MODERN WORLD HISTORY: NEW PERSPECTIVES (OCC VERSION)

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

1: The Economy of the Eastern Hemisphere and China - 1500 - 1600

? Learning Objectives

- Understand globalization as a process that intensified up to 1650 CE
- Examine diverse world regions of the world up to 1650 CE
- Identify the nature and intensity of cross-cultural interactions within and among world regions up to 1650 CE
- Recognize emerging global trends by 1650 CE

? Focus Questions

- How did early globalization affect the world by 1650?
- Which elements of the world of 1650 seem most familiar to you? Which seem most different?

By 1500 globalization was intensifying as a result of increased trade, imperial expansion, and regional specialization. The result was a more integrated world in which more and more people became tied together into a global web of interactions. Ethnically-based **diasporic communities** traded across the Eastern Hemisphere. The Indian Ocean trading system was the most economically vibrant region, and Europe was peripheral to this incredibly prosperous system. East Asia was with wealthiest area in the world followed by South Asia. The injection of silver from Japan generated even more prosperity by 1500.

At the same time, global power was relatively diffuse. The Chinese Ming Empire may have been the single most productive and powerful government in the world but did not have the capacity or will to project its authority beyond its region. The Ming was a **land-based empire** which focused on agriculture rather than commerce and naval power. By the mid 1400s, the Ming government turned inward. For this reason, the Indian Ocean was a no-man's land.

1.1: Early Modern Globalization
1.2: The Indian Ocean World
1.3: Confucianism in Ming China
1.4: Prosperity in Ming China
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1.1: Early Modern Globalization

The World System in 1500

We begin our exploration of modern world history in 1500. It was a time in which a larger segment of the global population than ever was integrated into a still loose, but fairly robust system of interaction and exchange that stretched across large portions of Afro-Eurasia. Even within this connected world many, if not most, people could continue to live their lives unaware of or unaffected by the existence of this system. Yet, many others built livelihoods based on the existence of large-scale networks of interaction.

These networks shifted more than goods around this world. Along with the textiles, spices, metals, animal products, and slaves, people also moved knowledge and information, technology, styles and foodstuffs while also inspiring new desires and new ambitions. In cities like Timbuktu, Bruges, Alexandria, Jeddah, Aden, Calicut, Malindi, Malacca, Samarkand, or Hangzhou residents survived, and even thrived, by engaging with this system. Major languages included Greek, Arabic, and Mandarin Chinese. Additionally, Europe, China, and India were part of an international monetary system based on gold and silver. For the most part**,** gold and silver were an agreed upon form of exchange for two people who did not speak the same language. It was common to use the currencies from India, Spain, Venice, or the Ottoman Empire. Such currencies would have an official stamp on them.

Overall, long-distance trade surged, because it was supported by a highly sophisticated legal framework. Traders drew up elaborate contracts and when contracts were breached, merchants took their cases to courts. Each religious group had their own court in place. Therefore, traders were confident that agreements made in India would be honored in Southeast Asia, Egypt and North Africa. Major religions included Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, and Buddhism. In general, religious toleration was the norm.

Although merchants from different religious groups traded all over the Eastern Hemisphere, Muslim merchants were the world's premier traders during the 1400s. The Islamic Middle East became the crossroads of Afro-Eurasian trade, but Muslim merchants were found all over the Eastern Hemisphere. The spread of Arabic and Islamic law enabled businessmen of many different ethnic backgrounds to flourish. Islamic judges were very knowledgeable of trade. Figure 1.1.1 shows the Muslim trading routes of the Eastern Hemisphere. There are land and see routes that stretch from the Atlantic Ocean in Africa to the Pacific Ocean.

The world of 1500 was a world without a center. Essentially there were three large transcontinental commercial circuits, namely European, Middle Eastern, and Asian. The European network linked the areas along the Atlantic Coast with many parts of the Mediterranean. The Middle Eastern network linked the areas between the eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The Asian network connected the Indian subcontinent with China and Southeast Asia. The Pacific remained out of bounds to Asian sailors, because it had a wind system and currents that made it extremely difficult to sail in the direction of the Americas.

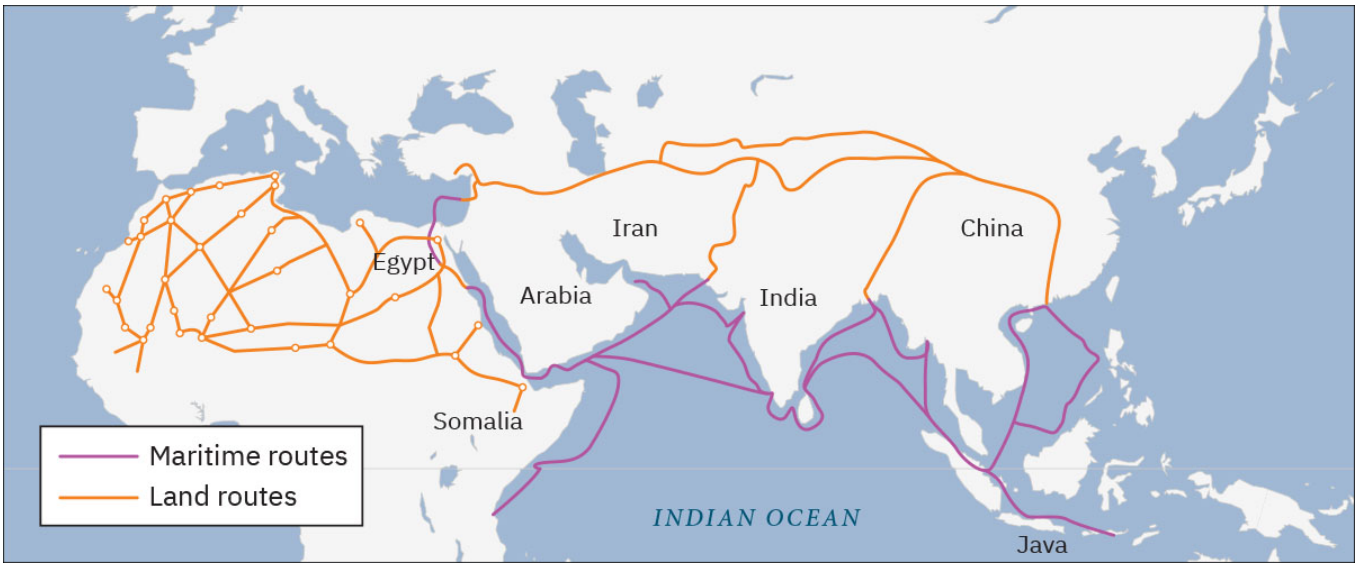

Figure 1.1.1: Modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Rice University, Open Stax, in the Public Domain

Regional Specialization

For the most part, East Asia played a very prominent role within the East Hemisphere trading system. China's exports have historically been dominated by two articles in high demand: silk textiles and fine porcelain. Chinese porcelain was valued for its shape, material, color, and glazes. The desire for rare articles not obtainable in China was one reason why overseas trade remained open. China imported incense, perfumes, spices, precious metals, and horses. Southeast Asia was ruled by local princes, and the area has had strong Hindu, Muslim, and Buddhist influences. It was a major spice producer which included mace, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, and cloves. In the southeast Asian port of Malacca there were Arabs, Indians, Armenians, Jews, East Africans, Persians, and eventually Western Europeans.

In the center of this trading system was India and the Middle East. India was a major exporter of high-quality cotton and silk textiles. It got precious metals from the Middle East and spices and aromatics from the east. The Indians of the west coast of India were Muslim while the Indians in the east coast were more Hindu and Buddhist. On the west coast of India, ships came from the Middle East and east Africa while on the east coast, came ships from Indonesia and China. For the most part, the Middle East was a large area of consumption which imported more than it exported to India and China. Horses as well as gold and silver flowed out of the Middle East.

Most of the world's gold came from Africa, and gold from Africa was being injected into the Indian Ocean economy. East Africa increased the export of gold, ivory, and slaves for goods as far as China. Currency in Africa was often cowries, which were a species of seashell found in the Maldives Islands of the Indian Ocean. The east coast of Africa was largely Muslim and had a strong Arabic influence.

In 1500, Europe played a relatively minor role in this Eastern Hemisphere trading system. Olive oil, glassware, flax, and metal goods were its main exports. There was also a small but steady demand for heavy European woolen products. This European wool was used for floor coverings and for heavy ceremonial tents. Muslims had little interest in the goods which Europe had to offer. Europe was mostly Christian and northern Italians, especially the Venetians, controlled foreign commerce in western Europe.

? Review Questions

- How was there regional specialization in the Eastern Hemisphere trading system?
- What were the major cultures of the Eastern Hemisphere trading system?

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1.2: The Indian Ocean World

Sea-Based Trade in 1500

In the 1500s, the two most intensive areas of interaction in the world were the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. The famed Silk Roads that connected east and west Asia still carried significant amounts of wealth, but it was the maritime routes that now carried most of the long-distance trade. Although water travel is far from safe, it allowed people and goods to be moved more quickly, more safely, in greater bulk, at greater speeds, and, as a result, more cheaply than land transport. Even with these advantages, the shipping routes were still mostly used for the carrying of luxury goods including spices, porcelain, aromatics, animal products, and textiles to be consumed by elites across the Afro-Eurasian system. Most of these products were produced in areas that were accessible to the Indian Ocean and thus the balance of trade always tended to fall on the eastern side of this system.

The Indian Ocean encompasses a very large area that stretches nearly five thousand miles from east to west. Despite this distance, across the centuries mariners had discovered its secrets, allowing ships to navigate its waters remarkably quickly. The Indian Ocean offers an important lesson on the significance of the natural world on human history. That is because the key force in determining so much about the operation of this region was not a particular state or empire, but the wind system known as the **monsoons**. These variable winds shifted throughout the year but generally blew south/southwest from the Asian continent and across East Africa for half the year – called the winter monsoon – and north/northeast for the other half of the year – the summer monsoon. Ships that wanted to travel west would wait for the summer monsoons to begin and could not return to the east until the winter monsoon season. For this reason, the winds were predictable. Figure 1.2.1 shows that the monsoon winds in the western half of the Indian Ocean blow from the east to west from November to February and from west to east April to September.

