the unemployment problem in their countries. The provision of employment would improve the living standards of the citizens. Germans had suffered terribly during the First World War and the Depression. A huge part of the Nazis' appeal was that they promised to revive the Germany's economy again. Hitler struggled for full employment. For example, Hitler began a huge programme of public works, which included building hospitals, schools, and public buildings such as the 1936 Olympic



Stadium. The construction of 7,000 kms of autobahns created work for 80,000 men. Hitler passed the Unemployment Relief Act in June 1933. This helped establish an important organisation, the National Labour Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) (RAD) which aimed to reduce unemployment and indoctrinate the workforce. Voluntary at first but compulsory from 1935, every man aged between 18-25 had to complete six months training at the RAD, wear military uniform, live in camps, receive pocket money only without no wages and do military or physical exercise every day and do activities such as planting forests and digging ditches on farms. There was also another invisible employment. Although Germany claimed to have full employment by 1939, many groups of people were not included in the statistics. There were 1.4 million men in the army at that time. Jews who were sacked had to give up their jobs to non-Jews, and women were encouraged to give up their jobs to men. Hitler also wanted to make Germany self-sufficient, but the attempt to do so was ultimately unsuccessful. Italy also embarked on draining marshlands and reclaiming land in southern Italy to expand the areas for agricultural production and eliminate malaria. Japan also developed policies to address unemployment. Generally, policies to build more industries, roads and railway lines provided employment among the unemployed.

The suppression of workers' unions and movements was common among the Fascist regimes. All opponents from trade and workers' movements who resisted syndicates and economic policies were assassinated. Trade unions were eliminated. For instance, Hitler suppressed all trade unions. He created a movement that provided subsidized holidays and sporting activities. Mussolini encouraged cooperative guilds rather than labour unions. Salary bargaining, working-class strikes, demonstrations and boycotts were strictly not allowed.

The fascist in Germany, Italy and Japan dreamed of creating huge and powerful empires in the region and all over the world. For example, Mussolini emphasized creating a more powerful kingdom of Italy than of any European country. Hitler wanted to create the strongest German Empire in Europe and the world. Japan also wanted to create a stronger and more powerful military state than any Asian country. The visions were done through military invasions of weaker societies. These colonial empires were important for solving fascist economic problems. The colonies would supply raw materials for industries, markets for manufactured goods and investment areas. Thus, the fascist powers of Italy, Germany and Japan wanted a re-division of the world on equal terms with European colonial powers of Britain and France. In this regard, Italy, Germany and Japan were not satisfied with the Berlin Conference which allocated bigger shares of colonies to Britain, France and Belgium as well as unfair allocation of territories during the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919, especially



after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in which Britain and France got the lion's share of territories in the Middle East.

Foreign policies

The fascist foreign policies of Italy, Germany and Japan hinged on conquest, expansionist wars and alliances. In particular, Mussolini aimed at acquiring territories in Africa and in the Mediterranean, for which he adopted the ancient Roman term *mare nostrum* ("our sea"). Even in 1923, he briefly invaded the Greek island of Corfu to avenge the murder of four Italian nationals forming part of an international boundary delegation. In 1924, Mussolini reached an agreement with Yugoslavia, which gave Fiume to Italy. He also continued to strengthen the Italian hold on Libya, to build up the armed forces, and to plan further expansion in Africa—particularly in Ethiopia, where the defeat at Adwa in 1896 still needed to be avenged. In 1934, Mussolini provoked Ethiopia using Italian-Somaliland as a source of trouble. In October 1935, Italy finally invaded Ethiopia; one of the first conquests was Adwa. By May 1936, he had conquered Ethiopia and proclaimed Italian King Victor Emmanuel III Emperor of Ethiopia. Ethiopia had been the only remaining un-colonised country in Africa. Nearly 400,000 Italian troops participated in the conquest. The army employed brutal methods, including massacres and poison gas bombs. After an attempt on the life of the "viceroy" of Ethiopia, General Rodolfo Graziani, in February 1937, Italian forces arrested and shot hundreds of Ethiopians. However, the war was popular at home and among Italians abroad, especially among the Italian American community. Racist propaganda depicted the Ethiopians as backward barbarians to be "civilised" by the Italian army. Italy made further colonial gains in April 1939 with the invasion of Albania. Italian control over Albania already had been growing throughout the 1920s through agreements with the Albanian regime. Moreover, in 1933, Italian was made obligatory in Albanian schools. When Albania's King Zog refused to accept a trade agreement, the Italian army took control of the main strategic centres of Albania and installed Italian loyalists in the civil service. Victor Emmanuel was made King of Albania. King Zog escaped to Greece.

The Italo-Ethiopian War led to sanctions by the League of Nations and isolated Italy diplomatically. Mussolini moved into Hitler's orbit, hoping that German backing would frighten the British and French into granting further concessions to Italy. However, the policy failed to bring further territorial gains in Africa. Furthermore, Italy became the junior partner in the "Rome-Berlin Axis." In 1938, Mussolini had to accept Hitler's annexation of Austria, bringing the German *Reich* right up to the Italian border. In May 1939, Mussolini entered a formal military alliance with Hitler,



the “Pact of Steel,” which further reduced his scope for manoeuvre. Not only was each country committed to take part in any conflict involving the other, defensive or otherwise, but also each leader was to consult the other before taking any military action. Thus, when the Germans invaded Poland in September 1939, Mussolini insisted on remaining neutral.

Germany also wanted to return her former colonies, especially Czechoslovakia. The German occupation of Czechoslovakia (1938-1945) began with the German annexation of the Sudetenland in 1938, continued with the March 1939 invasion of the Czech lands and creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. By the end of 1944, they had extended to all parts of former Czechoslovakia. Adolf Hitler justified the invasion by the purported suffering of the ethnic Germans living in these regions. The seizure of Sudetenland by Nazi Germany was detrimental to the future defence of Czechoslovakia since the extensive Czechoslovak border fortifications were also located in the same area. The incorporation of the Sudetenland into Germany, which began on 1st October, 1938, left the rest of Czechoslovakia too weak to resist subsequent occupations. Moreover, a small north-eastern part of the borderland region known as Zaolzie was occupied and annexed to Poland ostensibly to “protect” the local ethnic Polish community, as a result of previous territorial claims (Czech-Polish disputes in the years of 1918-20). On 16th March, 1939, from the Prague Castle, Hitler violated the Munich Agreement when he proclaimed the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia after negotiations with Emil Hácha, who remained as the technical head of state with the title of State President. However, he was rendered all but powerless; real power was vested in the *Reichsprotektor*, who served as Hitler’s personal representative. In March 1944, during Operation Margarethe, Hungary was occupied by Germany, and at the end of August 1944, with the Slovak National Uprising, Slovakia shared the same fate. The occupations ended with the surrender of Germany following the Second World War. During the German occupation, between 294,000 and 320,000 citizens including the Jews who made up most of the casualties were murdered. Large numbers of people were drafted for slave labour in Germany. Thus, Germany conquered Denmark, Norway, Poland, Belgium, France, Rumania, Greece and Yugoslavia from 1935-1942. Hitler wanted to make Germany the most powerful and strongest Empire in Europe to remove oppressions and humiliations from the of 1919 Versailles Treaty.

Japan adopted expansionism as a strategy to redress social and economic problems resulting from the wars and economic depression. Following the Russo-Japan war in 1904-1905. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea. In 1914, Japan joined the First World War on the side of Britain and her allies, gaining some Pacific islands from Germany

at the end of the war. Extreme nationalism began to take hold in Japan as the World Economic Depression hit. In 1931, The Japanese army invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria and installed a puppet regime. In 1932, Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was assassinated during a failed coup by nationalist army officers. The military increased influence in the country. In 1936, Japan signed a military alliance with Nazi Germany. In 1937, Japan went to war with China, capturing Shanghai, Beijing and Nanjing amid atrocities like the “Rape of Nanjing”, in which up to 300,000 Chinese civilians were killed. In 1939, following the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe and the fall of France in 1940, Japan moved to occupy French Indo-China. In 1942, Japan occupied a succession of countries, including the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Burma and Malaya. By 1944, Japan encompassed the Japanese archipelago and several colonies, protectorates, mandates, and other territories. Foreign possessions were important for securing raw materials, markets and trade partners for the fascists’ powers.

The three fascist regimes were interested in international wars to expand their territories by creating colonies for securing raw materials, food, markets and areas for investments. The three powers were latecomers in industrialisation with no or fewer colonies than Britain, France and Belgium. The only way to get colonies abroad was through conquests. The fascists developed international military alliances for international wars or conflicts. Germany and Italy started to form a Dual Alliance in 1936, which was called the *Berlin-Rome Axis*. Mussolini and Hitler agreed to co-operate defence and arms race. For example, in the same year, a civil war broke out in Spain where both Hitler and Mussolini supported General Franco whose Republican Party had been defeated by the opposition party, known as the *Popular Front*. Italian forces were poured into Spain to assist Franco’s forces. Arms flowed into Spain from both Germany and Italy. With the help of Italy and Germany, Spain established a fascist and dictatorial government. In 1939, the Dual Alliance expanded and became a Triple Alliance, following Japan’s admission to the Berlin-Rome Axis. The alliance became to be known as the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance and later on the Axis powers.

The differences among Fascism of Germany, Italy and Japan

Fascist practices in German, Italy and Japan differed in various aspects. In Germany, mass killing exceeded those of Italy and Japan dictatorial regimes. Hitler developed Nazi concentration camps. The concentration camps served three main purposes, namely; a) to incarcerate people whom the Nazi regime perceived to be a security threat. These people were incarcerated for indefinite amounts of time; b) to eliminate individuals and small targeted groups of individuals by killing them, away from the public and judicial reviews; and c) to exploit forced labour of the prisoner population.



This purpose grew out of labour shortage. Numerous detention camps incarcerated real and perceived political opponents of Nazi policy. Up to 1939, the biggest concentration camps were Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Flossenbürg, Mauthausen and Oranienburg. Concentration camps were independent of any judicial review. Initially, most prisoners were members of the Communist Party of Germany. However, as time went on, different groups were arrested, including “habitual criminals”, “asocials”, and Jews. After the beginning of the Second World War, people from German-occupied Europe were imprisoned in concentration camps. Between 1933 and 1945, around 1.65 million people were registered prisoners in the camps. Around a million died during their imprisonment. Hitler also conducted mass killings for weak hospital patients to free hospital beds for wounded soldiers. He took Jews to concentration camps for work in horrible jobs. Later on, he killed them in gas chambers. About 6.5 million Jews died during the Nazi regime in Germany. German authorities established camps all over Germany to handle masses of people arrested as alleged subversives.

Racism in Germany was more systematically practised, whereby Jews were massacred. The Jews were targeted and removed from public office. Germans believed they were the master race of the world. In Italy, racism was against blacks. Likewise, in Japan racism was against the Chinese, but not as extreme as that of Germany.

Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany came into conflict with the Catholic church. They desired to create a new generation to bring about a society different from the latent liberal one of the 19th century. Youths were a cornerstone of the creation of a new national community and thus the implementation of this ideal. However, both Italy and Germany came into conflict with the Catholic church over this issue. For the church, youth education was a way to form the next generation of Catholics and ensure the future of its teachings. It was also key in fulfilling the Church's goal of creating a Christian society. The ways in which each entity sought to cultivate youths were differentiated by gender. However, both the church and the fascist states were interested in cultivating the youth as a whole. Essentially, the conflict between the Catholic church and the fascist states over the youth was a battle to fulfil different ideologies and shape the people of a nation. The conflict over the youth resulted from the same basic principle; both the fascist states and the church had their own visions for the future and attempted to fulfil those visions by capturing the consciences of the youth. Nevertheless, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany were countries with different relations with the Catholic church. Thus, this competition restrained the relations between the church and the fascist state. While the fascist states engineered their new generation, the church preserved certain rights to maintain its traditional power structures and influence on the state. The church owned and ran schools in these



two countries. Another area of conflict was racism. The Vatican condemned Nazi racism as an anti-Christian ideology. Thus, catholic church prevented youths from joining the Nazi Youth club and army. Christianity was almost absent in Japan. The Japanese fascists used the Anti-Communist Law and the Peace Preservation Law against organisers of *Omotokya* and *Tenri Kenkyukai*. In 1935, the police embarked on a campaign to destroy all evil cults which were threats to fascist ideology. Fascism using the secret police suppressed the opposition, whether communists or a religious movement that was against it.

Religion was sometimes used to attract religious support to the fascist parties. In Japan, Shinto became a state religion and a symbol of unity. It was an important part of the military ideology based on Emperor Worship. The collapse of statist ideologies in 1945-46 was paralleled by a formalization of relations between the Shinto religion and the Japanese state, including termination of Shinto's status as a state religion.

Germany pursued anti-Semitism along with other racist policies. Hitler formed a very clear policy that declared the total elimination of European Jews in Europe. About 6.6 million Jews were killed in gas chambers. The Nazis focused on "cleansing" the national community at home. They worked to eliminate supposed threats to its health and unity. They forcibly sterilized Germans with mental or physical disabilities. The Nazis isolated and drove out persons considered racially alien to the national community because they supposedly threatened its purity and security. In 1935, the Nuremberg Laws redefined German citizenship, excluding "non-Aryans," particularly Jews. Escalating persecution and violence isolated German Jews, depriving them of their property, livelihoods, access to education, and markets and public facilities, to force them to emigrate. The Nazis framed the Second World War as the ultimate struggle for the survival of the German *Volk*. They used the war to justify the most radical measures against both internal and alien enemies, including murdering mentally and physically disabled Germans and exterminating all Jews in Europe. This was not the case in Italy, where Mussolini cooperated with Jews, and they were allowed to join the party in Italy.

The Versailles Peace Treaty was regarded as unfair by all three. While the main concern for Germany was the war reparations, the main concern for Italy and Japan were territorial claims. Italian fascism emerged from internal economic and political circumstances and spread to other places in Europe, while Germany and Japan were just imitating what had happened in Italy and trying to build a fascist state like that of Italy.



Generally, their foreign policies differed since each fascist power had its specific areas to dominate and extend its power. For example, Japan wanted to dominate and extend its power all over Asia, while German foreign policy was to bring all German-speaking people under control of Greater Germany under Hitler, later control the whole Europe, and create colonial empires in Africa and control the whole world.

The impacts of Nazism and Fascism on Africa

Nazism and Fascism had many impacts on Africa: first, the European countries that possessed the former German colonies were worried that Nazi Germany might take back her former colonies in Africa; thus, they did not develop those colonies. The former Germany colonies in Africa included German East Africa later on Tanganyika, which became under Britain after the First World War; South West Africa –Namibia, which was under the supervision of South Africa; Togo and part of Cameroon, entrusted to France and Britain; and Rwanda and Burundi, which became under Belgium. Second, Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia on 3rd October 1935 and occupied it until 1941. Italy invaded the country as part of Mussolini's policy of expanding Italy's empire and glory. As noted earlier, Mussolini wanted Italy to have an overseas empire for herself. Indeed, following the takeover of Ethiopia, Italy sent Italian farmers to settle on Ethiopian land, Italian businessmen took Ethiopian trade as well. Third, dictators of post-independence Africa copied the method of suppression from both Fascism and Nazism. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, dictators such as Jean-Bèdel Bokassa (1966-1976) of the Central African Republic and Idi Amin Dada of Uganda (1971-1979) were not only autocratic who eulogised their leadership by calling themselves glorified titles, such as Bokasa Emperor I and Amini- Field Marshal, Conqueror of the British Empire and the Last King of Scotland. Moreover, they killed many of their opponents. Fourth, Nazi ideas of superiority of races spread to South Africa and influenced the emergence of apartheid in 1948. Apartheid South Africa, similar to Italian Fascism and Germany Nazism, insisted on the false belief that the white race was superior to the black race. Indeed, many apartheid laws and policies such as criminalisation of inter-racial sex and marriages, and many other segregative laws borrowed heavily from Nazi Germany. Fifth, Fascism and Nazism resulted in the outbreak of the Second World War, and many Africans participated in the War.



Revision exercise 5

1. Analyse the role of the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919 in the rise of dictatorship in Europe.
2. Why was France radical in proposing hard terms for Germany as a War Guilt during the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919?
3. Why were Fascists in Italy, Germany and Japan against liberal governments in their countries during the interwar period?
4. Discuss the role played by the Dawes Plan in the rise of fascism in Germany.
5. Examine the significance of the Lateran Pact of 1929 to Italian fascism.
6. Assess the influence of the Great Depression on the rise of dictatorial governments in Italy, Germany and Japan.
7. Explain the social, political and economic impacts of the rise of dictatorship governments on Germany.
8. Compare and contrast German and Italian policies in addressing economic problems caused by the Great Economic Depression in Germany and Italy.
9. Compare and contrast the internal and foreign policies of dictatorship adopted in Germany, Italy and Japan.
10. Account for the ascendancy of Japan as the Great Empire in Asian region in the 1930s and the early 1940s.



Chapter Six

The rise of socialism

Introduction

Socialism was a socio-economic system of production which challenged the capitalist system for nearly a century before collapsing in the early 1990s. Socialism as a theory and practice was manifested in different countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. In this chapter, you will learn the origin, features and types of socialism. You will also learn about the Russian Revolution of 1917 and Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949 as typical examples of socialist revolutions. Finally, you will learn about manifestation of socialism in Africa, using Tanzania as a case study. The competencies developed will enable you to find alternatives for equal and human-centered development in the society.



How did socialism come into existence? Does socialism still exist in Tanzania today?

Origin of socialism in Europe

Socialism is a socio-economic and political system characterized by collective ownership of the major means of production, equal distribution of products of labour and absence of exploitation of man by man. In other words, socialism is a belief that the state should control the major means of production and ensure that the resources are equally shared among the members of the society. Socialism is the fifth mode of production after communalism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

European socialism rose in the mid-18th century to challenge industrial capitalism which had created many political, economic and social problems to the industrial workers. Industrial revolutions in Europe came with such injustices as intensive exploitation of the working class through low wages, long working hours, poor working conditions and the denial of workers' social services. These exploitative relations of production were inherent in the capitalist production system and gave rise to class struggle.



Features of socialism

Socialism, as opposed to capitalism, is generally characterized by collective ownership of the major means of production. In a socialist society, the key factors of production such as land, industries and financial institutions are owned collectively under the supervision of the state. In theory, the socialist mode of production does not favour any exploitative relations. Unlike capitalism, socialism is free from antagonistic classes arising from economic imbalances existing among individual members of the society. Socialism rather emphasizes on equal distribution of resources, thereby neutralizing the division existing between the haves and have-nots. Thus, socialism as a system opposes any form of exploitation of man by man. In this system, resources are shared equally, meaning that the major means of production and products of labour are collectively owned and equally distributed among individuals for the betterment of all. People are paid in accordance with the amount of work they perform, hence the idea, "to each according to his/her contribution." Under socialism, the producers are usually peasants and workers; they work and own property collectively.

Moreover, a socialist economy is naturally centralized, planned and supervised by the central government. In this way, socialist governments do regulate the processes of production and marketing of products. This practice is different from capitalist governments which allow the forces of the market, such as demand and supply, to control price and production. With socialism, the government determines the quantity of goods to be produced and fixes their prices to avoid economic crises.

The development of the socialist system goes hand in hand with massive investments in research to promote the development of science and technology and consequently the growth of the economy. These could be achieved via improving the productive forces and the military technology as was the case during the Cold War era. The Soviet Union, for example, advanced in nuclear science and technology and it detonated its first atomic bomb in August 1949. The argument that socialism promotes scientific and technological innovations is, however, challenged by scholars who think that socialism does not support a conducive environment for scientific and technological development.

Socialism involves the formation of centralized political organizations and political parties whose main role is to strengthen solidarity and unity among the members of the society and among the socialist states.



Activity 6.1



In groups of not more than five students, discuss the salient features of the socialist mode of production and organize your ideas in an essay.

The origin and features of Utopian socialism

Literally, *utopia* means an imaginary place or state of things in which everything is perfect. Etymologically, the word utopia comes from two Greek words “*u*” which means “no” and “*topos*” which means place, hence the word “no-place.” Utopian socialism, therefore, refers to set of socialist ideas which could not be implemented successfully because they were too imaginary and idealistic. Utopian ideas were propounded by the socialist great thinkers of the 18th and early 19th centuries who thought that capitalism could be reformed without class struggle.

These thinkers believed that it was possible to voluntarily and collectively create an ideal society with perfect systems of governance, laws and economic production. Some of the famous Utopian socialists were Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Robert Owen (1771-1858), Charles Fourier (1772-1837), Étienne Cabet (1778-1856) and Louis Black (1811-1882). Utopian socialism was actually the term used by the Marxists who came afterwards such as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Wrote on challenged utopian ideas and theories in his famous pamphlet entitled *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880).

The following are the features of utopian socialism:

- (a) It does not support any form of class struggle or violent political revolution in building or creating a socialist society;
- (b) It believes that people of all classes can voluntarily and collectively create an ideal society;
- (c) It was idealistic and futuristic in the sense that it believed in the main idea of having a perfect state, a good system of laws and an exploitation-free economy; and
- (d) With this kind of socialism, all major means of production like land, banks, industries and physical infrastructures are owned and controlled by the state. The state, therefore, serves as the principal employer of all workers.

As mentioned previously, utopian socialists dominated the mid-18th and 19th centuries. Among them was: Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825): This was a French ex-soldier

who participated in the American War of Independence of 1775-1783. Saint-Simon identified the problems associated with social inequalities in France which resulted from what he called industrialism. He argued that industrialization created two antagonistic classes: the working class which worked in industries and the industrialists' class which owned capital and acted as a parasitic class living on the wealth created by exploiting the workers. He, therefore, suggested reforms in capitalist system to create a new society, which would be free from exploitation and individualism.

Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was another utopian socialist of the French origin who wrote on utopian socialism. He was born in a well-established family of a cloth merchant and spent most of his time in commerce. To him, industrial capitalism was a source of social injustices, since it exploited the masses by depriving them the opportunity to own the major means of production such as land and capital. He suggested for the formation of communal associations called *Phalanxes*, in which people could live together, work collectively and share the output produced equally. This movement came to be known as *Fourierism*.

Robert Owen (1771-1858) was another proponent of Utopian socialism. He was an English manufacturer owning a textile industry at New Lanark-Scotland. He saw private property as the major source of the problems facing English working societies. He used his textile industry to experiment the ideal socialist principles of making sure that the workers were fairly paid, their working environment fairly improved and the use of child labour was discouraged.

In sum, Utopian socialism, like scientific socialism which is discussed in the next section, was rooted in the rise of industrial capitalism in western Europe. The birth of factory systems in western Europe brought about dramatic and fundamental changes which negatively affected a large section of European society. Utopian socialists emerged as thinkers who proposed reform approaches which were not rooted in the class struggle.

One of the outcomes of industrialization was, therefore, the creation of the class of workers and that of capital owners or the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie owned and controlled all major means of production, distribution and exchange. The industrial workers did not own or control capital. They were paid extremely low wages and endured poor working conditions. The foregoing utopian socialist thinkers started challenging the capitalist system by proposing and practising an alternative socio-economic system.



The ideas of the utopian socialists were later challenged by Marxists of the mid- 19th century. The Marxists criticized utopian socialism as being too idealistic and less pragmatic. Saint-Simon, for example, saw the solutions of capitalist problems in improving the public sector rather than in promoting capitalist principles of private property, profit-making and competition. He attacked courts, political leaders and church men for pursuing selfish ambitions which compounded the problems of workers. However, campaigns like these were unlikely to change the capitalist system.

