Section 1: Nationhood, Globalization and the West

1.1 History and the Global Age

What is World History?
- World history – focus on distinction of civilisations, studying them independently
- World history/international history also focused on the rise and fall of nations and viewed the nation state as the crucial actors and objects of interest
- One theme of global history: convergence in language, culture, dress between different world regions, rise of the nation state, etc
- Another theme: divergence in wealth, religion, civilisations
- Theme three: transfer of technologies, diseases and objects between civilisations and cultures

International, Transnational and Globalisation
- International refers to between states, whereas transnational refers to outside of the state structure
- Religions are generally transnational, whereas intergovernmental organisations are international
- Triumphalist and rejectionalist accounts of globalisation are based on particular accounts of history, as there is no such thing as globalisation unless we can define something before it

Archaic and Modern Globalisation
- Trade was focused mainly on ‘prestige goods’, which were valuable mostly because they were exotic, from far away and rare, not because they are functional
- Focus on imitating old rather than trying to be new
- Change in the ideas of rulers – no longer a universal ruler of everyone, but the ruler over one group of people in a sort of contractual relationship; not ‘king of France’ but ‘king of the French’

Three Stages of Globalisation
- Trade and exploration based in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries
- Imperialism, corporate expansion and industrialisation-led globalisation in the 19th and early 20th century
- The ‘new globalisation’ led by individuals and IT since the 1970s

Manifestations of the New Globalization
- First home computers introduced in the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the widely accessible Windows version 3.0 coming out in 1990
- The development of the internet since the early 1990s, as well as other developments such as fibre-optic cables and software
- The growth of outsourcing of software and service jobs, particularly to India after the Dot-com boom and the Y2K scare
- Uploading: users are increasingly creating their own websites and personalised content: youtube, blogs, wikis, forums, myspace and facebook, etc
- Offshoring: moving productive facilities to foreign states
Supply chaining: Wall-Mart does nothing but move goods around and sell them
Insourcing: connecting individuals together, like ebay and paypal
Mobile devices: ipods, mobile phones, computers, etc

1.2 Europe, Modernity and the West

Globalisation and the West
- When people talk about globalization they often mean westernisation
- The rest of the world gradually adopts western dress, language, culture, free markets, democracy, secularism, etc
- Very hard to define what the west is: Cuba, Venezuela and Brazil, indeed even France, hold very different values and economic and social views to the US
- Easiest to define ‘west’ in relation to what it is not: e.g. versus China or Islamic World
- Idea of the west is clearly not geographical; is cultural and historical
- ‘Developing nations’ are thought to be developing towards becoming more like the west
- Even Marxists base their theories on the idea that Europe or the west is more ‘developed’ than the rest of the world

Eurocentric Historical Assumptions
- Eurocentrism: focus on Europe as being special, important, unique, progressive; assumed European exceptionalism and sought to explain this exceptionalism on the basis of unique and special achievements
- These included the rule of law, capitalism, enlightenment, inventions, industrial revolution
- Another idea was that Europe was uniquely universal in its outlook to the world: European secularism, scientific knowledge and social achievements were held to be universally applicable, rather than those of other civilisations
- Civilisation: Societies marked by a transition from barbarity to civilisation through a civilising process, promotes peaceful relations between peoples, welfare, mitigation of punishments, etc
- Progress: history is the narrative about the progress towards continual improvement; the old is bad, the new is better and more productive
- Arguments against this includes that European wealth was extracted from African slaves and the Americans
- Challenged the idea that humanity is on a journey of progress from old to modern
- Basic conclusion: we should not assume that Europe and the cultures with which it interacted were fundamentally different
- Just because something is conceptual or a construct of the mind does not that it does not ‘exist’, or that it does not have a real impact on people’s lives

1.3 The Idea of the Nation

Origins of the ‘Nation’
- The nation does not have a ‘beginning’ as such, though it may have a long history of development – e.g. France and Germany
- There is no consensus about how and exactly when the idea of ‘nationhood’ arose
- Nationalists generally do not make appeals to collective self interest – they make arguments based on emotive appeals to some sort of common identity
Even in the early 18th century, the word ‘nation’ was often used to refer to small subgroups within what we would now call a nation – in other words small communities of what we would now call foreigners.

Nation in the 17th century was also used as a generic word to mean a group of some sort – for example a ‘nation’ of physicians.

Only around the mid-18th century did the nation come to adopt its current meaning, that of a group of people sharing some common characteristics of identity, regardless of whether they were actually under the same rule.

Nationhood in the Americas

According to Benedict Anderson, the idea of the nation emerged in South America, not in Europe.

A certain ‘kit’ of ideas and practices came together in the Americas in the late 18th and early 19th century which gave rise to the nation – e.g. newspapers, governance, and more.

It was picked up by Europe in the mid 19th century, and underwent further adoptions and transformations in the 20th.

Nationalism replaced the older idea of dynastic Empires: republics replaced monarchies, national flags and anthems replaced subjecheood.

Stages in the Emergence of the Nation

It began with creole nationalism in the late 18th century Americas, when nationalist ideals were based on territories – new leaders took existing territorial units and made them nations.

In this conception, nationality was not based on descent, nor had the American identity always existed, but anyone who came to America and assimilated became American.

In mid-19th century Europe, nationalism was defined more in linguistic and ethnic terms, notably in the old Empires, whose rulers increasingly identified themselves with a particular race (German, Russian, English, etc).

Anderson classified Australian nationalism as distinct from Britain etc, as occurring around the mid-20th century, after WWII.

National identities in Africa and Asia likewise emerged from colonial territorial units as in the Americas, often by the promotion of nationalist leaders like Nehru, Sukharto and Mao, in the mould of Washington and Bolivar.

The idea of the Third World of non-aligned states with a common colonial history began with the Bandung Conference in 1955.

Qualities of a Nation

Thus in the 18th century arose an idea that the political boundaries of states should correspond to the cultural/ethnic identities of different peoples.

There was also a change in the idea of ‘the people’ – the people are no longer subjects of the monarch and defined by him; rather the monarch is defined by the people he rules. No longer ‘King of France’ but ‘King of the French’.

There is also a change in the idea of sovereignty – a leader rules on behalf of and at the pleasure of the people: he does not rule by virtue of a divine mandate, etc.

Also, a national leader is now the ruler of a fixed specific people and geographical area; no longer claims to universal rulership like King Louis XIV.

Nations have limited and demarcated boundaries and limited demarcated membership.
• The idea the nations should not be divided into different states, nor should different nations be combined into one state (e.g. Belgium)
• Legitimacy is based upon the (sometimes fictional) idea that the ruler has the support of his people (e.g. Ceausescu)
• The idea that membership is equal – you cannot be ‘more Australian’ than someone else
• There must be some conception of a shared experience/history that goes back in time
• Most nations make some claim to a common descent from some group of people
• A nation cannot exist without a claim to territory – it might not actually control their territory, or it might be in exile from their territory, but a nation with no claim to territory is not a nation

Theories of the Nation
• Primordialistic/perennialist theories argue that the idea of the nation, and indeed specific nations themselves, have always existed, and are based on real historical, ethnic and cultural similarities and collective qualities
• Sometimes this focuses on an ethnic identity, sometimes on cultural identity
• The modernist perspective takes the other extreme view, that modern nations are inventions, just as modern states are inventions
• Nations develop merely as the product of historical circumstances, and as one group gains dominance in power they impose their culture and identity as the ‘national’ ideal
• For example, the Estonians had no name for themselves and no conception of themselves as a separate ethnicity until one was ‘discovered’ or ‘developed’ in the 19th century
• Some had said in rebuttal to this that it is ridiculous to say that nations are simply created out of nothing – they must be based on some cultural or historical commonality
• Also, just because a nation does not recognise its national distinction does not necessarily mean that it does not exist

Do Nations Matter?
• It is argued that the development of printing led to the spread of a certain languages and cultural ideas that solidified the ideas of nations
• As printed literature takes hold in a state, the accepted nation standard language and vocabulary becomes ‘accepted’, while other languages become ‘local dialects’ or ‘foreign’
• For example, before the French revolution, most people in France spoke Italian or some other local dialect, rather than French

Section 2: Revolution and European Expansion

2.1 Nations and Empires in 1750

Europe and the World
• It is hard to imagine Europe as poised to take over the world with the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683
• The idea of an industrial revolution confined in space and time has been replaced in some senses by the idea of an ‘industrious revolution’ with broader application
• Can gain new historical insights by placing it alongside other regions of the world as just another ‘province’
• Although Europeans did see themselves as familiar and the centre of the world (as all people do), they did not (as of the mid-18th century) see themselves as the most powerful or advanced area of the world
• Other European nations also sent contingents to help in the defence of Vienna (Poles, Germans, French) – it was seen as the ‘gates of Europe’
• Rulers of the Ottoman Empire would look more towards the East (Safavid and Mogul Empires) for strategic threats and insights – Europe was not that important

The Ottoman Empire
• Mehmed the Conqueror wanted to make Constantinople a large and prosperous city with many ethnic minorities lived, and the arts, culture and trade flourished
• He encouraged peoples from all over the Empire to immigrate, and in some cases moved them by force
• Christian and Jewish minorities were protected by law; they did not have the same rights as Muslims and had to pay a special tax, they were also not allowed to carry swords or wear certain clothe, but did not have to serve in the army
• This was reinforced by the idea of the millet, which was a sort of a unique religious and cultural unit, not a defined territorial area
• Ottoman merchants were not much interested in trade with Europe, as there was so much to be gained in eastern trade, so in order to encourage trade with Europe, the ottoman Emperor granted special trading rights to European merchants (known as the Capitulations) which allowed them to pay lower export and trade duties
• European history was heavily focused on crises and/or stagnation; the Ottomans focused heavily on the idea of ‘decline’