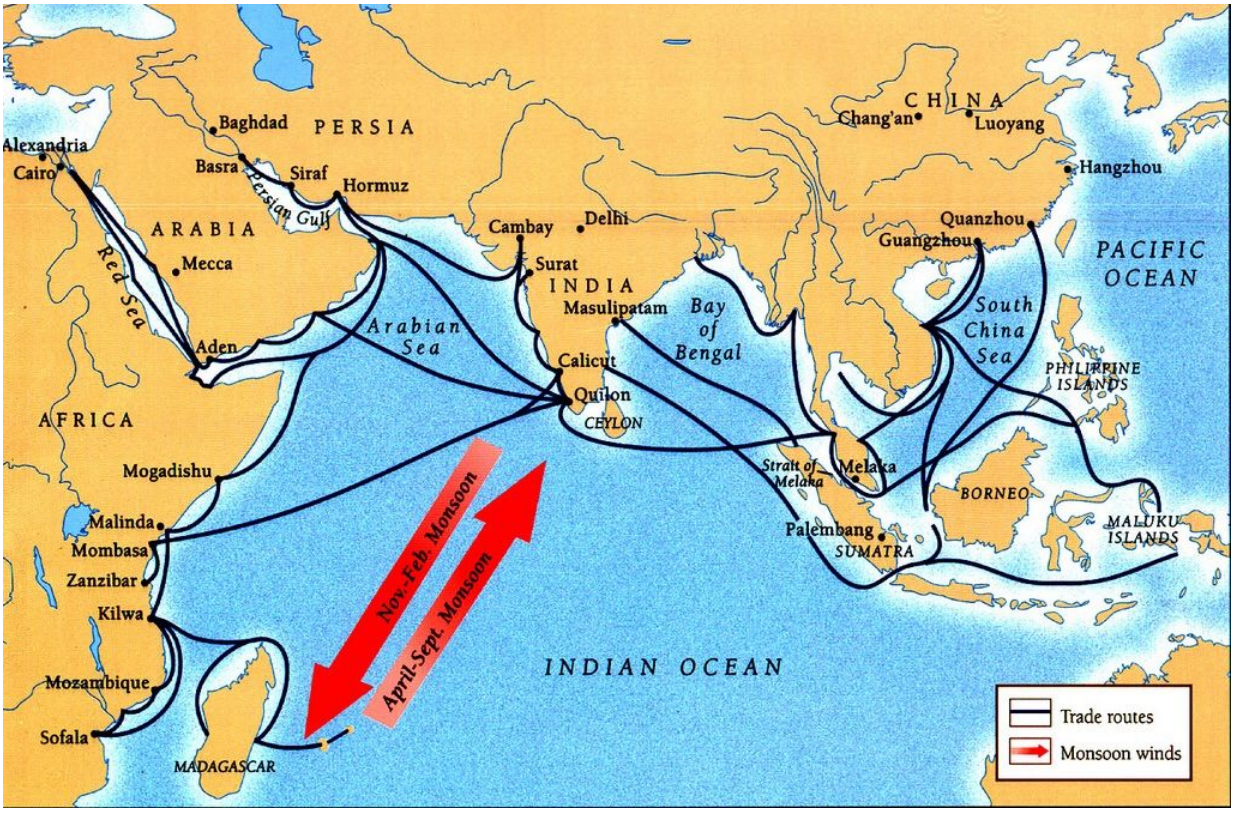

Figure 1.2.1: Monsoon Wind System, Manda Kharo, in the Public Domain

Indian Ocean Cultures

By imposing these schedules on travel, the monsoon patterns impacted more than just the economy of the Indian Ocean. For one, they created a set of three broad cultural zones. In the westernmost portion that included Arabia, the East African coast, and the western coast of India, it was Muslim merchants who predominated. The middle portion included both coasts of India east through Southeast Asia and was strongly influenced by Indian merchants. These merchants carried many influences with them throughout

the region including architectural styles and Hindu and Buddhist ideas. Eventually, this middle zone would become more thoroughly Islamicized, but this process was still in its early stages in the 15th century. Finally, the third section connected the South China Sea with the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean. Chinese influence was strongest here both in terms of the significance of the Chinese as producers and consumers of the goods that circulated here and the large number of Chinese merchant communities that dotted the region. Even though it was not uncommon for individuals to move across the entirety of the system, the nature of the Monsoon patterns tended to maintain loose barriers between these zones.

The Indian Ocean world was filled with diasporic communities who were foreign merchants that learned the language, customs, and commercial ways of their hosts. At the same time, these diaspora merchants maintained their original culture**.** They were bicultural and had one foot in each world. Therefore, diasporic communities could do business in their host countries and then trade with other merchants who shared their culture and ethnicity. By 1500, these merchants set up a whole series of trade settlements in alien towns. Diasporic trading firms were family-based and shared a single language and religion. Although Muslims were the most numerous of the Indian Ocean traders, merchants from different religions often worked together. Muslim firms owned the ships used by Jewish traders. Until the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1500s, no power in the Indian Ocean ever made a sustained effort to control the sea lanes.

? Review Questions

- What were some of the ways that the monsoon wind system impacted trade and interaction in the Indian Ocean world?
- Why was the Indian Ocean so significant to the Afro-Eurasian world system?

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1.3: Confucianism in Ming China

Confucianism

The actual foundation of the early-modern global economy was built on China, not Europe. China's recorded history began about 2000 BCE. Based on irrigated rice agriculture, the population of China grew to 50 to 60 million people as early as 2,000 years ago. Beginning in 221 BCE, the Chinese created an empire that lasted over two thousand years under a series of more than a dozen ruling families or dynasties. These dynasties were ruled by an emperor who claimed to possess the **mandate from heaven**, which is the right to rule from the gods. Beginning with the Qin dynasty, Chinese governments built up land-based empire which were focused on agricultural and their armies rather than commerce and naval might.

The early imperial governments began construction of the called Long Walls in the north and dug the Grand Canal to connect the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers in the sixth century CE. Historically, China held a monopoly on the creation of silk, which was a closely-held state secret for millennia, and led the world in iron, copper, and porcelain production as well as a variety of technological inventions including the compass, gunpowder, paper-making, mechanical clocks, and moveable type printing.

The social stability that allowed Chinese culture to produce these innovations was based on not only the imperial form of government, but on an elaborate system of professional civil service. The early establishment of a professional administrative class of **scholar-officials** was a remarkable element of imperial Chinese rule that made it more stable, longer-lasting, and at least potentially less oppressive than empires in other parts of the world. The imperial courts sent thousands of highly-educated administrators throughout the empire and China was ruled not by hereditary nobles or even elected representatives, but by a class of men who had received rigorous training and had passed very stringent examinations to prove themselves qualified to lead.

Civil service training focused on the philosophy of **Confucius,** a Chinese philosopher who had lived from 551 to 479 BCE. Confucian ideas about conduct focus on five basic virtues: seriousness, generosity, sincerity, diligence, and kindness. When a student asked him "Is there any one word that could guide a person throughout life?" Confucius replied, "How about 'reciprocity'! Never impose on others what you would not choose for yourself." (*Analects* XV.24). Confucian social morality is based on this reciprocity and on empathy and understanding others. Although Confucius occasionally talked about heaven and an afterlife, his moral system was not based on the idea of supernatural rewards and punishments. For the most part, Confucian morality is secular rather than religious.

? Primary Sources: The Confucian Analects

Over many decades following Confucius's death, his students and followers collected his words of wisdom in *The Analects*. *The Analects* consists of twenty short books, each of which includes a series of short quotations on a particular theme. Confucius's main concern was to teach people how to become *junzi*, compassionate and moral beings more concerned with doing what was right than with satisfying their own desires. The *junzi* understood their duties to others and fulfilled all the ancient ritual obligations. Confucius believed *junzi* could be created through education, and that society would be harmonious and peaceful if the government was guided by *junzi*. The following are some excerpts from Book 2.

Discussion Questions

- What does a good government look like?
- What does a good person look like?

CHAP. I. The Master [Confucius] said, "He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it."

CHAP. II. The Master said, "In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in one sentence—Having no depraved thoughts."

CHAP. III. 1. The Master said, "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. 2. "If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good."

> *CHAP. IV. 1. The Master said, "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. 2. "At thirty, I stood firm. 3. "At forty, I had no doubts. 4. "At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. 5. "At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. 6. "At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right."*
>
> *—Confucius, The Analects, translated by James Legge*
>
> Rice University and Open Stax, The Project Gutenberg, in the Public Domain

Centuries after his death, Confucian ideas became the basis of civil service education in imperial China. Scholars would travel to testing centers and sit for exams that often took days to complete. They brought food and a bedroll and remained in their small testing cells until they had completed the exam. There were there increasingly-difficult levels of testing: county, province, and imperial. The highest exam was administered by the emperor himself and passing it qualified a scholar for assignments in the imperial court. However, the exams were also democratic in a way: even a scholar from a poor family could take the exam if he could educate himself; success on the top exam was a ticket to the highest levels of imperial society. For most of its history Chinese society was run by educated men rather than by nobles who had inherited their positions. Figure 1.3.1 shows several male students taking the exam. These students look stressed out and focused on passing.

Confucianism is not a perfect philosophy, because it accepted and even reinforced certain societal injustices. Confucian principles perpetuated and exacerbated the oppression of women, who had no standing in the male-dominated family structure. Girls were considered an expense to their birth families, since they only became valuable when they married and bore sons for their new families. Despite its faults, Confucian civil service insured that for much of its history the Chinese empire, its various districts and regions, and even small communities were run by educated administrators and magistrates rather than by random rulers who achieved power by conquest or inheritance.

Figure 1.3.1: Palace Examination at Kaifeng, Ming Dynasty Painting (Artist Unknown), in the Public Domain

The Mongols and the Ming

The Chinese Empire did face conquest several times, but Chinese culture and social organization managed to absorb its conquerors. In 1271, the Mongol leader Kublai Khan, the grandson of Genghis Khan, defeated the Chinese army and established the Yuan dynasty, which that lasted until 1368. The Mongols distrusted Confucian officials but did not completely replace them as regional administrators. The Silk Road, the ancient trade route connecting China with Europe, was reestablished and in 1271 the Venetian merchants Niccolo, Maffeo, and Marco Polo visited Kublai Khan at his summer palace in Shangdu (Xanadu).

Despite the fact that China's Mongol Yuan rulers abandoned many of their own traditions and adopted the ways of the people they had conquered, the ethnic Han Chinese majority continued to resent being ruled by foreigners. Along with exposure to foreign cultures, the Mongols' reopening of the Silk Road brought foreign diseases to China. Bubonic Plague, the "Black Death" that killed a quarter of the European population in the 14th century, actually hit China first. The plague killed up to 25 million people in China in the 1330s and 1340s, about 15 years before it first arrived in Constantinople. As in Europe, famine and social chaos followed the plague when agriculture failed to produce enough to feed the survivors.

A young man named Zhu Yuanzhang, born during the plague years, watched his entire family die in famines that swept through southern China in the 1340s. After taking refuge in a Buddhist monastery, Zhu joined local rebels when the monastery was destroyed by Yuan forces trying to contain a local insurrection. In 1368, Zhu led his troops north and chased the Yuans out of their capital of Dadu (now Beijing). The Mongols retreated to Mongolia and Zhu claimed the Mandate of Heaven and declared himself the first emperor of the Ming (brilliant) Dynasty. Zhu Yuanzhang returned the empire to its ethnic Chinese roots. Administration of the empire by Confucian scholars was reinstated, along with the elaborate system of civil service examinations. There were roughly two thousand local officials scattered throughout the empire.

Ming China did not need foreign trade to maintain its standard of living, and the government did not take seaborne trade seriously. It had financial independence and a powerful army. For the most part, the massive strength of the Chinese internal economy guaranteed a high level of taxes. The one major product China lacked was precious metals. However, Japan became a major producer of silver and imported silks and other luxuries mostly from China. The social position of Asian merchants was never very high, but elites depended on them for luxuries.

The Ming valued agriculture above all else. Therefore, the government promoted public works and infrastructure projects including new dikes and irrigation systems to serve an agricultural system dominated by paddy rice. It also organized the building or repair of nearly 41,000 reservoirs and planted over a billion trees in his land reclamation program. The Grand Canal was repaired which created a vibrant national market in goods like cotton cloth, lacquerware, porcelain, iron cooking pots, and other goods. The 1,104-mile waterway that linked the Yellow and Yangxi Rivers and enabled the new capital to receive rice shipments from the south. The Ming distributed land to peasants and forced many to move to less populated areas.

Contact with the Outside

In general, the Ming government tried to limit contact with foreigners, but Ming Admiral Zheng He (1371-1433) went on seven expeditions between 1405 and 1430. The chief aim of the overseas expeditions of the 1400s was to show command respect for the empire. The expeditions discovered nothing worth the effort and conquest was never part of the plan. They was never an attempt to cross the Pacific or to travel westward to Europe, because the Ming believed that there was nothing in either direction to make such a voyage worthwhile.

Overall, the Confucian government elite argued that the overseas trade was frivolous and dangerous. Resources that went into ship building were rechanneled for construction and repair of public works. The Ming continued to focus on the Great Wall and turned inward by moving their capital inland, Peking. Therefore, officials withdrew imperial support of the ventures and instead devoted their energies to overland ventures and defense. The Ming was mindful of how the maritime-oriented Song Empire had eventually been overrun by invaders from the north. Additionally, the sixth Ming emperor, was captured and held hostage by Mongol raiders in 1449. The cost of the overseas voyages in addition to the frontier campaigns against the Mongols as well as the building of Peking put stress on royal finances. The burning of the Chinese naval fleet left a power vacuum in the South China Sea and Chinese officials sought to stop all Chinese participation in overseas trade.

Anticommercialism had roots in Confucian thought and was part of an anti-foreign reaction as well which remained dominant into the 1800s**.** The Ming feared that too much commerce and contact with the outside world would cause instability and undermine its

authority. The sea represented problems of order and control rather than an opportunity. Therefore, the government restricted foreign access to China's sea coast. Overall, the Ming looked to the past for guidance, and there was a mistrust of innovation. The idea persisted that everything one needed to know has been said.