What appears to be the major weakness of the utopian socialists is that they appealed to the capitalist governments and to people of the middle class to support their cause. Fourier specifically condemned the act of paying low wages to the industrial workers. Similarly, Louis Blanc appealed to the capitalist states to reduce the number of working hours and to improve the working environment for the workers. These scholars generally appealed to the capitalist governments to reform the capitalist structure using persuasive humanitarian arguments. This approach was unrealistic as it was quite impossible to build a truly socialist society within the capitalist society. The capitalists would not have allowed their profit minimized by paying higher wages to their workers. In essence, capitalists or industrial owners seek to maximize profits by minimizing production costs.

Besides its weaknesses, utopian socialism contributed to the development of consciousness among the working class. It expressed a concern for social justice to all workers and to the poor. It also exposed the negative impacts of the factory system on workers, hence the concern for its reforms.

Utopian socialism was a pioneer to scientific socialism. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels succeeded in developing a theory of scientific socialism using some ideas of utopian socialism, which were put into practice during the 1917 Russia Revolution. For example, utopian socialism attacked the concept of private ownership of property, so did scientific socialism. They also proposed a socialist society based on humanism.

Utopian socialism proposed ideas that challenged the capitalist system. For example, it believed in the idea that to build a just society, governments should encourage collective ownership of resources by nationalizing and redistributing them to the members of the society.



Activity 6.2



With the guidance of your teacher, create small groups and read around the sub-topics. Then, write a paper for presentation to the class for further discussion. Your paper should focus on the following:

- (a) The origin of Utopian socialism;
- (b) The principle ideas of Utopian socialism; and
- (c) The significance of Utopian socialism.

The theory of scientific socialism

Scientific socialism or Marxian socialism emphasized the idea that historical forces such as economic determinism and the class struggle could transform capitalism to socialism. Marxists believed that the transition from capitalism to socialism is a natural process, and it takes place through violent means. Scientific socialism was advocated by two thinkers, Karl Marx (1818–1883) and his friend Friedrich Engels (1820–1895). These thinkers were encouraged to develop the scientific socialist theory due to the weaknesses of utopian socialism. The Marxian theory of socialism was articulated by Marx and Engels in their famous pamphlet that appeared in German language as *Manifest der Kommunistische Partei* in 1848. It was translated to *The Communist Manifesto* or *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. It was based on several doctrines. The ideas in this pamphlet were later expanded by Karl Marx in what came to be called *Das Kapital*. Scientific socialists believed that every fundamental historical development results from changes in the methods of production. They also believed that any economic system is based on a definite pattern of production and exchange and must grow to a point of maximum efficiency. At this level, it produces contradictions within itself which will eventually lead to its decay or decline. A new system will rise to replace the crumbling old system or to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the old one while absorbing its most valuable elements. The above natural process of a historic revolution will continue by a series of revolutions and counter-revolutions until the perfect goal of communism is attained.

According to Marx and Engels, the above process of social change takes place through class struggle. The essence of class struggle is unequal distribution of wealth between two conflicting and opposing classes. For example, under capitalism, factory workers did not receive a fair value of their labour. They were usually paid wages that enabled them to subsist and reproduce. The difference between the actual product of



labour and the wage they receive was called surplus product or surplus profit. This difference went to the capitalists as rent, interests and profits.

Marx and Engels believed that, the economic imbalances between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat would, therefore, create unending series of class struggle between these two antagonistic classes and would finally lead to the collapse of capitalism. According to Marxists, the transition from capitalism to socialism would be achieved through a revolutionary war which is “waged to defend, achieve and develop a progressive socio-economic system.” From the Marxists’ point of view, scientific socialism had to embrace such elements as collectivism, dictatorship as well as revolution.

The strengths of scientific socialism can thus be identified: First, it clearly showed that human beings are conscious of their own basic rights and are capable of struggling for them. Scientific socialism strengthened the spirit of solidarity for the oppressed people all over the world by shaping the revolutionary movements, workers’ movements, trade unions and anti-colonial struggles. In other words, scientific socialism promoted unity among the factory working classes when it called all workers to unite against the capitalists.

Secondly, the ideas of scientific socialism influenced the establishment of several socialist states and socialist parties in different parts of the world. Russia was the first country in the world to build a socialist state in 1917 after the Bolshevik Revolution in which the Russian empire under Tsar Nicholas II was overthrown. Similar socialist revolutions took place in China, North Korea and Cuba. These revolutions were, according to Marxists, indicators of inherent contradictions existing within the capitalist system.

Thirdly, the socialist movements necessitated important reforms of the capitalist system. Economists came to realize the danger of allowing capitalist market forces to operate without state intervention. For example, the classical economic policy of free trade was challenged. These economists proposed the adoption of mixed economy which was a blend of socialism and capitalism. In fact, the whole concept of mixed economy is one of the legacies of scientific socialism.

Scientific socialism was not without drawbacks. One of its major weaknesses is that it advocated the dictatorship of the proletariat, something which encouraged revolutionary wars in Russia, Cuba, North Korea and China. Pursuance of such violent means of armed struggle resulted in massive bloodshed. In Russia, an estimated number of 1.5 million soldiers and 8 million civilians perished during the revolutionary wars.



Marxists believed that wars are inevitable under the capitalist system. For them, wars arise from the capitalist mode of production because of its inherent antagonistic classes.

The Marxian argument that socialist governments can be established after all countries have fully industrialised did not apply to all cases. For example, Russia, China, North Korea, Cuba, Poland, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia established socialist states before they had fully industrialised. These countries did not have a vibrant working class, yet they had managed to establish socialist governments by the 20th century.

Scientific socialism attacked the concept of private ownership of property, something which can be taken to mean an infringement upon basic human rights. Private ownership of property is a natural human right. In fact, private ownership of property is at the heart of human rights. For example, the right to private ownership of land in a capitalist system is a fundamental value.

Although the socialists revealed capitalist economies as being unstable, it was later realized that this was not always the case. State regulation of capitalist economies was the most important mechanism for preventing economic crises. It was also wrong to assume that socialism was free from economic crises since socialist economies were equally prone to such crises. Economic crises were reported in countries such as the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany and Yugoslavia.

Marx and Engels' argument that states disappear when socialism transforms itself into communism was proved unreal. The socialists believed that states would naturally wither away when socialism transforms to communism because the society will live in harmony and, therefore, there will be no need of coercive instruments. This argument has, however, been proven wrong. Contrary to this argument, states existed in the USSR, East Germany, China, Cuba and Poland.

Another weakness of scientific socialism is that the international solidarity of the proletariats did not materialize as expected by the Marxist thinkers. Starting from the second half of the 20th century, for example, industrial workers in the West were increasingly transforming their workers' movements into non-violent means of struggles, such as the use of constitutional means. This means that class struggle as a violent means of workers' movement was actually losing its relevance as time went by.

Generally, although the Marxists upheld the material conditions of production as the dominant factor for social change, they overlooked other important factors such as social and political factors. Economic determinism alone is unable to account



for social transformation. Social transformation results also from factors other than economics.

Activity 6.3

With the help of your teacher, organize yourself in small groups to discuss and present on the following aspects:



- (a) Genesis of Marxian socialism
- (b) Features of scientific socialism
- (c) Differences between utopian and scientific socialism
- (d) Strengths and weaknesses of scientific socialism

Case Studies: The Russian Revolution of 1917

Russia entered the 20th century with several social, economic and political challenges. The origin of the Russian Revolution is traced to the reign of Tsar Nicholas II (1895-1917). It was pioneered by the Bolsheviks under the command of Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), and it aimed at overthrowing the Tsarist autocratic regime. Nicholas II rose to power in 1895, when the Russian industrial workers were facing a lot of problems.

Workers were living in overcrowded cities like St. Petersburg and Moscow where they endured very harsh and poor working conditions. The problem of overpopulation in major Russian cities was compounded by yet another problem of food crisis. Food shortage resulted from an unfavourable climatic condition, which affected Russian peasants, and from wars fought by the Russian Empire, such as the Crimean War. During the Tsarist regime, millions of Russians were subjected to serfdom. Most of them worked without pay and were heavily taxed. The nobilities were exempted from taxation. Consequently, poverty increased; inflation soared; unemployment increased and landlessness became unbearable. The rate of illiteracy was also high.

Politically, the Russian Empire under Tsar Nicholas II pursued the oppressive policy of favouring the church, much to the suffering of the majority industrial workers. The Orthodox Church of Russia continued to have strong ties with the government. The net result of this situation had become very rich and wielded strong influence within the government. In addition, the Tsarist government undermined freedom of the press by discouraging newspapers and magazines which focused on the failures of the government. Moreover, the citizens were denied right to vote or to be voted for.

Between 1904 and 1905, Russia and Japan went to war over possession of Korea. In this Russo-Japanese War, Russia was defeated and lost Port Arthur to Japan. Russia was also forced to recognize the Japanese supremacy over Korea. Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 was a humiliating defeat to the Russian workers who were already overburdened by internal problems.

The workers' first attempt to overthrow the Tsarist regime came in 1905 in what was called the Red or Bloody Sunday Massacre. In January 1905, Father Gapon, a radical Russian, led a workers' demonstration towards the Winter Square Palace of Tsar Nicholas II. The demonstrators signed a petition demanding for the daily working hours to be limited to eight. They also demanded for political rights and for improvement of their wages. Tsar Nicholas II reacted by ordering the soldiers to dismiss the crowd. The soldiers opened fire to the demonstrators who had disobeyed the order, killing about 1,000 people.

The Bloody Sunday event prompted the rest of the Russian society to take matters into their own hands. Factory workers went out on strike, and at the same time, peasants in the countryside began seizing control of land. The fury of the nation reached a climax. Besides seizing the land, the peasants killed their local landlords. Railway workers and telephone operators, school children, soldiers and sailors also joined the protest.

Tsar Nicholas II came out of this crisis undefeated and determined to reform his government. He instructed Parliament (the *Duma*) to discuss the crisis. Following Parliament refusal to carry out the instruction, he dissolved it. Henceforth, Tsar Nicholas II ruled Russia without Parliament, exercising extreme autocratic leadership. He executed about 400,000 Russians who were accused of criticizing his government. In 1906 alone, over 40,000 Russians were exiled to Siberia. All in all, Tsar Nicholas II survived the 1905 revolution because his opponents lacked strong leadership or were not well united. Moreover, most of his soldiers and policemen remained loyal to him.

In 1906, Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin was appointed as a new Prime Minister (1906-1911). As a reformist, Stolypin tried to improve the situation to prevent another revolution. A new Parliament with representatives from all classes was established. It was not democratically elected, although some representatives from different classes were allowed to vote. The idea was to limit the right to vote to landowners and to middle class people. To win the support of the peasants, the Russian government abolished what was called redemption payments, which peasants used to pay to the government to own the land formerly owned by landlords. Peasants were, therefore,



encouraged to buy their own land. By 1916, about two million Russian peasants had done so, while another 3.5 million had moved to Siberia where they also bought their own land. Land reforms led to the rise of a class of rich peasants famously known as *Kulaks*. Industrial sector was also reformed. All industries were assigned inspectors whose main task was to mitigate industrial strikes and riots. The owners of industries were required to improve the working conditions of their workers. In 1912, Workers' Sickness and Accident Insurance Scheme were introduced in Russia.

However, the Tsarist reform policy did not pay off. The spirit of revolution held sway. The Bolsheviks were not satisfied with the reforms and planned to overthrow the Tsarist government. Several reasons have been given as to why the Russian Revolution of 1917 was inevitable. First, the members of the *Duma* kept pressing for social, economic and political reforms of the Russian society. For example, they demanded for redistribution of the land that was under the landlords. They also wanted a democratic electoral system which would allow the *Duma* to approve the ministers appointed by the Tsar. They also demanded for the workers' right to strike, and campaigned against the death penalty. By 1906, Tsar Nicholas II could not put up with the radical elements of the *Duma*. In one incident, he was forced to employ the police to disperse the members of the *Duma* who had become too radical to handle. He ended up setting up a new *Duma* in 1907, but it soon confronted the same challenge of radicalism. Consequently, the Tsarist government drifted to its traditional autocratic system. The *Duma* was once again disbanded. The government legislated against the voting right formerly given to peasants and factory workers.

Secondly, population pressure complicated the problem of land scarcity. By 1911, for example, the annual population growth rate was recorded to be 1.5 million people. There was a serious population crisis. Pressure for land increased considerably and attempts to resolve the problem proved futile. Thirdly, owing to poor methods of farming, food insecurity remained unresolved in Russia. The assassination of Stolypin in 1911, an able and reliable government reformist, was another blow to the Tsarist regime.

Fourthly, unrest among the factory workers escalated, meaning that class struggle was slowly becoming militant. For example, in April 1912 strikes in industries swept the whole of Russia, leaving about 270 gold miners from Lena Gold Fields shot dead. The number of strikes kept on increasing towards the outbreak of the revolution. Government reactions to these protests, unfortunately served the purpose of inflaming the feeling of revolution. It is reported that Tsar Nicholas II formed a secret police force and used it to harass, persecute or deport the revolutionaries. Among those persecuted were university students, lecturers and the Jews. The Jews

were accused of opposing the Tsarist regime. These counter-revolutionary attempts by the government were resented by the majority of Russians.

The revolutionary movement exploded following the organizational role played by various revolutionary parties of the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and the Social Democratic Labour Party. Bolsheviks is a Russian word for “majority” while Mensheviks means “minority.” The two parties separated from the Social Democratic Labour Party, which was Marxist in outlook, in 1903. Revolutionary movement at party level gained momentum from 1921. One of the revolutionary party leaders was Vladimir Lenin (1870- 1924). Before joining the Bolsheviks, Lenin was a member of the Social Democratic Labour Party. He worked as an editor for a revolutionary newspaper called *Iskra* (the Spark).

In 1912, the *Iskra* was replaced with another newspaper, the *Pravda*, “Truth”, affiliated to the Bolsheviks. As a revolutionary leader, Lenin joined the Bolsheviks determined to form a small but strong party which would work closely with the industrial workers and peasants. The Bolsheviks believed that revolution could be carried out by the peasants and workers even at that time when Russia was not yet fully industrialized. However, Lenin, who had travelled, learnt and practised socialist ideas in London, campaigned for his big idea that a socialist revolution could only be carried out by professional revolutionaries. In 1902, he published his revolutionary idea in his pamphlet titled, *what is to be done?*

On the contrary, the Mensheviks wanted a political party whose membership was open to all groups of people. Whereas the Mensheviks were radical Marxists, the Bolsheviks were moderate Marxists. The Mensheviks believed that revolution could not be achieved until Russia was fully industrialized. The whole idea was that the industrial working class, and not the peasantry class, was instrumental in making a socialist revolution possible. The other group that stood for revolution was the social revolutionary group. This was a group of non-Marxists who argued for the retention and revival of the old society of Russia in which peasants lived and worked collectively. All these revolutionary parties were, however, opposed to the Tsarist regime and were determined to overthrow it at any cost. They held Tsar responsible for various social, political and economic problems that the Russian society went through. Besides, they accused him of assassinating his prime minister, Stolypin.

Tsar’s royal family was also accused of heeding to the advice of Grigori Rasputin, a self-created monk and “holy man” who promised to cure through prayer an infant son and heir of Tsar Nicholas II who was suffering from a disease known as *haemophilia*. The Tsarist regime lost its reputation in the eyes of the majority of Russians



for this act of putting up with such a mystic healer. Rasputin was finally murdered by some conservative members of the royal family who were opposed to his activities. The death event increased the anger of the Russians who wanted the Tsarist regime to be overthrown.

The outbreak of the First World War complicated Russia's internal problems. As a member of the Triple *Entente*, Russia fought for her allies, France and Britain. Russia also wanted to protect the Serbs or the Slavic people in the Balkan. In this war, Russia lost two million soldiers between 1914 and 1915. By 1917, the death toll had risen to more than 5 million people. The problems brought by the war greatly, weakened the Tsarist government. Russian troops and police mutinied. Nobody was there to defend the government of Tsar Nicholas II. The security of the Tsarist regime was in jeopardy since the army mutinied. The Russian army was not supplied with adequate war equipment during the war, something which angered the soldiers. It was also poorly organized and the soldiers were poorly prepared for the war. This situation caused resentment among Russian soldiers.

In March 1917, the situation was ripe for the revolution to take place. It all started as bread riot in Petrograd or St. Petersburg. The rioters were soon joined by thousands of strikers from arms' factories. Tsar Nicholas II mobilized the troops to suppress the riots. Fighting broke out and left about 40 people dead. The angry strikers went on a rampage through the city, destroying public buildings, freeing prisoners and taking control of the police stations and arsenals. Tensions increased in the country, and Tsar Nicholas II abdicated the throne.

Exercise 6.1

1. To what extent was the Russian Revolution of 1917 rooted in Tsar Nicholas's poor governance?
2. With specific examples, describe the major events that dominated the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The Aftermath

On 15th March, 1917, a provisional government headed by Prince George Lvov as Prime Minister was formed after the Russian Revolution. In July, Lvov was replaced with Alexander Kerensky. With the new government in power, some political reforms and decisions were made. The revolutionary government decided that Russia should withdraw itself from the First World War. The government was to share power with

factory workers in Petrograd (Petrograd Soviet). The Petrograd soviet was actually an elected committee of soldiers and workers.

Similar administrative changes were introduced in other cities like Moscow. The political amnesty of April 1917 enabled Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky to return from exile. Lenin was exiled during the February Revolution, first to Germany, then to Finland. While in Finland, he organized and campaigned for the overthrow of the Russian government by the revolutionary Bolshevik Party. With the return of these revolutionary leaders to Russia, the Bolsheviks consolidated themselves politically and campaigned against the provisional government. Lenin was officially declared the national leader of the Bolsheviks. He vowed to suppress the unpopular provisional government which protested against the Bolsheviks' proposal to withdraw from the First World War.

Lenin promised to deal with the problem of inflation and to redistribute land to all peasants. He also wanted people to get access to basic needs such as food. By October 1917, the Bolsheviks had won mass support. Plans to seize power started on 20th October, 1917. They were coordinated by Leon Trotsky in collaboration with the Bolshevik Red Guards. During the night of 6th-7th November, 1917, the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government and installed Vladimir Lenin as its first socialist President of Russia.

Activity 6.4

In small groups discuss and present the following aspects:



- (a) The causes of the Russian Revolution
- (b) The impacts of the Russian Revolution on world history

Effects of the Bolshevik Revolution

The coming to power of the Bolsheviks in Russia was accompanied by important political and economic changes. Lenin became the new head of the Socialist State of Russia. This was possible when the Bolsheviks managed to overthrow the conservative provisional government. In March 1918, Russia signed a peace treaty with Germany which was called *the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty*. The treaty ended the war between Germany and Russia and marked the end of the First World War for the Russians.

The Bolsheviks recognized the independence of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Finland. Ukraine was declared an independent state. Large Russian territories were also ceded to Turkey. Russia thus lost about $\frac{1}{3}$ of her population and farmland,



a half of her industries and almost all of her coal mines and oil wells. The Germans recognized the Bolshevik Republic (known as Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic) and entered into a diplomatic relation with it. Bolshevik communist doctrines began to spread into Germany.

The Bolshevik Revolution was followed by a three-year period of civil war beginning from 1918 to 1921, pitting the Bolsheviks against the anti-communist groups. In this war, Lenin survived an assassination attempt. The western powers engineered the civil war because they were angered by the Russian-Germany peace treaty. The US, for example, financed anti-communist groups in Bolshevik Russia. However, the well trained and disciplined Red Army of the Bolsheviks, led by General Leon Trotsky, defeated the White Army of the anti-communist Russians. On 16th July 1918, the Bolsheviks killed Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their children. The Bolsheviks slaughtered other captives of war.

Russia underwent different political reforms after the revolution. On 30th December, 1922, Lenin established independent soviet republics under communist parties. These Soviet republics were Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldavia, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In 1923, a national government representing the republics was formed. Russia changed its name to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), simply the Soviet Union. Moscow became the new capital of the USSR. The Communist Party became the ruling party. All opposition political parties were banned. In 1921 Lenin banned “Factionalism” within the Communist Party. No member of the party was allowed to question the ruling Party. In this way, the Communist Party became not only a vanguard party but also a dictatorial one.

In 1921, Lenin embarked on his economic policy called the *New Economic Policy* (NEP). With this policy, Russian peasants were allowed to own property under the condition that part of the surplus produced was paid to the government as tax. Private commercial activities were also allowed. Measures were taken to make sure that workers' problems were highly minimized. The impact of this policy was that the Russian economy started improving: food supply increased; small industries mushroomed; and trading activities prospered.

However, under NEP, heavy industries like steel and coal industries, electric supply companies, the transport sector, and banks were controlled by the state. Like the private sector, the public sector recorded success. For example, coal production increased from 42 to 77 million tons between 1928 and 1933, whereas iron production

increased from 4 to 7 million tons. The transport sector was improved by constructing a canal from Moscow to Volga.

A great dam was built on the Dnieper River for Hydro-electric power. When Lenin died in 1924 at the age of 54, Russia was already a strong socialist economy. The coming to power of General Joseph Stalin after the death of Lenin marked the new era of political tension in socialist Russia. General Leon Trotsky, who wanted to overthrow Stalin after the death of President Vladimir Lenin, was exiled. He crossed to different countries before settling in Mexico in 1936 where he was finally assassinated.

The rise of the Soviet Union had several impacts on world politics. The USSR struggled to spread socialism to other parts of the world. Campaigns for the spread of socialism were intensified after the Second World War through the Cold War. The Soviet Union struggled to spread socialist ideas to as many countries as possible. In Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union established socialist parties in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania. The spread of socialism went hand in hand with the spread of atheistic materialism inherent in the socialist ideology.

The threat of socialist revolutions spread to different parts of the world. Eastern Europe experienced several communist uprisings. Similar threat of socialist revolutions lingered in the entire region of Central Europe. In Africa, Egypt followed in the footsteps of the Russian Revolution by overthrowing the British colonial government in 1919. Two important factors accounted for these revolutionary events. In the first place, the break-up of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires after the First World War created a political vacuum which favoured communist revolutions. Secondly, the ascendancy of the Soviet Union encouraged and supported communist-oriented movements. In Germany, for instance, the extremist Marxist group like the *Spartacus League* rose in Berlin in January 1919 under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. However, the Nazi party would not allow this group to flourish. Communist uprisings emerged also in Bavaria, where a short-lived Soviet Republic was established. Similar events took place in Ruhr Valley, Saxony, Slovakia, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary.

As early as the 1920s, the USSR formed an organization that was entrusted with the task of world revolution, the Communist International (Comintern), also known as the *Third International*. The Comintern sponsored the training and indoctrination of foreign communists and students from Europe, Asia and America in order to stir up communist revolution in their home countries. The training was done in the USSR. Due to the activities of the Comintern, in 1924, the USSR concluded a treaty with



China. With this treaty, USSR recognized Mongolia as part of China and renounced the special concessions acquired by the previous Tsars. China, in turn, invited some agents of the Comintern to train their own communists. In 1949, China became the first Asian communist nation.

Between 1945 and 1949, the USSR used its troops and successfully imposed communist governments in Yugoslavia (1945), Bulgaria (1946), Poland and Romania (1947), Czechoslovakia (1948), Hungary (1949) and East Germany (1949). The establishment of communist governments in these countries alarmed the Western Europe and the USA. These countries accused the USSR of creating its own ‘Soviet Empire.’ Consequently, ideological differences between the USSR and the USA (including their allies) arose, which marked the beginning of Cold War politics.

Exercise 6.2

1. Examine the pre-conditions for the Great October Russian Revolution.
2. Account for the rise of the October 1917 Russian Socialist Revolution.
3. Analyse the political and economic effects of the Russian Socialist Revolution on Russia.
4. Show the contribution of Russian Socialist Revolution in sowing the seeds for the cold war politics.
5. Discuss the impact of the Russian Socialist Revolution on Africa.

The Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949

The Chinese Communist Revolution was a socialist revolution organized by the Chinese Communist Party led by Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese communists overthrew the dictatorship regime of General Chiang Kai-Shek or the so-called the *Kuomintang* regime.

Historical background

Before the revolution, Chinese society was framed in Confucius and Taoism ideologies which emphasized that men are naturally virtuous. These ideologies also encouraged royalty to authority, love of the family and ancestral worship. However, prior to the Chinese Revolution, the Chinese society was divided into different classes. There was a class of Emperors or autocratic rulers, that of elites (the good idealists/intelligentsia) and the noblemen, the landlords, peasants as well as workers and serfs. Economically, therefore, China was under a feudal system, which was organized in

such a way that a class of the emperors was at the top, followed by a small group of aristocrats or civil servants, belonging to the royal family. Below these two classes were the landlords. At the bottom were the landless peasants. Feudal China was a typical traditional society exhibiting the low level of development of industrial technologies.

Politically, China was traditionally ruled by the succession of feudal dynasties mainly the Royal families of warlords until the 1640s. At the beginning of the 20th century, China was under the Manchu rulers, who were the conquerors. However, the Manchu regime did not last long. It collapsed in the early 20th century, creating a political vacuum and plunging China into an abyss of political chaos. China experienced several rebellions organized by a radical Chinese student, Sun-Yat-Sen. These rebellions were directed towards attainment of independence. The rebellious movement drew their strength from the concepts of nationalism, democracy and livelihood. These revolutionary sentiments influenced other members of Chinese society. The Petty-Bourgeoisie and progressive landlords joined the students leading to the formation of the Chinese Revolutionary League under Dr Sun-Yat-Sen. The league's commitment was to overthrow the feudal dynasties by violent means. Examples of these events were the *Kiags* workers uprising of 1906 in Kiang Siang and the uprisings of 1907-1908 in the Provinces of Kwongtung and Kwongs Yunnai.

By 1940, China had established a political system which was not only class-based but also regional-based. As such, the government operated at three levels reflecting the classes and regions of China. First, the *Kuomitang* or Kai-Sheik's government was under rich landlords from the North- East China. Second, the Feudal dynasty or Yuan Shi-kai's government was ruled by the royal families in central China. Third, the communist or Mao Tse tung's government was under the peasants of Yenavi of Shensi.

Causes of the Chinese Communist Revolution

The Chinese Revolution was caused by the despotic rule of the Chinese feudal dynasty. Rulers, particularly Shi-Kai, exploited and oppressed the masses. The dynasty itself was quite unstable. Struggles for power between the royal families led to its disintegration. Regular outbreaks of civil wars destabilised the Chinese society politically and economically. The state of political turmoil created, in turn, the necessary conditions for the Communist Revolution.

Moreover, the imperial conquest of China weakened the Chinese economy. China was partitioned among the Japanese, British, Germans, Russians and French. The imperial



powers appropriated Chinese resources, much to the economic impoverishment of the Chinese society. For example, the May Fourth Movement was a Chinese anti-imperialist movement which grew out of student protests in Beijing on 4th May, 1919. The students gathered in front of Tiananmen to protest the Chinese government's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles decision to allow Japan to retain territories in Shandong that had been surrendered to Germany after the Siege of Tsingtao in 1914. This was a reaction against imperialism.

The Chinese Revolution was also caused by the rise of class consciousness and radicalism among the local Chinese communists, particularly students. Marxist ideas influenced the formation of political organizations. The leaders of these organizations instigated the oppressed people to overthrow the ruling authorities through class struggle. Mao Tse-tung played a great role in organizing and leading members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to overthrow the Kuomintang government and to establish a Chinese Socialist Republic on 1st October, 1949.

The revolution was supported by the masses since they were encouraged by the Russian example. The Chinese revolutionaries emulated the Russian revolutionary strategies and tactics. They employed the services of well-trained soldiers who inspired the Chinese to support the revolution. They also sought the support of the Soviet Union which supplied troops to liberate northern China, which was under the Japanese imperial domination.

The Chinese Revolution is also attributed to the decline of the Chinese economy, resulting from harsh climatic conditions which affected the country. The country experienced alternating periods of floods and droughts, and it was struck by epidemic diseases. All these forced the Chinese to overthrow the government.

The impacts of the Chinese Communist Revolution

The Chinese Revolution of 1st October, 1949 had various political and economic impacts. The impacts can be grouped into internal, regional and international ones.

The 1949 Revolution ended the feudal dynasty which comprised of warlords and the Manchu conquerors and replaced them with a socialist government. China was finally added to the list of socialist states following the ascendancy of the Chinese Communist Party. The country's name came to be known as Peoples Republic of China (PRC).

The revolution also marked the beginning of a new form of dictatorship. *Maoism* became the basic thoughts of the Chinese Republic, with Mao as its self-declared Human

Goddess. Maoism and Marxism became the dominant ideas in post-revolutionary China. They replaced Taoism and Confucianism. Mao strengthened national unity and the army. Mao's Little Red Book distilled the voluminous products of Mao's mind so that even semi-literate peasants could read it.

The revolution was followed by several economic reforms. The Chinese communist government embarked on industrial projects and scientific research which aimed at improving the Chinese industrial sector. As a result, the industrial sector grew following discoveries of sophisticated machines and new techniques of production. The Chinese communist government came up with the famous five-year economic plans which focused on the modernization of industrial, agricultural and financial sectors.

The revolution created new opportunities of improving agricultural sector. The Chinese communist government encouraged the application of modern scientific methods of farming like deep ploughing, land reclamation and irrigation technology. Areas which received much attention for agricultural production were those found along big rivers such as Yang Tse Kiang, Hwang Hong and Si-Kiang. The modernization of agricultural economy increased agricultural output.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 ushered in the beginning of new diplomatic relations between China and the capitalist nations and between China and the rest of the socialist states. The Chinese government established strong ties with the Soviet Union which led to the formation of a Sino-Soviet Union. The Sino-Soviet Union resulted from an agreement reached between Chairman Mao Tsetung and Marshal Joseph Stalin. The major aim of this Union was to spread the socialist ideology to other nations and ensure mutual assistance and military cooperation. The Sino-Soviet Union was formed in 1950 when the two countries signed the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.

The Sino-American Relation since 1949

The diplomatic relationship between China and the USA passed through different phases. The first phase was roughly between 1949 and the 1950s. The diplomatic relations between the two countries could be described as very hostile. The imperialist nations, particularly the US interpreted the rise of the communist party in China as a threat to imperialist interests in Asia. The Chinese Communist Revolution, therefore, initiated the Cold War between the USA and China. The USA tried to diffuse its imperialist ideology to China via its famous Open Door policy or the Marshal Plan but to no avail. The aim was to counter Chinese communism and to create favourable



conditions for appropriation of Chinese resources. Suppression of the private sector by the Chinese government did not go well with the American government. The US troops were deployed to support the Taiwan troops against the Chinese troops during the war of Chinese re-unification. The *Kuomintang* (KMT) or Chinese Nationalist Party lost the civil war battle to Chinese Communist Party in 1949. The nationalist leader General Chiang Kai-shek ran to Taiwan. The US recognized the Nationalists as true rulers of China. Taiwan government was recognized by the UN.

The second phase was the period between the 1960s and 1975. This period witnessed the continuation of hostile relations which emanated from the Cold War politics. During the Cold War, the Chinese and American ideological interests clashed in wars involving Korea and Vietnam. During the Korean War of 1950-1954, for example, China supported Kim II Sung of North Korea, whereas the USA supported South Korea. Similarly, during the Vietnam War of 1962-1975, China allied with Communist Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam against the South Vietnam counterpart that got support from the USA. The USA lost this war to the Vietnamese Communists who established the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976. The weakening of the Sino-Soviet Union beginning in the 1960s temporarily strengthened the Sino-Cuba relationship which opposed American imperial influence in Cuba. The USA supported General Fulgencio Batista who was overthrown by Fidel Castro in 1959.

By the 1970s, the tension between China and the USA started to decline especially with the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. This happened as the USA shifted its attention to eastern Europe where the Soviet Union struggled to establish socialist governments. Another reason was that the Chinese communist government focused its attention to the Soviet Union which had emerged as a new Chinese threat following the Sino-Soviet split and subsequent Sino-Soviet border conflict of 1969. Following the outbreak of this conflict, China saw her major political threats now coming from the Soviet Union rather than from the USA. Added to this point is that the coming to power of President Richard Nixon in 1969 changed the USA foreign policy by reducing its military influence in Asia. This development created room for the Chinese and American governments to make peace and re-establish good diplomatic relations that had deteriorated for years. The re-establishment of peaceful relations between the two countries was reflected in Henry A. Kissinger's secret trip to China in 1971 and Richard Nixon's state visit to China in 1972.

The third phase of the Sino-American diplomatic relation, roughly from the late 1970s to 1990s, showed more signs of stabilization. It started when the People's Republic of China won the UN membership right on 26th October, 1971. It should be



remembered that China lost this right in 1949, and, since then, the USA campaigned against returning this diplomatic right to the Chinese. The restoration of this right in 1971 changed the USA attitude towards China. In 1979, for example, the USA officially recognized the People's Republic of China. In 2000, China signed what came to be known as the USA-China Act which allowed the Chinese government to establish diplomatic residences in all major powers of the western world.

Activity 6.5

Use the knowledge you have learned on the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949 to prepare an essay on the causes and impacts of the Revolution.

The Communist World and Africa

The rise of Communism in the world became a threat to capitalism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The two communist giants of USSR and China, together with Cuba, supported efforts to eradicate colonialism in Africa. They embarked on spreading communism in Africa.

China

The relationships between China and African countries took a new turn with the consolidation of Chinese communism after the Second World War. The politics of the Cold War divided African countries between those which aligned with the socialist countries like China and Russia and those which allied with big imperialist powers like the USA. China, like Russia, established close relations with African countries by supporting liberation struggles. The idea was to liberate African colonies from the clout of imperial domination thereby increasing the number of Chinese socialist allies.

China extended financial, military and technical support to the struggles for independence of countries like Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The countries which pursued the socialist path to development after independence, like Tanzania, also received material and financial support from China. As a result, Chinese relations with Africa strengthened. In fact, the Cold War politics of the 1960s and 1970s saw the Chinese strengthening their economic and political influence in Africa. Reports show that China funded different agricultural and construction projects in Africa. One of such project was the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railways (TAZARA) from Dar es Salaam in Tanzania to Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia.



The USSR

The USSR, another socialist power, strived to establish good relations with African countries. They allied with several African revolutionary leaders, notably Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Siad Barre of Somalia and Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia. Others were the nationalist leaders of Mozambique, Angola and Namibia. Russia provided financial and military support to African nationalist struggles and revolutionary movements. For example, the USSR joined Cuba and German Democratic Republic to support The Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Between 1955 and 1964, thirteen African countries had benefited from the Soviet Union aid, amounting to the 1,746 million US dollars.

The Soviet Union aid to Africa went by the name of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev's strategy. This strategy was adopted to spread the communist ideology to the Third World via aids provided by the Soviet Union. The strategy was named after Khrushchev, the first secretary of the Communist Party from 1953 to 1964. Khrushchev regarded aid as the main instrument for carrying out Soviet foreign policy and strategy. The Soviet aid to Africa aimed to develop African countries along the socialist lines. African countries which benefited from the Khrushchev aid policy were Ghana, Tanzania, Mali, Egypt and Guinea. The USSR economic aid to African countries in 1974 stood at 483 million US dollars. By 1979, it had reached 2,528 million US dollars. Military aid increased from 3,487 million US dollars in 1974 to 12,075 million US dollars in 1979. Most of Soviet aid went to support liberation struggles in Africa and to assist African socialist government to defend themselves against threats from capitalist puppets. The USSR signed *Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation* with five African countries namely Egypt (1971), Somalia (1974), Angola (1976), Mozambique (1977) and the Congo (1981).

The USA raised the alarm about the activities of the Soviet Union in Africa. It reacted by establishing military bases in Mombasa, Kenya and airbase at Kitona in former Zaire to counter expansion of the communist ideology in Africa. The USA also allied with General Joseph Mobutu of Zaire and Jonas Savimbi of Angola to counter communist movements in their respective countries.

Activity 6.6

Use the knowledge gained from this section together with the knowledge you acquired from other sources to write an essay on the impact of communism on Africa and present your essay before the class. Use the ideas discussed in class to prepare your own notes.



Socialist practices in Africa

Several African nationalist leaders contemplated the idea of establishing African socialism as they were encouraged by the achievements of the USSR and China. Prominent among them were Julius Kambarage Nyerere (Tanzania), Modibo Keita (Mali), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Léopold Sedar Senghor (Senegal) and Ahmed Sékou Touré (Guinea). African socialism neither embraced the pure Marxist ideas, Russian and Chinese brands of socialism nor did it exhibit similar elements across African countries. African socialists appropriated the basic ideas of socialism that they thought were relevant to African societies.

Nyerere's socialism, for example, was based on what he called pre-colonial African communal life, a common feature of African socialism. It promoted the public sector and discouraged classes and class struggle. It also focused on promoting African identity which had suffered destruction under colonial regimes. Like the Chinese or Soviet Union socialism, African socialism favoured single party systems, with strong ruling revolutionary parties. It should be emphasized, however, that African socialist parties were not typical vanguard parties as those formed in the Soviet Union, China and Cuba.

Exercise 6.3

1. Account for the rise of the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949
2. Analyse the impacts of the Communist Revolution in China.
3. Describe the trend of the Sino-American relations since 1949.

Tanzania's socialist experiment (1967-1985)

Tanzanian brand of socialism, which is widely known as Nyerere's socialism or *Ujamaa* was the brainchild of the First President of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999). Following the attainment of independence in 1961, Tanzania inherited the colonial economy which was capitalist-oriented. The economy was based on private ownership of plantations, industries and financial institutions. This type of economy remained almost undisturbed until 1967 when the Arusha Declaration instituted nationalization of foreign capital, which marked the beginning of socialism in Tanzania.



The Arusha Declaration came under the then Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the political party that led the country to its independence. The Arusha Declaration as an ideology and a socialist policy document came out through the National Executive Committee (NEC) of TANU on 5th February, 1967. The document highlighted major reforms of the Tanzanian economy, leadership and ideological orientation. It comprised five important sections, namely (1) The TANU Creed, (2) The Policy of Socialism, (3) The Policy of Self-Reliance, (5) TANU membership and (5) The Arusha Resolution. Each of these sections addressed important socialist ideas of TANU. The main objective of the Arusha Declaration is reflected in the following famous text of the document:

We have been suppressed a great deal; we have been exploited a great deal; and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weaknesses that have led our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. We now intend to bring about a revolution which will ensure that we are never again victims of these things.

The first section of the document of the Arusha Declaration, the TANU creed, laid down different socialist principles as follows:

- (a) That all human beings are equal;
- (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;
- (c) That every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in government at local and national level;
- (d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief, and of association within the context of the law;
- (e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;
- (f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
- (g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust of their descendants;
- (h) That to ensure economic justice the state must have effective control over the principal means of production; and
- (i) It is the responsibility of the state to intervene in the economic life of the nation to ensure the well-being of all citizens and to prevent the exploitation



of one person by another, and to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

The implementation of the Arusha Declaration proceeded almost immediately after it was discussed in Arusha from 26th to 29th January, 1967 and was officially announced by Julius Nyerere in Dar es Salaam on 5th February, 1967. Several socialist-related policies were adopted such as nationalization, villagization and self-reliance. By 1974, more than 10,000 Ujamaa villages had been established in different parts of the country, thanks to the villagization policy. The government nationalized most private institutions, industries and plantations. As a result, the public sector expanded. In an effort to reform education sector in 1967, the government adopted the policy called Education for Self Reliance (ESP). The policy emphasized the philosophy of skill-oriented education. There was also the Musoma Resolution of 1974 which introduced free, compulsory and universal primary education.

The government established a National Development Cooperation (NDC), which took control of various business enterprises. This resulted in the establishment of different government parastatals such as the National Milling Corporation, Regional Trade Corporations, and Air Tanzania Corporation. Several government-owned textile industries were established such as URAFIKI, Sungura, MWATEX and MUTEX. The industrial sector adopted the policy of Small Industrial Development Organization (SIDO) to promote processing industries in the country. Other parastatals were TANESCO, TAFICO (Tanzania Fishing Corporation), NARCO (National Ranching Corporation), and STC (State Trading Corporation).

To establish the socialist administrative structures, the government embarked on decentralizing its activities. Local communities were empowered to decide on various matters affecting their lives. Local government leaders were installed at village, ward, district and regional levels. This included the establishment of the famous Ten-cell leadership. Decentralization of power, in addition to adoption of Kiswahili as the national language, played the major role in strengthening national unity. In fact, Nyerere's socialism had profound impacts on the Tanzanian economy and politics. By the mid-1970s, the country had recorded tremendous improvement in industrial and agricultural sectors. Records also show that the implementation of *Ujamaa* policies increased the level of literacy and decreased mortality rates. However, between the late 1970s and early 1980s, the country's economy was damaged by natural disasters (such as droughts which affected agricultural production), neo-colonialism and Cold War.



The final blow came when the country's economy was completely disrupted by the World Oil Crisis of the 1970s and the Tanzania-Uganda war of 1978/79. By the early 1980s, the socialist economy that had thrived in the country was indeed in deep crisis.

Exercise 6.4

1. Discuss the essence of the Arusha Declaration.
2. Using Ujamaa as a case study, compare and contrast between European and African socialism.
3. Analyse the principles of Ujamaa and Self-Reliance in Tanzania.
4. Discuss the significance of Ujamaa policy in Tanzania.
5. Elaborate the main objectives of the Arusha Declaration.
6. Examine the practices of socialism in Tanzania from the 1960s to the 1980s.
7. Discuss the reasons for the failure of Ujamaa and Self-Reliance in Tanzania.

Collapse of the Communist World

The Russian and Chinese socialist revolutions ushered in the formation of what can be referred to as the communist world bloc. The communist world was actually made up of different countries from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America which were either Russian or Chinese allies. The creation of the communist world was geared towards containing the spread of imperialism. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was an organization of 15 socialist states (Communist Bloc) such as Russia, Estonia, Belarus, Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. Formed in December 1922, Communist Bloc was also a military alliance uniting all socialist countries under the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union invested its resources-human, material and financial to spread socialism in the world. In order to deter threats from the capitalist bloc and its military wing of NATO that was established in 1949, the Soviet Union established the Warsaw Pact in 1955. The communist world remained strong until the early 1990s when it finally collapsed. Its collapse was a result of a number of factors.

The coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985 with his economic and political reforms weakened the socialist foundation of the economy. The implementation of his ideas of *Perestroika* (restructuring) and *Glasnost* (openness) to salvage the economy and



to change the political system of USSR led to the adoption of liberal policies which weakened the Soviet Union, on one hand, and encouraged other socialist republics all over the world to follow suit on the other. Gorbachev also favoured multi-party politics over single-party systems, weakening in the process the political structure of the Soviet Union and influencing other socialist republics to do the same. Consequently, several socialist republics declared themselves independent from the Soviet Union. Examples were Lithuania, Belarus, Estonia, Moldova, Poland and the Baltic republics.

Another factor was the economic crisis of the Soviet Union, during the 1970s and 1980s. There were no hopes of stabilizing it. As the chief exporter of oil and natural gas, for example, the Soviet Union recorded decline in prices of these products, beginning in the mid-1970s. Evidence shows that the world price of oil fell from \$120 a barrel in 1980 to \$24 in 1986. Besides this problem, the Soviet Union participated in the Korean and Vietnam wars, which depleted its financial resources. Military spending in the communist world was high. The Soviet Union alone spent 10 to 20 per cent of its GDP on military projects. Consequently, the socialist countries became weak due to high government expenditure relative to the capitalist countries.

Moreover, the rise of dictatorship in Europe led to the collapse of the communist empire. The aggressiveness of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, for example, created unfavourable conditions for further development of the Russian and Chinese versions of socialism in Europe. Nazism, for example, was based on a new type of socialism called *National Socialism* which advocated for the protection of national interests of individual countries over those of the larger socialist world.

The socialist system experienced events which destroyed its image in the world, thereby losing its popularity. For example, the socialist economies failed to compete with the capitalist economies. Overreliance on the public sector created inconveniences which plunged the socialist economies into economic crisis. Comparatively, scientific innovations were limited in the socialist countries. Another serious event which challenged the stability of the socialist system was the explosion of the Chernobyl Nuclear power plant on 26th April, 1986 in Ukraine, which was by then part of the Soviet Union. This nuclear accident challenged the socialist countries' ability to handle nuclear technology. The event was interpreted by capitalist countries as a sign of weakness and, therefore, a failure of the socialist system generally. Although the Soviet Union tried to cover up the real causes of the explosion, the event destroyed the reputation of the communist world in handling nuclear technologies.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was perhaps the most important symbolic event which marked the end of the communist world and finally the Cold War. The communist



government of the then German Democratic Republic (GDR) or (East Germany) started to build the Berlin Wall on 13th August, 1961 to prevent interaction between the East communist Germans and West capitalist Germans. The wall remained intact until 9th November, 1989 when the communist government of East Germany ordered it be removed for East Germans to enter West Germany freely.

The aftermath of the collapse of socialism

The disintegration of the Soviet Union on 25th December, 1991 marked the end of the Cold War, which had started after the Second World War. Tension between the capitalist bloc and the socialist bloc came to an end. Hence, the world power system changed from bipolar to unipolar, with the USA becoming the leading superpower in the world. However, recent studies suggest that the hegemonic position of the USA is likely to be challenged by other powers such as China whose economies are growing very fast.

The disintegration of Soviet Union gave rise to nationalistic movements in Eastern Europe where most Baltic States, like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, struggled to establish their own republics shaped by capitalist ideologies. In Germany, the fall of the Berlin Wall led to the reunification of East and West Germany in October 1990.

The collapse of the USSR improved the political and diplomatic relations between the USA and Russia federation. Within Europe, the collapse of the socialist world strengthened the European Union as Europe became more united. In 1993, for example, a single market was launched in Europe allowing free movement of goods, people, services and money. The two powers agreed to withdraw military forces in areas of conflicts and agreed to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In Africa, the end of the communist world marked transition from the single-party system to a multi-party system. Many African countries were forced to restructure their economies and politics along capitalist lines. Beginning in the early 1990s, therefore, most African countries adopted liberal policies such as privatization and multiparty politics.



Revision exercise 6

1. With concrete examples, trace the rise of socialism in Europe.
2. Analyse the salient features of socialism.
3. Examine the principles of utopian socialism.
4. Show the contributions of utopian socialists like Thomas More, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen to the emergence of socialist societies.
5. Account for the transition from utopian to scientific socialism.
6. Show the weakness of the Russian Provisional government under Alexander Kerensky.
7. Analyse the role of the Bolshevik Party towards Socialist Revolution in Russia.
8. Evaluate the contribution of the Chinese feudal dynasty to the occurrence of Chinese Communist Revolution.
9. Compare and contrast the Russian and Chinese Socialist Revolution.
10. Analyse the trend of the Sino-American relations since 1949.
11. Account for the failure of the Ujamaa and Self-reliance Policy in Tanzania.
12. Do you think the Arusha Declaration of the 1967 is relevant to date? Give reasons to support your answer.
13. Argue for or against the contention that Nyerere's socialism was a replica of Western Marxism.
14. Examine the impact of the collapse of the USSR on the world.