Perceptions of Power
• We see a very different outlook of European monarchs compared to the Ottoman Emperors
• The Ottomans saw diversity in culture and religion as natural, and the source of wealth and prosperity; the European monarchs (e.g. Louis XIV) saw it as undesirable and subversive
• Louis decided to built the Versailles palace so that he was not at risk of being ‘held hostage’ by rebellious Parisians, as occurred in the Fromd
• This grand palace can be likened to the Topaki in the Ottoman Empire and the Forbidden City in Beijing
• All of these rulers claimed universal leadership: Louis as the Sun King and most Christian King, the Ottoman Emperor as the Caliph and leader of religious world, and the Chinese Emperor as the son of Heaven

2.2 European Expansion and Slavery

Why did Europe become Preeminent?
• European climate is better; people have to work harder
• Those in the tropics have the bounty of nature, and hence don’t have to learn to work or be civilised
• Europeans have a stronger/longer/richer written history
• Europeans were genetically/physically superior to other races
• Such arguments have mostly been refuted as simplistic
• Notably, we see the destruction wrought upon the world by the two World Wars (mostly fought by Europeans), and also the successful independence movements from European nations
• Aside from these arguments, there are three major factors commonly held to have led to the development of European hegemony: economic innovations, the enlightenment, and the French Revolution

Economic Innovations
• Innovations in the means of production enabling goods to be produced by mass production using steam and coal power in factories
• These goods were exported all across the world
• This method of production began in Britain and subsequently spread across the world
• The rise of joint-stock companies, the stock exchange, widespread trade

The Enlightenment
• Renewed interest in knowledge, technical and cultural enthusiasm
• Made possible by great increase in the printing and distribution of printed materials beginning in the late 17th century – encyclopaedias, books, academic journals, newspapers, etc
• Discussion over these things took place in newly established public spheres museum, theatre, coffeehouse, geographic society
• Growth in literature about travel and foreign places, political ideologies, technical manuals, religion, including non-Christian religions
• Questioning of old religious beliefs (for example the tale of the three imposters)

The French Revolution
• Overthrow of the old French monarchy, without replacement with a new monarch
• Brought an infusions of new ideas in virtually every imaginable sphere
• Abolished aristocratic privileges, and destroyed the power of the church
• Their ideas of individual liberty escaped even their ideals and led to radical social upheaval

The Industrious Revolution
• However, many historians have questioned the legitimacy or accuracy of this explanation
• Some, for example, have questioned the idea of the industrial revolution – it is after all an ex-post label applied to a series of changes that were not always apparent at the time
• The idea of the ‘Industrial Revolution’ has been replaced by some with the ‘industrious revolution’, which began much earlier in the 18th century, maybe even in the 17th century
• Families begin to organise labour in new ways to produce surplus goods for trade, and purchase more goods from the outside
• It has been argued that this process occurred not just in Europe but right throughout the world, though of course quite unevenly
• However, it has also been argued that at some point Europe was able to take better advantage of these changes than other nations that experienced them

Slavery
• Began with the Portuguese expeditions down the coast of Africa in the 15th century – they raided African coasts, captured slaves and sold them to Europe
• Sugar plantations established in the Caribbean in the late 17th century
• Mortality on the plantations so high that it had to be regularly replaced by new arrivals
2.3 The French Revolution

Introduction
- The revolution lasted from 1789 to 1799, though the majority of the action was over by 1794
- In 1789 the absolute French monarchy was overthrown and replaced with a constitutional monarchy, with the king having powers similar to French presidency
- In 1792 it metamorphosed into a republic, and the king was killed
- Later it became more of a redistributionist, socialist state, before becoming something like a Fascist state under Napoleon

French Financial Collapse
- One popular explanation was that the French Revolution had its origins in social struggles – notably the rise of the middle classes and the struggle between the peasants and the nobles
- Another explanation focused on the intellectual origins of the revolution, notably in the enlightenment writings of Voltaire and Rousseau
- However, a more direct cause of the French Revolution was the financial collapse of the French monarchy
- The 18th century in Europe was a time of almost continual warfare between the Great Powers in Europe, each competing for control, territory and colonies
- Competing nations were constantly increasing the size and sophistication of their armies; these continual wars were extremely expensive
- This was particularly true for France, as unlike Prussia, Austria and Britain, it had to maintain both a strong army and a strong navy
- France also had a very inefficient and antiquated tax system – it was extremely complicated, differed between regions, tax revenues often never actually got to the central government, and there was not even any central treasury or budget

Attempted Reform and the Estates General
- Louis XVI claimed he wanted the best for France, and he was probably being genuine, but he was a very poor leader
- For example, he was socially inept and could not get along with his advisors, he changed his mind all the time and seemingly took the view of whoever was in the room at the time
- In 1786 Minister Calonne made the first central French budget ever; he was appalled to find that the country was hopelessly in debt, and was well behind in all its payments
- He proposed imposing equal taxation on the nobility and clergy, though understandably there were many special interests opposed to this
- He held an Assembly of Notables in 1787, where he tried to convince a group of important French notables of the dire fiscal problems of the monarchy, and thus the need for more taxation
- However, when the delegates saw what a mess the monarchy was in, they refused to give any more money, and called for an increase in their influence in the government
- Eventually, the monarch was forced to called the Estates General
- Interestingly, the monarchy abolished censorship, and actually asked the Third Estate to give their opinions about how the state should be reformed
- Thus ironically the state actually created the revolutionist ideals and class struggles
- Perhaps the king hoped to balance the opposition of the nobles with the support of the commoners
Outbreak of the Revolution

- When the Estates General was convoked in May 1789, the three estates could not agree on whether all estates should vote separately (as the nobles wanted), or whether they should all vote together (as the commoners wanted).
- After six weeks of debate, the commoners eventually decided to hold their own parliament and write up a new constitution by themselves; they invited the other estates, but most stayed away.
- They actually believed that the king was behind what they were doing, though in fact he had done nothing.
- However after a few days, the nobles and clergy complained about what the commoners were doing, and so Louis called the troops to end the national assembly.
- When the army surrounded Paris and Versailles, the population of Paris rose up, and sought to find arms to defend themselves.
- This was the reason for the storming of the Bastille; the people were told they could get gunpowder there.
- Following this event, the king gave in and declared his support for the National Assembly.
- In August 1789 a large number of progressive measures were past: the end of Feudalism, equality of taxation, equality before the law, positions open to talent, freedom and religion, speech and the press, democracy and a written constitution.

The French in Egypt

- One explanation for the French invasion of Egypt is that the French wanted to threaten British trade with Egypt – however most trade occurred via sea, not via land, though they might have disrupted overland communications (quicker by land).
- Another explanation is that the French simply wanted to obtain a new colony to rival the British territories in India – however the British never tried to conquer India like this.
- Another reason is that the resident Frankish community in Egypt called upon the Directorate to intervene and bring the revolution (which they felt part of) to Egypt.
- Also, the French were forced to retreat after only three years, following the breakdown of their occupation and the death of tens of thousands of soldiers.
- Napoleon became the occupation governor in Egypt – he established new schools, hired the best learned Muslims as state officials, regulates weights, measures and legal processes, and instituted a new tax system to pay for it all.
- After the British destroyed the French fleet, Napoleon marched his army up through Palestine in an attempt to capture Istanbul and undertake a massive pincer movement into eastern Europe.
- However, he was defeated at Ache, and was forced to retreat to Egypt, where in Cairo a large revolt had broken out against the French occupiers.
- Napoleon took up a ship back to France in 1799 on the information that there was an opportunity for a coup d’état in the midst of the instability.
- Tipu Sultan was an Indian sultan who fought against the British – he requested help in his revolt against the English from the French – this may be another explanation for French involvement in Egypt.
- After destroying the French fleet, the British sailed to Egypt and besieged Tipu’s capital, stormed the city and he was killed in the battle.

Napoleonic Europe

- Napoleon established the code which bears his name, which formed the basis for much of civil law throughout Europe.
Nationalism developed through Europe either in support of or opposition to Napoleon. The destruction of the Spanish monarchy led to the rise of independence movements in America. Napoleon re-established the Catholic church, and established series of minority religious communities that was similar to those in the Ottoman Empire. In 1793, a number of Cosmopolitan thinkers, such as Clutz, who argued that the French revolution was applicable to all humanity – this was seen to be disruptive to the interest of France, which was at war with much of Europe.

Consequences

- In many ways the French revolution was even more progressive than the American one; they granted universal manhood suffrage some 30-40 years before the Americans did, and abolished slavery some 60 years before the US.
- The French revolution also saw the birth of intense nationalism that had not been seen before.
- Women also saw an expansion of their rights, including the right to hold property, initiate a divorce, equal rights to children, and equal rights to inheritances.
- Ironically, the French revolution also led to the ‘reign of terror’, where most of the rights recently proclaimed were abused and eradicated.
- There were mass arrests, unjust trials and even summary executions, not to mention persecution of clerics and Christianity, and political censorship.
- Another interesting thing is that unlike most revolutions, the French revolution occurred in one of the most powerful and developed nations in the world – French was the international language of the nobility, artists and scholars of the 18th century.
- The French revolution also served as a sort of ‘model’ for later revolutions throughout the world.
- People have been debating the French revolution for over two hundred years – the first history of the French Revolution was written in October 1789.