After 1433, the Chinese merchants never went to India, but China still required silver and foreign imports. Chinese merchants sailed to Indonesia and Manila. However, these merchants were never offered any protection from the government. At times, Ming officials tried to restrain the power of merchants by fixing prices, taxing excessive gains, and resorting to outright confiscation. Such policies limited the potential for real industrial growth. There was large scale iron production at one point which diminished by 1500.

Review Questions

- How was Confucianism significant to Chinese society?
- Why did the Ming withdraw support for overseas contact and trade?

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1.4: Prosperity in Ming China

The Chinese Economy in 1500

China, in terms of population and economic power, was the center of the world in 1500. The Ming Empire was powerful, because it had a standing army of over a million soldiers and the Chinese navy of Zheng He had recently projected the empire's power throughout Asia. The Chinese economy produced one quarter of the world's gross domestic product (GDP) in 1500, followed by India which produced nearly another quarter. In comparison, the fourteen nations of western Europe produced just about half of China's GDP or only one-eighth of the global total production. The largest European economy, in Italy, produced only about one-sixth of China's output.

The Ming Empire's population in 1500 was about 125 million. The next largest empires were Southern India's Vijayanagara Empire (16 million), followed by the Inca Empire of South America (12 million), the Ottoman Empire (11 million), the Spanish Empire (about 8.5 million), and the Ashikaga Shogunate of Japan (8 million). Keep the immense mass of China and the gravity exerted by its economy in mind as we move on to discuss events like the creation of a Spanish colonial empire in the Americas—Spanish-American mines produced the silver that accidentally became the world's currency, filling not only the treasuries Europe, but also that of China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The key to China's robust economic development was an elaborate river transportation network. Thousands of canals were built or repaired, and depopulated areas were settled. The government extended irrigation, paved roads, stocked public granaries, and constructed flood-prevention works. China's economy boomed, and many Chinese peasants began to focus on producing goods for the foreign market. In Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province, people mass-produced porcelain.

For the most part, the government encouraged the production of commercial crops such as cotton and indigo. Under the Ming, cotton became for the first time, the predominant fabric of daily clothing for most people. It was cheaper and more durable than silk and displaced courser and more labor-intensive hemp and linen. Other farmers raised mulberry trees and harvested their leaves to sell to families that raised silkworms (which feed on the leaves). Peasants who specialized in the raising of silkworms in turn sold their cocoons to others, who boiled them to kill the larvae and unreeled them to make silk thread. This thread was sold to households that wove silk cloth, which might then be passed on to those who specialized in embroidery.

Figure 1.4.1: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, CC BY

Silver

The voyages of Zheng He did end up having an unintended consequence whose impact would be global. Chinese dynasties had been employing paper currency since the 11th century. The earlier systems had backed paper currency with grain (meaning you could exchange, or "convert", your paper for its value in grain), but during the Ming, money was not backed and was not convertible. The building and maintenance of the naval fleet was a breaking point for paper currency. To meet the costs of shipbuilding and supply the state printed far too much money leading it to tank in value. By the mid-15th century, just as the voyages were ending, increasing numbers of merchants were refusing to accept paper in return for their goods. In place of paper, a more informal system of barter emerged with sellers and buyers determining what constituted fair value. Localities tended to develop their own mediums of exchange so that in some places it could be bolts of silk, in others grain, and some areas even began minting their own copper coins.

Without a clear long-term plan, the Ming began slowly and sporadically introducing a new system in which copper coins would be minted for everyday purchases while large purchases would be made with silver. Along with this, emerged a new tax policy. Instead of taxing each local area in grain and labor, the Ming gradually began requesting tax payments in silver. One problem was that the supply of silver was not great enough to keep up with the huge demand that would come from requiring all 120 million subjects of the Ming to pay taxes in silver. This challenge was gradually resolved by enormous increases in the global silver supply. Japan became major supplier for the first half of the 16th century, and silver became the key to Ming growth during the 1500s. Ming

consumers and traders mistrusted anything but silver or gold for commercial transactions. Figure 1.4.1 shows East Asia, and China is very close to Japan. Merchants in China were involved in short-distance trade with Japan for silver.

? Review Questions

- How was the Ming economy prosperous in the 1400s and 1500s?
- Why was silver so crucial to the emergence of a global economy?

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1.5: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

Chapter 1 has been an attempt to describe a world still in a formative stage. Elements of this world were beginning to seem familiar to 21st-century observers. Globalization was intensifying as a result of increased trade, imperial expansion, and cross-oceanic travel and the result was a more integrated world in which more and more people had become tied together into a global web of interactions. At the same time, this was a world that was still very different than the one that would emerge with the coming of modernity:

- Communication across distance was still a slow, laborious, and often dangerous process which limited the scope of globalization
- multiethnic empires were increasingly the norm as the idea of the nation-state was still far from becoming the dominant form of political organization
- Global power was relatively diffuse. The Ming Empire may have been the single most productive and powerful state in the world, but did not have the capacity or will to project its authority beyond its region.
- Select groups in select areas were beginning to see the pursuit of profit as the main goal of economic activity, but the majority of people still led lives determined by the rhythms of the agricultural calendar, consumed locally produced goods, and produced for their own needs rather than for consumers in distant markets

As much as was covered in this opening chapter, therefore, the list above suggests that many of the processes and developments necessary for the development of global modernity still lay in the future.

Key Terms

- **Diasporic Communities**: Bicultural ethnically based merchants who trade with each other and their host countries
- **Land-Based Empire**: an empire based on agriculture that builds up its army
- **Monsoons**: Seasonal wind system of the Indian Ocean
- **Confucius**: Chinese philosopher who had lived from 551 to 479 BCE
- **Mandate from Heaven**: Right given to Chinese emperors to rule from the gods
- **Scholar-Officials**: Government bureaucrats in China who passed exams based on the teachings of Confucius

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

2: Muslim Empires in Europe, Asia, and Africa - 1500 - 1600

Learning Objectives

- Examine the key role that Muslim empires played in the global economy
- Analyze differences and similarities among the Muslim empires
- Identify key political and social structures of the Muslim empires

Focus Questions

- How was religion an important feature of the government of the Muslim empires?
- What were the significant economic characteristics of the Muslim empires?

Introduction

During 1400-1600, Muslim empires were at their height in Asia and Africa. This chapter examines these regions and aims to identify the roles of the Muslim empires in the development of this new world order. These empires were key drivers of cultural, social, political, and economic change in the early modern world. By connecting millions of people under centralized rule, they established much of the foundation upon which the modern world would be built. These empires along with the Chinese Ming and Qing were considered land-based empires. Their focus was primarily on agriculture which the government relied on for taxation. Expansion tended to be by land along a frontier. Therefore, these governments built up their army rather than navy.

The basis for power globally at this time was the **dynasty** which was a ruling family that claimed power as a calling from above. In China it was the mandate from heaven and European kings claimed divine right. In the Muslim empires, rulers sought to be protectors of their religion and would fund the construction of mosques. Governments also established their legitimacy by using military prowess and a loyal bureaucracy to govern.

2.1: Gunpowder Empires
2.2: The Ottoman Empire
2.3: Safavid Empire
2.4: The Mughal Empire
2.5: Swahili City States
2.6: West African Land Based Empires
2.7: Blank
2.8: Chapter Summary and Key Terms
2.9: Suggested Readings and Works Cited

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2.1: Gunpowder Empires

The Turks

One of the great trends of empire-building during this era was the emergence of several empires ruled by Turkic dynasties. At their height the three largest of these – the Ottoman, the Safavid, and the Mughal – controlled territory that stretched almost to the Atlantic Ocean in the west, deep into Central Asia in the east, and nearly to the tip of the Indian subcontinent in the south. In controlling this huge expanse of territory along with many tens of millions of subjects, these empires became some of the most influential forces of early-modern globalization.

The westward migration of Turkic-speaking groups across Asia began as early as the 6th century. Eventually, some of these migrations encountered the eastward expansion of Islam out of Arabia. For a time, a militarized frontier in central Asia was established with largely polytheistic Turkic tribes on one side and the lands of the Islamic rulers on the other. Turkic tribesmen captured through raids would often be sold into slavery and through this process would be Islamicized. At other times, entire clans or tribes would voluntarily convert and offer their military services to the highest bidder. Through this process, growing numbers of Turks became integrated into the Islamic world of the Middle East. Although initially subordinate to a largely Arab or Persian ruling class, the role of Turks as a military caste would eventually translate into direct or indirect political power as well. Figure 2.1.1 shows the location of much of the Muslim world on the globe. Notice that Muslims live in northern Africa, the Middle East and much of south Asia. There is also a substantial Muslim population in southeast Asia.

Figure 2.1.1: The Islamic World, modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Rice University, Open Stax, in the Public Domain

Religious Policies

The Ottoman Empire, the Safavid Empire, and the Mughal Empire had diverse origins, timelines, and governing ideologies, but shared a style of warfare that made effective use of gunpowder weapons. The other thing the three empires shared, of course, is that

they were all founded and ruled by Muslims. The Islamic character of the ruling groups was certainly significant to elements of their rule and was also key to their claims to legitimacy.

Each ruled over a diverse set of subject peoples, and each managed that difference in distinct ways. Overall, the Ottoman Empire made no particular effort to reduce religious, linguistic, or cultural differences. Conversely, the Safavid Dynasty's legitimacy was based on specific religious claims and thus from the late-16th century, there was a more concerted attempt on the part of the empire to impose their version of Shi'a Islam upon their subjects who had previously been mostly Sunni. Finally, the Mughals ruled a population in which Muslims were a significant minority meant that Islam did not serve as a legitimizing ideology. Instead, the early Mughal emperors embraced a range of spiritual and philosophical ideas while often distancing themselves from the more conservative Muslim clerics. Indeed, the emperors Akbar and Jahangir sometimes angered such tradition-minded Muslims by patronizing Hindu religious leaders.

? Review Questions

- What do these three empires have in common?
- What are some differences between the three empires?

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2.2: The Ottoman Empire

Cultural Diversity

Of the major Muslim Empires, none survived across so many eras and with anything like the sustained success of the Ottoman Empire which endured through the end of the First World War. By 1600, the empire encompassed most of southeastern Europe, including present-day Croatia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Turkey, and much of the Arab Middle East. To recruit followers, the Ottomans promised wealth and glory to new subjects. Overall, territorial expansion generated vast rewards. Expansion ended by 1600 and then the empire faced defeats and reverses. The Ottoman Empire in 1600 ruled 20-30 million people.

The Ottoman government sought to convince its population that it would be a protector not an exploiter of its new subjects. Conversion to Islam was not required, making its population one of the most diverse in the world. The government saw it as vitally important to understand and manage differences within its territory. Non-Muslims were not allowed to join the army or the civil service. However, Christians and Jews and men from the humblest backgrounds could rise to the highest levels in the government provided that they convert to Islam. At its height from roughly 1400-1700, a period in which religious differences in Christian Europe spurred continual violence, the Ottoman Empire experienced no large-scale religious conflict.

The Ottoman territory included countless ethnic groups, a diverse array of languages, Sunni, Shi'a Muslims, significant Jewish populations, and Christians. One of the striking things about the Ottoman Empire when it comes to its dealings with subject people is how little they concerned themselves with diversity as a problem to be solved. Within the Ottoman system, Muslims were privileged in the formal governing structure, with both the military and the bureaucracy closed to non-Muslims, and Islamic law was paramount in Islamic courts. Nevertheless, Jews and Christians lived in self-governing communities called **millets** which were allowed significant amounts of autonomy. Jews and Christians had their own local government, laws, and courts in these millets. Religious minorities had to pay a tolerance tax. Figure 2.2.1 show the Ottoman Empire at its height. This empire stretches from North Africa and the Balkans in the west to Iraq in the east.