Chapter Seven

The emergence of the USA as a new capitalist superpower

Introduction

The emergence of the United States of America (USA) as a new capitalist superpower and the collapse of the British capitalist hegemony, following the outbreak of the world wars, transformed socio-economic and political relations in the world. This chapter explains the major factors for the economic and political changes brought about by the rise of the USA as a new capitalist superpower and examines the economic challenges which resulted from these changes. The chapter shows how these changes affected Africa and the rest of the world. The issues discussed in this chapter will enable you to assess the position of the USA in the world economy and politics. The competencies developed will enable you to safeguard and appraise independence and economic development.



How did the USA economic position during the second half the 20th century remain unchallenged?

The factors which led to the decline of British capitalist supremacy

The emergence of the USA as the world's leading capitalist superpower came after the collapse of British capitalist supremacy. Britain's position as the leading capitalist world remained unchallenged until the early decades of the 20th century. By the late 19th century, capitalism in Europe had reached its highest stage of imperialism known as monopoly capitalism. The rise of monopoly capitalism enabled European imperial powers such as Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and Portugal to expand to other parts of the world, scrambling for colonies. As the first European nation to undergo industrial revolution, Britain emerged as the workshop of the world. By the 19th century, it had already been the leading capitalist power of the world. It enjoyed this status until the early decades of the 20th century. However, the pendulum swung back in the aftermath of the Second World War when the USA challenged the economic position of Britain. After the war, the USA emerged as a new superpower in the world. Several factors explain this shift of economic power from Britain to the USA.



The decline of the British capitalist supremacy in the world history was partly explained by the economic slump of the 1870s. This crisis resulted from the problems caused by Industrial Revolution such as overproduction and under consumption of manufactured goods. The crisis destabilised most of the British and the rest of European economies as trade and profits declined. Although the crisis affected both Europe and America, the latter came out of the crisis relatively stronger politically and economically. In Britain, as elsewhere in Europe, profit rates declined, unemployment soared, bank interest rates rose, and export and import trade declined.

Another disastrous event that affected the British economy was the outbreak of the Second World War. This war affected most of the British and European economies. All economic sectors were almost destroyed; physical infrastructure was damaged, and industrial production almost came to a standstill. Given the environment of warfare, export and import trade dwindled. The war also left Britain and other European powers heavily indebted to the USA. Consequently, the USA surpassed Britain in the growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). For instance, between 1938 and 1950, the British GDP was 1.5 less than that of the US, which was 4.6.

Independence of important colonies such as the British America, British India and the Gold Coast also contributed to the decline of the British capitalist supremacy. In this regard, the British lost its hegemony, following the decolonisation movements that followed the Second World War. During the 1960s, imperialist powers such as Britain, France and Portugal lost most of their colonies in Africa. The end of colonial rule meant that Britain as the leading capitalist power lost its important sources of raw materials, cheap labour, markets and areas for investment. The mounting pressure for decolonisation, beginning in the 1940s, was partly caused by the Atlantic Charter of 1941 which declared “the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.” The USA used this opportunity to campaign for its open-door policy.

Moreover, the financial policies pursued by the USA did more harm than good to European capitalism. During the early 1900s, for example, the USA enforced the Dollar Diplomacy in Latin America which strengthened its commercial position over the European powers. The policy was introduced by US President William Howard Taft and was intended to protect and extend the US commercial and financial interests in Latin America. The net result of the implementation of this policy was that Britain lost her commercial influence in places like Jamaica, Trinidad and the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Barbados, and the Bahamas.



Lastly, British capitalist supremacy was partly weakened by the rise of socialism in Eastern Europe. Following the Russian Revolution in 1917, socialist states sprung in the large part of Eastern Europe. Socialism challenged the position of capitalism in Britain and other parts of Western Europe. Although the spread of socialism was finally halted towards the end of the 20th century, it is certain that European capitalism had somehow lost its stable share of world market.

Activity 7.1



Guided by your history teacher, discuss in small groups the causes of the decline of British capitalist supremacy. Then, use the ideas to write a short essay.

Impacts of the decline of British capitalist supremacy

The immediate impact of decline of the British capitalist supremacy was the rise of the USA as the world superpower. The US economic ascendancy was attributed to several factors. The collapse of the British capitalist supremacy after the Second World War coincided with the rise of African liberation movements. The USA and the UN supported these movements much to the disadvantage of Britain and other European imperial powers. By the end of the 1960s, most of the African countries had attained their independence.

To rescue British and the European economies generally and, of course, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Soviet Union, the USA came up with what was called the Marshal Plan, named after the US Secretary of State, George C. Marshal. US President Harry Truman used the Marshal Plan as a strategy to extend financial and military support to European nations as the USA feared the danger of the spread of socialist ideologies in Europe. The idea was to help Britain and other European countries to recover from the economic destructions caused by the Second World War.

The decline of British capitalist supremacy led to two major developments in Africa. First, the imperial powers in Africa started huge agricultural projects which were expected to increase production of raw materials for their industries at home. In what is now Tanzania, the British colonial government introduced projects like groundnut and cotton schemes for this purpose. The post-war period generally saw the colonial states intensifying exploitation of African labour for rebuilding war-torn Europe. Second, with the intensification of production, colonial powers confronted a wave of nationalist movements pioneered by Africa elites.

In general, the end of colonial empires in African countries, which came with the collapse of British capitalist supremacy, not only allowed African countries to fight

for their freedom but also enabled the USA to access African resources and markets. This was achieved through the use of its transnational companies which came to invest in mining, agriculture and banking.

Activity 7.2



Read and discuss in groups the impacts of the decline of British capitalist supremacy. Then, prepare your own notes for revision.

Factors for the rise of US capitalist hegemony

The rise of US capitalist hegemony started during the period of mercantilism when America was under the British domination of the then 13 colonies. These British American colonies became independent on 4th July, 1776, following the successful American War of Independence. Records indicate that US capitalism grew rapidly in the aftermath of the American Civil War of 1861-1865. Generally, by the late 19th century, USA capitalism had reached its highest stage of monopoly capitalism. It continued to grow unabated throughout the 20th century. Table 7.1 shows that, between 1950 and 1996, the USA level of Real GDP was higher than those of other global powers.

Table 7.1: Levels of Real GDP Per Person in Selected Global Powers

	1900	1950	1996
United Kingdom	4,593	6,847	17,326
USA	4,114	9,617	23,719
West Germany	3,134	4,281	19,622
Russia	1,218	2,834	4,120
Japan	1,218	2,834	4,120

Source: *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* (1999:19).

The US achieved tremendous transformations of its industrial sector during the post-Second World War period. There were major improvements in industrial technologies and transport. Railway systems were modernised. Modern industries like those involved in production of automobile, petroleum, complex organic and inorganic chemicals, ships, arms and aircraft had been established by the mid-20th century. Several factors contributed to the USA's industrial hegemony.



The first factor was the two world wars which were never fought in the US soil. The US participated in the First and Second World Wars, but the impacts of the wars on its economy were relatively insignificant. The reasons were obvious. During the war times, the US supplied arms to the warring countries. Accordingly, it accumulated wealth in the form of foreign income. Evidence shows that, during the war, the number of military factories increased over civilian factories. Moreover, the US, politically stable as it was, emerged the chief supplier of food and other commodities to its European allies during the war. For example, statistics indicate that the US economy was significantly growing during the First World War. American industrial production between 1914 and 1917 rose by 32 per cent. Increasing demand for steel, which was an important raw material for weapon production in Europe, led to the growth of American steel industries. A good example was the Bethlehem Steel Industry which supplied large amounts of steel to European countries and produced most of the guns needed by the US government during the war.

Secondly, the USA had abundant natural resources for its booming industries. The country possessed mineral resources, such as iron and coal. Besides, it had large rivers that were used for producing hydroelectric power. The US was also rich in natural harbours, forests and labour. The US industrial sector could, therefore, grow with marginal dependence on imported raw materials. These key factors for production facilitated the growth of the industrial sector.

Another factor is that the USA had reliable internal markets which acted as a catalyst for technological innovations. Its strong domestic markets promoted mass production which was achieved through investment in research and development. Unfortunately, the US technologies during the second half of the 19th century could not easily diffuse to Europe; they were incompatible with European technologies. Moreover, the US charged high tariffs for imported products to limit European nations' access to the US market.

The Marshal Plan of 1947 also contributed to the rise of the US as the leading global capitalist power. With this Plan, the USA extended over \$ 13 billion to western European powers as grants and loans that had to be paid with interest. The interest rate for the loans offered under the Marshal Plan was 2.5 per cent. The Plan strengthened the dollar currency as all imports from Western Europe had to be paid using the American banking systems. Consequently, the USA accumulated much wealth through the interests recovered from payment of loans, and it was receiving high values of exports and imports because of the dominance of their dollar currency. The top recipient of the loans offered under the Marshal Plan rescue programme was the United Kingdom, followed by France and Italy. After recovering from economic



crisis, Western Europe became a large US trading partner. The Marshal Plan, apart from reviving western European industrial and agricultural sectors, it prevented the spread of communism from USSR to western Europe.

Additionally, the adoption of the isolation policy of 1796 partly enabled the USA to be world superpower. In this regard, the isolation idea of President George Washington largely consolidated the US economy. The policy prohibited the American government from participating in European political affairs, such as the French revolutionary wars. The policy also enabled the USA to concentrate in developing its domestic economy. Also, during the inter war period, 1919-1939, the US adopted isolationism. It did not interfere with the growth of fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan, viewing it as a problem of Western Europe and Japan.

American isolationism was actually grounded on the idea that the US could peacefully promote freedom and democracy, thereby avoiding the European approach of using violence to achieve the same goal. In 1940, for example, influential US military officer Charles A. Lindbergh started the America First Committee (AFC), which campaigned for the US disengagement from the Second World War.

US capitalism was also rooted in her stable and well established political structure. For example, liberal democracy in America started before the Industrial Revolution. By the late 19th century, American society had already enjoyed decades of universal male suffrage. Provision of education was also widespread. These political and social developments enabled the country to develop good economic policies for its industrial development.

Another factor was the role of American dollar diplomacy, particularly during President William Howard Taft's reign. The American dollar diplomacy was a form of foreign policy to further US interests in Latin America and East Asia through economic power by guaranteeing loans to foreign countries. For example, the Taft administration intervened in a crisis in Nicaragua in 1912 to protect American investments. US companies invested in Brazil, Cuba, Argentina, Dominica, Jamaica and Haiti.

Activity 7.3

Conduct mini-library research on the following issues and prepare your notes for future use.



- (a) The technological and environmental foundations of US capitalism
- (b) The major political and economic factors for the rise of US capitalism



The impacts of the rise of US capitalist hegemony on the World

As already stated, the ascendancy of the USA as a global power hastened decolonisation in Latin America, Africa and Asia. This was achieved through the use of the Open-Door Policy whose major condition was decolonisation. In fact, the US interest in decolonisation was for it to access the resources and markets available in the colonies. The Open-Door Policy, also known as multilateralism, was the US strategy to access new areas for trade and investments all over the world.

The rise of the US as a superpower after the second world war marked the beginning of Cold War politics. The rise of Soviet Union as a rival power to the USA created tension between these two super powers. Each super power struggled to spread its ideology to different countries in the world as a means of winning allies. The War did not involve actual fighting, but it involved series of overt and covert moves and counter-moves between the USA and the USSR. Capitalist and Socialist ideological interests clashed in Europe, Asia and Africa. The Korean War of 1950-1953, Vietnam War of the 1960s to 1975 and wars of liberation in Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia were largely reinforced by Cold war politics.

The US continued to dominate the world economy and politics throughout the second half of the 20th century, although other nations such as Germany, France, Japan and China emerged as powerful nations. By the 1970s, the USA controlled almost a half of the world's manufacturing industries. The rise of US hegemony in world politics began soon after the end of the Second World War, though it became much stronger and apparent in the early 1990s, following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. One recent event which indicated the US political influence was its involvement in the liberation of Kuwait from Iraq's invasion in the 1990s. The UN collaborated with the US using modern warfare technologies such as 'smart bombs' to liberate Kuwait from Iraq's invasion in Desert Storm Operation in February 1991. Other similar events included the US leading role in combating terrorism in the world.

Exercise 7.1

Discuss the impact of the rise of US capitalist hegemony.

The US Economy between 1914 and 1949

The US economy between 1914 and 1949 generally experienced periods of growth and crisis. For instance, during the First World War, the US economy was growing due to the expansion of military industries. After the war, the US economy experienced a



brief period of depression of the early 1920s, and soon afterwards, it started to grow rapidly, hence the “Roaring Twenties.” The economy experienced another period of crisis, which started from 1929 to 1939. The severity of the Great Depression was intense from 1929 to 1933. In the late 1930s, the country managed to recover its economy. However, after the Second World War, the US and the USSR emerged as the giant economies of the world.

The Great Boom of the 1920s and its Impacts

The US economy generally boomed in the 1920s. During this period the American national wealth doubled between 1920 and 1929. Investments and employment increased tremendously. By 1929, the stock market had recorded unprecedented expansion. Modernisation of the industrial sector led to massive production of industrial products. The agricultural sector was also functioning well. Farmers received subsidies from the government to improve agricultural production.

However, the development of capitalist economies went hand in hand with falling rates of profits, which led to alternating periods of boom and crisis. Such problems happened towards the end of the 1920s in the US, when her economy started drifting into recession. The stock market, located on Wall Street in New York City, crashed and led to the occurrence of the Great Depression of 1929-1939. The crisis was partly caused by overproduction. The adoption of new methods of mass-production in automobile industries, for example, led to overproduction of vehicles. This was the case with the Ford Motor Company. In 1925, the company produced more vehicles than it could sell. Generally, unsold consumer goods accumulated in industries because of under-consumption. The end result of these events was the fall of industrial production and profit rates.

Besides, the US government failed to strike a balance between industrial and agricultural sectors. During the 1920s, more investments were directed to the industrial sector, neglecting the agricultural sector. Consequently, the US agricultural sector declined relative to the industrial sector. It also went through a period of crisis, following the persistent drought of the 1930s which hit such places as North Dakota, Texas, the Mississippi River Valley, Oklahoma, Colorado and Kansas. Many farmers failed to pay their taxes and debts. Most of the farmers sold their land, and, eventually, went bankrupt. Those who continued with production faced serious problems of wind erosion, dust storms and soil infertility. They were also frustrated by declining prices of crops which stemmed from the collapse of the industrial sector. This also meant



that food production declined because of the drought, which came to be known as the *Dust Bowl*.

Another impact of the above boom-induced economic crisis was a widening gap between the rich and the poor. Industrial owners were the richest class. Evidence shows that, in 1929, half of the corporate wealth of the US was owned by only 200 corporations. This huge imbalance of wealth distribution was unhealthy to the economy. The levels of poverty increased. The decline in wages and employment left many people impoverished. For example, between 1922 and 1929, the annual wage increment for industrial workers never exceeded 1.4 per cent. Consequently, a huge section of the Americans lived on charity. The tenants who could not afford to pay rent were evicted from their houses. The lack of income forced many people to buy industrial products on credit. By 1933, the unemployment crisis had already affected about 15 million Americans, which was equivalent to 24.9 per cent. In addition, malnutrition unprecedentedly increased by 20 per cent.

Activity 7.4



In groups of five students, explore literature on the factors for the Great Boom of the 1920s and the crisis that followed. Then, organize your findings into an essay or reading notes.

The New Deal

The New Deal is the name given to the reforms undertaken by US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to rescue the American economy from the Great Depression of the 1929-1933. The Democratic Party's regime came up with emergency Acts passed between 8th March and 16th June, 1933 to salvage the economy. The New Deal reforms were underpinned by the famous slogan: "What we have to fear is fear itself." The major aims of the New Deal were three, namely, relief, recovery and reform.

Regarding the relief strategy, the New Deal provided national grants to the economic sectors that were badly affected by the Great Depression. The government also provided relief payments to its citizens. For instance, it provided food and financial support to the majority of Americans whose lives were at stake. It was also a relief strategy to American banks, which were hit hard by the financial crisis of the Great Depression. For example, the government put in place Financial Recovery Acts to bail out the financial sector. In 1933, President Roosevelt signed the Emergency Banking Act which aimed at encouraging Americans to use bank services which had been suspended for a week. The suspension followed the increasing number of

people who were withdrawing money from the banks and keeping them at home fearing the soaring depression. Relief in the agricultural sector involved enacting of the Farmers' Relief Act of 1933 that encouraged co-operative marketing of farm produce. The Act also addressed the problem of soil erosion among others. This also went hand in hand with the establishment of agricultural projects on the Tennessee River Valley (See Figure 7.1). The projects covered around 1000 kilometres of the river valley where 21 dams were constructed.

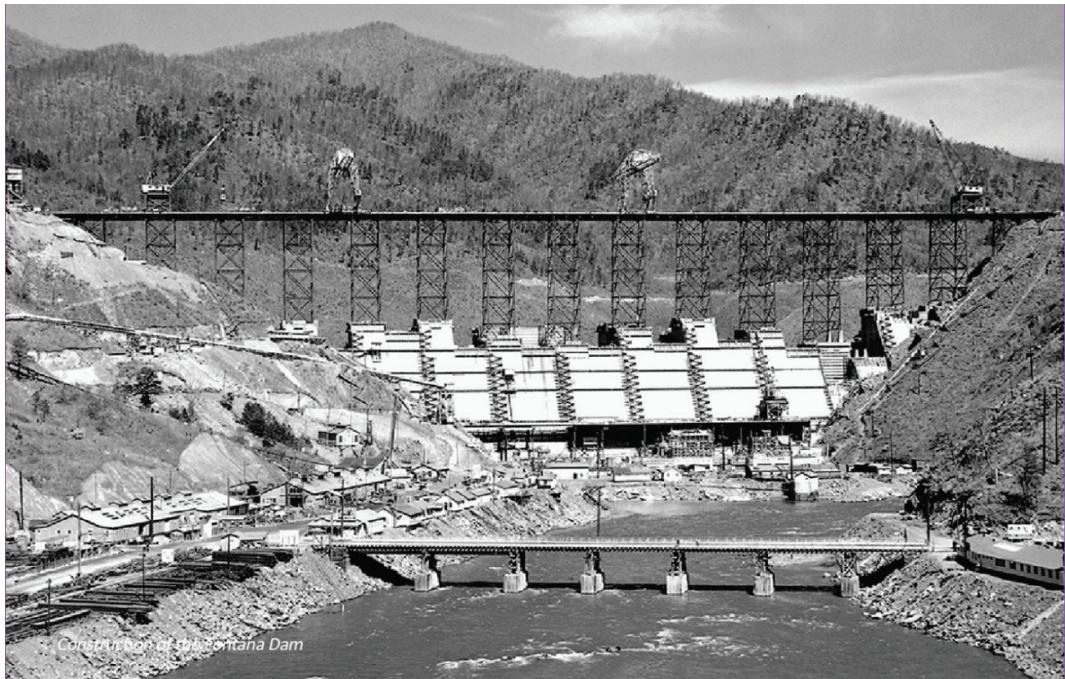


Figure 7.1: One of the US Dam projects in the Tennessee Valley

Source: <https://www.timetoast.com/timelines/new-deal-programs-a15233c6-53ce-45c5-8c3d-3cb5eb04a11d>

Concerning the recovery strategy, the New Deal implemented economic policies which would recover the US economy. The government adopted fiscal and regulatory policies to resolve the economic problems which resulted from the Great Depression of the 1930s. The policies addressed, among others, unemployment issues, which had exceeded 20 per cent by 1932. The New Deal resolved to control prices and wages and to stimulate production. Examples of programmes or policies which were introduced to achieve these goals were the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the National Recovery Administration, National Labour Relations Acts/Boards, as well as National Industrial Recovery Act.



As for the reform strategy, the New Deal focused on reforming industrial, financial, agricultural and transport sectors. To achieve these goals, the government provided funds for the construction of highways, land reclamation, flood control and improved water transport and transportation. Concerning the financial sector, the federal government regulated commercial banks and financial markets. To resolve the challenge of unemployment, it came up with the National Employment Service and the Social Security Act. The Civilian Conservation Corps of 1933 also established rural conservation projects which employed those who were jobless, especially young men aged between 18 and 25. By 1940, these projects had benefited around 2.5 million people.

The New Deal also reformed the structure of the American government. The reforms affected the structure, function and size of the government. The national government was further strengthened. For example, there was a clear coordination of activities involving fiscal and financial issues at national, state and local levels.

Impacts of the New Deal

The reform and relief projects stabilized the problem of unemployment in the USA. Statistics indicate that the number of the unemployed decreased from 15 to 7.7 million between 1933 and 1937 respectively. The New Deal came with major government reforms which favoured state control of the economy. Government intervention in regulating the capitalist market economy was highly encouraged.

The implementation of the New Deal programmes saw the burgeoning of the government expenditure to unprecedented levels. For instance, the level of public expenditure before 1934 was less than 35 per cent, but it had reached 52 per cent by the 1950s. The expansion of the public sector in turn led to the rise of government share from less than 10 per cent in 1913 to 16 per cent in 1932. The percentages kept increasing in the subsequent years. Economically, the New Deal marked the beginning of a new fiscal policy of extending grants to public projects such as those focusing on education, security, roads, sanitation, welfare and hospitals.

Activity 7.5

Formulate small groups to research and present on the following key issues:



- The aims of the New Deal Plan
- The impacts of the New Deal on the USA
- The lessons drawn from the New Deal for African countries

Use the findings to prepare a paper for a classroom presentation.



The US Economy during and after the Second World War

The US economy grew rapidly during and after the Second World War. The US manufacturing industries controlled 25 per cent of the world market. The USA emerged from the war economically stronger due to wartime industrial expansion. The USA became a leading industrial power in manufacturing industries, financial and banking services, military technology, air space and outer space technologies.

During the Cold War era, the USA worked to protect its economic interests and those of its allies against threats from the Soviet Union. American aid to Europe through the Economic Recovery Program (ERP) or the Marshall Plan strengthened its economic influence on the world. The plan played a major role in economic recovery of Western Europe in the 1950s. Western Europe became the main trading partner of the USA throughout the Cold War era. Using the Marshall Plan the USA issued aid and grants to the western European nations to counter the spread of socialism and to protect its ideological and economic interests in various parts of the world, including Africa.

The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 held in the USA confirmed the hegemonic position of the USA in influencing international economic affairs. The Bretton Woods institutions, like the IMF and the World Bank, became responsible for regulating international monetary relations, financial systems as well as financing development in different countries. Her position continued to be that of a giant economy. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union early in the 1990s, the economic position of USA in the world has remained almost unchallenged.

Beginning in the 1990s, the US played a major role in carrying out the UN sanctioned peace operations in various parts of the world and in fighting wars against terrorism.

Activity 7.6

Use the library facility available at your school to research on the following issues:



- The US influence on the world economy and politics after 1945
- The US strategy to salvage European capitalist economies
- The US influence on African liberation movements

Then, present your findings to the class for discussion.



The USA-Japan relations during and after the Second World War

The US-Japan relations during the second half of the 20th century went through periods of tensions, reforms, and cooperation. During the Second World War, the US relation with Japan was that of military confrontation in the Pacific war front. The end of the war marked the new period of political reforms in Japan. The reforms were influenced by the allied forces with the US taking the leading role. After 1952, diplomatic relations between the US and Japan started to develop. The following section takes you through this important history of the diplomatic relations between the USA and Japan and their impacts on the world politics and economy.

The developed relations between the USA and Japan after the Second World War

The imperial relations between the USA and Japan during and after the Second World War is explained in four major phases. The first phase involved the early efforts to suppress the Japanese fascist forces after they had attacked the Pearl Harbour in Hawaii on 7th December, 1941.