The Saint Damase Slave Revolt

- The slave revolt on Saint Damase occurred shortly after the French revolution, in response to the failure of the French to live up to their ideals of equality and free the slaves.
- This was followed by the official abolishment of slavery by France in 1794.
- Napoleon tried to reinstitute slavery in 1802 and sent an army to Haiti to crush the revolt – this was defeated and Haiti became the second decolonised state.

2.4 Europe in the Nineteenth Century

Who Won the Revolution?

- The poor did not get much out of the revolution; they could not afford to buy the confiscated properties of the nobility (which were auctioned off).
- They could also no longer appeal to the church for assistance, as they could before.
- The government was supposed to take on this role, but it was so often preoccupied with wars and fiscal crises that it did not do its job.
- Women certainly did not win out, as they lost the church (which was important for the beliefs of many women); women’s fraternity organisations were also shut down.
- The exclusively male revolutionary governments derided what they regarded as the poor, uneducated women.
- Napoleon revoked the right of women to divorce their husbands unless the husband physically brought their mistress into the house; on the other hand, they retained the right to inheritance.
Arguably, the bourgeoisie were the ones who benefitted most from the revolution.

**Changes of the Revolution**

- They abolished internal tariffs and barriers to trade.
- They introduced a new metric and renamed calendar.
- They subdivided France into many new departments, each roughly the same size.
- They also standardised weights and measures, and made French the official language through all French provinces.
- Napoleon restored the old calendar and put the church back into French life, though with a much diminished role and power.
- Most of the rest of the changes of the revolution were not revoked upon the restoration of the monarchy – though they tried, the revolutionary changes had been in place for over 20 years, and thus were essentially impossible to put back as they were.

**France after Napoleon**

- Charles X wanted to restore the aristocracy back to power, and in general return to the pre-revolutionary state of affairs.
- As part of this, he saw the need to restrict the freedom of the press; newspapers had become very popular and widespread, partly thanks to the literacy programs of the revolution.
- In 1830, when Charles sought to close down the press, he was overthrown by popular uprising and replaced by Louis Phillip.
- Phillip set himself up as very much a Bourgeois monarch.

**Europe and Nationalism**

- The 1820s and 1830s saw the rise of nationalism right across Europe.
- This included the independence movement in Latin America.
- Speeches were made and political groups were formed advocating ideals of German and Italian nationalism; the idea was that happiness was predicated on being in the same state.
- Duty to one’s nation was placed up with duty to God and duty to one’s family.
- In some ways, this nationalism was modern (e.g. copy the French progressive rational revolution), but on the other hand it was highly retrogressive.
- Nationalists looked backwards in time for old folktales and national stories; they also defined themselves in opposition to foreign influences (in a sense anti-modernism).
- The idea was very popular in the 1820s the European civilisation and culture traced its roots to ancient Greece.

**Industrialisation**

- From 1806 to 1846, the urban population increased by 70%, while the rural population increased only by 11%.
- Many people came to work in new factories; France doubled in size.
- Many new railways were built, virtually all of which led to Paris.
- Strikes increased in frequency, thus leading to the development of the first socialist and anarchist critiques of capitalism.
- In 1848 there was another liberal, bourgeois revolution, followed a few months later by a worker uprising ‘the June days’.
2.5 Imperialism and the Rise of Europe

The French in Algeria
- The French owed the Algerians and other North Africans millions of Francs for grain bought during the French revolution
- In 1827, the Algerian ruler offended French honour by hitting the French ambassador with his fly swatter upon being told that the French monarch had better things to do than worry about the French debts to Algeria
- Three years later, the French decided to invade, and annexed the kingdom
- In part, the campaign was an attempt to distract from France’s internal problems
- After the 1830 revolution, the French government had to decide what to do with its new colony
- Economists and others argued that colonies like Algeria were a net burden on France, and thus were not worth keeping
- Further, a royal commission determined that there had been massive injustices, murders, robberies and so forth by French troops in Algeria
- Nevertheless, for some reason, the commission recommended keeping Algeria
- Following this revolution, France began to attract many revolutionaries and other peoples seeking freedom
- However the government was not so enamoured by this influx of rag-tag elements, who were not seen to contribute meaningfully to society; thus they founded the French foreign legion to get rid of them
- The British did a similar thing with sending criminals to Australia

Mercantilism and the Colonial Economy
- Mercantilism – there is a limited amount of trade available, and each nation competes with other nations to control more of it
- Trade is considered almost to be a good in and of itself
- Trade belongs to a nation and serves to enrich the nation that controls it; it is not a globalising force
- Represented by the British Navigation Acts, which restricted the trade of British colonies
- The L’Exclusif in France was similar
- France could expand across land, whereas Britain could not, and hence the development of British sea power and overseas colonial Empire
- The growth in Royal chartered companies, who would represent their nation and help to expand its control over world trade

The British Empire
- In many ways, the British and the other East Indian Companies placed themselves within the old political structure rather than doing anything new
- In many ways, these trading companies were little more than state-backed organised pirates
- In the 1770s and 1780s, Britain was in a problematic position; it faced slave revolts in the Caribbean, revolutions in North America, and the threats of the French Revolution
- By the 1820s, however, Britain had an army three times the size it had before, and was much more secure with the end of the French and American revolutions
- It thus consolidated its Empire, gradually replacing the traders with Imperial government diplomats and officials, and also gradually implementing more of Adam Smith’s free trade ideas
These ideas of free trade, however, were not really well established until after the Imperial structure was already in place. Ironically, the abolishment of slavery and implementation of other Enlightenment ideals actually bred a kind of feeling of cultural supremacy, and abhorrence of all less civilised societies.

**Modernisation in Egypt**
- Britain and France were not the only Imperial powers of the time.
- Muhammad Ali began a modernisation campaign in Egypt, built up a state on broadly European lines, and began invading territories in Arabia and Syria to build up an Empire.
- He was only forced to surrender and return to Ottoman suzerainty upon his invasion of Egypt and the consequent European intervention in 1840.
- It was Ali’s son who gave permission to France to build the Suez canal; he too seemed to believed that Europeanization was the only way forward.
- Egypt became bankrupt in 1878, unable to pay back its loans taken out for modernisation.
- This was followed by a revolution which overthrew the government; the British intervened, and established their own friendly regime.

**Section 3: Resistance to Imperialism and Enlightenment**

**3.1 Feminism in the Nineteenth Century**

**The Origins of Patriarchy**
- Patriarchal society – one where men dominate women and children within the household.
- Educated men have been thinking and writing about women since the beginning of history.
- Their ideas about ‘What makes women different from men?’ came to be accepted as fact, and were encoded in law codes and religious reliefs.
- Roman law was transmitted piecemeal to European nations, and with modifications by English common law was transmitted to European colonies.
- A women brought her dowry to marriage, but thenceforth her husband took control of it.
- According to tradition Greek philosophy, women were considered to be a sort of ‘failed experiment’; an inferior version of man.
- Such thoughts were backed up by purported biological knowledge that women were smaller and had smaller skulls than men.
- This was also backed up by the Judeo-Christian heritage, whereby men predominate in the Church hierarchy, and Eve is blamed for the fall.

**English and French Patriarchy**
- Under English common law, a married women was not legally regarded as a person.
- She was considered to be merged as a person with her husband, and hence could not make a separate will, etc.
- Before the invention of the microscope in the 19th century, there was little knowledge about sexual organs or reproduction.
- In the First French Republic, women were denied many rights on the grounds that they were not economically independent; they were dependent on the head of the household.
- The Napoleonic Civil Code reintroduced the legal subordination of women to their households; this was exported to many European countries.
Women were identified with the raising and education of children, and thus with the private home sphere; women were believed to be incapable of abstract and complex reasoning.

**Early Feminist Movements**
- Mary Wollstonecraft was the first women to criticise the mainstream patriarchy of 18th century.
- The 19th century saw the rise of women’s literacy and also the growth of an educated middle-class of women who had the leisure and education to pursue emancipation.
- These early feminist ideals were picked up by utopian socialists in the mid-19th century.
- Women’s groups and communities were established in opposition to the industrial revolution.
- The Saint Simonian Women were a prominent example of this; they promoted women’s education, and opposed the monopolisation of marriage by the church.
- In 1848, Jeanne Deroin and her movement presented a petition for women’s rights (including the right to work) to the revolutionary government of France.
- In 1848, revolutions against the ruling monarchs broke out almost simultaneously in France, Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary.
- This was partially motivated by the economic crises of 1847, but also by the lack of political influence of the bourgeoisie.
- However, divided by class, political ideology and ethnicity, these revolutionary movements largely failed.

**Suffrage Movements**
- Nevertheless, during the ensuing decades, Marxism and Socialism grew in popularity, and many labour unions were founded – some even permitted women members and discussed women.
- Socialist theorists like Engles and Bebel argued that women’s suppression was routed in private property and the state, which would be abolished after a socialist revolution.
- The Marxist movements generally saw class divisions as trumping gender divisions and hence opposed bourgeois feminist movements.
- Towards the end of the century, women’s groups began to campaign for new rights, like the right to property and later suffrage.
- Women’s suffrage became the greatest social movement, with an international following and organisations, which became extremely prominent in the late 19th century.
- Women’s suffrage in Britain at times became violent, with many arrests and imprisonment of women’s activists; hunger strikes.