Figure 2.2.1: Ottoman Empire, Rice University & OpenStax, CC BY

Government

Without a doubt, the Ottoman emperor or sultan was at the top of the Ottoman hierarchy. The sultans claimed to be caretakers for the welfare of the Islamic faith. Therefore, they devoted substantial resources into the construction of great mosques and supported Islamic schools. Since Islam united a diverse ethnic mix, elite administrators were trained in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian at the palace. The ruling class consisted of army officers, senior civil servants, and high clerics. Arab Muslims formed the majority of the population in the Asian and North African provinces. However, they were not treated as second class citizens, but Ottoman governors and administrators were imposed on them. These governing elites were Turkish but there was no Turkish colonization in these areas. Also, there was no attempt to impose Turkish culture on Arabs.

Early on, regional administrators acted independently of the sultan and kept large amounts of tax revenues for themselves. For this reason, the Ottomans then established a corps of infantry soldiers called **janissaries** and administrators who owed direct allegiance to the sultan. The government conscripted Christian youths from villages in the Balkan region of Europe. Uprooted from their families and villages, these conscripts converted to Islam. They then received an extensive education, being not only trained in martial arts and warfare, but also in mathematics, the sciences, reading, writing, and other skills. Families sometimes volunteered their children for this, because these boys would receive a good education and could even rise in administrative or military ranks. Janissaries were forbidden to marry and lived monastic lives which were devoted to the sultan. They were then sent out all over the realm to govern.

Economy

The Ottoman Empire in the 1500s had a tremendous amount of wealth. The capital, Istanbul, had 400,000 people and was the largest city outside of China. For the most part, the Ottoman authorities took a special interest in caravan trade since the government got revenue from taxes on it. To facilitate and secure the movement of caravans, the Ottomans maintained inns and military stations along routes. Some of these inns were elaborate with rooms, food, and water for people and pack animals alike.

These taxes contributed to the support of Ottoman armies and a powerful navy which controlled the sea lanes of the eastern Mediterranean.

However, there were some major weaknesses in the Ottoman economy. First, the empire did not have a safe and cheap water transportation system like the Chinese. Camel caravans could only carry smaller quantities of goods consisting of luxuries rather than bulk goods. Muslim ships and merchants did not transform Ottoman society. Secondly, fewer peasants participated in a market economy compared to China. The peasants were mostly impoverished substance farmers or farm workers on one of the estates of the elites.

? Review Questions

- What were strengths and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire?
- How was there religious tolerance in the Ottoman Empire?

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2.3: Safavid Empire

Religious Policies

The main ethnic groups in the Safavid empire were the Turks and Persians. There were also, Kurdish, Jewish, and Christian Armenian minorities. Today Sunni and Shi'a Islam are generally regarded in oppositional terms. In the sixteenth century, however, the two main branches of Islam did not yet represent clearly differentiated religious identities. In some ways, it was the Safavid rivalry with the Sunni Ottoman Empire that helped establish those identities more clearly. For the Safavids, Shi'ism was useful because it allowed them to continue to claim power as a religious leaders and made them distinct compared to the neighboring Islamic states. Just as importantly, although Shi'ism differed from Sunni Islam in important ways and had significantly fewer followers, it still had a long historical and intellectual tradition from which the Safavids could borrow. By recruiting from an already existing group of well-regarded religious scholars, Safavid leaders were able to bring into the empire men who could provide the regime with a kind of ideological legitimacy

Unlike the Ottomans, who saw diversity as a norm to be respected rather than a challenge to be eradicated, Shi'ism was central to the legitimacy of the Safavid. Thus, its language and assumptions had to be adopted universally. This was certainly not something that happened instantly. The fact is that when the Safavids came to power in the sixteenth century, Shi'ism had no special hold on the population of the empire outside of a few specific cities.

The Safavid emperors, known as shahs, posed as the protector and chief patron of Shi'a Islam, and they sought the support of the clerics. During the late 1600s, the government began a policy of forced conversion to unite the Turks and Persians. Many Sunni clerics fled or were executed while others accepted Shiism. Additionally, Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians were forced to convert as well. The prominent participation of Jews and Christian Armenians in commerce made them targets for popular resentment. Sunni Islam disappeared by 1700 in Iran.

The Ottomans were intent to capture as much of the Middle East as possible to prevent the spread of Shiism. In 1514, the Ottoman Empire checked the westward advance of the Safavids and expansion then ended. Nevertheless, by the empire's end in 1722, its territory had become the global center of Shi'ism. The fact that the modern nation of Iran, which encompasses much of the old Safavid territory, continues to contain the largest Shi'ite population in the world attests to the long-term consequences of Safavid rule while also being suggestive of the homogenizing potential of early-modern empires.

Abbas I

Shah Abbas (r. 1590-1629) transformed the Safavid polity from a tribal confederation into a real bureaucratic empire which lasted until 1722. Abbas I set up a system of direct rule over the provinces, and subjects paid taxes directly to the central government. To fund the government, Abbas I took control over silk production and ensured the profits from the silk industry went to the central government. Therefore, Silk exports supported the government, and most of the silk that was grown was collected as a tax.

Abbas also built up a large force of slave-soldiers (called ghulam but similar to the Ottoman janissaries) made up of Christian and Muslim men captured from the Caucasus region. The ghulam could both fill the military-administrative roles. The Safavids imported gunpowder weapons from Europe early on. They had cannons and armed infantrymen commanded by slaves. Figure 2.3.1 shows a statute of Abbas I in Isfahan. Abbas I is seated on a horse on top of a rock. This statue was taken down in 1979 during the Iranian Revolution when the last shah was deposed.

Figure 2.3.1: Statue Shah Abbas I in Isfahan, Artist Unknown, in the Public Domain

Economy

The Safavid empire never equaled the size, power, or wealth of the other two Turkish Muslim empires. The height of the Safavid Empire in Iranian history has been considered the reign of Shah Abbas I who expanded infrastructure development. Bridges and roads were constructed and repaired. The government also patrolled the roads. Nevertheless, the Safavid economy was less prosperous or diversified than the two other two empires. Overall, the empire relied on the export of one commodity, raw silk. It was less reliant on taxing villagers or control of the major trade networks. There was less land suitable for agriculture and peasants did not participate in the larger market. Everything they used including tools and clothing were made in the villages. For the most part, these peasants were subsistence farmers like the peasants of the Ottoman Empire. They produced their own food and the government took their surpluses. Taxes were paid in kind.

Persian trade with Europe became another reason for clashes with the Ottoman Empire. Persia developed thriving silk production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, competing with the Far East territories in China and Japan. However, as the Ottoman power grew, they used high taxes and embargoes against the Persian merchants to prevent this silk and other trade goods from reaching markets in the Mediterranean and Western Europe. Nevertheless, the Safavid connection with European powers, particularly the English, allowed Persian goods to circumvent the Ottoman middlemen.

? Review Questions

- How were Safavid religious policies different from the Ottoman Empire?
- How did Abbas I strengthen the Safavid Empire?

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2.4: The Mughal Empire

Government and Economy

The Mughal Empire became the second wealthiest empire after the Ming. It was established in 1526 and had about 100 to 150 million inhabitants. Similar to the other two Turkish empires, the Mughals used gunpowder technology including cannons and firearms to take control of India. Although the empire was formed through military conquest, one key aspect of the creation of this empire that differed from other surrounding territories was the lack of subjugation of the other tribes. In fact, there were opportunities through bureaucracy and local governance for non-Muslims. India is culturally very diverse and Hinduism, the main religion, did not have just one text but numerous texts and creeds. In comparison with the Middle East, there were fewer Muslim conversions in India. The imposition of the tolerance tax there was enforced sporadically at best. Additionally, Indians who converted could not hope for increased opportunities in the higher levels of government where the Turks continued to dominate.

For the most part, the Mughal economy benefited from the growing demand for Indian goods. Similar to China, India was a manufacturing center. In particular, the region of Bengal was famous for its silk and cotton textiles. As a result, precious metals flowed in from Africa, Europe and the Middle East. India then exported precious metals to China. Silver was minted into rupees. Steady revenues and an efficient imperial administrations enabled the building of a network of imperial roads to link the empire together. This was no small task considering India's previous centuries of disunity and regional separatism as well as its size.

Nevertheless, the Mughals were a land-based empire that relied heavily on agriculture rather than commerce. The increasing prosperity of the Indian Ocean trading system was not the mainstay of the government's wealth. Additionally, the Mughals did not have a navy in the Indian Ocean and showed little interest in becoming a naval power. In fact, the capital of India, Delhi, was a landlocked city far from the coast.

Akbar

Under Akbar (1556-1605) the empire was at its height and expanded southwards. Deals with Hindu chieftains through favors and intermarriage among notables contributed to growth and stability of the empire. Similar to Abbas I, Akbar divided the empire into provinces, and authority was divided between the civil, military, and religious figures who were responsible to the emperor. Village elites maintained law and order while corrupt officials were dismissed.

Overall, there was harmony between different cultures under Akbar. He saw himself as an Indian ruler, not as a foreign invader and understood from the beginning his dynasty's success must depend on gaining the support and participation of all Indians. Therefore, Akbar abolished enslaving war prisoners and the forcible conversion to Islam. Additionally, Hindu law was applied in disputes between Hindus, and local Hindus kings and princes governed their own people. Akbar eliminated a tax on Hindu pilgrims traveling to sacred sites and the tolerance tax on non-Muslims. In Figure 2.4.1, Akbar is seated at Ibādat Khāna (House of Worship) which he used as a debating house. Akbar is listening to different religious leader. The two men in black are Catholic Jesuit priests.

Figure 2.4.1: Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) at the *Ibadat Khana* (House of Worship), miniature painting by Nar Singh, in the Public Domain

? Primary Sources: The Court of Akbar the Great

Jesuit Father Monserrate visited Akbar in India in 1582.

Discussion Questions

- What are the impressions of Akbar?
- What are Akbar's policies with Hindus?

When the priests first saw him he was thirty-eight years of age. It is hard to exaggerate how accessible he makes himself to all who wish audience of him. For he creates an opportunity almost every day for any of the common people or of the nobles to see him and converse with him; and he endeavours to show himself pleasant-spoken and affable rather than severe toward all who come to speak with him. It is very remarkable how great an effect this courtesy and affability has in attaching to him the minds of his subjects. For in spite of his very heterodox attitude toward the religion of Muhammad, and in spite also of the fact that Muslims regard such an attitude as an unforgivable offense, Akbar has not yet been assassinated. He has an acute insight, and shows much wise foresight both in avoiding dangers and in seizing favorable opportunities for carrying out his designs...

He is a great patron of learning, and always keeps around him erudite men, who are directed to discuss before him philosophy, theology, and religion, and to recount to him the history of great kings and glorious deeds of the past. He has an excellent

judgment and a good memory, and has attained to a considerable knowledge of many subjects by means of constant and patient listening to such discussions. . .

Akbar has about twenty Hindu chieftains as ministers and counsellors to assist both in the work of governing the empire and in the control of the royal household. They are devoted to him, and are very wise and reliable in conducting public business. They are always with him, and are admitted to the innermost parts of the palace, which is a privilege not allowed even to the Mongol [Mughal] nobles. However, he is wont to entrust the provincial governorships to chiefs. . . . who are related to him. Some of these chiefs also act not only as tutors but also as guardians to his sons. His object in arranging this is to attach the chiefs to himself by a yet closer bond of affection, and also to provide protectors for his children from the malice of his life-long enemies. . . .

The King exacts enormous sums in tribute from the provinces of his empire, which is wonderfully rich and fertile both for cultivation and pasture, and has a great trade both in exports and imports. He also derives much revenue from the hoarded fortunes of the great nobles, which by law and custom all come to the King on their owners' death.

The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S. J. On his Journey to the Court of Akbar, trans. from Latin by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, Oxford University Press, in the Public Domain

The openness and toleration under Akbar were a marked contrast in India with Europe where religious strife tore the continent apart. Christians, Muslims, and Hindus all coexisted peacefully. In fact, Akbar had a Hindu and a Christian wife, and his palace had temples to all three faiths. Akbar even celebrated Hindu festivals. He sought to merge the best of all Indian traditions with those of the Mughals. For this reason, Akbar brought in scholars from all of the major religions. He wanted there to be a religion with universal appeal in India.