In this first phase, the USA led her Allies in conducting war operations to suppress the Japanese forces in what came to be known as the Pacific War. Japan's troubles with the USA started when Japanese forces attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbour in Hawaii on 7th December, 1941. The US soon joined the Pacific War, determined to force Japan to surrender lest the country be bombed by newly invented US atomic bombs. Japanese refusal of this ultimatum forced the US to drop two atomic bombs in August 1945: one in Hiroshima and the other in Nagasaki. An estimate of 3 million people died from the bombings. The resultant terrifying and horrifying experiences forced Japan to surrender on 2nd September, 1945. Figure 7.2 illustrates the devastating impacts of the atomic bombings in Japan.



Figure 7.2: The devastating impacts of the atomic bombings in Japan

Source: <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/world-war-ii-after-the-explosion-of-the-atom-bomb-in-august-news-photo/566461855>

After the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, the United States led her Allies in the occupation and reconstruction of Japan. This marked the second phase which involved reconstruction of war-torn Japan. Between 1945 and 1952, the US occupying forces, led by General Douglas A. MacArthur, came up with major reforms in Japan. In September 1945, General Douglas MacArthur took charge of the Supreme Command of Allied Powers (SCAP) and began the work on rebuilding Japan. Although Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China had an advisory role as part of the “Allied Council”, MacArthur was instrumental in the deal.

There were fundamental political and economic reforms of the Japanese government and the economy. The Allied forces had the Japanese war criminals tried in Tokyo, and also the Japanese Army dissolved. Former Japanese military officers were banned from taking roles in political leadership in the new government. The SCAP introduced land reforms designed to benefit most tenant farmers and reduce the power of rich landowners; most of whom had advocated war and supported the Japanese imperial expansion. MacArthur also introduced economic policies to create a Japanese free market economy. MacArthur tried to break up the large Japanese business conglomerates called *Zaibatsu*, as part of the effort to transform the economy



onto free country and free market capitalist systems. Politically, by 1947, allied advisors had established a new constitution of Japan which reduced the power of the Japanese Emperor from being a political leader to a ceremonial leader. In so doing, a parliamentary system was established. Article 9 of the new Japanese constitution denied Japan the right to declare war. Efforts were also made to extend political rights to women and to less privileged people. These groups were formerly undermined politically.

Between 1947 and the late 1950s, the Japanese economy entered a third phase of commercial relations with the US. During this period, Japan faced the challenge of economic crisis which coincided with the looming danger of diffusion of socialist ideology in Japan. This period is sometimes called the “reverse course”, a phase in which more efforts were taken to rescue the Japanese economy. The SCAP were concerned that the weak economy of Japan would invite internal movements towards a socialist revolution. Policies were formulated to address the fiscal challenges the country was facing, especially those involving taxation and inflation issues. The major challenge was the shortage of raw materials for the Japanese industries and markets for her industrial products. The third phase of Japanese-American relations ended with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty on 8th September, 1951. The treaty officially ended the occupation of Japan by the Allied forces. The treaty came in effect on 28th April, 1952, when Japan was officially declared independent.

The fourth phase was the post-independence phase, from 1951 to the present. After independence, diplomatic relations between the two countries began to develop. Trading relations between Japan and the US began effectively though it faced challenges of trade imbalances, resulting from their unequal balance of trade. Attempts were made to resolve these challenges during the 1960s, but to no avail. During the 1970s, trading restrictions continued to thrive between the two countries. Trade and budget deficits of the early 1980s led to a series of decisions that called for major reforms of exchange rates between the two countries.

By the early 1970s, the diplomatic relations between the two countries had also focused on security issues. The USA urged Japan to participate in maintaining peace and security in the region. In 1976, the USA and Japan formerly established a sub-committee for defence cooperation, called the Bilateral Security Consultative Committee. With the end of the USA military operations in Asia, following the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the USA allied with Japan on security matters in the region. The USA strategically established military bases at Okinawa in Japan to prevent the spread of socialism during the Cold War. The two countries formed a



military alliance to cooperate on issues of defence and military training. Throughout the Cold War era, the threat of the Soviet Union forced the Japanese and the USA governments to strengthen their military cooperation.

During the 1990s, as in the preceding decades, trading relations between the two countries faced challenges of import and export restrictions. The USA restricted import of some products from Japan, like steel. At the same time, Japan restricted import of beef and oranges from the USA. However, trading relations between the two countries improved towards the end of the 20th century. By the 1990s, for instance, the USA had become the largest Japanese economic partner, taking 31.5 per cent of its exports, supplying 22.3 per cent of its imports, and accounting for 45.9 per cent of its direct investment. In 2013, the US export to and import from Japan stood at 18 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively.

Activity 7.7



Read around the USA-Japan relations, considering the following aspects:

- Identify the USA-Japan relations of the 1940s and 1990s.
- Analyse the impacts of the USA-Japan relations on economy and security.

Present your findings to the class for discussion.

The impact of US relations with Japan after the Second World War

The USA-Japan commercial and military relations had various impacts on the world economy. The recovery of Japanese economy in the 1950s enabled it to be a major US trading partner not only in Asia but also in the world. Again, the US aid to Japan and their trading relations facilitated the reconstruction of the Japanese economy which had been destroyed in the Second World War. The US aid to Japan amounted to 120 billion dollars between 1940 and 1958, as part of economic rehabilitation programme.

In 2012, the two giant economies accounted for over 30 per cent of world domestic product, which is calculated based on the international trade value of goods and services. The two countries are closely connected in terms of trade and services and in terms of capital flows. The US values of import from Japan increased from 57.7 million dollars in 1998 to 65.5 million dollars in 2013. The US exports increased from 122 million dollars in 1998 to 138.5 million dollars in 2013.



The economic powers of Japan and the USA were undergoing sweeping change, especially in the 1980s. This change went well beyond the implications of the United States trade deficit with Japan, which had remained between US\$40 billion and US\$48 billion annually since the mid-1980s. The stronger Japanese currency enabled Japan to purchase more US goods and to invest in the USA. By the late 1980s, Japan was the main international creditor.

The historical relationship between the US and Japan explains the political transformation the latter experienced soon after the Second World War. As already explained earlier, the development of a democratic constitution in Japan allowed the formation of opposition political parties such as the Democratic Party, under Hatoyama Ichiro. Another party which rose from the US influence was called the Liberal Party, under Yoshida Shigeru.

The US-Japan relations also transformed Japan militarily and politically. As noted previously, the US established military bases in Japan, resulting in the diffusion of American military technology to Japan. With the assistance of the US, Japan expanded her land force and modernised her navy and air forces in 1954.

Another important impact of the US-Japan economic relations is the Japanese decision to support the idea of establishing the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement in 2013 of which the US was a member. On 12 April, 2013 after a series of informal bilateral discussions with Japan, the US government supported Japan's request to join TPP. In this same year, Japan was registered as a member of the TPP. The aim of TPP was to check the rapid growth of China as global power.

Revision exercise 7

1. Assess the factors for the decline of British capitalist supremacy.
2. Explain the impacts of the decline of British capitalist supremacy on the world economy.
3. Examine the major factors for the ascendancy of the US as the world's leading capitalist power.
4. Explain the relations that developed between the USA and Japan after the Second World War.



5. Assess the impacts of the US-Japan economic and military relations.
6. Why do you think it is historically correct to link the US hegemonic economic position with the world wars?
7. Assess the impacts of the rise of USA capitalist dominance on the world.
8. How was Africa affected by the rise of the USA as the World superpower?
9. Account for impact of the Great Economic Depression of 1932-1939 on Africa.
10. What was new about the New Deal?
11. Discuss the objectives and impacts of the New Deal.
12. What do you think were the impacts of the Marshall Plan?
13. Briefly explain the forms of relations that developed between the US and Japan from the 1940s to 1990s.
14. What were major motives behind the US occupation of Japan in 1945.



Chapter Eight

Threats to the world peace after the Second World War

Introduction

The end of the Second World War (WWII) marked the beginning of a new era of critical hostile relations and tensions between the communist bloc under the Soviet Union and the capitalist bloc, under the USA. These rival powers competed against each other in propaganda, economic development, political ideologies and military technologies worldwide. The communist bloc advocated the spread of communism, while the Western Capitalist bloc advocated the spread of capitalism in the world. In this chapter, you will learn about the Cold War, Nuclear Arms Race, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the creation of the state of Israel and the Palestinian problem. These processes and crises threatened world peace and security. The competencies developed will enable you to assess the factors which threaten world peace and security and possible strategies for addressing them.



- (a) How did nationalist movements contribute to economic and political development in Africa?
- (b) How can we safeguard our national independence in the post-cold war period?

The concept of the Cold War

The concept of Cold War is used to explain hostile ideological differences that emerged after the Second World War between the Eastern Socialist Bloc, led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and the Western Capitalist Bloc, led by the USA. It started from 1945 and began to decline towards the end of the 1980s. The manifestation of this decline included the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

The Cold War resulted from the growing influence of the two world superpowers in the international politics. This influence culminated into the tensions that threatened world peace and security. The war manifested itself into intense Cold War politics



and propaganda, armament and military alliances, proliferation of nuclear arms and missiles, *Coup d'état* and the civil wars in different countries. Therefore, after the end of the Second World War tensions mounted between capitalist and socialist world.

Peace and threats are two opposite concepts. The former refers to the state of harmony that exists between or among individuals, societies and nations. A peaceful society does not have chaos, conflicts, disharmony and armed fighting. The latter refers to a harmful or dangerous situation that exists between or among individuals, societies or nations, which may lead to outbreaks of wars. The existence of conflicts, tensions, arms race and military alliances is potential threat to world peace and security.

Between 1945 and 1948, the USSR drew into its orbit most of Eastern European states like Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. In contrast, the USA hastened the alliance with Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and Canada. Countries which had no formal commitment to either bloc were considered to be neutral. Within the Third World it was referred to as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which was formed in 1955 during the Bandung Conference in Indonesia.

During the heyday of the Cold War, whatever agenda that was pursued by one bloc was seen by another bloc as having aggressive motives. This tension brought a long range of rivalries between the two world superpowers which manifested in military coalitions, ideology, psychology and espionages. As a result, proxy wars and repeated crises, notably the Korean War (1950-1954), the Soviet-Afghanistan War (1979-1989) and the Israel-Palestine Conflict (1948), emerged in the world.

The ideological hostility between the USA and the Soviet Union (USSR) had its root in the Russian Socialist Revolution of October 1917 which set up the World's first communist government and established the Soviet Union in 1922. Since then, most capitalist states under the USA became suspicious of the Soviet Union. After the Russian Revolution, they were afraid that communism would spread to their countries. They feared that the spread of communism would end the private ownership of properties and threaten capitalists (the bourgeoisie) who monopolized the wealth of the world at the expense of the majority (peasants and workers). Communism was also a threat to liberal democracy practiced by western capitalist nations.

Therefore, the capitalist states kept a close watch over Russian political trends. When a civil war broke out in Russia in 1918, for example, several capitalist states like the USA, Britain, France and Japan sent troops to Russia to help the anti-communist forces against V.I. Lenin (Russian socialist president) who was then considered to be the greatest enemy. Although communists won the war, they were convinced that



there would be another attempt by capitalist powers to destroy communism in Russia. The German invasion of Russia in 1941 proved it. Accordingly, both capitalist and socialist blocs began to plan for defensive mechanisms by establishing spy networks. Examples of these networks were the Communist Information Bureau for the Soviet Union (COMINFORM) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for the USA. In addition, the USA formed NATO in 1949 as a tool for safeguarding Western Europe from communism and Russian imperialism. The USSR reacted by forming the Warsaw Pact in 1955 to safeguard Eastern Europe from capitalism and American imperialism. In space exploration, Russia managed to send the first Satellite-Sputnik to the moon in 1957 and later sent Pioneer V Satellite Lurk II and III in October 1959. The USA responded by sending its satellite to the moon in 1961. Each superpower conducted these activities as a strategy to surpass and threaten the other by showcasing their respective technological capabilities.

Causes of the Cold War

The emergence of communism after the successful Russian Socialist Revolution in 1917 laid the foundation for ideological differences or clashes between communism and capitalism. The Soviet Union expanded communism to Eastern European countries. The expansion of communism posed a serious threat to the western capitalist powers because it challenged capitalist ideology and freedom of private ownership of property. Consequently, the western capitalist leaders, like President Harry S. Truman, introduced the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan to stop the spread of communism. For example, the USA suppressed the Greece Socialist Revolution in 1949. Similarly, Germany sent troops to crush communism in Russia in 1941. Such invasions and conspiracy triggered the socialist nations to develop hostile relation against the capitalist nations, hence the emergence of Cold War.

The Cold War was also associated with the Russian expansionist motives pursued by Joseph Stalin to occupy territories in Eastern Europe, where Russia had driven out German armies during and after the Second World War. This expansionism was an attempt to spread and strengthen communist regimes in socialist states like Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Eastern Germany. Stalin's policy alarmed western powers under the USA. In response, they devised strategies to frustrate and stop Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe and the world at large. These efforts increased mistrust and tensions between the capitalist and socialist blocs.

As mistrust and tensions mounted, the world superpowers embarked on military projects like the manufacturing of more sophisticated and deadly weapons in preparation for



actual war. The USA secretly developed the atomic bomb in 1945. It was generally felt that the USA was the strongest nation due to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To Stalin, the bombing of Japan was a warning to the USSR and a proof that the USA and Britain were still eager to destroy communism. Responding to this, Russia made a similar atomic bomb in 1949. America reacted by manufacturing its Anti-Ballistic Missiles which set the Cold War in motion.

The escalation of military alliance systems further promoted Cold War politics in the world. Alliances were formed to address the growing fear, mistrust, and tensions between the rival powers. In 1949, the USA allied with other Western powers like Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherland, Canada, Denmark, Poland, Norway, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Turkey to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO became a military and strategic tool to safeguard Western Europe from communism. In response to the formation of the NATO, the USSR allied with Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Eastern Germany under the Warsaw Pact in 1955 to safeguard Eastern Europe from capitalism and American imperialism. The alliance system in the form of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact divided Europe into two hostile and antagonistic camps. These camps intensified Cold War politics.

The selfish interests of the big powers at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences held consecutively after the Second World War significantly contributed to the development of the Cold War. The Yalta Conference held in Russia in February 1945 was attended by three allied leaders Joseph Stalin (Russia), Franklin Roosevelt (the USA) and Winston Churchill (Britain) to discuss the fate of Germany after the Second World War. They agreed to divide Germany into four zones of occupation under Russia, America, Britain and France. The trouble came over the issue of Poland in which Roosevelt and Churchill rejected Stalin's demands that Poland should be given all German territories of rivers Oder and Neisse. Subsequently, no agreement on the issue of Poland was reached during the Yalta Conference.

Disagreement between the two sides in the Yalta Conference led to the Potsdam Conference of July 1945 in Germany. This conference was attended by three leaders, namely Joseph Stalin, Harry S. Truman (replacing Roosevelt who died in April 1945) and Clement Attlee (the British Prime Minister after Winston Churchill). Once again, no agreement was reached on the issues of Poland at the Potsdam Conference. The allied powers agreed to divide Germany on the ideological basis. The western parts of Germany became a capitalist zone under the USA, Britain and France, and it was known as West Germany. The eastern parts of Germany became a communist zone under the USSR, and it was known as East Germany or the German Democratic



Republic. The Allies also shared Berlin (the capital city of Germany) although it fell entirely within East Germany. Accordingly, Berlin was divided into West Berlin (comprising of the American Sector, the British Sector and the French Sector) and East Berlin (the Russian Sector). From October 1961, West Berlin and East Berlin became separated by the Berlin Wall which remained a symbol of the Cold War and a divided Germany until November 1989.

Few days after the Potsdam Conference, the USSR expanded and influenced Eastern European countries to set up pro-communist governments in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania. Stalin further frightened the capitalist bloc by his February 1946 speech in which he stated that “communism and capitalism could never live peacefully together” and that future world wars were inevitable until the final victory of communism was to be achieved. Churchill responded to this in his famous “Iron Curtain Speech” of March 1946 in Fulton, Missouri (USA) when he remarked that “from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent”. He claimed that the Soviets were bent on indefinite expansion of their power and doctrine and called for western alliance which would stand firm against the communist threat. Russia received this message hysterically revealing its fear about Germany and the need to strengthen Soviet security. These statements escalated the East-West tensions that characterised the Cold War era.

The Cold War crisis was used as an advantage by the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, to spread their political ideologies under the umbrella of Economic Recovery Programmes (ERP). For example, the USA under President Truman announced the Marshall Plan in June 1947 which was coordinated by George Marshall (the American Secretary of the State by that time) to offer economic and financial aid to fight hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos in Europe. In reality, however, its main aim was to fight against the spread of communism in Western Europe. The Marshall Plan aimed to use over 13 billion US dollars as aid to Western Europe to protect it from the Soviet influence. Soviet Union's Foreign Affair Minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, denounced the whole idea of the Marshall Plan as nothing but “dollar imperialism.” He saw the Marshall Plan as a blatant American device for gaining control over Western Europe. The USSR countered the Marshall Plan by initiating its own version of a plan, known as the Molotov Plan. In the process, USSR established the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) for all socialist states in the world.

The United Nations' intervention in the international relations between the Soviet Union and the USA was marked by a poor diplomatic strategy to curb the political tension in the world. The UN as an international organization failed to stop the ideological hostility between the two superpowers. Instead, the two powers took



advantage of their permanent membership in the UN-Security Council to show up their superiority over one another. They even threatened the UNO's power by violating its principles like non-internal interference, which, in reality, culminated into the outbreak of crises such as the Korean War (1950-1954), the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and the Vietnam War (1962-1975). Although these ideological hostilities. Many people lost their lives because of these ideological hostilities.

Factors leading to improved relations between the Eastern and Western blocs after 1953

In some ways, the East-West relations seemed to improve, especially from 1953. The death of Joseph Stalin was probably the starting point of the thaw because the new forefront, the Soviet Union leaders like Georgy Malenkov, Nikolai Bulganin and Nikita Khrushchev, struggled to improve relations with the USA. The two superpowers developed nuclear technology, particularly the hydrogen bomb in 1953 which balanced their military power. Therefore, this tension had to be relaxed.

The change of political leadership in the USSR came with new policies which minimized the political tension that existed between the Soviet Union and the USA. When Nikita Khrushchev rose to power in 1953, he challenged Joseph Stalin's foreign policy by pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence. He employed peaceful strategies for the western powers to recognize Soviet Superiority not by wars but by economic aid to win communist domination of the world. Since then, the West-East relations were normalised through signing various peace treaties. These included the Panmunjom Peace Agreement to end the Korean War in July 1953, the Indo-China Agreement to end the war between the two countries, and the withdrawal of the USSR from the Porkkala military base in Finland. Another important treaty which normalised relations between the West and the East was the Austrian State Treaty of May 1955 in which the Soviet Union and Germany agreed to withdraw their troops from Austria.

The economic crisis of the 1970s reduced the ever-growing costs on arms production that left the two superpowers in deep inflation, mass unemployment and weak production in agricultural and industrial sectors. The vast majority of people lived in poor standards of life. These developments forced the two superpowers to reduce investment in military technology and international propagandas. The reduction in military spending was a priority to boost their economies and their people's welfare.

The development of close diplomatic relations between the USA and the Soviet Union was also stimulated by the establishment of the hotline. This was a telephone communication line opened to link Washington with Moscow after the Cuban



Missile Crisis of 1962. The hotline was helpful in promoting swift consultation and immediate concessions towards establishing diplomatic embassies (consul) in both countries under the auspices of the UN and in minimizing international tensions. Both Nikita Khrushchev and Dwight D. Eisenhower were convinced of the importance of cooperation, between their two countries.

The nuclear arms race and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962

The intensive competition in the production of deadly military weapons between the USSR and the USA started in 1949, during the course of the Cold War. By 1945, the USA had already produced an atomic bomb which she used to attack the Japanese provinces of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Towards the end of 1945, the USSR produced its own atomic bomb to catch up with that of the USA. The Americans produced a more powerful hydrogen bomb towards the end of 1953. The USSR did the same in the following year, 1954. By August 1957, the USSR had taken the lead in producing a new type of weapon “The Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM). This was a powerful nuclear bomb with the minimum range of 5500 kilometres (3400 miles). It could fire from the USSR to the USA. In October 1957, the USSR made more advances. She launched the Word’s first earth satellite known as Sputnik. This was the first man-made satellite to be sent to space by the USSR ahead of the USA. It was a clear proof that the Soviet Union industrial and military strength had increased.

Fearing to be outdone and left behind, the Americans responded by putting more efforts to catch-up with the Soviets. Firstly, they produced their own version of an ICBM weapon, called the Atlas. Secondly, they built shorter-range nuclear missiles, called Jupiter and Thors. These could hit Russia from their launching sites in Western Germany and Turkey. Thirdly, they launched an earth satellite of their own, and, in the 1970s, they produced ballistic missiles known as Polaris and later Poseidon. These new nuclear missiles could be launched from submarines in the Mediterranean Sea. Just within a short time, the USA had many more ICBMs than Russia.

Feeling outmanoeuvred, the USSR invested heavily in the production of more powerful ballistic missiles to catch-up with the USA. By the 1970s, they had developed anti-ballistic missiles that could destroy incoming missiles before reaching the targeted areas. With such new technological developments, the USSR overtook the Americans again. On the other hand, the Americans had produced multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRV) in 1970, a new version of missiles which could carry fourteen separate warheads, each programmed to hit a different target.

In 1977, the USSR responded by producing her own MIRV known as the SS-20. The USA produced a new cruise missile which could fly at low attitudes to avoid detection



by the radars of the USSR. Thus, by early 1980 both the USA and the USSR had produced many horrifying, deadly weapons that could destroy the world in a minute. This race was another special phase which marked the development of the cold war in the international politics. It threatened world peace because of the increased levels of aggression, suspicion and mistrust between the USA and the USSR.

Exercise 8.1

Compare and contrast the threats of the Cold War with those existing today.

Reasons for the escalation of the arms race

Many reasons can be attributed to the escalation of the arms race. First, an ideological fear that existed between the communist and capitalist blocs. The Cold War developed out of mistrust and fears between the two superpowers, namely the USA and the USSR. This was the main reason for them to invest in the production of deadly weapons like atomic bombs, ICBMs, satellites and MIRVs.

Second, the need to maintain a balance of power between the two world superpowers played a significant role in the arms race. The two powers had developed enmity to the extent that no one could accept to be militarily threatened by the other. This situation reinforced them to embark on the arms race to set forth a state of equilibrium.

Third, the arms race was pursued for defensive purposes. Each superpower was engaged in the military competition to ensure a well-equipped and protected nation, to avoid being attacked or confronted by others, to scare enemy countries, and to defeat enemies during the war. This meant that the enemy would not dare to strike the opponent for fear of similar or stronger counter attacks. For example, throughout the period of the Cold War, the two antagonistic blocs could not attack each other physically, fearing equivalent retaliation and reverse repercussions.

Fourth, the arms race was stimulated by the advancement in military technology. The end of the Second World War witnessed the emergence of a new generation of scientists like Albert Einstein, Leo Szilard and Enrico Fermi from the USA. These scientists made a nuclear reaction test which brought a landmark in the production of atomic bombs and ICBMs in 1945.

Lastly, the nuclear arms race was associated with the increasing civil wars and conflicts in the world particularly in the Far East. Such conflicts included the Korean War



(1950-1954), the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) and the Vietnam War (1962-1975). These conflicts stimulated the production of more nuclear weapons by the two superpowers either to further their ideologies or to use them as economic investments to accumulate wealth.

In this context, the USA and the USSR signed several disarmament agreements between 1963 and 1970. In 1963, for example, they signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty and agreed to carry out only underground nuclear tests. In 1967, the USSR and the USA banned the use of nuclear weapons in outer space. In 1972, the two countries signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 1) in which they agreed on how many ABMs, ICNMs and SLBMs each side could possess. Although SALT 1 could not reduce the amount of missiles, it slowed down the pace of the arms race. In 1979, President Richard Nixon of the USA and President Leonid Brezhnev of the USSR signed SALT 2.