**Opposition to Feminism**
- Biological inferiority of women was often cited as a reason for denying suffrage – nature had determined the perpetual and immutable differences of men and women.
- Another argument was that women would be harmed by the masculine, ‘rough and tumble’ nature of politics – they would neglect their household duties and lose their femininity.
- Yet another argument used in France was that women could easily be manipulated by the church and their priests, being naturally more religious than men.
- Others argued that suffrage should be limited according to education and property; suffrage should be expanded gradually (French elites argued), like occurred in Britain.
- The social upheavals and population losses of WWI led to a growth in women’s rights, and at the same time a strengthening of laws against abortion and birth control.
3.2 Race and Resistance to Imperial Rule

France in Mid-Century
- The 1850s was a time of great self-confidence and nationalist feeling in France under the Second Empire (Napoleon III)
- There was much construction of grand buildings and streets in Paris, the failed invasion of Mexico, and the even greater failed war against Prussia which led to the capture of Napoleon and the end of the Second Empire
- The poor urban dwellers on the outskirts of Paris refused to accept the capitulation to Prussia
- They invaded Paris and established the Paris Commune, which lasted for only 72 days, but enacted many policies which formed the basis for later welfare states or socialism
- Many rebels were killed or exiled to French colonies
- In 1848 in Algeria there was a massive uprising in Algeria, partly in response to land confiscation
- The revolt was put down by massive force, and ironically served as the motivation/justification for further land confiscations, as well as legal discrimination against natives

New Imperialism 1870-1914
- This period was marked by a growing desire to ‘make the colonies pay’
- Part of this involved a series of land confiscations, in New Zealand, in Algeria, in Australia, and in South Africa against the Zulus
- The scramble for Africa was motivated in large part by the entry of Germany into the colonial system – Britain and France worried that all the good parts would be taken
- Even Belgium managed to grab a large slab of Africa, in large part due to the shrewdness of the Belgium monarch, who used various educational and ‘civilising’ organisation to infiltrate the region, and played one colonial power off against the other

The Indian Revolt
- Several native regiments of the East India Company came to fire on their British officers in 1857
- One of their main grievances was the introduction of a new cartridge that required soldiers to sight off the head of it, which was greased by pig and cow fat
- Indian soldiers opposed partaking of what their saw as a sacrilegious act
- A local crowd rose up in the town in which this occurred, and marched to Delhi
- They took over the city and forced out the European section
- Enormous atrocities were committed on both sides, including massacres of women and children, and instances of British force-feeding beef to Indians
- The revolt is now viewed in India as the ‘first war of independence’
- To some extent this is true, as the revolt was directed primarily against the British, was not merely local uprisings, and transcended local and ethnic loyalties
- On the other hand, many Indian princes stayed loyal, and in fact most of the troops fighting for the British were Indian auxiliaries

The Taiping Rebellion
- Opium imports into China were one of the primary means with which the EIC payed for its exports of tea, porcelain, silks, etc
- The Chinese government tried to ban opium imports, but the British and other governments fought a series of wars to force them to take the imports
- The instability so produced led to the Taiping Rebellion of 1851-1862
- The Taiping rebels established their own independent state, and did many progressive things such as banning foot binding and permitting women to take civil service examinations.
- Eventually the Taipings were defeated by the Qing.

**The Development of the Race Idea**
- The idea of race did not really appear in Europe until the 16th century.
- It was developed partly to justify slavery.
- Charles Darwin wrote ‘On the Origin of Species’ in 1859.
- These ideas about evolution developed into ideas of races being fixed in a hierarchy, with some superior to others.
- There was also the idea that some races were doomed to extinction, and there a massacre of such races was not such a bad thing – they would die out anyway.
- This idea of inferiority also led to the idea of genetic recessivity, such that native peoples could be ‘bred out’.

**3.3 Ghandi and Globalising Nonviolence**

**Gandhi Reflects Empire**
- Ghandi was born in 1869, was fluent in English, and trained as a lawyer in London, where he gained knowledge of British legal and political traditions.
- This in fact made him a loyal defender of the British Constitution, and his education reflected the structure and values of the Empire.
- Ghandi was also widely read in western history and literature, and was influenced by such thinkers as Tolstoy, Thoreau and Ruskin.
- He was also influenced by Christianity, particularly the Sermon on the Mount.
- He was also aware of and influenced by such protest groups such as the ‘Passive Resistance’ against the Education Act, and also the Suffragettes.
- He is also representative of the mobility and interconnectedness of the British Empire, as he visited London several times, and migrated to South Africa from 1893 to 1914.
- It was there that he began his first political experiments, including opposing local racial discrimination, and experimenting with communal living.
- Ghandi also remained loyal to the British in the Boer War, and always opposed those who said all the British were evil.

**Gandhi Opposes Empire**
- Gandhi strongly praised Indian Civilisation, describing it as the best civilisation ever.
- At the same time, he opposed ‘modern western civilisation’, arguing that it propagated immorality, while the factory system kept Indians poor.
- He also accused the politicians and newspapers of being selfish and dishonest.
- He said “I bear no enmity towards the English, but I do towards their civilisation”.
- He opposed not the English themselves, but the western civilisation which they represented.
- The expulsion of the English would not necessarily bring freedom; what was needed was to reject modern civilisation in entirety.
- Gandhi thus argued that the way to attain self-determination was to reject western civilisation.
- Ways to do this included not wearing western clothing, not working in western bureaucracies, and not accepting western titles or honours.
- Must be committed to perfect chastity, poverty, truth.
Ghandian Nonviolence

- First principle: nonviolence is not cowardice, indeed, he stated that if he had to chose between cowardice and violence, he would chose violence.
- He also argued that true nonviolence was not ‘passive resistance’ or ‘non-resistance’, because it involves real action, an expression of ‘live and truth’.
- Gandhi also argued that non-violence was a universal principle, and could be used everywhere against everyone.
- For Gandhi, non-violence was a creed, a deep held belief never to be abandoned, and not merely a tactic to be adopted or abandoned at will.

Gandhi Goes Global

- Gandhi’s exploits were extensively reported in western media.
- He had hundreds of western visitors in his later years, and many western biographies.
- Thus many westerners were thinking about Gandhi’s ideas and actions, and wondering whether they were applicable in the west.
- One view of Ghandi in the west (particularly early on), was that Ghandi was a backward Orientalist, whose campaign was primitive, and whose methods were not relevant to the west.
- This was promoted by images of Ghandi next to besuited western statesmen, images of large Indian groups of ‘rabble’, etc.
- Another idea was that of ‘overlikeness’, in which Ghandi was said to be really no different at all to anything in the west – often likened to Jesus or a ‘great saint’.
- Interestingly, thus view also meant that westerners had little to learn from Ghandi, as (for example) they could just turn to the Sermon on the Mount directly.
- These ideas were prevalent until the late 1930s, when they were challenged by western scholars.
- Eventually, Gandhian ideas were applied by social movements in the 1960s, including Martin Luther King in the US, and the nuclear disarmament movement in Britain.

3.4 The End of the Enlightenment?

Beginnings of the Enlightenment

- This was the name given to the new philosophes of the late 17th and 18th centuries, marked by a belief in realism (i.e. the world we observe through our senses of the ‘real world’, or the one that matters).
- The new mechanical clock brought a new conception of time.
- Reason is innate in all human beings, and can be used to understand the world.
- Equality between persons was broadly supported, as opposed to the old hierarchies.
- The 18th century was divided between old and new (i.e. enlightenment) philosophes; the bourgeoisie mainly adopted enlightenment ideologies; the aristocracy somewhat less so.
- The ‘Enlightenment Project’ refers to the idea that humans can use reason to improve the world.
- This enlightenment culture reached its highpoint in the 19th century and became the hegemonic cultural background of most educated people.

Progress in the Nineteenth Century

- Saw a large transfer of workers from agriculture to industry.
- Huge technological advances, notably in transport (railways).
- This permitted rapid communication and transfer of goods (this helped to alleviate food shortages and hence famine).
• Rapid growth in cities; many cities rebuilt and remodelled to make way for railroads, carriage ways and so forth
• Use of iron in large construction projects
• Cities were lit for the first time by first gas and then electric lights
• This was a particularly visible example of the products of human reason (overcoming darkness)
• The products of the enlightenment were touted in great exhibitions like that for which the Crystal Palace was built
• The Eiffel Tower was built at one of these World Fairs in 1889, and was compared to the Tower of Babel in that it showed ‘humans can do anything’

**The End of Enlightenment**
• The late 19th century up to WWI marks the apogee of Enlightenment and also the beginning of post-modern scepticism about progress and reason
• Edmund Burke was an early critic of the Enlightenment and opponent of the French revolution
• The 19th century also saw the rise in racial views, and the invention of the term ‘Aryanism’
• One view was that the ‘yellow races’ were competent shopkeepers, the ‘black races’ were sensual and good in arts, and the ‘white races’ were romanticised as great warriors
• Nietzsche argued that modern rationality and materialism had undermined the ancient classical glory and joy of the old Nordic tribes and warriors
• The basic idea was the if you think too much, you lose the real joys of living
• A similar argument was that of ‘degeneration’, whereby modern occupations made people sedentary, weak and effeminate
• Oscar Wilde and many other popularised these ideas about the limits of rationality and disadvantages of materialism in the late 19th century
• This is reflected in art by the departure from enlightenment efforts to capture the world as realistic as possible, and movements into abstract art and cubism
• Freud, in his discovery of many ‘subconcious irrationalism’, dealt another blow to reason
• Other events, like the sinking of the titanic and in particular the two World Wars and horrors of the holocaust, were highly destructive for the enlightenment project
• Unquestionably the faith in reason and rationality has been greatly diminished today