? Review Questions

- What made the Mughal economy so vibrant? What were some weaknesses?
- How was there harmony under Akbar?

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2.5: Swahili City States

The Rise of the Swahili City-States

Starting in the seventh century, settlements on the coast of East Africa began to participate in Indian Ocean trade. Geographically, the area was well suited for oceanic trade. In the summer, the monsoon winds blew sailing ships northeast toward the coast of India, and winter winds blew them in the opposite direction. With the monsoon winds, sailors could travel from west India to east Africa in 20-30 days. Arab Muslim merchants began to settle permanently in the region and often intermarried with the African Bantu peoples who lived in the area.

The east African city-states, inhabited primarily by Sunni Muslim merchants and artisans, grew in size until a number of large port cities extended southward along the coast from what is now Mogadishu, Barawa, Mombasa, Malindi, Pemba, Zanzibar, Kilwa, and Sofala. The people of the coast came to speak **Swahili**, which combined the grammar of African Bantu languages with a Bantu and Arabic vocabulary. This common language enabled people from a wide variety of ethnic groups to trade with one another. Additionally, many along the coast also spoke Arabic which was the written language they used.

A large variety of products were traded in the cities of the Swahili coast: gold, iron, copper, salt, valuable hardwoods such as ebony and sandalwood, ivory, tortoise shells for making decorative objects like combs, and animal hides. These goods were brought overland across trade routes from the African interior and then were either purchased by the cities' inhabitants for their own use or resold elsewhere in Africa or in Arabia, Persia, and India. Additionally, merchants from Kilwa, Malindi, Mogadishu, and Mombasa voyaged to and from Malacca. In Figure 2.5.1, Swahili culture is along the east coast of Africa and is shaded in green. The major trade routes of the Indian Ocean World include several cities along this east African coast. This green coastal region immediately south of the Horn of Africa shaded in purple was home to a number of city-states that prospered in the Indian Ocean trade.

Figure 2.5.1: City-States of the Indian Ocean Trade, Rice University & OpenStax, CC BY

Government and Economy during 1400s

There were about forty Swahili towns along the east coast of Africa which stretches 2000 miles from Somalia to Mozambique. Most of these towns were ruled by a Muslim sultan. The governments were funded by collecting import and export taxes. For the most part, contact between the coast and the interior was extremely limited, because a plateau 1,200 meters above sea level separated the east coast from the interior. Therefore, it was difficult to go back and forth between the coast and the interior where people spoke Bantu languages. There is no evidence that the towns tried to take over the interior or convert the polytheistic people of the interior.

The northern half of the coast exported frankincense and myrrh which are used for incense. By the 1400s, slaves became a major export from the northern half as well. People captured in the interior were marched to the Swahili coast and held there until buyers for them could be found. The primary buyers were Arab Muslims who wanted laborers but were not allowed to enslave fellow Muslims. Most of the enslaved Africans were destined for the Arabian Peninsula and elsewhere in the Middle East or North Africa. Some were sold as far away from their homes as India or China. Women and children were preferred for household service, but men might find themselves forced into service as soldiers, sailors, or agricultural workers.

Gold was an important export especially in the southern half. During 800 to 1600 CE, 20 million ounces of gold were exported off the Swahili coast. The southern half also exported ivory to China and India. The wealth generate along the coast was enormous as elites lived in large stone houses and ate off of Chinese porcelain. Villages bordering the towns had non-Muslim farmers that produced food for the towns. The two groups had good relations.

Kilwa

There was considerable commercial activity in Kilwa which was located in present-day Tanzania. By 1400, it was most powerful of the city-states of the Swahili coast. Kilwa had a good harbor and was the most southernly point in east Africa that a ship could reach in one monsoon season. Gold from the interior was brought to Sofala, but merchants could not travel directly from Asia to Sofala in one monsoon season. Kilwa was the closest port. In the 1180s, the ruler of Kilwa gained control of the port city of Sofala, on the African mainland in what is now Mozambique. Therefore, control of Sofala enabled the sultan of Kilwa to establish or assume control of other cities and island states in East Africa, including Mombasa, Pemba, Mafia, Mozambique, Malindi, Imhambane, Comoro, and Zanzibar. For the most part, Kilwa monopolized the gold trade. In addition to luxuries and spices, coastal merchants imported cowry shells which were used as currency in the interior where the gold was located. However, cotton cloth from India was the largest import. This imported cotton cloth was needed purchase gold from Sofala. Kilwa also produced cotton cloth to trade with the interior.

Kilwa's architecture attested to its wealth The city had buildings with domes and vaults including the Great Mosque and a major palace, known as Husuni Kubwa. The sultan's palace had over 100 rooms. Kilwa also had large warehouses and customs houses. At its height, Kilwa had about 12,000 inhabitants. The government issued gold coins and was funded by taxing trade.

Great Zimbabwe

The Shona were Bantu speakers that lived between the mining areas and the coast. For the most part, they were middlemen. Shona merchants brought in Indian textiles and exchanged them for gold and ivory. It is unclear how products moved from the interior to the coast. They probably exchanged hands several times. The Shona established a series of independent kingdoms. The largest kingdom was called Great Zimbabwe which had about 20,000 people and was initially established around 1000 CE. Overall, Great Zimbabwe's wealth came from the gold trade, and its merchants were Bantu African who imported luxuries like Ming Chinese porcelain.

Great Zimbabwe was an economic powerhouse in the interior. This city was a cotton spinning, iron-smelting, and iron tool manufacturing center. In fact, Great Zimbabwe had specialist mining and metal- working sectors. There were large stone built structures and an acropolis. The largest structure was the palace known as the Elliptical Building. Great Zimbabwe is Shona for "Houses of Stone" and is the largest archeological site in Africa besides the pyramids of Egypt.

? Review Questions

- How was the Swahili Coast significant to the Indian Ocean trade?
- What evidence do we have of prosperity in eastern sub-Saharan Africa?

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2.6: West African Land Based Empires

Cultural, Economic, and Political Transformation

The emergence of powerful empires in western sub-Saharan Africa began before the advent of Islam in the region, but its adoption first among the merchants and then by the political elites was crucial in providing these states with a set of useful skills and connections with which to expand their power. Islam first arrived in the region with Muslim merchants who took part in the trans-Saharan trade. They were willing to brave the crossing of the world's largest desert in order to access the copious gold that was produced in the region and was so vital to the perennially cash-strapped Mediterranean trade. Although not yet dominant, Islam was clearly exerting significant influence at the elite levels of politics and commerce even before the conversion of the ruling class.

Historically, Africa has been less patriarchic than Europe and Asia. Among Mande-speaking groups of West Africa (which included the Mandinka of Mali) there does not seem to have been any previous assumption that women should be excluded from politics. Women maintained their rights and power as governments adopted Islam. For example, Islam became prominent in the region of the Gambia River west of Mali, yet female rulers seemed common along the river, with the Niumi kingdom having twelve consecutive women claiming the title of **Mansa** (ruler).

Slavery

From the 8th century, external demand for African slaves would grow as mostly Arab merchants began crossing the Sahara in search of labor sources. As that demand grew so did the incentive for West and Central African elites to engage in more slave raiding to supply that demand. The total number of enslaved people brought out of Africa through the Arab slave trade almost certainly pales in comparison to the scale of the transatlantic trade. For most west and central African societies the slave trade remained a relatively small part of their overall economies throughout this period.

The prevalence of chattel slavery in the modern Atlantic World means that today people mostly associate the institution with plantation-style labor. This, however, was not the most common form of slavery nor did being enslaved always signify low status. In the Ottoman Empire, for example, "slaves of the gate" were people of high status with access to considerable wealth and privilege. Similarly, enslaved people constituted a military elite in many Muslim societies across Eurasia. In Africa, like the rest of the world, there were diverse experiences associated with being enslaved.

The enslaved were mostly captured during conflicts between and among various west and central African states and societies. Scholars have suggested that in parts of Africa where land was widely available and notions of private property basically did not exist, it was ownership of labor rather than ownership of land that determined wealth. Unlike the form of slavery that would develop in the Americas, in west Africa an enslaved person had a much greater chance of being freed within their lifetime and, possibly since slavery was not racialized, it was also not assumed that status as an enslaved person would pass from one generation to the next. An enslaved person could also be integrated into the slave owner's kinship group over time, and it was even relatively common for slaves to marry into the family.

The Empires of Mali and Songhai

In the 14th century, the Empire of Mali established a more expansive and transcontinental set of ambitions at roughly the same time that such far-flung states as Ming China and the Kingdom of Portugal were attempting to do the same. Mali was founded by a dynasty that had already embraced Islam and this empire became incredibly wealthy from the trans-Saharan gold trade.

However, the greatest threat to the Mali Empire came from its eastern neighbor Songhai. Starting in 1502, Songhai took control of Mali's eastern commercial sites. The domestic problems faced by the various mansas who oversaw the administration of the empire included threats from opposing tribes and growing territories, who frequently performed raids into the imperial lands on the outskirts of Mali. During the fifteenth century, there was a brief respite from these various smaller incursions, but they would continue to contribute to unrest and shaky government within Mali, as well as to their eventual collapse, which culminated in the Battle of Jenne between Mali and Arma, a smaller tribal territory. Although they were somewhat cowed by the size of the mansa's army, Arma ended up with the victory, and the empire split into five different kingdoms by the beginning of the 1600s.

The Songhai Empire was established in the 1400s after Mali entered a decline from internal divisions. The ruling dynasty was the Sonni family. This government had a powerful military including a large cavalry and war canoes. As a result, there was expansion

to the Atlantic coast with the capture of Senegal. By 1500, Songhai became one of the largest land-based empires. The Songhai was prosperous as it traded gold to the north and later west to the Portuguese. For the most part, the trade orientation was shifting from the north to the western coast. Cowries were imported and used as currency.

Although the rulers were Muslim, they still worshiped other gods and recognized the power of polytheistic priests. In fact, the kings claimed the get their power from local gods. At the same time, the Songhai rulers made pilgrimages to Mecca and claimed to be the leaders of Islam in their kingdom. The Songhai nobility was more polytheistic than the king, and the government believed only in voluntary conversions. According to the elites, Muslims must nurture their own learning and piety and thereby furnish good examples to the non-Muslims who lived around them. Figure 2.6.1 shows the Great Mosque of Djenne. It is a multistoried impressive structure with imposing towers. Rodier sticks come out of the the walls of this mosque. These sticks are used for decoration as well as scaffolding for annual repairs.

Figure 2.6.1: The Great Mosque at Djenné, "Great Mosque of Djenné" by JM/Flickr, CC BY

A major cultural center was Timbuktu which was the largest and most prosperous city in the empire. There were over 150 schools in the 1500s including colleges that taught law, logic, rhetoric, and religion. Timbuktu had thousands of teachers and students who mastered a wide range of subjects, including Islamic law, astronomy, math, and philosophy. Students who earned degrees could then teach at one of the schools. Many of the scholars also studied in the Middle East especially Egypt.

Nevertheless, the Songhai entered a decline during the early 1500s. There were internal divisions among princes and military defeats. For the most part, elites from Muslim western half in Timbuktu faced more and more conflicts from the more polytheistic half in Goa. There was also a decline in the gold trade as more gold was sold off of areas of the Atlantic Coast not controlled by the Songhai. The government was also weakened by a war with Morocco over control of the trans-Saharan trade in the 1580s. After the Songhai Empire fell to Moroccan forces, it disintegrated into a number of small states and cities.

Review Questions

- How did the spread of Islam impact state-building in West Africa?
- In what ways were the civilizations and empires of Asia and Western Africa similar?

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2.8: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

The Muslim empires played a major role on the global stage. These empires controlled territory stretching from western Africa all the way to south Asia. They all shared some common characteristics, but there were some major differences as well. At the top was a ruling family or dynasty with a sultan, shah, or emperor. These governments promoted expansion along an adjacent frontier. There was a focus on building up the army. Rulers were not just political and military leaders but also religious leaders. They supported the construction of mosques and mosque schools. For the most part, these were land-based empires with governments that focused on agriculture and derived a lot of government revenue by taxing it. However, trade played a major role as well. The African Muslim empires received a large amount wealth from the gold trade. These empires, were controlled by Muslim elites, but there was a substantial amount of cultural diversity within the empires as well. The Ottomans, the Mughals and the African Muslim empires tolerated and accommodated to this diversity. In contrast, the Safavids forced all of its subjects to adopt Shi'a Islam.