Nevertheless, the defence policy did not always work out successfully. Beginning from the 1980s, both the USA and the USSR continued to build up their nuclear missiles. Furthermore, President Ronald Reagan of the USA (1981-1989) launched the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) programme. Under this programme, USA military scientists were urged to develop weapons that could destroy ballistic in-flight missiles.

Reasons for the USSR to launch nuclear missiles in Cuba

In 1959, Fidel Castro, a Communist leader seized power from Fulgencio Batista with the support of Nikita Khrushchev of the USSR. Batista was accused of being a dictator, corrupt and puppet leader of the USA. During his reign, he allowed US capitalists to own several sugar estates and factories in Cuba. American capitalists used this ownership to exploit the Cuban natural and human resources.

After a successful Cuban Revolution, President Fidel Castro nationalized all American owned factories and estates. He expelled American settlers out of Cuba and confiscated American companies' interests in sugar, tobacco, textiles, iron, nuclear, copper, manganese, paper and rum industries. He also nationalised their land, railways, electricity production and the entire telephone network system. The President of the USA threatened to stop buying sugar from Cuba. Some Cuban exiles in the USA, mainly Batista's supporters, were given military training to overthrow Fidel Castro in 1961. Although, they had full support of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) they failed badly. A force of 1400 US soldiers landed at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961, but it was crushed by Castro's forces. In the same year, Fidel Castro



declared that he was a Marxist and that Cuba was a socialist state. Thus, Cuba broke off diplomatic relations with the USA and developed diplomatic relations with the USSR. Their relations grew stronger and firmer, and Cuban sugar found a ready market in the USSR.

These new political and economic developments prompted the USSR to try to set up nuclear missiles in Cuba with a range of 2800 kilometres at the Bay of Pigs. The missile target was the USA. This meant that all the major cities of central and eastern USA such as Washington, New York, Chicago and Boston would be under permanent threat from the USSR nuclear missiles in Cuba.

Activity 8.1



Based on the nuclear missile scenario in Cuba, think of the relationship existing between the USSR and Cuba today and present your thoughts to the class for discussion.

Reasons for the installation of nuclear missiles in Cuba

Various reasons motivated the USSR to install nuclear missiles in Cuba. First, the USSR wanted to revenge against the USA, which had installed nuclear missiles in Turkey, targeting the USSR. Second, Moscow wanted to express solidarity with Havana (the capital city of Cuba) which was then under constant threats from Washington. Therefore, the USSR and Cuba hoped to use the missile against the USA. Third, ideological differences existed between the two camps. The USA wanted to prevent the spread of communism in her neighbouring island of Cuba, while the USSR wanted to spread communism in Cuba and protect it against the US invasion. Fourth, the USSR intended to use such missiles as a tool for bargaining with the West over the removal of American missiles from Europe or the withdrawal of Western troops from Berlin and Turkey. Nikita Khrushchev claimed that the Soviet missiles in Cuba were not more of a threat to the USA than American missiles in Turkey were to the Soviet Union. Fifth, the USSR was provoked by the Bay of Pigs Crisis (Operation Mongoose) of 1961 in which the USA through the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assisted Cuban liberals led by Fulgencio Batista to invade and overthrow the Cuban socialist regime, led by Fidel Castro. About 1400 Cuban exiles invaded the Bay, but they were badly defeated by 20,000 Cuban troops. Cuba sought protection from the Soviet Union. Sixth, the USSR strived to achieve economic influence in Cuba by controlling and investing in Cuban trade, agriculture, industry and mining sectors which were also highly admired by the USA.



Generally, the attempt by the USSR to install missiles in Cuba was in itself a risky decision that infuriated, shocked and confused Americans. So, in October 1962, American spy-planes took photographs which showed a missile base under construction in Cuba. President Kennedy ordered a blockage to keep out the 25 Russian warships that were sending missiles to Cuba. Finally, he demanded the dismantling of the missiles sites and the removal of the missiles already in Cuba. The situation was tense to the extent that a nuclear war involving the USA and the USSR nearly broke out.

Following these developments, UN Secretary-General U Thant appealed to both sides for resolution. On the one hand, the USSR accepted to remove the missiles and dismantle the missile sites. On the other, the USA promised that she would never invade Cuba again, and she undertook to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey. Soon the USSR and the USA established a telephone link (hotline) to allow swift diplomatic consultations. In July 1963, the USA, Britain and the USSR signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, committing themselves to carry out nuclear test only underground to avoid polluting the atmosphere and to maintain world peace and security.

Exercise 8.2

1. Account for the escalation of the nuclear arms race between the USA and the USSR in Post-World War II.
2. “The Installation of the nuclear missiles in Cuba by the USSR was a typical manifestation of Cold War.” Justify this statement with concrete examples.
3. Elaborate the challenges facing disarmament policy in the current global situation.
4. Explain the impacts of the nuclear arms race between the USSR and the USA on the world.
5. What were the roles of nuclear age technology in the rise of the Cold War?
6. Analyse the political and economic impacts of the 1961 Bay of Pigs Crisis on Cuba.
7. Explain the main strategies adopted to reduce nuclear arms race between the USSR and the USA since 1953.



The creation of the State of Israel (1948) and the Palestinian problem

Historically, Palestine was the original homeland for the Jews. However, they were dispersed in 71 CE, when the Romans conquered the ancient Jewish Kingdom in Palestine and later by Arabs from the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the Jews wondered and scattered across the Middle East and Europe. People like Joseph Einstein, Martin Buber, Karl Marx were of Jewish descent. In the 19th century, the Jews living in European countries were discriminated against partly because they were considered enemies of Christ and partly because of European habits and attitudes of prejudice (racist character). In 1897, some Jews living in Europe formed the World Zionist Organization, under the leadership of Theodore Herzl who chaired the first Zionist Conference, held in Basel, Switzerland.

The Zionist Conference advocated for the return of the Jews to Palestine, which was their home land. They wanted to escape the persecution which they endured in France, Russia, Italy and Germany. They hoped to find a true home, a safe refuge and true peace in Palestine. However, the problem was that Palestine had already been inhabited by the Arabs who feared the prospect of losing their land to the Jews.

By 1900, the leader of the Zionist organization, Theodore Herzl, formed the Jewish Colonial Trust Bank to provide money for Jewish farmers to return to Palestine to grow citrus fruits as a way of attracting Jewish settlements in Palestine. The mission was supported by British Foreign Minister Arthur Balfour. By then, Palestine was a British mandatory territory. In 1917, Britain passed the Balfour's Declaration for the creation of the nation of Israel in Palestine. From that period on, many Jews began to arrive in Palestine. The influx of Jews prompted stiff protests from the Arabs who proposed two alternatives to Britain, either declare Palestine as an independent nation for the Arabs alone or end the immigration of the Jews into Palestine. When the Arab pressure intensified in 1922, Britain declared that the Jews would only occupy a small portion of Palestine. Britain also declared that the rights of the Palestinian Arabs would not be interfered with. Hence a Wailing Wall was constructed in 1929 to separate between the areas of the Jews and of the Arabs. This process intensified clashes between the two races. The Jewish influx got worse during the fascist persecution (Ant-Jews) by Hitler's forces in Germany, when hundreds of thousands of Jews sought refuge in Palestine.

Tired of endless conflicts and fights between Arabs and Jews, the British government under Winston Churchill set up the Peel Commission in 1937 to discuss the hostile relations between the two races. The Commission, which was held by Lord Robert Peel, proposed the division of Palestine into two separate states. The idea was rejected by Arabs, but still many Jews continued to move into Palestine. Then, the



British government asked the UN to deal with the problem. In November 1947, the UN voted to pass resolution No. 181 (Partition Plan) to divide Palestine into two separate parts, one for the Arabs and the other for the Jews. The plan for creation of Israel nation state in Palestine was effectively carried out on 14th May, 1948. In the same year, Ben David Gurion, the leader of the Jews, declared independence of the new nation, the State of Israel. The declaration was highly opposed by the Arabs, followed with frequent invasions and attacks on Israel by Arab nations like Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon.

The United Nations Organization's motives for dividing Palestine in 1947

The United Nations Organization's (UNO) motives for dividing Palestine was to ensure peace and tranquility in the region. It intervened on a long term conflict using its Security Council to prepare a plan for the partition of the land of Palestine. On 14th May, 1948, the day before the expiration of the British mandate, David Ben-Gurion, the Head of the Jewish Agency (Zionism), declared the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz-Israel. In accordance with the United Nations plan, Israelis were given 56 per cent of the land of Palestine. The Palestinian Arabs regarded the UN actions as illegitimate and rejected the plan. Conflicting claims to this land led to repeated violence and wars after 1948. These included Arab-Israel wars which erupted in 1956, 1967 and 1973.

Modern Israel is located on the site of an ancient Kingdom of Israel and Judah (also known Land of Palestine and Israel). It is the birth place of the Hebrew language and the Abrahamic religions. It contains sacred sites of Judaism, Christianity, Samaritanism, Druze and Baha'i. From the 3rd century, the area became increasingly Christian. Following the Islamisation of Palestine after the Muslim conquest of the Levant in the 7th century, the area grew largely Muslim. Between 1096 and 1291, the area became a focal point of conflict and, later on, became part of the Syrian Province of First Mamluk Sultanate, then the Ottoman Empire and finally the British mandatory territory.

Representatives of Jews and Muslims have lived in this land for centuries. For decades the Middle East has been the focus of conflicts that has a global impact. The Middle East commands vast oil resource and key water ways such as the Persian Gulf. Since the end of Cold War, western nations have acted to prevent regional powers from interfering with the region's oil supply. Meanwhile, the persistent dispute between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs have intensified the tension. Figure 8.1 is a map showing the land of Israel and Palestine during division.

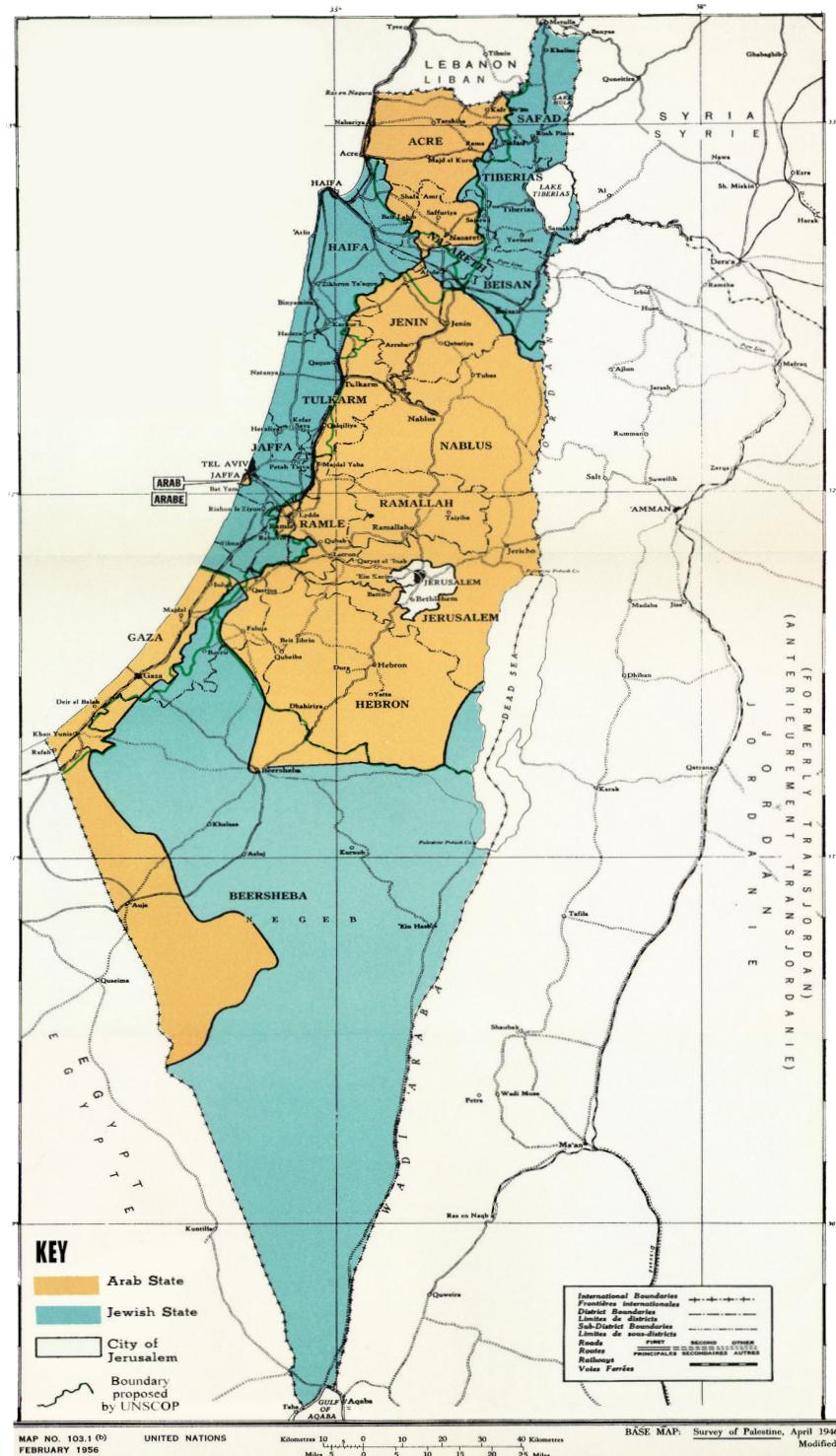


Figure 8.1: The land of Israel and Palestine during division

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bd/UN_Palestine_Partition_Versions_1947



Before the official creation of the state of Israel in 1948 by the United Nations, different events occurred around the region. *Aliyah* was the first event that led to creation of State of Israel. *Aliyah* was an immigration of Jews into Palestine. *Aliyah* occurred in two phases. The first *Aliyah* was between 1822-1903. It was a modern wave of Zionist Jews who migrated to Palestine. During this phase of *Aliyah*, an estimate of about 25,000 Jews immigrated to Ottoman Palestine (Today's Israel and Palestine). The second *Aliyah* was between 1903 and 1914. It was an important and highly influential period in which more than 35,000 Jews were estimated to immigrate into the Ottoman ruled Palestine.

The second event which led to the creation of the State of Israel was associated with the 1922 White Paper, known as the Churchill White Paper of June 1922. This White Paper was an official correspondence between the Palestine-Arab delegation and the Zionist Organization. The White Paper was drafted at the request of Sir Winston Churchill in response to the 1921 Jaffa Riots, which began with Anti-Jewish violence and escalated into Arab attacks against Jews. Although the attacks were believed to be facilitated by the Arabs, the British White Paper concluded that the violence was sparked by Palestine-Arabs' resentment towards Jewish Zionists and the perceived favouritism towards the Jews by the British. The Arabs feared subjugation.

The Peel Commission of 1937 (Palestine Royal Commission) was another event which led to the creation of the state of Israel. This was a British Royal Commission of inquiry, headed by Lord Robert Peel in 1936. The commission investigated the causes of unrest related to the six-month long Arab general strike in Mandatory Palestine.

The Second World War 1945 and the Jews Holocaust also led to the creation of the State of Israel. Many Jews suffered from Adolf Hitler's hatred. An estimate of more than 6 million Jews were murdered by Adolf Hitler's Nazi government. Many Jews were persecuted in Germany and in other parts of Europe. As a result, David Ben-Gurion decided to spread the idea of Zionism to reunite Jews to return back to their homeland, leading to the formation of the State of Israel in 1948.

The final event which precipitated the creation of the State of Israel was the release of the White paper of 1939. This was a policy document issued by the British Government under Neville Chamberlain in response to the 1936-1939 Arab Revolt. The House of Commons approved this document on May 23, 1939. It became the governing policy for mandatory Palestine from 1939 to the British departure in 1948. The mandate on Palestine was left to the newly formed United Nations Organization (UNO), which eventually declared 56 per cent of Palestine land to be the land of Israel. This decision culminated to the formation of Israel as a new nation state in the



Middle East in 1948. The Palestine was dissatisfied by this decision, and the relation between Palestine and Israel has remained traumatic since then. From 1980 to the present, the conflict between Israel and Arab Palestine escalated as the immigration of Jews increased in the area.

Reasons for the long lasting conflict between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs

The conflict between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs has lasted for a long time and there are no indicators for a permanent solution. The endless conflict between Palestinians and Jews has been facilitated by the United Nations' intervention. When the General Assembly passed its resolution of 29th November, 1947, Arab delegates cried that "the charter is murdered." Arabs claimed that the charter assured them the right to self-determination. In addition, they maintained that since they formed the great majority of inhabitants of Palestine, they were entitled to determine, by democratic processes and without dictation from outside powers, the lines upon which their self-government was to be developed. Zionists, on the other hand, called the resistance an attempt to sabotage the authority of the United Nations. According to the Zionists, the issue was decided by the United Nations on grounds of principle and that the enforcement of partition had to be regarded as crucial test of the Security Council's ability to maintain world peace. The Zionists based their claim on the charter that formed the United Nations Organization.

Chapter 1 of the UNO Charter defines the "Purpose and Principles" of the United Nations Organization to be respect for "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" (Article 1 [2]), and for "the principle of the Sovereign equality of all its members (Article 2 [1]). Besides, the charter requires member states to "refrain in the international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State" (Article 2 [4]). Lastly, the charter excludes intervention by the United Nations (under normal conditions) in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state" (Article 2[7]).

Impact of the 1948 declaration of independence of the State of Israel

The Jews witnessed the fulfilment of their Zionist dream and campaign for creating their own state. The Jews, who for centuries wandered around the world without a permanent state of their own and faced persecution in Nazi Germany, were extremely jubilant of the creation of the new Israel state. Many Jews all over the world immigrated into the newly created land of Israel.

The creation of the new Israel nation state strengthened the western imperialist influence in the Middle East. It gave western European powers and the USA a unique



opportunity to entrench deeper into the Middle East using Israel as their base. The Western powers used Israel to spy on her neighbouring Arab countries and to carry out pre-emptive attacks on anti-West Arab countries. In 1956, for instance, Britain and France supported Israel in the Suez Canal War against Egypt to regain the Suez Canal which had been taken from them by Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser.

The creation of the state of Israel escalated terrorist attacks on the Arab communities. Israel Zionist military organizations like *Palmach*, *Haganah* and *Irgun* carried out terrorist expansionism of Jews against Palestinians and Arab communities. Even though the attacks had started before the declaration of the new State of Israel, they intensified after its proclamation in May, 1948.

The creation and declaration of the new State of Israel also led to the division of Palestine into three areas. The first area was the State of Israel which was to be controlled by Jews, while the second area was the State of Palestine which was to be under the Palestinians. The third area was the City of Jerusalem which was to be ruled by a Governor appointed by the UNO through the Trusteeship Council. The appointed Governor would be a citizen of neither Israel nor Palestine.

Likewise, the proclamation of the new State of Israel marked the end of British mandate over Palestine. Immediately after the recognition of the new State of Israel by the UNO on 24th May, 1948, Britain announced the end of her mandate in Palestine, and both Palestine and the State of Israel were declared independent and sovereign states.

The creation of Israel in the land that was formerly occupied by the Palestinian Arabs outraged Arab opinion throughout the world. Arab states refused to recognize Israel as a legal state and vowed to destroy it. Hence, from 1948 on, a series of wars was waged against Israel by Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Some of these wars included the 1948 -1949 Israel War of Independence and the Palestinian Nakbah, the 1956 Suez Crisis, the 1967 Six-Day War, the 1973 Yom-Kippur War and the 1982 Lebanon War. Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq waged these wars against Israel. The wars and insecurity across the Palestine land affected the Arab population, which was forced to leave and seek refuge abroad.

The formation of the new state of Israel extended the influence of the USA and the USSR on the Middle East and fuelled the Cold War ideologies into the region. Exploiting the Israel-Arab conflicts, the USA supported Israel to fight the Arab countries. In addition, the USSR sided with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Arab states like Egypt in the struggle against the Zionist State of Israel.



The declaration of independence of the State of Israel triggered the persistent wars in the Middle East between the Jews and the Arab world. The Jews who were given 56 per cent of the land in the region as per UNO declaration made the majority of Arabs in the region to unite against that declaration. Since 1948, the region has witnessed a string of bloodshed from the wars between the two sides.

The Suez Canal War of 1956

The rise to power of new Egyptian President Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1956 marked a new era of economic reforms in Egypt. He announced nationalization of the Suez Canal from British and French Companies which had previously co-owned the canal since 1936. Their holding contract was to expire in 1956, but Britain wanted it renewed. However, President Nasser refused because he wanted to use the canal for collecting revenues to construct the Aswan High Dam for electricity and irrigation purposes. Britain, France and Israel blamed Colonel Nasser for being Anti-Western and, therefore, a great threat to both France and Britain which had shareholdings in the canal. They agreed that Nasser must not be appeased in the way that Hitler and Mussolini had been appeased in the 1930s.

Secret talks took place between Britain, France and Israel in which a plan was made that Israel would invade Egypt across the Sinai Peninsula. They agreed that British and French troops would land at Port Said North of the Suez Canal, and rationalize the plan in the guise of protecting the canal. In essence, however, they wanted to restore their control of the canal by overthrowing President Colonel Nasser. The invasion started on 29th October, 1956 when Israel's army, led by General Moshe Dayan, invaded the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula. Meanwhile Britain and France bombed Egyptian airfields and landed their troops at Port Said (The northern end of the Suez Canal). The attacks caused an outcry from both the USA and the USSR. The United Nations Security Council called for an immediate cease fire and prepared to send a UN police force to calm the situation.

The outbreak of the 1956 Suez Canal War resulted from interrelated factors. The first was the socialist economic transformation undertaken by President Abdul Nasser in Egypt. Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal from the Anglo-French Companies by promising compensation to the companies. He intended to use the income from the canal to build the Aswan High Dam for irrigation and electricity supply. Consequently, the western powers considered Colonel Nasser to be a great enemy.



Second, the outbreak of the war was linked to the rise of nationalistic movements in Egypt. The country had been under the British colonial domination since 1882. It gained her independence from Britain in 1922. However, most of her economic potentialities continued to be controlled by British companies. This angered Egyptians who wanted full control over their valuable resources and assets. The Egyptian Revolution was an integral part of Nasser's nationalistic movement to end both the British and the French influence in Egypt. The Western powers not only blamed Abdul Nasser for his anti-imperialist tactics but also encouraged Anglo-French attacks on Egypt in 1956.

Third, the war was also connected to a Pan-Arab movement or Arab nationalism which strived to form a United Arabia under the influence of Egypt. This unification could affect Western European countries which depended on oil supplies from the Middle East. The Western powers perceived Egypt, in general, and President Nasser, in particular, as the main threat to their interests in the region.

Fourth, the 1952 Egyptian Revolution marked the beginning of socialism in the country. Western capitalist countries perceived this revolution as an offence. This perception intensified the pace of the Cold War between the USA and the USSR in the region. Therefore, the Socialist bloc and many Arab states blamed the invasion of Egypt on France and Britain's strategies of spreading capitalist ideology to the Middle East. For Egypt, the war was a means to fight western influence in the region, especially in Palestine. In particular, the Suez Canal War was used by Egypt as a tactical strategy to liberate Palestine from Israel. Since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, Egypt had been in favour of protecting their fellow Arabs from the control of Israel.