**3.5 The First World War**

**German Blame for the War**
• The causes of the First World War have been debated for decades, particularly regarding the causes of the war and the issue of guilt
• Discussion over the guilt of the war focused on Germany, although Anglo-Saxon and Germans scholars in the inter-war years argued that there were many complex underlying causes that cannot solely be pinned upon Germany
• After the Second World War, the British became far more willing to accept the idea that German aggression went right back to unification in 1871, and both world wars were merely continuations of this
• In contrast, German scholars argued that Nazism was an aberration from usual German history, and that therefore Germany was responsible for the Second World War but not the first
• In the 1960s, Fischer presented an argument that Germany had been preparing for a war for some years before the First World War
• Though his conclusions caused much controversy, it was primarily his new methods which attracted attention; instead of focusing entirely on warfare and high politics, he also took into account economic, social and domestic political factors

Alliances and Imperialism

• Some have compared the pre-war division of Europe between the Central Powers and the Triple Entente to the division of Europe after WWII between the two competing blocs
• However, these pre-war alliances were not as rigid or static as the Cold War divisions, even if they did help to keep the peace in Europe during the 19th century
• One of the biggest reasons for the development of these complex system of alliances was the Imperialist tensions between the declining powers (Spain and Portugal), established powers (Britain, France and Russia), rising powers (Germany and Italy), and non-European powers (USA and Japan)
• Imperialist struggles also required substantial investment in militaries and colonies, which required taxes, cuts to other government services, and government borrowing, which caused substantial domestic troubles in many nations

Social Effects of the War

• Britain was also undergoing a difficult time with strikes and other civil disturbances
• In this sense, the war was expected and even welcomed, as a means to end civil disturbances
• Thus when the war began, most people and political parties supported their governments and nations in protecting their country, in what was seen as a justified case of national defence
• Religious figures even called the war a holy war, and called upon their peoples to fight for the cause of faith
• All nations believed that the war would be a short war

Consequences of Mechanisation

• No one really anticipated the extent to which warfare had/did become mechanised and industrialised; many new inventions were made to try to overcome the trench stalemate
• The mechanisation of warfare also undermined the old ideals of heroism and chivalry
• The devastating effect of bombing and gas attacks, which men could not fight against, had devastating psychological effects on soldiers, and also undermined their ideals about correct masculine behaviour
• This also contributed to a growing divide between front line soldiers and civilians

Economic Implications

• The economic strains of the war were manifested in three major forms: shortage of workers, shortages of food, and mobilisation of production
• Increasing strains placed on workers led to growing tensions with unions and workers, and hence growing numbers of strikes as the war went on
• The mobilisation of production for war needs also led to shortages of all types of basic consumer goods, as well as a shortage of food
• Some historians even argue that the allied blockade of Germany prevented them from gaining access to enough food, while the allies were able to secure food imports
• Thus the allies won the war in large part thanks to better food supplies
• Food shortages were most heavily felt in the cities, who could not provide their own stocks of food as the countryside did
These various hardships all contributed to the decreasing popularity of the war

Consequences and Importance of WWI

- World War One is seen as a turning point in virtually all periodization systems
- The WWI is also the first world war (although it was still mostly European), the first total war, and hence the first war to really blur the distinction between civilians and soldiers
- It was also the first war to see the really heavy and central use of technology
- New mass media and communication techniques made WWI the first war to see the heavy use of propaganda
- The First World War also emphasised the nation state as the key player in domestic and international affairs
- World War One also saw the rise of women in the workforce, and the growth in social tensions between the sexes after the men came home and often wanted their wives to return home
- The end of the First World War also saw massive political changes in the collapse of the Hapsburg, Russian and Ottoman Empires
- The period from 1914-1945 has been described as a period of great catastrophe, and indeed by some as the ‘31 years war’
- Another periodisation is that 1917-1991 marks a long ‘European Civil War’ between communist and anti-communist forces, with Fascism marking just one anti-Communist force

3.6 The “Sonderweg”: Germany After the War

Political Changes in Germany

- There was much discontent in Germany around 1918, and calls for the Kaisar to be overthrown
- People feared that a Bolshevik revolution would break out in Germany as it had in Russia
- These fears contributed to the hasty formation of the Weimar Republic on November 9, 1918
- The constitution was drawn up in Weimar rather than Berlin firstly in order to avoid the political violence that plagued the city, and secondly because it was symbolic of classical German culture and ideals, rather than Prussian militarism
- The constitution was the product of many compromises and concessions, as well as being forced to carry the heavy burden of the lost war

The Weimar Republic

- The Weimar republic was constantly plagued by political instability in its early years, which peaked in 1923 with an attempted communist uprising and Nazi putsch
- Even the supporters of the Republic were ‘republicans by reason’ rather than ‘republicans by heart’ – there was a widespread feeling that the republic was only temporary, and would one day be replacing by some unknown successor
- The German hyperinflation of 1923 had its origins during the war, when the German government began printing money to pay its debts
- It was also the result of printing of money which the German government began in order to meet its reparations payments
- The inflation ended after the currency reform of 1924, but beginning in 1929 unemployment began to increase rapidly’
Culture in the 1920s

- Despite the political and economic uncertainty of the period, the interwar period in Germany was actually a period of great cultural dynamism and innovation.
- Weimar Germany saw the birth of asceticism, reducing everything down to simple, functional, non-ornate designs; these stylings have become common in the modern world today, notably in everyday consumer goods and household durables.
- After the war there was also a growing scepticism of modernity and enlightenment ideals.
- Berlin: Symphony of a Great City

The idea of ‘German exceptionalism’ has a long history of use by both German and non-German scholars; it was used to explain both World Wars, as well as German Unification and other things.
- Modern scholars have rejected German exceptionalism on the grounds that all nations and peoples have some special characteristics and defining events, and also because it seems to assume that German history ends with Nazism.

Section 4: The Cold War and After

4.1 Communism as a Global Movement

What is Communism?

- In 19th century Europe, Socialism referred to a broad range of political groups and movements which stressed the goal of social equality in the newly industrialised societies.
- This included social democrats, socialists and trade unions.
- Communism arose as just one variant of these many different groups.
- Communism was not always synonymous with Marxism – Communism in the mid-late 19th century referred to a variety of socialist groups which called for the abolition of private property.
- By the early 20th century, however, the two had become synonymous.

Marx’s Philosophy

- Karl Marx has an interest in and wrote about economics, politics, philosophy, and also worked as a journalist.
- Though he wrote a great deal, his 1848 work The Communist Manifesto is a fairly short and succinct summary of his ideas.
- Marx argued that material conditions (notably modes of production) determined human consciousness.
- History has progressed through a variety of modes of production, including Feudalism.
- Society is divided into a number of different classes, the status of which is determined by their relationship to the means of production (e.g. owner vs. Worker).
- History progresses via a string of class struggles and revolutions, with each stage defined by its dominant mode of production.
- History constantly progresses towards communism, which makes the end of class conflict and hence the final stage of evolution.
- Capitalism is a conflict between the bourgeoisie (capitalist owners of production), and the proletariat (workers who are forced to sell their labour).
- Marx believed that the revolution would occur in Germany, so the revolution in Russia was a bit of a surprise.
The Rise of the Party

- Lenin arose as the leader of the Bolshevik faction, and he came up with the idea of the party being the enlightened representatives and agents of the Proletariat.
- They knew the interests of the Proletariat better than the Proletariat itself—they would rule for a temporary period after the revolution on behalf of the Proletariat.
- This ‘dictatorship of the Proletariat’ was Lenin’s major contribution to Marxism, and was supposed to safeguard the revolution from collapse.
- It meant the rise of the party as central to everything, including obedience to the directives of the party.
- Comintern was formed in 1919 as a grouping of many communist parties under the leadership of the CPSU—by 1935 there were 76 Communist parties worldwide.
- The largest parties were in France and China, with over 50,000 members. Most, however, were illegal, and had less than 1000 members.
- The formation of the Comintern was an abandonment of the idea of spontaneous universal revolution—the Communists had to manage the next step.

Communism from 1920 to 1960

- Following the revolution, the USSR became the centre of world communism.
- The focus became defending the revolution; this explains the unexpected deal with Hitler.
- During the 1920s, Stalin became the leader of world communism, and began building his cult of personality.
- This period was characterised by collectivisation of agriculture, introduction of the command economy and 5-year plans, transportation of whole populations, and the Great Purges.
- After WWII, we see the formation of the Soviet Bloc in Eastern Europe.
- We also see the rise of Maoist China as the major counterweight and rival to the USSR.
- Its doctrines were particularly applicable to and popular amongst anti-colonial peoples.

Communist Ideology and Practise

- “Philosophers have only interpreted the world...the point however is to change it” – Engels.
- Marxism was both highly theoretical and practical, and thus appealed to many intellectuals.
- It appealed to many of those socialists and others who viewed capitalism as evil.
- It appealed to many from the labour movement.
- It also appeals to colonial nationals, who particularly adopt Lenin’s critique of Imperialism.
- Emphasis on close study and adherence to key orthodox communist texts.
- The importance of party adherence and self-sacrifice for the revolution.
- Cosmopolitan, nationalist ideal, rising above national loyalties.
- Lenin even criticised German and British socialists for supporting their nations in WWI—he called for a socialist defeatism in Russia.