Key Terms

Dynasty: A ruling family of an empire or kingdom

Millets: Self-governing communites of Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire

Janissaries: Christians from the Balkans who served corps of infantry soldiers for the Ottoman sultan

Swahili: Language of coastal east Africa that combines the grammar of African Bantu languages with a Bantu and Arabic vocabulary

Mansa: West African ruler of Mali

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

3: A New World Order - 1500 - 1700

Learning Objectives

- Analyze the impact of European expansion on indigenous American populations, Asians, and Africans.
- Understand the changes to geopolitics and the world market with Age of Exploration expansion and Empire growth.
- Compare and contrast land-based and sea-based empires.

Focus Questions

- Define “Empire”. What does this term mean in context of the growth of China, Spain, Britain, and the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal territories? How does it affect political and economic development in these areas?
- In what ways were the land-based and sea-based empires similar and different?
- How did interaction with other outside cultures affect the development of these empires?

While Europe certainly made a big impact on the world, particularly during 1500-1700, a number of larger regions of the world in the Asian and African continents also had marked advancement, both with and without European involvement. Asia and Africa had major empires which experienced expansion. Europe tended to have **sea-based empires** that focused on commerce and naval power while Asia and Africa had land-based empires that focused strengthening agriculture and their armies.

Improvement in ship technology, which started in the Indian Ocean trading network among Asian civilizations made its way to Europe, allowing ships to traverse the Atlantic Ocean. With this technology, Europeans created an Atlantic World by bringing together the American and African continents. This resulted in European colonial establishment and growth, much to the detriment of the indigenous populations in those regions. Although slavery had already been prevalent throughout the African and Eurasian continents prior to 1500, race-based slavery would rise as European colonialism gained traction in the Americas.

This chapter will explore the arrival of the first Europeans to the American continents, including the Spanish, Portuguese, and English. During this time, new plants, animals, foods and crops, and even diseases started to travel across the Atlantic and throughout the world. This process is known as the **Columbian Exchange**, named for one of the men credited for reaching what would later become known as the New World, Christopher Columbus. Although the Western European countries and nations initially had been looking for a way to circumvent the Afro-Eurasian trade route known as the Silk Road and reach Asian markets from the east, they would end up settling in this New World, exploiting the local populations and claiming the land for themselves, producing raw materials for European production and consumption.

3.1: The Atlantic World at 1500
3.2: Europeans Enter the Indian Ocean
3.3 Americas and Spanish Arrival
3.4: Americas 1500-1800
3.5: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds during 1600-1750
3.6: Change in China
3.7: The Decline of the Gunpowder Empires
3.8: Japan and Russia
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3.10: Suggested Readings and Works Cited

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3.1: The Atlantic World at 1500

The European Context

Similar to empires we have been looking at in Asia and Africa, European society during the 1400s was hierarchical. Ten percent of the population occupied the top of the pyramid and controlled most of the wealth as well as local and national government. Additionally, there was no clear distinction between church and state or religious and secular. Europeans sought to spread Christianity while Jews and Muslims were perceived as immoral infidels. Education and health controlled by the church which also owned property and loaned money. Eastern Europe was mostly made up of Eastern Orthodox Christians while Roman Catholic Christians populated western Europe.

For the most part, Europe was diverse and composed of independent city-states, counties, duchies, principalities, and larger monarchies. Although there was a great deal of diversity, the different governments shared certain characteristics. They were governed by customary and written laws that placed limitations on the actions of individuals and their governments. Additionally, most governments had some form of **legislative assembly** which were composed of elected officials who approved of laws and taxes. In England there was the **House of Commons**, in France there was the **Estates-General** and different regions of Spain and Portugal had a **Cortes**.

Overall, kings were becoming more powerful over local elites and aristocrats as the cost of war increased. With a technology shift in warfare, Europeans no longer used the knights with armor and archers but used cannons and hand guns. Local elites and aristocrats could not afford to mass produce these more expensive gunpowder weapons. However, European kings and queens had a permanent and substantial tax base to fund military expansion.

Europeans were experiencing prosperity and sought from Asia spices, fine cotton and silk cloth, and porcelain. However, the Ottomans captured Constantinople in 1453 and Muslims then blocked direct trade with the east, because they controlled land routes and access to seaports in the Indian ocean. As a result, European merchants had to go through Muslim intermediaries to obtain these goods. Additionally, only the Venetians were allowed to trade in the Ottoman lands. Therefore, prices were very high for Asian luxuries. To more and more Europeans, circumnavigation of the globe was seen as a solution. Additionally, Europeans did not have much to trade, and there was a constant outflow of precious metals from Europe to India and China. Sub-Saharan Africa had gold, but Europeans had to trade with Muslims in northern Africa to get it.

By the late 1400s, Europeans had the technology to expand. Elites were reading ancient works in geography, science, and astronomy mostly in Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. The printing press allowed for these works to circulate. European sailors also got the magnetic compass from the Muslims and used an astrolabe to determine latitude or north-south position. Northern Europe had the single square sail while southern Europe used two or three triangular lateen sails. The square sail worked best when the wind was blowing from behind but could not sail against the wind. The lateen sail worked best against the winds. New ships blended both.

Iberia

The **Iberian Peninsula** in the Middle Ages was divided into three major Christian kingdoms: Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. The nation of Spain did not exist. However, Castile and Aragon united in 1469 when King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile married. Nevertheless, there was no national government administration in Spain. The monarchs depended on thousands of municipal governments called **cabildos** to enforce laws and collect taxes.

There has historically a great deal of conflict between the Catholics of Spain and Muslims. The Muslim Moors invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 711 and conquered it within seven years. However, it took seven hundred years for the Spanish Catholics to regain it. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople revived the crusading enthusiasm of the Christians throughout Europe. The Pope called on Christians to resume the *Reconquista* or Catholic reconquest in the 1450s. Iberia was devoid of political unity, but a common Catholic faith was a means of bringing everyone together. After the Catholics took full control of Iberia in 1492, Jews and Muslims were forced to convert, leave, or die.

The *Reconquista* had major political effects on Spain. Under Ferdinand and Isabella, nobles lost political power but gained large estates called **haciendas**. A tiny elite controlled 95% of the land in Castile. In the 1480s, the Castilian crown appointed

corregidores who were its representatives in the *cabildos* of Castille. The wars militarized society, and by the end of the 1400s, the Iberian Peninsula was the best equipped of all European countries for overseas expansion.

Western Africa and the Kingdom of the Kongo

Portugal led the way in exploring the coast of west Africa and the eastern half of the Atlantic Ocean. Portuguese nobles did not have easy adjacent frontier land to occupy. It could only expand with ships rather than horses. So, the Portuguese had nowhere to go but westward into the Atlantic. Portugal was well placed geographically to undertake African exploration and possessed considerable maritime experience. By the late 1400s, Iberian sailors became familiar and comfortable navigating in the eastern half of the Atlantic Ocean. The area in the map located the box in Figure 3.1.1 shows the Atlantic World which Western Europeans were exploring during the 1400s and 1500s. This area includes western Africa, western Europe, and the Americas.

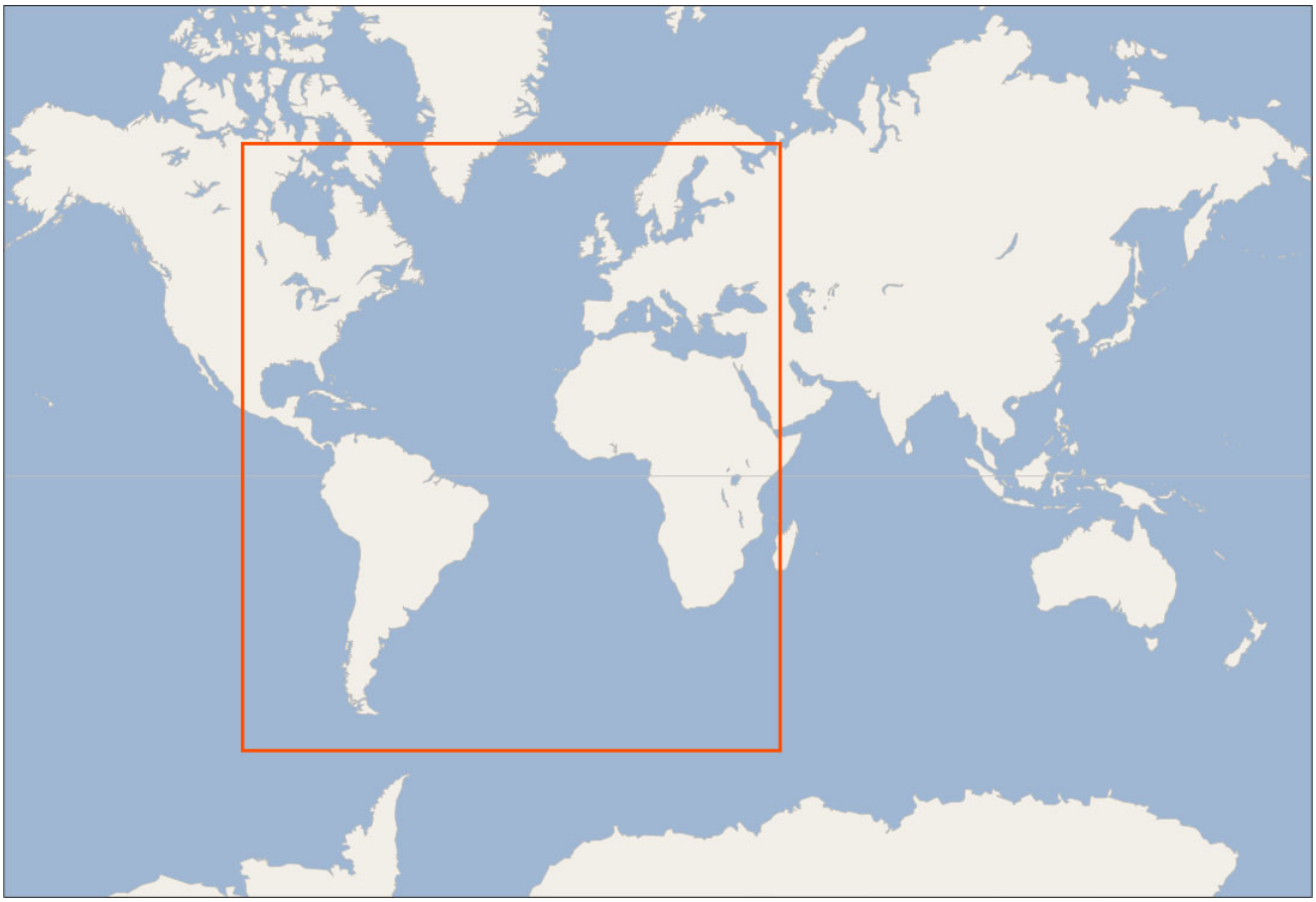

Figure 3.1.1: The Atlantic World, Modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros, Wikimedia Commons, Rice University, Open Stax, in the Public Domain

In sub-Saharan Africa as in the Middle east, the Muslim barrier stood between European merchants and the wealth they hoped to gain from direct trade. Beginning in the 1400s, the Portuguese established trading posts along the coast south of the Sahara where they traded with local rulers. European goods included horses, saddles, stirrups, cloth, caps, hats, wine, wheat, salt, lead, iron, copper, and brass. In return, Europeans wanted gold and slaves. The Spanish and the Portuguese colonized the **Atlantic Islands**. The Spanish seized the Canary Islands while the Portuguese took over the Madeira Islands, the Azores, and Cape Verde Islands. Europeans wanted gold and silver, but **cash crops** were also incredibly valuable. These were crops that could only be grown in the tropics. Such crops were more valuable than wheat or corn, because these products could not be produced in most of Europe which was too cold. Cash crops include cotton, rice, indigo, sugar, coffee, cacao, and tobacco. The Iberians produced sugar on these islands using African slave labor that they purchased along the west coast of Africa. Sugar became the most profitable cash crop. Africans had immunities to tropical diseases, and cash crop producers earned enough money to be able to afford large numbers of slaves. African leaders were willing to trade but would not allow Europeans to dominate them, and they had the strength to resist

attempts at conquest. Europeans could not survive long in sub-Saharan Africa which hosted tropical diseases such as malaria and yellow fever.