The outcomes of the 1956 war were terrible for Britain and France in many ways. First, the war led to a complete humiliation of Britain and France who failed to overthrow President Colonel Nasser. Conversely, Nasser gained prestige as the leader of Arab nationalism against western European powers. Second, Egypt took control of the Suez Canal for her economic developments and eliminated the influence of Britain and France. Nasser used the money from the canal to construct the Aswan High Dam and encouraged the Arab nations to reduce oil supplies to the western European countries. This led to fuel rationing which somewhat distorted the economies of western capitalist countries. Third, the war triggered nationalism in Africa more generally. Algeria was encouraged and supported by Egypt to wage liberation struggle against France. Ghana, under Nkrumah, ended British colonial domination in 1957. Similarly, in 1962, Algeria regained their lost sovereignty. The liberation struggle engulfed the whole African continent. Lastly, Egypt was highly affected by the war



as many people died and properties destroyed by Britain and France. Israel refused to return the territories captured like the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula.

The Six-Day War of 1967

The Six-Day War was fought from 5th to 10th June, 1967. This war was precipitated by the development of new political ideologies in Iraq and Syria, called *Ba'ath* (meaning resurrection). It was a belief in struggle for Arab independence and unity. The war was an attempt to bring social reform for better treatment of ordinary people. The new governments of Iraq and Syria were determined to join Egypt in supporting *Fatah*, the Palestinian liberation movement, in an attempt to destroy and wipe Israel off the world map. President Abdul Nasser and his allies equipped with Soviet tanks and aircraft began to bombard Jewish settlements from the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan River and Gulf of Aqaba (Israel's outlet to the Red Sea). Israel responded by attacking the airfields in Egypt, Iran, Jordan and Syria and occupied militarily the Old City of Jerusalem, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights and the West Bank. Russia encouraged Egypt and Syria and kept up a flow of anti-Israel propaganda, while the USA supported Israel. The destructions and damage caused by the war left the Arabs with no choice other than accepting a UN ceasefire order on 10th June, 1967.

The Six-Day War of 1967 left notable results to the Middle East countries and the international community at large. First, the Arabs were forced to accept the UN ceasefire order on 10th June, 1967 after suffering a humiliating defeat from Israel. Second, Israel refused to abide by the UN order of returning all the territories she had captured from Syria, Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan. Israel used the territories as buffer zones to defend herself against possible attacks from the Arab states. Finally, the war led to political unrest and tension in the whole Middle East region as Arabs struggled to free their territories from Jewish control. This created more conflicts and hostilities both across the Suez Canal and on the Israel frontiers. Terrorist gangs from Syria, Jordan and Lebanon increased attacks on Israel, which were followed by Israel reprisals.

Exercise 8.3

1. Write short notes on the following concepts
 - (a) Zionism
 - (b) The Balfour's declaration of 1917



- (c) The Churchill White Paper of 1922
 - (d) The Peel commission
 - (e) The Suez Canal War of 1956
 - (f) The Six-Day War of 1967
2. Briefly explain two main phases of Aliyah in the creation of State of Israel.
 3. Account for the factors that led to the outbreak of the Suez Canal War of 1956 in the history of the Middle East.

The Yom Kippur War of 1973

The outbreak of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973 was a continuation of unresolved problems of the previous Arab-Israel conflicts which generated chances for the emergence of various terrorist gangs.

In the early 1970s, a group called Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) emerged from within the existing Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) under Yasser Arafat. The former embarked on a series of terrorist attacks on Israel. In October 1973, Egyptian President Anwar El Sadat planned a joint Arab attack on Israel on the date of Yom Kippur, a Jewish religious festival or Atonement Day (held on 6th October), hoping to draw world attention to the grave injustice being done to the Palestine Arabs and, therefore, force Americans to mediate the conflict.

The war commenced on 6th October, 1973 after Arab forces succeeded in recapturing some of their territories lost in 1967. Under Prime Minister Golda Meir, Israel revenged and retook some of the lost territories and even crossed the Suez Canal. After several weeks of fighting, both the USA and the USSR decided to co-operate with the UN in an attempt to bring about peace between the conflicting sides. They organized a ceasefire, which was accepted by both Arabs and Israelis. In one sense, President Sadat's personal ambitions for a peaceful reconciliation was successful. He urged that a diplomatic mediation was appropriate after realizing that Egypt had been fighting expensive and profitless wars with Israel. He even dismissed the Soviet Union military advisors in Egypt to open room for peace talks.

Like the Six-Day War, the Yom Kippur War left several notable outcomes. First, Egypt and Syria were defeated again by Israel's forces. Numerous Soviet-installed Surface-to-air (SAM) missile sites were badly destroyed. Second, the war brought a great financial burden to the economy of Israel as much money had been spent



on the war. Third, the end of the war gave some hopes for peace settlements. Israel, for the first time accepted to negotiate peace with Egypt in Geneva. Israel agreed to withdraw its troops from the Suez Canal which had been captured during the 1967 war. Israel and Egypt also agreed to exchange war prisoners and pull back their armies. UN peace keeping forces were then sent to the Middle East in 1975 to prevent surprise attacks.

Fourth, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was given an observer status by the UN General Assembly on 22nd November, 1967. It was given full rights to participate in the sessions and the works of the General Assembly. In 1975, the PLO was internationally recognized as a legal political liberation movement for the Palestinian Arabs and its leader, Yasser Arafat, was given the opportunity to address the UN's Assembly.

The UN reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as they were clearly stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Finally, the 1973 war influenced the creation of an Arab organisation of the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) which deliberately used the oil diplomacy as a weapon to punish the USA and the western European countries for their support to Israel.

Thus, between 1972 and 1978, the OPEC members pushed up oil prices and reduced oil supplies to western countries. This enabled the OPEC countries to reap a lot of money which was partly used to finance anti-Israel's propaganda. Iraq and Libya were the strictest countries in this regard. Only Saudi Arabia and Kuwait remained moderate, supplying oil to the western countries, thereby saving the western world's economy from collapsing.

Activity 8.2



- With the help of your History teacher, discuss the reasons for the long lasting conflict between Israel and Palestine.
- Do you think this conflict will come to an end? Why do you think so?

Factors leading to Camp David and the Egyptian-Israel Peace Accords 1978-1979

After a series of long fights between Arabs and Israel, with the Yom Kippur defeat of Egypt and her Arab Allies in 1973, President Anwar El Sadat was convinced that it was impossible to wipe Israel off the world map. He also realized that it was



inappropriate to waste Egypt's resources in fruitless wars and that violent means could not bring peace. Hence, he sought another way of making peace between Arabs and Israel. As a result, in November 1977, he paid a state visit to Tel Aviv for diplomatic talks with Israel's leaders and the Knesset (Israeli Parliament). Likewise, Israel Prime Minister Menachem Begin also visited Egypt in November the same year. They both insisted on mutual cooperation for peaceful development of their countries and arrange a peace settlement for the Middle East. The efforts that had been shown by Sadat and Begin were fully supported by US President Jimmy Carter. He complemented them by arranging formal negotiations between the two sides at Camp David near Washington in the USA.

The Camp David Talk was organized for several reasons. First, the world was tired of the endless war between Arabs and Israel which had begun after the creation of the State of Israel in Palestine in 1948. Therefore, peaceful strategies were required to end the conflict. Second, Egypt wanted to end the war to avoid much wastage of human and economic resources and to reduce threats to her economic growth. Israel had similar thinking to settle her differences with at least some of Arab states to avoid economic shocks, particularly the oil crisis. The third reason was to maintain peace in the Middle East, following the rise of extreme left-wing Baath parties, which embarked upon terrorist attacks on Israel.

The diplomatic negotiation at Camp David was held from 5th to 17th September, 1978 in order to set plans for a Permanent Peace Settlement between Arab nations and Israel in the Middle East. The talk was attended by US President Jimmy Carter (as a Mediator), Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and the Israel Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The discussion centred on addressing seven issues related to Israel's security, the Palestinian rights and handling of the Palestinian territories which had been occupied by Israel since 1967 wars. Their talks became fruitful since Egypt and Israel concluded the Washington Peace Treaty (or Camp David Agreement) in March 1979 in which the two states agreed on five key issues.

The first issue was ending the state of war between Egypt and Israel by withdrawing their armed forces from the battle fields. Second, Israel accepted to return to Egypt the occupied territories such as the Sinai Peninsula, Gulf of Aqaba, and Eilat Port. Egypt promised to supply Israel with oil from its wells in Southern Sinai. Similarly, Israel ships were again guaranteed passage through the Suez Canal which had been blocked from use by Israel and Anglo-French ships since 1956. Finally, Egypt recognized Israel as a legal sovereign state (independent). The act of President Anwar Sadat to pay visit and talk to Israel leaders in November 1977 meant that



Egypt started to recognize the legal existence of the State of Israel. Therefore, the Canal was re-opened for Israel's ships.

As an important diplomatic event, the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (the Camp David Accord of March 1979) built the foundation for cooperative relations between the two nations. However, the components of the Camp David Accord did not sit well with everyone. In the aftermath of the accord, for instance, the USSR, the PLO and Arab states (except Sudan and Morocco) condemned President Anwar El Sadat as a betrayer of Arabs and Muslims for his recognition of Israel as a sovereign state. The Arab League, an alliance of Arab countries suspended membership of Egypt for the next 10 years. The PLO developed a deep mistrust of Egypt and evacuated to Lebanon to fight Israel from there.

Second, in October 1981, President Anwar El Sadat was assassinated by extremist Muslim soldiers while inspecting a military parade. His assassination was closely connected with his decision to make peace with Israel, which angered many Egyptians. As a result, there had been series of violent demonstrations against him. Nevertheless, President Hosni Mubarak, who replaced Sadat, promised that his government would continue honouring the Camp David Accord.

Third, the PLO and other nationalist movements vowed to wage a holy War (Jihad) against Egypt and Israel. The PLO claimed that the Camp David Accord denied the right of the Palestinian Arab people and ignored the PLO's role as their legitimate representative. Besides, the agreement infringed on the Palestine's right to self-determination and right to the establishment of a free and independent state in their land. The Camp David Accord was the agreement that accepted all Israel's claims and which the Arab world did not accept.

Fourth, in retaliation for the signing of the Camp David Accord, Egypt's Arab donors and the OPEC imposed political and economic sanctions against Egypt. They cut off all foreign aid which was aimed at helping Egypt to deal with Israel, severed diplomatic relations with it, and refused to sell subsidised oil to it. In addition, they moved the headquarters of the Arab League from Cairo to Tunis.

Fifth, the efforts made by the USA to bring the PLO and Israel together at an International Peace Conference proved failure. Israel totally rejected negotiation with the PLO, and the tension between the PLO and Israel mounted to a critical point of distorting the world peace.

Sixth, Israel adopted the policy of establishing Jewish settlements on the land formerly owned by Arabs. This caused a lot of resentment among the West Bank- Arabs and



threatened the Middle East peace because of frequent terrorist attacks and suicide bombing by Palestinians.

Finally, the Camp David Accord opened chances for future peace talks between Israel and Arab states. The first major breakthrough was the Oslo Accord of 1993, which formalized Israel's recognition of the PLO. The PLO, in turn, recognized Israel's right of existence, promising to give up terrorist attacks. The Palestinians were given a partial self-rule in Jericho (on the West Bank) and in parts of Gaza strips. However, some groups from both Israel and Palestine still opposed the terms of the Oslo Accord of 1993. On the one hand, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) demanded a complete independence of the Palestinian territory, not a partial one. On the other hand, Israel settlers on the West Bank totally opposed the terms of the Peace Accord. Yet, moderate leaders from both sides were not discouraged by the refusal of the fundamentalists. A similar peace treaty was signed in September 1995. Unfortunately, the treaty was disrupted by members of the Hamas and Hezbollah terrorist, which carried out suicide bombings of Jews. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel was assassinated after addressing a peace rally in Tel Aviv. New Prime Minister Shimon Peres promised to observe the 1995 Peace Accord.

The 1995 Peace Accord failed to keep the treaty because many Israelis discredited it as being soft towards the Palestinian insurgents. Consequently, the 1996 Israeli general election swept Peres out of power. Hardliner Benjamin Netanyahu became the new Prime Minister. From that time on, conflicts between Israel and Palestine, as well as Lebanon, increased. Consequently, the whole peace progress went in vain.

Revision exercise 8

1. Define the concept of Cold War.
2. Account for the escalation of the tense relations between the Eastern and Western blocs.
3. Discuss the impacts of the formation of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact during the Cold War era.
4. Identify the events which led to a thaw of the Cold War from 1950s to 1990s.
5. Account for the outbreak of the Korean War of 1950 to 1954.



6. Analyse Nikita Khrushchev's motives for installing nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1952.
7. Trace the historical root of the endless wars between Israel and Arabs from 1948 to the present.
8. Discuss the factors for the rise of the “iron curtain” in Europe.
9. How did the rise of the “iron curtain” affect Europe?
10. Elaborate the factors for the arms race between the USA and the USSR.
11. Show the manifestations of the Cold War.
12. Discuss the repercussions of the Yom Kippur War of 1973 in the Middle East.
13. Identify the effects of the Six-Day War in the Middle East.
14. Analyse the terms of the Camp David Peace Treaty of 1979.
15. Examine the obstacles toward achieving peace settlements in the Middle East.
16. Suppose you are consulted on a peace resolution between Palestinians and Israelites, how will you address this conflict?
17. Appraise the role of the UNO in resolving the Palestinian problems.



Chapter Nine

Neo-colonialism and underdevelopment of Third World countries

Introduction

The attainment of independence in the Third World countries marked the beginning of a new era of struggles for realisation of rapid and sustainable economic development. However, the realisation of this goal has not been an easy task for most of these countries. This is because the Third world countries found themselves in another form of domination called neo-colonialism. In this chapter you will learn about the concept of neo-colonialism as well as its economic, political, social and technological manifestations. Similarly, you will learn the causes of underdevelopment in developing nations, and measures taken to combat underdevelopment. The competencies developed will enable you to fight neo-colonial tactics and to formulate effective measures for overcoming underdevelopment aspects at the family and nation levels.



Have you ever asked yourself the reasons for some nations to be so rich and others so poor?

The concepts of neo-colonialism and underdevelopment

The word ‘neo-colonialism’ was coined by Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana. The term ‘neo’ is derived from the Greek word, meaning new. So, etymologically neo-colonialism, means new colonialism. Nkrumah defined neo-colonialism as the final and the worst stage of imperialism. Neo-colonialism is also defined as the indirect control of the least-developed countries by developed countries. In this regard, neo-colonialism implies an indirect or informal kind of colonialism by which no direct political control is exercised by the imperial powers. This is because European colonial powers granted political independence to their former African colonies but did not cease to exploit them economically. The concept of neo-colonialism refers to the continuation of economic exploitation of less developed countries including Africa, by the imperialist powers, not necessarily those which colonized Africa. Neo-colonialism



started almost immediately after the attainment of independence. The common term which has been used to refer to this concept is ‘Flag independence,’ implying that most African and Third World countries achieved political independence from their former colonial masters but not economic independence. Hence, the transition from colonialism to independence was a mere shift of political power.

Neo-colonialism is linked to underdevelopment, especially of African and the Third World countries in general. Underdevelopment refers to a situation of having a low level of economic production, technological progress and standards of living. Two important conceptual relationships exist between neo-colonialism and underdevelopment. First, neo-colonial systems in the Third World resulted from underdevelopment, which was initially caused by the slave trade and then colonialism. After independence, Third World countries found themselves economically dependent on the rich imperialist powers. Second, neo-colonialism led to further underdevelopment through exploitative relations existing between the rich and poor nations. Hence, neo-colonialism can be defined as an imperialist policy of maintaining exploitative relations between the poor and the rich countries. In other words, it refers to the “transformation of existing foreign investments into conduit pipes used to milk the Third World nations through the introduction of multinational and transnational corporations.” Neo-colonial systems in Africa, for example, operate through international monetary systems. It also exists in cultural, political, educational, industrial and technological forms of subjugation.

In essence neo-colonialism is a form or manifestation of imperialism. The connection between the two concepts is based on the imperialist processes which established colonial and neo-colonial relations. Imperialism strove to create and maintain unequal economic, cultural and territorial relationships between states and empires through domination or subordination. Neo-colonialism in this sense can be considered as an advanced stage of imperialism or colonialism. According to Walter Rodney (1972), African countries were integrated into the world capitalist system in such a way that they were subjected to what he called structural dependence. This situation has continued to maintain unequal economic relationships between the developed and developing countries.



Exercise 9.1

1. Define the following concepts;
 - (a) Neo-colonialism
 - (b) Imperialism
 - (c) Underdevelopment
2. How is neo-colonialism related to imperialism?

Economic and political manifestations of neo-colonialism

Economically, neo-colonialism in Africa is rooted in continued penetration of western economic interests through aid, loans, foreign capital, treaties and existing bilateral agreements. Foreign investment has been a medium through which African resources are appropriated by international companies. The World Bank estimates of 2017 showed that 70 per cent of the net wealth in sub-Saharan Africa was owned by foreigners. This figure is alarming, considering the abundance of the available natural resources in Africa. Studies show that the African continent alone has 53 per cent of the world's industrial minerals and metal reserves. These resources benefit imperialist powers through neo-colonial systems of exploitation.

The Third World countries have continued to be the victims of neo-colonial activities of big capitalist corporations which control their resources and dominate their markets. Examples are Caltex, Coca Cola, Barclays, British Petroleum (BP) and various mining, aviation, and construction corporations which operate in Africa. Big capitalist investments drain African resources through neo-colonial mechanisms like tax evasion, tax holidays, dubious contracts and labour exploitation. Wole Soyinka explained the operation of some of these international corporations in Africa during the First Julius Nyerere Intellectual Festival Week held at the University of Dar es Salaam in April 2009. In his paper *New Imperialisms*, Soyinka underlined that Africa has continued to be the victim of the unending imperialist process of "empire-building" which is currently evident in the activities of the international capitalist corporations working in different African countries.

Neo-colonialism in Africa is also manifested in aid and loans which the international monetary organizations such as the International Monetary Funds (IMF), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) now the World Trade Organisation (WTO), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) now the World Bank (WB) provide. The aid and loans are provided in the harsh monetary regulations. These imperialist financial institutions provide loans to African



countries with difficult terms and conditions. Recipient countries have to pay back with very high interest rate. In Africa alone, more than 40 out of 54 countries are loan recipients. Between 1970 and the early 1980s, African debt increased from 11 billion US dollars to 120 billion US dollars respectively. This debt skyrocketed again from 340 billion US dollars in the 1990s to 443 billion US dollars in 2016. Unfortunately, the loans extended to Africa come with conditions, and are rarely directed to projects involving direct production or development.

Politically, the process of changing African political systems to fit into neo-colonial political structures started before independence. Colonial states weakened African political unity through the divide and rule policy. In drawing the maps of African colonies, for example, the imperial powers balkanized the African continent. Because of this situation, Nkrumah called for African countries to unite. In his famous book, *Africa Must Unite* (1963), Nkrumah said: "Divided, we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world."

The political tension created by the Cold War saw imperialist political influence increasing on African countries. Africa experienced several military coups which were believed to be planned by the western capitalist powers. Several African leaders were removed from power, and some were assassinated between 1961 and 1973. Examples of these leaders are Patrice Lumumba (DCR in 1961), Silvanus Olympio (Togo in 1963), Mehdi Ben Barka (Morocco in 1965) and Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau in 1973). These coups went hand in hand with the creation of puppet leaders.

In addition, the USA established military bases in different African countries during the war. Records show that the USA had over 234 military bases in 44 countries in Africa and Asia. Through these bases, western military advisors have continued to influence African military forces and defence architecture.

Activity 9.1

Using the library facilities available at your school, organize yourself in small groups to prepare and present an essay on political and economic aspects of neo-colonialism in Africa.

Social and technological manifestation of neo-colonialism

Socially, neo-colonialism operates in the form of multilateral diplomatic societies such as the Commonwealth, Francophone and Anglophone organisations in Africa. These multilateral organisations maintain and spread European culture to the Third World countries. The western powers have succeeded in maintaining their cultural



legacies in most African countries. The division of African countries between imperial languages, for example, has posed the challenge of having a common language in various parts of the continent. The promotion of colonial languages such as French and English in most of the African countries is part of what is now called cultural imperialism. The legacy of colonial language has forced many African countries to adopt foreign languages as their national languages.

Again, cultural imperialism, which started with colonial rule and continued after independence has influenced African culture in education, religion, sports, music, healing, eating and dressing. The spread of US famous Macdonald's restaurants in African countries is a good example of cultural imperialism. Recent statistics indicate that about 387 Macdonald's restaurants exist in African countries, including Egypt, Mauritania, Morocco and South Africa.

Technologically, the Third World countries have continued to depend on imported technologies; some of which are not suitable for the African environment. The predominance of western technologies in the Third World countries has, in turn, undermined African indigenous technologies. Most of the African handicraft industries have collapsed because of imported industrial products from the West. Over reliance on imported industrial products and technologies leads to an unequal balance of trade, thereby leading to the loss of foreign exchange for the Third World countries.

In addition, the Third World countries have been the net importers of military technologies from advanced countries. For example, security and defence forces which were established soon after independences in many African countries have continued to be organized along Western lines. Military training for most of African armies during the Cold War, for example, was influenced either by the US or the USSR through their military support.

Activity 9.2



1. Discuss the following aspects in groups:
 - (a) Social manifestation of neo-colonialism
 - (b) Technological manifestation of neo-colonialism
 - (c) Military issues related to neo-colonialism
2. Compile the ideas you have discussed in the form of an essay.



The concept of underdevelopment

Underdevelopment is a concept that refers to a situation whereby a country or region is characterized by inadequate development reflected in a low level of production as compared to another country or region. It can also be defined as a situation whereby a poor country is dependent on another developed country. Hence, there is no underdevelopment without development. This definition of underdevelopment was popularized by Walter Rodney and other scholars who came under the dependency theory that began in the 1950s and gained prominence in the 1960s and 1970s. The early founders or propagators of dependency theory were scholars like Raúl Prebisch, Andrew Gunder Frank, Paul Baran, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Celso Monteiro Furtado. The underdevelopment of any country is assessed relative to the development of another. In essence, underdevelopment results from the exploitation of one country by another. Indicators of underdevelopment could be weak industrial and agricultural sectors, unemployment, poor infrastructure and poor social services such as education, health, water supply, housing, and transport.

The dependency theory links the origin of underdevelopment with the capitalist tendency of dividing the world between the ‘periphery’ (developing countries) and the ‘centre’ (industrial countries). According to this theory, peripheral countries supply raw materials and cheap labour to the industries of the developed countries and act as the major consumers of the industrial products imported from the former. This tendency reproduces the vicious cycle of poverty, whereas the western capitalist countries have continued to benefit from African resources. Likewise, America has achieved the same from Peru, Mexico and other parts of the world.

According to Rodney, the underdevelopment of the Third World countries, particularly Africa, started when the continent was integrated into the world capitalist system. This process of integration started during mercantilism when it lost much of its labour due to the slave trade and unequal exchange. Underdevelopment continued under colonialism through the exploitation of African resources like raw materials, labour and markets. Colonialism, in turn, led to the stagnation of African technologies and expatriation of African surplus. The process of expatriation continued after the colonial period through neo-colonial systems.

Activity 9.3



With the help of your teacher debate on the development of Western Europe and the underdevelopment of Africa.



The causes of underdevelopment in developing nations

Underdevelopment is triggered by both internal and external causes. The external causes are associated with the rise of imperialism, which manifested in different forms such as the slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Rodney (1972) argued that underdevelopment in Africa and elsewhere was rooted in the history of capitalism. The emergence of capitalism created unequal and exploitative relations of production and ownership of wealth, which led to the huge wealth difference between capitalist societies and non-capitalist societies.