4.2 Origins of the Cold War

Situation After World War Two

- Massive destruction of cities and factories.
- Something like 55-70 million dead, including 27 million Soviets.
- The US became the greatest economic and military power.
- The massive destruction led to the desire to avoid such a war ever again.
- The Soviets essentially won the European war, but paid dearly in terms of live.
Soviet Goals

- Thus they had troops throughout Eastern Europe, right up to Berlin
- Also important were the grave ideological differences between Communism and Capitalism
- Also important were the supposed ‘lessons of Munich’, namely that dictators cannot be appeased, that granting concessions merely makes them want more
- The USSR was determined to control the Polish corridor, through which it had been invaded several times in the past few decades
- As its troops were already there, there was little the west could do about it

Historiography of the Cold War

- The traditional view of the Cold War in the west was that the USSR was the aggressor in the Cold War, and the US was the ‘good guy’
- The revisionist school arose around the beginning of the Vietnam War
- They argued that the USA exaggerated the Soviet threat, which was justified in defending its own borders, and that the policy of containment was mainly motivated by US economic interest
- The post-revisionists arose around 1990, and argued that although the US did overreact and exaggerate Soviet threats, these threats were genuine and serious

Iran, Greece and Turkey

- There were hopes of a new international security order, epitomised by the UN, but in practise this merely became another forum for the Cold War
- Stalin agreed at Yalta to pull his occupation troops out of Iran after WWII, however for a time he refused to do this, and called for a division of the country into communist and non-communist zones
- The US and UK refused, and in the end Stalin gave in
- Following WWII, Britain had been providing aid to the faltering governments in Greece and Turkey, which were both fighting communist insurgencies and Soviet influence
- Following the withdrawal of British aid, however, the US stepped in, and broke with its traditional isolationist policies
- The justification was the need to contain soviet expansion, according to the domino theory that if Greece and Turkey fell, Iran, India, etc would follow

Marshal Plan and Berlin

- The Marshal plan was passed with a mixture of altruism, pragmatism in needing to rebuild Europe for trade benefits to the US, and also for the need to reduce Soviet and communist influence
- In 1948, the Soviets cut off road and rail access to west Berlin, and also cut off transportation of food through East Berlin
- The hope was that they could starve west Berlin into submission, and this merge it into East Germany
- However, the west had negotiated guaranteed air access to West Berlin, and so they were able to ship in air supplies
- A wire fence was first put up diving east from west Berlin in 1952, however access between the two was not blocked
The Korean War

- Truman agreed to intervene in Korea because he feared an expansion of Soviet power through other areas of Asia, and also because he did not want to be blamed for the fall of another Asian state, following him being blamed for the fall of China to communism
- The Korean War fuelled Macarthyism, and led to an expansion of US military expenditure
- In the early 1950s the US incited coups against nationalist leaders in Iran and Guatemala who had begun to organise nationalisations and land reforms which the US disliked
- These leaders were replaced with pro-US dictators

4.3 The Vietnam Wars

Early History of Vietnam

- Vietnam was controlled by China for four separate periods throughout its history
- It always fought for independence, and gained it several times
- Throughout the 19th century, the French gradually expanded their rule throughout the region, and finally took the whole Indochina by 1882
- There were a variety of independence movements before WWII, but these were all crushed
- Later independence movements welded the ideology of communism with nationalism
- The communists fought a guerrilla war against the occupying Vichy France government during World War Two

The War Against the French

- After the war Ho Chi Ming declared independence from France, but the US and Britain backed the French re-entry
- The Viet Ming then began an insurgency against the French, with the Ming backed by Chian (largely ignored by the USSR), and the French funded in large part by the US – 80% by 1953
- The dramatic fall of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 led to the withdrawal of the French
- At the Geneva accords, peace talks which had been going on for a while, the French agreed to withdraw from Vietnam, and the land was temporarily divided into two zones
- The north was communist under Ho Chi Ming, and the south came under the rule of the anti-Communist Ngo Dinh Diem
- Though some of the Viet Ming were reluctant to accept this partition after beating the French, they were pressured into it by the USSR and China

Divided Vietnam

- There was supposed to be an election in two years after a cooling off period, when the country would be re-united, however this never happened
- Ngo Dinh Diem was a Catholic amongst an 80% majority Buddhist population, and resisted US pressures to democratise
- He pursued absolute power, and was unpopular amongst everyone but his cronies and the few Catholics
- Although both Vietnams were corrupt and authoritarian, Ho Chi Ming was popular, while Ngo Dinh Diem never was

Beginnings of the War

- Gradually an insurgency developed in the south, which from 1959 onwards was funded by the North Vietnamese
• The National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam was originally not a Communist organisation, but a broad coalition of many groups, however over time it did essentially become communist
• With the increasing insurgency, the US began greatly increasing its ‘military advisor’ force in South Vietnam, particularly after 1959
• In July 1963, there was a series of protests in South Vietnam by Buddhists, who were reacting against the oppression and Catholic-preference of Diem
• Because of this negative publicity, the US decided to agree to a military coup against Diem
• These following governments, however, were even weaker than Diem’s, and hence required greater US support
• Reasons for US escalation in Vietnam included fear of communist spread, desire not to lose face, fear of losing credibility and other allies, and the fact that escalation was incremental and ‘seemed like a good idea at the time’

Direct US Intervention
• Direct US intervention in Vietnam began shortly after an alleged attack by the North Vietnamese on a US military ship
• Following this incident, a resolution was passed through congress which effectively passed Congress’ power to declare war over to the president
• Operation Rolling Thunder, a massive US bombing program of North Vietnam, began in 1965 and continued for three years – an attempt to destroy the North Vietnamese economy
• Taiwan, Thailand, South Korea, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand supported the US
• China and the USSR both vied with each other for support and influence of North Vietnam
• The Chinese declared that if the US crossed the 17th parallel, they would send in ground troops
• Soviet aid overtook Chinese aid in 1968; both powers escalated their aid as the US did

End of the War
• Traditionally, there had been a ceasefire between the NLF and the US and South Vietnamese troops at the Vietnamese celebration of Tet in late January
• However, in January 1968, the Viet Cong launched a massive offensive against major South Vietnamese cities
• Tet was a huge surprise for the US, even though they did manage to defeat the offensive and recapture all the cities
• Strategically, however, the images of chaos and violence in South Vietnam turned US public opinion sharply against the war, particularly after having been told for years that they were winning
• Nixon pursued a policy of Vietnamisation, and tried to sue Detente to pressure the USSR and China to force the North Vietnamese to negotiate
• Negotiations went on fruitlessly for years, until finally there was an agreement in 1973, in which the North agreed to lead the South alone and return US prisoners, while the US agreed to withdraw
• Aside from the costs of life and money, the war also caused deep social divisions within the US, and made people stop trusting the government
4.4 A New World Order

The Berlin Wall
- In the 1950s, the growing gap in the standard of living between East and West Germany led to an increasing flood of (illegal) immigrants from the East to the West
- In 1961, most of the roads connecting East and West Berlin were dug up without warning, and a barbed wire fence placed between the two zones
- In 1964-65, this was replaced by a concrete fence, which was later upgraded
- The Brezhnev period saw a thaw in Cold War relations between east and west, but at the same time increasing conservatism in the attitude towards domestic intellectuals (reversing Khrushchev’s mini-liberalisation)

The Fall of the Wall
- The death of three Soviet leaders in quick succession in the early 1980s led partially to the election of Gorbachev (who was three decades younger than his predecessor) as the new Soviet leader
- In 1989, West Germans on holiday in Hungary were allowed to move into Austria without any harm; shortly thereafter East Germany in Prague were granted asylum in the West German embassy, and they were taken ‘secretly’ on a train to the west
- Soon there were public uprisings demanding change and democratic reform
- At this point, Honecker was voted out of office by his own party; the pressure for freedom of travel and other reforms was enormous
- The party agreed to pass a law allowing Germans to travel to the west, so long as they had a state issued exit visa
- It was mistakenly announced, however, that this law would take effect immediately, and border guards, lacking instructions about what to do about the crowds of thousands who appeared at the gates demanding to get through, eventually gave way and opened the gates

Collapse of the USSR
- It seems that the collapse of the USSR was not caused by economic stagnation or other such factors, but by the unique combination of Gorbachev’s economic reforms and political reform
- Gorbachev did not want to destroy the Soviet Union, but to reform it to make it stronger – notably a looser union but keeping the underlying socialist structure of the economy

The New World Order
- Many in the west felt that the collapse of the Soviet Bloc represented a great victory for western and enlightenment ideologies and practices
- This was represented by such events as the intervention in the Gulf War, the Oslo peace Accords in the Middle East, and the birth of the European Union, the formation of NAFTA and the WTO
- In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia (which they had the right to do) – in response, the Serb minority in Croatia declared their independence from Croatia, and wanted to stay with Serbia
- This led to a series of wars and ‘ethnic cleansing’
- The enlightened, liberal ‘New World order’ was further brought into question by the Rwandan genocide of 1994
4.5 China: Cultural Revolution to Global Power