Portugal increasingly traded with the Kingdom of the Kongo in western Africa for slaves. This kingdom had fertile soil and was initially built on prosperous family farming. The region itself was center of iron and steel production. The Kingdom of the Kongo became the dominant power on the west coast of Africa by 1500. It controlled an area larger than Portugal and had roughly half a million subjects. This kingdom was well known for its heavy infantry made up of skilled soldiers who fought with swords and used large shields. King Alfonso I (1506-1543) converted to Catholicism and then spread the religion. Under his rule, many Kongo elites went to Europe for education, and when they returned, these elites opened schools. The schools then produced graduates who served teachers themselves. By the early 1500s, the Kingdom of the Kongo had network of schools throughout the country. In the long run, however, the slave trade destabilized the Kingdom of the Kongo as elites fought one another for captives to sell.

Christopher Columbus

Christopher Columbus's promise to find a sea route to Asia interested European monarchs like Ferdinand and Isabella who wanted to trade directly with east Asia. The expedition was inexpensive, and Columbus arrived in the Caribbean on October 12, 1492. He returned to Europe with a few captive Taino natives and some gold. Columbus then returned to the Caribbean in 1493 and according to his diaries brought "seeds and cuttings for the planting of wheat, chickpeas, melons, onions, radishes, salad greens, grape vines, sugar cane, and fruit stones for the founding of orchards." The Spanish then built sugar mills in the Caribbean in 1515 with technicians from the Canaries and African slaves.

? Review Questions

- Why did Europe feel the need to expand? What role did Portugal's exploration of the African coast play in this expansion?
- How did race-based slavery become a major part of Atlantic World economy?

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3.2: Europeans Enter the Indian Ocean

A Dominant Power?

While the Spanish explored and established colonies in the Americas, the Portuguese looked for trading opportunities in the Indian Ocean beginning in 1498 when Vasco da Gama arrived in India and purchased as much pepper as possible. Upon his return to Portugal, the sale of this pepper generated huge profits. As a result, subsequent Portuguese naval fleets set out into the Indian Ocean. Rather than trying to fit themselves into a trading world that exposed their own limitations, on these later voyages, the Portuguese would instead lean into their advantages. One of these was the presence of cannons onboard their ships that could be used in both naval warfare and for the bombardment of coastal cities.

To a greater or lesser extent, the Portuguese sought a monopoly on the most valuable goods that circulated in the Eastern seas: spices. That could literally mean controlling the world's supply of nutmeg -- which at the height of its value in the mid-17th century was worth more per ounce than gold in European markets. In political terms, the Portuguese found that claiming territory was easier than holding onto it. Overall, the Portuguese were unsuccessful in their effort to monopolize spice trade from Asia to Europe – by 1600 Spanish had posts in Asia. In spite of naval power, the Portuguese were only one of a number of trade diasporas in the Indian Ocean.

Estado da India

We tend to identify these far-flung ports and bases as the Portuguese Empire, but the Portuguese themselves referred to their collection of territories in Africa and Asia as the **Estado da India**. This empire was at the same time an impressive achievement for a kingdom of barely more than a million people while also being less than it seemed. Certainly, the Portuguese were able to create a key role for themselves in the Indian Ocean world and in doing so made Portugal a major world power. However, their empire as well as later European maritime powers like the Dutch and English offer a lesson about the difference between pretensions and reality. Figure 3.2.1 shows a Portuguese nobleman on a horse who is accompanied by three other Portuguese men and two Indian servants.

Figure 3.2.1: Anonymous Portuguese watercolour illustration, Author Unknown, Códice Casanatense, in the Public Domain

Through savvy politics, intimidation, and exemplary violence the Portuguese were able to seize several ports ranging from the Mozambique Channel in East Africa to Malacca at the opposite end of the Indian Ocean. In addition, under an agreement with Ming China, they were allowed to establish a base on the island of Macao at the mouth of the Pearl River in southern China. They took over much of the silver trade from Japan. Indian Ocean commerce had three great naval choke points: Aden, Hormuz, and Malacca. During the 1500s, the Portuguese used their cannon to take control of these ports. They failed to hold Aden for long which meant that the Venetians still sold spices in Europe.

The Portuguese in Africa

During the 1500s and 1600s, the Portuguese became the dominant power on the east coast of Africa. Their goal was to acquire gold, and the Portuguese captured the port of Sofala in 1505. For the most part, they traded Indian textiles to get gold and ivory and then used this to purchase spices. However, the Portuguese made no effort to colonize east Africa and sought to control the different cities with puppets. In fact, there was no mass conversion to Christianity and very little adoption of Portuguese culture. The Portuguese only disrupted trade by going in and sacking towns on the east coast. The cities constantly were rebelling against the Portuguese, but they were not united enough to fight together.

For the most part, the Portuguese failed to dominate east Africa. Swahili merchants just bypassed the Portuguese controlled ports. A lot of the gold found its way to Muslim merchants in Angoche which was not controlled by the Portuguese. Additionally, the Portuguese tried but failed to take interior gold producing region, because they lacked the manpower and immunities to tropical disease.

Review Questions

- What advantages allowed the Portuguese to establish themselves in the Indian Ocean?
- To what extent did the arrival of Europeans represent a major change to the Indian Ocean?

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3.3 Americas and Spanish Arrival

The Americas

Until 1492, the Western Hemisphere (North and South America and the Caribbean) remained shielded from interactions with Afro-Eurasia due to the expanses of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This isolation did not prevent the development of the types of complex societies that we commonly study in the histories of Afro-Eurasia. The Maya and Aztec of Mesoamerica and the Incan Empire of the South American Andes resemble their Eastern Hemisphere counterparts due to their systems of intensive agriculture, urbanization, hierarchical political systems, and long-distance trade networks. The Aztec and Incan empires had large standing armies and powerful monarchs at the top.

Despite Mexican trade networks that were smaller than those which existed in the most connected parts of the Eastern Hemisphere, the earliest Spaniards to enter Tenochtitlan were awestruck by the richness and diversity of goods found in the city's markets. According to Hernan Cortés in the great market at Tlatelolco: "There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying, and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords…" One of Cortés' soldiers, Bernal Diaz, was similarly impressed: "We were astounded at the great number of people and quantities of merchandise, and the orderliness and good arrangements that prevailed. For we had never seen such a thing before."

The territory of the Inca Empire was, if anything, more diverse than that of the Aztec. More uniquely, the Andes themselves provided a range of microclimates all in close proximity to each other. So, rich valleys suitable for the growing of maize could border terraced hillsides where hundreds of varieties of potato were farmed, while on the higher slopes, llamas and alpacas were raised to be used as pack animals, to provide meat, fur, and hides, and for their dung which could be used both as a fuel source and as a fertilizer. Beans, squash, and quinoa could also be grown at various altitudes, helping to provide Andean populations with a rich and diverse diet.

Lastly, it must be said that both the Aztec and Inca empires created ruling systems based on conquest, violence, forced labor, and extraction of wealth from subject populations. We can marvel at the complexity and sophistication of the states they created but should never forget the human suffering and exploitation that made their systems possible. Indeed, one of the reasons the Spanish were able to successfully bring down the two empires was because of the willingness of subject populations to collaborate with the new invaders against their Aztec or Inca overlords.

The Fall of the Aztec and Incan Empires

Traditional European and American histories of exploration often present the victory of the Spanish over the Aztec as an example of the superiority of Europeans over the savage Indians. The reality is far more complex. When Hernan Cortés led his expedition to topple the Aztec Empire in 1519, he encountered a region simmering with native conflict. Far from being unified and content under Aztec rule, many peoples in Mexico resented the overlords living in the capital city of Tenochtitlán and were ready to rebel.

Additionally, Europeans were able to take over due to Eastern Hemisphere diseases, which completely transformed the demographics of the Americas. Pre-encounter population estimates for the Americas vary widely but the consensus seems to have settled in the range of 50-60 million people with the highest estimates closer to 100 million. The rampant spread of disease along with the inherent violence of settler colonialism devastated indigenous communities with population reductions of 60-95% across the Americas. Coupled with the forced migration of millions of enslaved West Africans and increased migrations from Europe, the result was that by 1700 the demographic picture of the Americas looked almost nothing like what it had in 1450.

Historians call the transfer of disease, plants, and animals that began with the encounter between Europe and the Americas after 1492 the Columbian Exchange. The directions of these biological transfers and their effects on the environments and people of Europe and the Americas shaped the modern world we live in. American maize, potatoes, and cassava fed growing European, African, and Asian populations, allowing the building of new cities and industries. European animals such as pigs, sheep, chickens, and cattle thrived in the Americas, enabling both Native Americans and Europeans there to add and maintain animal protein to their diets and eventually expand their populations.

Spain and Portugal had a papal charter to justify this expansion into the Americas. The 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas in Figure 3.3.1 awarded all the territory east of the 47th meridian to Portugal and everything west of it to Spain. The Spanish were awarded most

of the Americas while the Portuguese were granted Africa and Brazil. The Portuguese received the east, because they were already establishing colonies on the east and west coasts of Africa. The Spanish were assigned the unknown west, which turned out to be bigger than anyone had expected. The Pope granted nothing to any other European kingdom. These claims led to the prevalence of both the Spanish and Portuguese languages throughout modern-day Latin America.

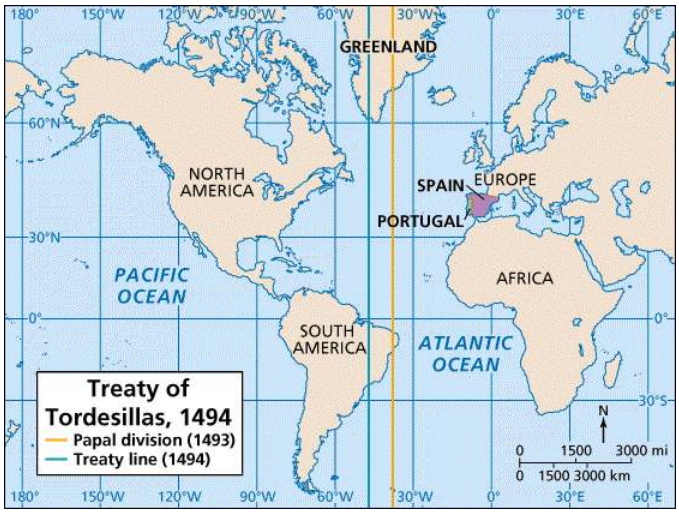

Figure 3.3.1: Treaty of Tordesillas, Ultimadesigns, Wikimedia Commons, in the Public Domain

Review Questions

- What were the main features of the Aztec and Incan empires?
- How were the Spanish able to topple both?

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3.4: Americas 1500-1800

Spanish America

The major source of wealth for the Spanish government became the silver of Mexico and the Andes. The Spanish monarchy received in theory one fifth of all silver mined in the Americas. A lot of this silver would wind up in Spain's pacific colony the Philippines where Chinese merchants would sell Spain luxuries. This silver and native tribute made the Spanish monarchy incredibly wealthy and powerful. In fact, Castilian Cortes lost all power, because the monarchy did not need it to raise revenue in the form of taxes on the people of Castile. There were no legislative assemblies in Spanish America. The most powerful figure was the king's representative, the viceroys. At the local level, the king had *corregidores* who presided over the hundreds of *cabildos*. Similar to Spain, everyone was expected to be Roman Catholic.