The underdevelopment of the Third World countries can also be explained by some internal factors. One factor is lack of modernism. This factor falls under the modernisation theory. This theory assumes that a nation's lack of development is an outcome of its failure to use its resources to stimulate modern economic growth. The proponents of this argument associate underdevelopment with poor policies, natural disasters and political instabilities, among others. To them, underdevelopment is a sign of poor institutional structures. Development of the Third World countries could, therefore be achieved by adopting new technologies from the developed countries and by undertaking the cultural transformation of their societies. However, a major weakness of the modernisation theory is that it ignores external sources of change in societies. For example, to these theorists Third World's underdevelopment has nothing to do with external factors such as slave trade or colonialism.

Another internal factor for Africa's underdevelopment is corruption. Corruption retards industrial development and interfere with efforts to improve social services. Countries or governments with high level of corruption are unable to function efficiently or prosper at an economic level, causing misery for a society as whole. The quality of social services such as education and healthcare also deteriorates under a corrupt economy, leading to an overall low standard of living for the country's citizens.

Furthermore, underdevelopment is also internally sustained by uncertainties caused by crop failures and lack of economic diversification in Third World countries. Price fluctuations for cash crops in the world markets during the 1960s and the subsequent decades, for instance, affected the majority of the Third World countries.

In addition, population explosion is another internal factor for the underdevelopment of African countries. High population growth rates in most African countries have led to the overuse of African resources such as land, forests and water. In Africa, the average annual population growth rate increased from 2.6 per cent in the 1960s



to 3 per cent in the 1980s. This population growth, however, did not match with economic growth. Consequently, in the 1980s Africa's economy declined sharply.

Recurrent wars and refugee crises are other internal factors which have continued to disrupt African economies. Refugees increased from less than a million in the 1960s to around 5 million in the 1990s. In the early 1970s, out of 10 million refugees in the world, 5 million were from Africa. Besides, Africa witnessed civil wars in Chad, Burundi, Rwanda, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola and Mozambique during the 20th Century.

Developing countries have, therefore, continued to record a slow economic growth rate which widens the economic gap between them and the rich countries. During the 1980s, for example, Africa's average annual growth rate fell from 0.7 per cent to 0.5 per cent. This situation was reflected in the form of decline in industrial and agricultural production. This meant that the provision of social services like education, health, water supply and transport deteriorated.

Exercise 9.2

1. What do you understand by the following concepts or theories?
 - (a) Dependency theory
 - (b) Modernisation theory
 - (c) Neo-colonialism
2. Examine the root causes of underdevelopment in the developing countries.

Measures taken to combat underdevelopment

There are efforts that have been taken by the Third World countries to address the problem of underdevelopment in the last six decades. These include the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement; the Brandt Report of 1980; the North-South Dialogue; the South-South Dialogue; and the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP's) of the 1980s.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) refers to an international organization which was formed by Afro-Asian countries, Cuba and Yugoslavia to protect themselves against any exploitation and oppression and to free themselves from the imperial influences of the USA and the Soviet Union. In 1955, twenty-nine (29) heads of



states from Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East met in Bandung, Indonesia, to discuss the idea of creating this movement. In their next conference held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1961, they officially formed NAM. Joseph Broz Tito, the President of Yugoslavia, was elected as the first chairperson. This conference was attended by African Presidents like Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt). Tanzania has been a member of NAM since 1964. By 2011, African members of NAM had reached 50, and, by 2012, NAM boasted 120 members worldwide.

The objectives of establishing NAM were, first, to pursue an independent policy based on peaceful co-existence with both the capitalist and communist blocs; secondly, to discourage neo-colonialism by promoting economic independence of the member states; and thirdly to negotiate better trade terms with developed nations. The NAM member states also agreed on several principles, including forming solidarity to oppose all actions which endangered their independence, having equal rights to participate in international relations, supporting efforts of disarmament, and working together through regional organizations.

NAM organised various conferences to discuss challenges facing its member countries. One of the major challenges in the 1960s and 1970s was believed to be the USA's interference with political affairs of some NAM members. This included the USA's role in overthrowing of governments in Chile (1973), Ghana (1966) and Chad (1982).

Activity 9.4



Under the supervision of your teacher, organize a class discussion on the achievements and failures of NAM in addressing the problem of underdevelopment. Then, use the ideas discussed to prepare your notes.

The Havana Non-Alignment Conference of 1979

This was the Sixth Summit Conference of NAM held in Havana, Cuba, from 3rd to 9th September, 1979. The conference was chaired by President Tito of Yugoslavia. It was attended by 92 member countries. The main agenda of the conference revolved around questions of poverty, shortage of raw materials, and population explosion. The conference raised the alarm at the factors for the increasing problem of underdevelopment. This alarm resulted from several factors. The first factor was the unequal balance of trade. The developing countries were producing raw materials for the industrialized countries and consuming imported industrial products. The second factor was that the economies of the Third World nations were not diversified



enough to overcome uncertainties. The third factor was the debt crisis which was facing the Third World countries. The fourth factor was linked to civil wars and other political problems facing the developing countries.

Exercise 9.3

1. Discuss the relevance of the objectives of NAM.
2. What do you think are the challenges facing NAM?

The North-South Dialogue

The North-South Dialogue refers to the process through which the developing countries of the "Third World" engaged with the industrialised countries in negotiating over changes to the international economic system during the 1970s.

The North-South Dialogue was engineered by the UN as an attempt to address the problem of underdevelopment in the Third World countries. This attempt went hand in hand with the UN efforts to encourage developed nations to provide support to developing countries. The idea of North-South Dialogue emerged during the UN meeting of 1974. During the 1970s, UN General Assembly meetings were increasingly concerned with the problem of underdevelopment in Third World countries. Subsequently, the UN adopted the North-South Dialogue to help the Third World countries address the problem. This forum was guided by the idea that international trade should be restructured to create a fair trade environment for all nations. This came to be known as a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The Third World countries in the North-South Dialogue had several objectives: The first objective was to campaign for the transformation of the international trade system. The idea was that the international system of trade had to be adjusted for the Third World countries to participate in it profitably. To achieve this objective, an international system of controlling prices of raw materials from the Third World countries had to be established.

Another objective was to improve the industrial sectors of the developing countries and to ensure that markets were made available. To increase the pace of industrialization, it was recommended that there should be a free transfer of technology from developed countries to developing countries. This idea stemmed from the argument that world technology is the world heritage and as such it should be shared among nations.



By the late 1970s, however, the North had done little to enable the South to develop their industries. Therefore, underdevelopment in the South continued relative to development of the North. Persistent decline in agricultural production coupled with the world oil crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s accelerated the underdevelopment of the Third World countries.

The Brandt Commission Report of 1980

The Brandt Commission Report was prepared by the International Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (the former German Chancellor) in 1980 to study and discuss economic problems facing the Third World countries and suggest solutions. The Commission was comprised of Willy Brandt himself; Sir Edward Heath, the former British Prime Minister; Abdlatif Y. Al-Hamad (Kuwait); Rodrigo Botero Montoya (Columbia); Antoine Kipsa Dakoure (Upper Volta); Eduardo Frei Montalva (Chile); Katherine Graham (USA); Amir H. Jamal (Tanzania) and Khatija Ahmad (Malaysia). Others were Lakshimi Kant Jha (India), Haruk Mori (Japan), Joe Morris (Canada), Olof Palme (Sweden), Peter G. Peterson (USA), Edgar Pisani (France), Shridath Ramphal (Guyana) and Layachi Yaker (Algeria). Figure 9.1 is a photo of Willy Brandt, chairman of the Brandt Commision.



Figure 9.1: Willy Brandt, 1913-1992

Source: <https://www.kidpaw.com/famous-people/willy-brandt-pid91949>

The report came up with various findings. One of the findings was that the world was divided into two parts. The first one was the North which consisted of the developed industrial nations of North America, Western Europe, the USSR, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The second one was the South which comprised of all countries in the Third World. The report highlighted that the North was getting

richer while the South was getting poorer due to neo-colonial relations. The report generally noted a wide economic gap between the North and South.

The report showed that the level of poverty was increasing in Third World countries. About 800 million people in the Third World countries were living in dire poverty. Estimates indicated that 40 per cent of the population in the South could not afford basic needs because of unemployment. Most of these people depended on agriculture which faced serious problems of drought and markets. The report also showed that the health sector faced serious problems. There were high mortality rates due to malnutrition, poor medical services, inadequate safe water, inadequate sanitation and poor housing. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of all families in the Third World countries had the problem of poor housing. Many Third World countries reported high levels of illiteracy. The gender imbalance was a serious problem in the education system. Enrolment for girls was significantly lower than that of boys.

Considering the above problems, the report called upon the North to help the South in overcoming them. The report appealed to the industrial countries to cut off military spending, something which could enable them save money to help the Third World countries. A recommendation was, therefore, made that the rich nations of the North should spend 0.7 per cent of their national income starting from 1985 to help the Third World countries. It also suggested to increase the figure to 1.0 per cent in 2000. Besides, the report called upon the North to provide technical support to the Third World countries.

The report also recommended that poverty eradication programmes should be started in the Third World countries to improve the provision of social services like healthcare and education. It also suggested that the Third World countries should take measures to control rapid population growth by introducing family planning. In addition, the report appealed to the Third World countries to empower women in areas of education, land ownership, and employment.

The above recommendations, however, were not fully supported by the developed countries of the North. In 1985, for example, only a few countries honoured the agreement of giving 0.7 per cent of their GDP to support the developing countries. These were Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and France. Others provided less than the amount agreed. For example, the USA gave out 0.24 per cent and Britain allocated only 0.11 per cent.

Exercise 9.4

Asses the implementation of the Brandt Commission Report's recommendations in Third World countries, then provide alternative strategies for the Third World Countries on alleviating poverty.



The South-South Dialogue

The failure of the North-South Dialogue of the 1970s and its Brandt Commission of the 1980s left the Third World countries with no alternative. They had to continue with their South-South Dialogue approach that had already been in existence. Following the failure of the North-South Dialogue to negotiate for better cooperation between the South and the North, the Third World countries resolved to co-operate among themselves. They agreed that countries with relatively stronger economies, such as Brazil, China and India, should assist those countries struggling to catch up. This could be achieved through the establishment of fair economic relations among them. They emphasized cooperation and assistance in areas of technology, finance and trade. The South-South Dialogue was grounded on the ideas of mutual assistance and mutual respect. The main objective was for all Third World countries to be self-sufficient economically. The member countries agreed to set aside 1 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP) to be invested in areas of science and technology as a strategy to industrialize. Emphasis was placed on the promotion of indigenous technologies.

The South-South Dialogue is still a vibrant economic grouping, uniting almost all developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. From 14th to 16th December, 1978, a South-South Dialogue meeting was held in Arusha, and it was attended by Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the then President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The meeting intended to review the progress of the Dialogue. It had three major objectives: to review the progress of the implementation of the New International Economic Order, to re-examine the negotiating agenda and strategy of the South countries, and to identify concrete proposals through which the objectives of the South could be advanced further in the framework of genuine interdependence between the North and the South.

However, several challenges hinder the South-South Dialogue from attaining its objectives. For example, these countries lack strong cooperation between them. In addition, the Sub-Saharan African countries are burdened by frequent natural disasters such as droughts and floods, which interfere with their development efforts. Some are also hard hit by civil wars, that produce large numbers of refugees. Besides, rapid population growth does not match with the economic development. Diseases, debt, hunger, corruption, and overuse of natural resources which lead to environmental degradation are other problems facing these countries.

Activity 9.5



With the help of your teacher, debate on the contributions of North-South Dialogue to the development of Third World Countries.



Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) refer to a set of economic policies or reforms the Third World countries were forced to adopt to qualify for loans, which were offered by international monetary organizations like the IMF and World Bank. The policies were formulated at the beginning of the early 1980s following the oil crisis and persistent decline in agricultural production which had devastated the Third World countries. The SAPs conditions involved removal of subsidies to farmers, cutting down on government expenditure, devaluation of currency and allowing free trade. The supposed objective of the SAPs policies was to make loan recipient countries more competitive and, therefore, able to grow economically.

The SAPs followed the economic crisis of the 1980s and the severe drought of the 1970s. These events affected most of the African countries such as Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya, Chad, and Sudan. The drought led to total crop failure, leaving most of the African countries unable to fend for themselves. African economies were also destroyed by wars. For example, the Kagera War (1978-79) between Tanzania and Uganda left the two countries economically crippled. Similarly, civil wars in countries such as Somalia, Congo Brazaville, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sierra Leone, Liberia and in many other places interrupted the economic development efforts. These problems were complicated by the misuse of public resources which drained the African governments' coffers. By the early 1980s, therefore, most African countries were forced to accept SAPs' conditions for them to secure loans to rebuild their economies.

The impacts of SAPs were diverse. On the one hand, the implementation of SAPs saw the Third World countries succumbing to the capitalist economic system. Countries that had pursued socialist policies, like Tanzania, found themselves forced to accept liberal capitalist policies. The consequences were huge and dramatic. The public sector was seriously weakened because of privatization. Governments, unable to pay workers, laid them off. African farmers became even more impoverished due to the removal of subsidies. The private sector expanded. African markets were suddenly flooded with imported industrial products from the western capitalist countries. Particularly in Tanzania, most of the former government-owned industries and companies were privatized. African handicraft industries that failed to compete with imported industrial products were badly affected. National debts increased as countries struggled to rebuild their economies.

The Structural Adjustment Programmes had some positive benefits to the Third



World countries as well. Statistics indicate that, with SAPs policies, African economies South of Sahara recorded a slight economic growth rate, estimated at 0.5 per cent in 1988. Collection of taxes from private companies enabled governments to provide social services like health and education. SAPs diversified African markets, allowing the importation and exportation of multiple products. With the expansion of the private sector efficiency was relatively ensured, and the quality of products was enhanced. SAPs policies also promoted political liberalism and, to some extent, enhanced liberal democracy and transparency. Finally, SAPs policies created room for the growth of civil societies and non-governmental organisations.

Revision exercise 9

1. Examine the interlinkages between neo-colonialism and underdevelopment.
2. "Neo-colonialism is the highest stage of imperialism." Discuss.
3. Examine the various ways through which neo-colonialism operates in Africa.
4. Account for the genesis of underdevelopment of the Third World.
5. Kwame Nkrumah once said: "Africa Must Unite." Do you think this opinion was justifiable?
6. What do you think were the weaknesses of the Brandt Commission Report of 1980.
7. Analyse the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement and explain the strategies which have been devised to attain them.
8. Why did the North-South Dialogue fail to rescue the Third World economies during the late 1970s and 1980s?
9. What do you understand by the concept 'New International Economic Order'?
10. Assess the relevance of the South-South Dialogue.
11. Analyse the major challenges facing the Third World countries.
12. Examine the impacts of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Third World countries.

Glossary

Abdicate	to give up or step down from power
Absentee Landlord	one who owns a large estate but does not live there
Absolute Monarch	the ruler with complete authority over the government, who is not limited or restrained by laws or constitution
Alliance	a formal agreement between two or more nations to co-operate and come to one another's defence
Aliyah	immigration of Jews to Israel or Palestine
Appeasement	policy of giving in to an aggressor's demands in order to keep the peace
Aristocracy	government headed by a privileged minority or upper class
Armistice	agreement to end fighting in a war
Artisan	a skilled person
Atheism	belief that there is no God
Atrocity	horrible act committed against innocent people
Agrarian	relating to land, referring to agriculture or farmers
Ally	a state formally cooperating with another for a military or other purposes
Arbitrary	not fixed by rules; based on one's preference
Arsenal	a building where weapons are manufactured or stored
Axis powers	group of countries led by Germany, Italy and Japan in WWI
Balance of power	distribution of military and economic power that prevents any one nation from becoming too strong
Bastille	fortress in Paris used as a prison
Bloc	a group of nations acting together in support of one another
Bourgeoisie	a capitalist who own major means of production or most of society's wealth.
Buffer zone	a neutral zone separating two potentially rival countries



Balfour declaration	a statement issued by the British government in 1917 to support the establishment of homeland for Jews in Palestine
Capital	money or wealth used to invest in business/ enterprise
Capitalism	an economic system in which the means of production are privately owned and operated for profit
Cartel	a group of companies that join together to control the production, marketing and pricing of a product
Chancellor	the highest official of a monarch/prime minister, especially in Germany
Civil War	a war fought between two or more groups of people in the same nation
Coalition	a temporary alliance of various political parties
Cold War	state of tension and hostility between nations aligned with the United States on one side and the Soviet Union on the other that rarely led to direct armed conflict
Command economy	system in which government officials make all basic economic decisions or an economic system which is directly controlled by the state.
Communism	form of socialism advocated by Karl Marx whereby class struggle was inevitable and would lead to the creation of a classless society in which all wealth and property would be owned by the community as a whole
Capital goods	items that are used to produce other goods such as tools, fertilizers, chemical and machinery
Civilization	a state of society characterized by specialization of labour, organized leadership, a system of record keeping, common beliefs and existence of cities
Chronology	arrangement of events in the order in which they occurred
Clan	number of households that believe they all descended from the same ancestor, have the same family name and follow the same chieftain
Concession	special economic rights given to a foreign power



Congress of Vienna	an assembly of European leaders that met after the Napoleonic Wars to piece Europe back together, convened from September 1814 to June 1815
Containment	the US strategy of keeping communism within its existing boundaries and preventing its further expansion
Continental system	blockade designed by Napoleon to hurt Britain economically by closing European ports to British goods
Corporation	business owned by many investors who buy shares of stock and risk only amount of their investment
Council of Trent	a group of catholic leaders that met between 1545 and 1563 to respond to protestant challenges and direct the future of the Catholic Church
Coup d'état	a sudden, forcible overthrow of government by a political faction, military or dictator
Crusades	a series of wars from 1000s through the 1200s in which European Christians tried to win control of the Holy Land from Muslims
Cultural diffusion	the spread of ideas, custom and technologies from one people to another
Crimean War	a war fought mainly on the Crimean Peninsula between the Russians and the British, French, and Turks from 1835-1856
D-day	code name for the day that Allied powers' forces invaded France during the Second World War, on 6 th June, 1944
Democracy	government in which the people hold ruling power
Detente	the relaxation of Cold War tensions during the 1970s
Diaspora	a large group of people with a similar heritage or homeland who have moved out to places all over the world
Direct Democracy	a system of government in which citizens participate directly in the day to day affairs of government rather than through elected representative
Disarmament	reduction of armed forces and weapons
Divine Right	a belief that a ruler's authority comes directly from God



Dual monarchy	the monarchy of Austria-Hungary
Duma	elected national legislature in Russia
Emancipation	granting of freedom to serfs or slaves
Empire	a group of states or territories controlled by one ruler
Enclosure	the process of taking over and consolidating land formerly shared by peasants
English Bill of Rights	a series of acts passed by the English Parliament in 1689 that limited the rights of the monarchy and ensured the superiority of Parliament over the monarchy
Enlightened despot	an absolute ruler who used his or her power to bring about political and social change
Entente	a non binding agreement to follow common policies
Extraterritoriality	right of foreigners to be protected by the laws of their own nation while in a foreign nation
Fascism	any centralized, authoritarian government system that is not communist and whose policies glorify the state over the individual and are destructive to basic human rights
Feudalism	a loosely organized system of government in which local lords governed their own lands but owed military services and other support to a greater lord/king
Fief	an estate granted by a lord to a vassal in exchange for service and loyalty in medieval Europe
Fourteen points	a list of terms for resolving the First World War and future wars outlined by the American President Woodrow Wilson in January, 1918.
Genocide	a deliberate killing of large number of people from a particular nation or ethnic group with an attempt to destroy the entire ethnic group.
Gestapo	secret police in Nazi Germany
Globalization	the process by which national economies, politics, cultures, and societies become integrated with those of other nations around the world
Great Depression	a painful time of global economic collapse, starting in 1929 and lasting until about 1939



Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	the total value of all goods and services produced in a nation within a particular year
Guerrilla	a soldier in a loosely organized force making surprise raids
Guild	an association of merchants or artisans who cooperated to uphold standard of their trade and protect their economic interests in the Middle Ages
Hiroshima	a mid-sized city in Japan where the first atomic bomb was dropped in August 1945
Holocaust	the systematic mass killing of about six million European Jews by the Nazis during the Second World War
Humanism	an intellectual movement at the heart of the Renaissance that focused on education and the classics
Imperialism	a policy or ideology of extending a country's influence beyond its borders
Indulgence	in the Catholic Church, pardon for sins committed during a person's life time
Intifada	Palestinian Arab uprisings against the Israel occupation
Jacobin	a member of radical political club during the French Revolution
Jerusalem	capital of the Jewish state of Judea in ancient times: sacred city of Jews, Muslims, and Christians, parts of which are claimed by both Israelites and Palestinian Arabs
Kaiser	emperor of Germany
Knight	a European noble who served as a mounted warrior
Mahdi	a Muslim saviour of the faith
Manhattan project	a project code name for the project to build the first atomic bomb during the Second World War
Manor	a lord estate which included one or more villages and the surrounding lands during the Middle Ages in Europe
March on Rome	planned march of thousands of fascist supporters to take control of Rome; in response Mussolini was given the legal right to control Italy



Marshall Plan	a massive aid package offered by the United States to Europe to help countries rebuild their economies after the Second World War and to contain the spread of communism
Means of production	land, capital, labour and other materials and technologies needed in a production process
Mercantilism	a policy by which a nation sought to export more than it imported for purposes of accumulating wealth in form of gold and silver
Middle Age	a period in European history from the collapse of the Roman civilisation in the 5 th century CE to the Renaissance
Militarism	the belief that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests.
Monopoly	complete control of a product or business by one person or group
Mutiny	a revolt, especially of soldiers or sailors against their officers
Nagasaki	a coastal city in southern Japan on the island of Kyushu where the second atomic bomb was dropped in August 1945
Nationalism	a strong feeling of pride in and devotion to one's own country
Nazi-Soviet Pact	agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939 in which the two nations promised to cooperate in wars and to divide up lands in Eastern Europe
New Deal	a massive package of economic and social programmes established by Franklin D. Roosevelt to help Americans during the Great Depression
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	a military alliance between several North Atlantic states to safeguard them from the presumed threat of the Soviet Union
Oligarchy	a form of power structure in which ruling power belongs to a few people



Perestroika	“restructuring” in Russia; a soviet policy of democratization and freedom reforms introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the late 1980s
Propaganda	spreading of ideas to promote a cause or to damage an opposing cause
Protectionism	is the use of tariffs and other restrictions to protect a country’s home industries against competition
Racism	belief that one racial group is superior to another
Renaissance	a period in European history from 14 th to 17 th centuries characterised by the revival or re-birth of classical (especially Greek) philosophies, literature and arts
Salon	informal social gathering at which writers, artists, philosophers and others exchanged ideas
Scorched-earth policy	a military tactic in which soldiers destroy everything in the battleground to hurt the enemy
Social contract	an agreement by which people give up their freedom to a powerful government to avoid chaos
Socialism	a system in which the people as whole rather than private individuals own major means of production and operate all businesses
Sovereignty	supreme authority of a state to govern itself
Suez Canal	a canal in Egypt linking the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea; the canal connects Europe with Asia
Terrorism	deliberate use of random violence, especially against civilians, to achieve certain political, economic or social goals
Truman Doctrine	United States policy established in 1947 to contain the spread of communism
Tsar	title of the ruler of the Russian empire
United Nations (UN)	international organization established after the Second World War to maintain world peace, security and cooperation in the international community
Utopian	an imagined state of things in which everything is perfect



Vanguard	group of elite leaders
Warsaw Pact	mutual defence alliance between the Soviet Union and seven satellites in eastern Europe set up in 1955
Weapons of mass destruction (WMD)	Biological, nuclear or chemical weapons
Yalta conference	meeting between Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin in February 1945 to discuss the post war re-organisation of Germany and Europe generally
Zionism	a movement devoted to the rebuilding of a Jewish State in Palestine



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