The Revolution and Early Republic
- China was subject to significant imperial influence in the late 19th century, including foreign treaty ports, and foreign control over modern sectors of the economy
- In 1911, the old Imperial regime was overthrown
- The warlord period from 1912 to 1927 marked a time of lack of central authority and rival warlords
- Following this was the Nanjing decade from 1927-1937, when a central government in Nanjing at least on the surface established a centralised government
- Sun Yat-sen established the nationalist party and was associated with the overthrow of the Imperial government in the early teens

The Early Days of Communism
- The spread of communism in China was very limited until the May 4th movement of 1919
- On this date there was a protest against the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference
- Great hopes amongst colonial peoples (including the Chinese) had been created in response to promises of self-determination of peoples
- China was also upset that a German territory in China was given to Japan rather than China
- The Chinese Communist Party was established in 1921 in response to the sending of Comintern agents – its policies were partly shaped by the Comintern
- The CCP and KMT formed a shaky alliance, with the CCP being too weak to stand by itself, while Yat-sen was sympathetic to communist ideals and Soviet models
- The two parties worked together until the KMT turned on the communists in 1927
- Mao was an intellectual from a prosperous peasant family who gained a western education – he joined the Communist party from the beginning
- Mao moved the Chinese power base to a deserted northern area during the Long March of 1934-1936; they emerged from this as a much stronger force

Communism in Power
- The Party takes over the state, and its the only legitimate political actor
- It rules on behalf of the masses, and guides the transition to socialism
- Ruled by cadres – professional Communist Party Officials
- Presided over by a Great Leader, on the model of Stalin and emulated by other parties
- This leader becomes the source of ideological pronouncements and political authority
- The Party and leader preside over the Masses; they are to be re-ordered and reformed, and mobilised by the party to achieve socialism
- Any resistance among the masses must be eliminated

China under Mao
- The victory of the CCP in 1949 is known as ‘liberation’, and represented China’s ‘standing up’ to the rest of the world
- Then followed the creation of a single-party state led unquestionably by Mao
- Despite Mao’s pre-eminence, there were a number of other prominent leaders around him, including Deng Xiaoping
- Throughout Mao’s long 26-year rule, there was a cyclical alternation between radical political goals and more pragmatic bureaucratic management
• Markets were abolished, and a command economy established
• Mao was strongly opposed to social hierarchies of all sorts, ironically including the party itself – this was a major impetus behind the cultural revolution
• Despite the importance of class background, Mao opposed any social difference between soldiers, workers, peasants, etc
• During the Mao era there were some important achievements, including rapid industrialisation and a doubling of life expectancy
• Mao is also very suspicious of foreign ideas and influence, and hence strongly emphasised Chinese self-reliance
• Another key Mao idea is that people could solve all their problems and ‘conquer nature’ so long as they had the ‘right communist spirit’

China as a Global Power
• Mao was initially highly supportive of the Soviet Union, believing Stalin to be the legitimate leader of world socialism – this was primarily manifested by their entry into the Korean War
• At the same time, China also felt to be part of the new Third World movement, in opposition to European colonialism, as seen by their involvement in the 1955 conference at Bandung
• By the 1960s, however, China moved away from both the non-aligned movement and also from the USSR, notably in response to the ‘revisionism’ of Khrushchev denouncing Stalin
• Despite the attractiveness of Maoism to Third World revolutionaries, and the continual propaganda and revolutionary pronouncements of the Chinese leadership, China did not actually do very much to spread the Communist revolution

Motivates Behind the Cultural Revolution
• The Cultural Revolution was really just another one of Mao’s radical political campaigns
• After the Great Leap Forward, Party leaders continued to play lip service to Mao and his ideals, but did not actually listen to or implement his ideals
• Thus Mao tried to circumvent the party and appeal directly to the people – he appealed to the youth and the ‘Red Guards’ to attack the party leaders
• The specific goal of this campaign was to continue the revolution against the newly formed elites, specifically the new party elites
• The idea was that China could be communised virtually overnight, amongst other things by changing its culture
• This included indoctrinating and mobilising the youth, and destroying old religious texts and monuments, etc
• The Cultural Revolution was also a power struggle between Mao and the Party, particularly between Mao’s radicalism and the preference of the other party leaders for the more rational, technocratic and hierarchical approach of Soviet Communism

The Cultural Revolution
• Moderate leaders like Li were kicked out of the party and imprisoned
• The Cultural Revolution was also a period of great social turbulence and violence
• There were great tensions between those of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ social backgrounds, as well as ethnic conflicts in Tibet and Inner Mongolia
• The government was paralysed, government institutions were seized by workers and red guards, and schools and universities were closed down for several years
• The first call to form Red Guards came in 1966, with mass rallies in Beijing
The dramatic breakdown of order, however, led Mao in December 1968 to try to restore order (using the army), and he ordered 17 million urban youth to go help the peasants in the countryside.

In 1971, Lin Biao apparently tried to launch a coup which failed, then got on a plane to the USSR, which crashed in Mongolia and killed him.

This incident brought about widespread disillusionment with the cultural revolution, particularly as Lin Biao was seen as Mao’s ‘right hand man’.

**Dismantling the Cultural Revolution**

- After the death of Mao, the radical ‘Gang of Four’ lost their support and power, and were arrested - the party was reinstated in power.
- By the 1980s, the Chinese leadership had built upon the rapprochement with the US in the early 1970s to form the ‘open door policy’.
- Foreign investment and technologies were introduced and sought after, peasants given greater incentives, and markets re-introduced.
- A new emphasis was placed upon respect for social superiors.

### 4.6 Global Islam and the Clash of Civilizations

#### The Iranian Revolution

- Ayatollah Komeni in the early 1970s argued that the ulama had the duty to criticise and even overthrow unjust leaders in Islamic countries.
- This was quite revolutionary, as traditionally the ulama had supported the state and order.
- Much like in the French revolution, in Iran the original provisional government was overthrown, and a Komeni led ulama-based government came to power.
- Islamic values and examples of western influence were banned outright, for example alcohol, homosexuality, western clothing, schools and universities re-opened on Islamic principles, books burned, etc.
- However, there is evidence that despite public changes, people continued in their private lives much as before.

#### Iran Under Komeni

- Iran does have democratic elections, but only within the context of shariah law.
- Although women were a very important source of support for Komeni, and had their rights guaranteed in the constitution, they were still forced to adhere strictly to various Islamic precedents, including full body coverage, etc.
- Saddam Hussein presented the Iran-Iraq war as the continuation of an ancient struggle of Arabs against Persians.
- Iran was quite successful in the war, partly because of their ability to generate thousands of ideologically motivated suicide fighters.

#### Secular Nationalism

- The other type of Middle Eastern state was that of the secular, nationalist, often autocratic state.
- Post-Ottoman Turkey was the prototype example of this, with the outlawing of various Islamic dresses, introduction of western-style legal codes and writing forms, etc.
- These states existed all over the Islamic world, including in Indonesia, Pakistan, Algeria, Libya and Syria.
- These states were courted by both Cold War powers, particularly after the oil crisis.
The Mujahedeen
- Jihad – struggle; this struggle could be a military struggle against infidels, but also can be a struggle against sin, passions, etc, in order to become a good Muslim
- Mujahedeen – those who carry out the struggle
- The Mujahedeen in Afghanistan were radicals like those in Iran, but they were Sunni, and so could relate to the majority

Wahhabism
- Wahhabism argued for the emphasis on the strict monotheism of God, while stripping away all the other ‘cultural artefacts’ which they believed had been added to and corrupted true Islamic principles
- In this sense, the rise of Wahhabism was somewhat like the Islamic reformation – stripping away all the non-essential aspects of the religion
- Wahhabism was adopted by the Saudi family, which established it as the state religion of their new nation

Islamic Brotherhood in Egypt
- An even more radical challenge to the Islamic orthodoxy was the Islamic Brotherhood in Egypt, which opposed the secular nationalism of Nasser
- Egypt and other states cracked down on these groups, arrested their followers and placed them in brutal prison camps
- This ironically had the effect of centralising all those of similar beliefs in a perfect location for study and discussion, whilst giving them plenty of additional reasons to hate the establishment
- It was a radical member of the Islamic Brotherhood who assassinated Sadat in 1981
- These groups gradually became even more radical, and even developed on the concept of takfir (apostasy), which they applied to all those who co-operated with the west, and even those who failed to oppose the west
- This idea justifies terrorist attacks on fellow Muslims – by failing to join the anti-western revolution they become just as bad as westerners

Islamists in Algeria
- The single party state that had ruled Algeria since 1961 gave up its monopoly on political power in 1991, and in the ensuing elections the Islamic Party, the only viable opposition, won the majority of the vote
- There was a military coup to prevent the Islamists taking power, which led to a civil war between the military and the Islamists
- The years of violence and insecurity eventually led to the decline in popularity of the Islamists
- This complexity of events led many in the west to return to a ‘Cold War’ mentality of an absolute opposition between traditionalist Islamic values and modernist western values

Section 5: The Birth of the Modern World Notes
See Bayly Reading Task Notes
5.1 Causes of the Revolution

The End of the Long Peace: Asia and North Africa

- During the period 1780 to 1820, the level of conflict escalated worldwide, and the resultant upheavals culminated in a series of profound economic and political changes, 89
- During the period 1660-1720, the world enjoyed peace and prosperity following the consolidation of the Tsarist, Ottoman, Qing, Moghul and Safavid Empires, the consolidation of the slave trade and north American colonies, and the end of the religious wars in Europe, 89
- In the early 18th century, however, a variety of factors, including enrichment of lesser elites and merchants by the growth in world trade, who could now change existing elites, and possibly the simple fact of imperial overstretch, contributed to the collapse of order in Middle East and India
- The Safavid Empire collapsed after 1722, leading to a decline in arts and culture and over a century of clan-based warfare, 89
- Around the same time, the Moghul Empire began to fragment, which was hastened by the invasion of Afghan and Persian armies, 89
- The main beneficiaries of this instability were the Europeans, who were able to greatly increase their influence in India and South-East Asia beginning around 1757, 90
- The Ottoman Empire suffered defeats to the Austrians in the 1690s and the Russians in the 1760s; its power in North Africa declined, and its economy stagnated, 90
- Even the Qing regime in China faced internal opposition by ‘sorcerers’, while warfare increased markedly in current Indochina, Thailand and Burma, 90

Explaining the Rising Disorder

- To a large extent these developments were related; political collapse in one region reduced economic welfare in other regions, and might encourage other rules to invade, hence spreading conflict across wide areas, 90
- Part of this string of collapses can be explained by rising military costs, which began with European military innovations around the late 17th century, 91
- The Moghul, Safavid, Ottoman and other Empires were all increasingly faced with increased costs of defending their borders and maintaining internal security, while having to pay for this with stagnant or declining revenues, 91-92
- North-west Europe was able to compensate for these rising costs by higher productivity, but this did not occur in Asia, 91

The European Military Fiscal Crisis

- During the 18th century, European wars began to focus mostly on control over territory, towns, dynastic succession, and especially overseas trade routes, 92
- Warships, the flintlock rifle, disciplined military formations, and later the mass conscripted army were all very costly, and many European nations could not politically afford to raise taxes on the nobility or the middle classes, 92-93
- In particular, they risked bread and taxation riots if they tried to tax the urban masses, 93
- The enormous expenses of the Seven Years War forced many European governments to commence political reforms to raise more money, 93-94
- Spain tried to boast its revenues and honour by reforming its administration of its colonies, though it lacked the power to successfully do so, and the inhabitants of the Americas by this time felt little affinity with Spain, 94
Britain tried to recoup its war costs by levying new taxes on its North American colonies and protect its new acquisitions from attack by sending over troops and exerting more control over its colonies, 94

This was fiercely resented by the independent colonists, and led to the War of Independence, 94

The enormous war debts undertaken by France during the 18th century prompted the crown to institute a series of reforms which culminated in the calling of the Estates General in 1789

Ultimately these reforms only elicited more opposition and undermined royal power, 95-96

Disrespect for the State in Europe

The spread of printing and political associations in 18th century Europe and North America helped to generate a culture of opposition to authority which would feed into the incipient revolution, 100-101

In America, the colonists were annoyed at the British conciliation of the conquered French peoples of Quebec, 101

In France, the mismanagement of state finances was turned into a moral issue, 101

The court was running out of money because it was luxurious, degenerate and sexually perverted; in particular the lewd and corrupting influence of Marie Antoinette was emphasised

These views undermined the authority of the church, the aristocracy and the monarchy, 101

To an extent this existed in Britain also, but it was much less intense and dangerous for a variety of reasons, including the presence of Parliament and the London Press to ‘blow off steam’ and elicit debate and reform, and also because many more middle-class merchants, professionals, etc, had a stake in the current social order of Britain than was the case in France, 102

British and German enlightenment thinkers, Protestants, Methodists and evangelists did not adopt a stridently anti-clerical viewpoint like their French counterparts – instead they argued for the improvement of society by the application of reason and benevolence, 102

Thus, popular culture, beliefs, and representations of politics provided a conduit for revolution, in which fundamental social and political conflicts were expressed, exacerbated and finally broke forth into real revolution, 103

In England, most people had some respect for the law, and a concern for property and order, thus uniting the gentry with many merchants and middle-classes, 105

In contrast, the French had been taught by two generations of pamphleteering that the monarchy, the nobility, the law and the Church were all corrupt, 105

Disrespect for the State in Asia

This occurred not just in Europe but also in China, where in the 1760s the Qing had great problems with the millenarian Buddhist monks, were claimed that earthly power was about to vanish away, 103

After the death of an Emperor in 1799, nobles fought over the control of the new monarch, thus revealing the extent of mal-governance and corruption to the Chinese people – the next few decades saw many popular revolts across China, 103

However, the most successful movement focused more on corrupt bureaucrats and local officials than on the Emperor himself, and hence the Chinese Empire was able to stagger on throughout the 19th century, 104

Though Japan also had its riots and uprisings, its governmental structure was denser at the village level than in China, and this helped the government and ruling classes to stay in power, even after the 1868 restoration, 104
• In both India and The Ottoman Empire, radical religious movements arose to undermine the authority of the state, and claim a restoration of older, purer ways, 105
• This included the Sikh movement to establish dharma, and the Wahhabi purist movement, 105

5.2 Consequences of the Revolution

Worldwide Political Consequences
• The invasion of revolutionary France by foreign powers, fearful of the anti-aristocratic precedent but also desirous to annex French possessions, unleashed a great deal of patriotism and national feeling, both among radical revolutionaries and peasants and bourgeois who had gained from the exiling of the nobility, 96
• The French revolution sparked off slave revolts in the Caribbean, while the French conquest of Spain sparked off independence movements in Latin America, 98
• The resultant disruption of the slave and silver trade had effects on the economies of China, 98
• The war also provided an opportunity for the British to expand their empire; they invaded the Dutch East Indies and took over south Africa, expanded their holdings in India, reformed their regime in Canada following the War of 1812 itself caused by the blockade of Napoleon’s Europe), and tightened their grip on Ireland following the 1798 rebellion, 99
• The revolutionary ideals also impacted on Oceania via the flood of missionaries into Hawaii and Australia based on revolutionary, universalist ideals, 100

Citizenship and the Rise of Liberalism
• The new revolutionary ideologies and widespread revolt of the Age of Revolution forced leaders to rethink and reshape the ideological foundations of the state, 106
• Also important was the birth of the idea of ‘the people’, as a collective group with rights and the ability to influence political outcomes, 107
• This idea was spread across the world, as seen by slave revolts in the Caribbean and low-caste uprisings in India, 107
• Apart from in America, the state was in most places able to utilise these new revolutionary ideals of equality, freedom and progress to its advantage, and hence come out on top, 108
• Aside from the simple fact that people craved order in such an unstable time, the new states could also offer religious toleration, protection of universal rights, universal standards of rationality and enlightenment, and state-sponsored modernisation, 108-109
• Such practices can be seen in Napoleon, Muhammad Ali, Nadir Pasha, and even the post-Bourbon and post-Napoleon rulers of Germany and South America, 109
• Revolutionary regimes liberated Jews from Ghettos; religious toleration was extended in the British Empire (notably of Irish Catholics); governments-sponsored observation and scientific voyages (notably Captain Cook and Napoleon in Egypt) were common, 110-111
• Revolutionary states also adopted the idea that they could ‘improve’ the peoples of conquered lands, both morally and technologically – this was attempted by the French in Italy and Algeria, and the British in India, 111

The Rise of Nationalism
• The revolutionary and Napoleonic wars enhanced the feeling of nascent patriotism and nationalism which had been developing in 18th century Europe and Latin America, 112
• These ideas were also picked up on by some native peoples in colonial regions, 112
• In Italy and Russia, national feelings arose out of opposition to Napoleon; in Germany they arose after the dissolution of the HRE, and in Britain and America in response to the Napoleonic and Revolutionary wars, 112-113
• Poland and Ireland began to define their national identities in relation to Russian and British domination respectively, 113
• Muhammad Ali deliberately fostered a feeling of ‘Egyptianness’, as did the Indian princes in attempt to rouse opposition to the British, 113
• Bengalis in Calcutta of the 1820s read in newly published newspapers about the revolutionary struggles in Ireland and Genoa; if the Irish or the Genoese had rights and identities as peoples, why not the Hindus or the Indians?, 114

Rise of the Middle Class
• The period 1780-1830 also saw the emergence of a commercial middle class with middle class values, 115
• The economic basis behind the growing prosperity of this group was based not so much on expanding industry, but upon a growth in world trade, slave plantations and the textile industry
• Basically an expansion and gradual improvement of small-scale merchant and craft activities, 115-116
• Private consumption rose, and goods that previously were the preserve of the rich could now be enjoyed by those of middling wealth, 116
• The rise of newspapers and expansion of literacy combined with the enlightenment ideals and the social changes wrought by the aforementioned economic changes, produced a growing mass electorate of educated and moralistic citizens, first in the US and later in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, 116-117
• This was also reinforced by the enlightenment ideals brought by Old World immigrants, who to some extent or other were all motivated by the desire for more freedoms, 117
• Farmers were frequently independent small-holders were had none of the aristocratic connections of European landowners, and the same respectability as tradesmen, 117
• The Middle class also arose in Britain, though it was sandwiched between the remaining aristocrats and the industrial and rural proletariat, 117

Religious Humanitarianism
• The rise of evangelical Christian churches in Europe and North America led to a growth in the importance of education, morality, poor relief, and worldwide missionary efforts to Christianise and educate native peoples, 117-118
• A new middle class of educated state servants and merchants arose in the Ottoman Empire, in response to the exposure to European education and trade; they established schools, libraries and other civil societies, 119
• A similar thing occurred in India and Southeast Asia, partly propelled by Christian missionary efforts, 119