In Spanish America, government was based on **corporatism** where people got the rights from their ethnicity or occupation. At its fundamental level, the Spanish divided their holdings in the Americas into two separate spheres. The Spanish sphere was called the *republica de espanoles* and the native sphere was called the *republica de indios*. The Spanish and the ethnic sedentary natives had rights. There were three other corporate groups: priests, officers in the military, and the guilds. Priests and military officers had their own court and judges called a **fuero**. Craftsmen such as carpenters, formed their own organizations called guilds which had special privileges as well. Members of a guild could select a leader to speak on their behalf before the viceroy if they were having a problem.

The Spanish tended to settle in cities and areas where there was a large sedentary native population. They formed their own *cabildos* and only the Spanish could go to the major universities and become higher ranking government officials or priests. There were primarily two groups of Spaniards. The **Peninsulares** were Spanish born in Spain while the **Creoles** were Spanish born in the Americas. For most of the colonial history, there were no major differences between the two groups. However, *Peninsulares* were the wealthy import-export merchants. All foreign trade went through them. Wealthy *creoles* tended to own *haciendas*. By 1620, the Spanish owned nearly one half of the arable land in central Mexico which produced wheat and maize. Spanish *hacienda* owners also generated wealth growing tropical cash crops.

The other major group were the ethnic sedentary natives. These natives were settled in cities or they farmed. They also were culturally native. Ethnic sedentary natives formed their own *cabildos*, had rights to their own communal land, and had their own laws and leaders. The Spanish government often protected the lands held by native communities from any type of encroachment. The Spanish recognized the validity of existing native laws with the exception of human sacrifice and polygamy. In return for these privileges, these natives had to pay a special tax to the Spanish monarchy (tribute).

The process of Catholic conversion was relatively gradual and steady. The Spanish considered that natives were pure because they did not mix with the infidels such as the Jews or Muslims. All major towns had a *cabildo* and a local priest. There were fewer non-sedentary natives who lived primarily in the far south or north: Argentina, and the great plains, Southern Chile, Mexican north. They lived outside of the system and were difficult to subdue.

Over time, a larger mix-raced group emerged called *castas*. The monarch permitted interracial marriage in 1501. However, a large number of **mestizos** (people part Spanish and part native) were the offspring of couples who were not married. *Mestizos* were associated with illegitimate birth and stigmatized by the late 1500s. These *mestizos* and other *castas* were under Spanish laws but did not have any of the rights that Spanish or the ethnic sedentary natives had. They had no *cabildo* and could not go to a major university or become a government official or priest. A small number *castas* could purchase very costly purity certificates that stated that they were Spanish called *probanzas de limpieza de sangre*. Over time, there were also culturally Spanish natives called **foresteros** who faced the same discrimination that *castas* faced: they did not belong in either republica. Nevertheless, there were some opportunities for these groups. For example, they could join the guilds or become officers in the military.

Brazil

The Portuguese established in Brazil as planation economy based primarily upon cash crops especially sugar. In contrast to Spanish America, there was not a large sedentary indigenous population. Therefore, society was not set up with the two separate *republicas*. Brazil was made up mostly of Portuguese and Africans who were brought over as slaves to primarily to work on sugar estates. The

Brazilian government focused on stimulating and taxing the sugar trade. In 1689-90, gold was discovered in Minas Gerais, some 200 miles inland from Rio de Janeiro. As a result, the Portuguese brought their slaves with them to exploit the mines.

Similar to Spanish America, the system was based on corporatism. The Portuguese tended to live in towns and cities. They had local municipal government which governed the hinterland as well. There were no legislative assemblies and most international trade passed through merchants born in Portugal. Priests, military officers, and craftsmen in guilds had special corporate privileges like their Spanish American counterparts.

Colonial United States

The British thirteen colonies were distinctive in many ways from Spanish America and Brazil. When the English began colonization in the 1600s, there were three forms of Christianity in England and a powerful parliament. Under Elizabeth, England was moving toward religious pluralism and the colonies provided refuge in America for harassed minorities. The British government did not see the thirteen colonies as a major source of wealth. There were no tribute paying sedentary natives, precious metals, or land suitable for sugar production. Therefore, the British government remained unconcerned with North America and its natives.

The natives in North America did not have a separate set of laws and they were not subjects of the English crown. While the colonists in the thirteen colonies used germ warfare to kill off the natives to take their land, there is no evidence that the Spanish ever deliberately attempted to infect the indigenous peoples of the Americas. The Spanish saw the demographic collapse of the natives as a loss. The settlers in Spanish America needed native population to work in their fields and work in their mines. The Spanish government sought to protect the ethnic sedentary natives, because they paid taxes.

Colonial government in English America lacked the wealth of Spanish America and Brazil. Who would pay for roads, ports, and the salaries of government officials? In the absence of silver mines and a significant settled native tax-paying population, government out of necessity was to be funded by the colonists themselves. To get the colonists to pay taxes, the colonists taxed themselves by forming colonial legislative assemblies in each colony. However, legislative assemblies were not necessary in Spanish America, because these colonies were wealthy and could be funded from silver and ethnic sedentary native tribute. Nevertheless, the Thirteen Colonies were not a democracy. Only white male property holders could vote in assembly elections, and about sixty percent of all white men meet the property requirements for voting.

? Primary Sources: Government in Colonial USA

On June 4, 1639 the leaders of Connecticut assembled to agree on a charter or constitution for their colony. This charter granted the free men of the colony certain rights.

Discussion Questions

- How was this charter democratic?
- How was this charter not democratic?

THE 4th day of the 4th month, called June, 1639, all the free planters assembled together in a general meeting, to consult about settling civil government, according to GOD, and the nomination of persons that might be found, by consent of all, fittest in all respects for the foundation work of a church…

Query I. WHETHER the scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to GOD and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church ? This was assented unto by all, no man dissenting, as was expressed by holding up of hands. Afterwards it was read over to them, that they might see in what words their vote was expressed. They again expressed their consent by holding up their hands, no man dissenting.

Query V. WHETHER free burgesses shall be chosen out of the church members, they that are in the foundation work of the church being actually free burgesses, and to choose to themselves out of the like estate of church fellowship, and the power of choosing magistrates and officers from among themselves, and the power of making and repealing laws, according to the word, and the dividing of inheritances, and deciding of differences that may arise, and all the businesses of like nature are to be transacted by those free burgesses. This was put to vote and agreed unto by lifting up of hands twice, as in the former it was done. Then one man stood up and expressed his dissenting from the rest in part; yet granting, 1. That magistrates should be

> men fearing GOD. 2. That the church is the company where, ordinarily, such men may be expected. 3. That they that choose them ought to be men fearing GOD; only at this he stuck, that free planters ought not to give this power out of their hands. Another stood up and answered, that nothing was done, but with their consent…Hereafter should be admitted here as planters, should submit, and testify the same by subscribing their names to the order: Namely, that church members only shall be free burgesses, and that they only shall choose magistrates and officers among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of this plantation; of making and repealing laws, dividing of inheritances, deciding of differences that may arise, and doing all things and businesses of like nature.
>
> Fundamental Agreement, or Original Constitution of the Colony of New Haven, June 4, 1639, in the Public Domain

Two separate societies formed in the thirteen colonies: plantation colonies and farm colonies. South of Pennsylvania, the plantation colonies produced high value semi-tropical cash crops in demand in Europe. These crops included tobacco, rice and indigo. Since these crops were produced on large estates using slave labor, there was an unequal distribution of wealth. At the top was a small white planation elite. Below them were the majority of whites who were poor subsistence farmers. Then, there were African slaves who primarily worked on cash crop estates. The farm colonies had mostly middle-class commercial farmers who grew corn and wheat and raised livestock like cattle. These farmers sold their products to the Caribbean, but they did not generate wealth to purchase slaves. The wealthy in the farm colonies were merchants and bankers. Many of these elites in the north participated directly in the slave trade.

Africans in the Americas

Initially, the Portuguese were heavily involved in the slave trade. Dysentery was the number one cause of death on the ships carrying slaves across the Atlantic. Before 1700, the mortality rate was 20% but dropped to 5% afterwards. A total of twelve million Africans were brought to the Americas. The most significant imports into Africa were Indian cotton cloth, rum, tobacco, weapons, and horses. In the Americas, African slaves primarily worked on cash crop plantations. Most slaves worked on sugar estates in the Caribbean and Brazil, because sugar estate owners were the wealthiest.

While the Catholic church perceived the natives of the Americas as potentially good Catholics and protected them, the Church not only did not question African slavery but owned African slaves. For the most part, in Iberian America Black race tied to being a Muslim. Natives were considered subjects of the crown who voluntarily accepted Christianity and Spanish rule. The Iberians believed that Africans and their descendants had not pledged loyalty to the monarchy voluntarily and did not freely accept Christianity. On sugar estates, slaves were often worked to death, because Spanish and Portuguese estate owners were generating so much wealth that they could purchase more slaves. The lives of the slaves themselves were not regarded as important. Figure 3.4.1 shows a sugar estate in Brazil. The estate not only included the fields that produced the sugar but a chapel and a mill to extract sugar from the sugar cane.

Figure 3.4.1: Sugar Mill with a Chapel by Frans Post, Fundação Maria Luisa e Oscar Americano, in the Public Domain

There were significant differences in the slave systems of the Thirteen Colonies and Iberian America. In the thirteen colonies, slaves tended to live longer. However, these slaves were unlikely to be freed or manumitted. In fact, it was difficult for a slave owner to manumit their slave even if they wanted to. In Iberian American, if a slave could survive, they had a much better chance at getting their freedom. In Iberian America, slaves would often be able to purchase their freedom.

Additionally, there were more opportunities for free Blacks in Iberian America. The lack of a powerful guild organization permitted Blacks to become craftsmen. Blacks were heavily involved in construction and many were carpenters. They could also join the militias and obtain a fuero. However, Blacks very rarely could purchase purity certificates. They also shared many of the forms discrimination *castas* experienced including lack of representation in a *cabildo* or the right to go to college.

? Review Questions

- How were race relations in Iberian America different from the thirteen colonies?
- How was the economy of the farm colonies distinctive?

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3.5: Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds during 1600-1750

West Africa and the Atlantic World

Three major empires emerged in west Africa as a result of the slave trade: Oyo, Dahomey, and Asante. These empires were able to purchase massive amounts of firearms and horses due to the growing slave trade. They had larger armies and waged wars to capture more slaves. For the most part, the slave trade destabilized and militarized west Africa. It also made west Africa more and more economically dependent upon the slave trade. However, European merchants had no real power over these empires. There were so many European competitors selling weapons, that they could not pick and choose which kingdom to support.

The Oyo Empire was established in the 1400s and expanded with the use of cavalry. Horses survived in this empire due to the lack of the tse fly which spreads disease in livestock. Since the Oyo was funded by selling slaves, it faced major problems after the slave trade diminished in the late 1700s. Increasingly, soldiers were not rewarded and peasant taxes increased. As a consequence, the empire collapsed due to civil wars. The Dahomey was established in 1650. Similar to the Oyo, it relied on the slave trade. In fact, the king of the Dahomey was the largest of the slave dealers, and he heavily taxed the other slave dealers. However, the Dahomey fought with the Oyo in the 1700s for control of the slave trade and by 1730 paid tribute to the Oyo.

The Asante kingdom emerged in 1670 and lasted the longest. They were heavily engaged in the slave trade but were never dependent on it for royal revenue. Initially, the Asante relied on the gold trade. However, slave labor was used in the gold mines. The slave trade picked up a lot by the end of the 1600s when sugar production was increasing in the Caribbean. It became dangerous to travel as large armies of slave catchers were traveling all over the roads. Different villages and towns would increasingly attack and enslave each other. Figure 3.5.1 shows a massive fort along the Atlantic coast that was first Portuguese and then Dutch called Elmina. Many of the slaves from the Asante Empire were sold to European merchants at this fort.

Figure 3.5.1: Castle of Elmina by Johannes Vingboons, Austrian National Library, in the Public Domain

Joint-Stock Companies: Changes in the Indian Ocean World

The Dutch and English governments sought to displace the Portuguese by empowering privately owned corporations to conduct trade in the Indian Ocean during the 1600s. Overall, **joint-stock companies** obtained massive funding by selling shares of stock and bonds. The Dutch and British governments empowered the joint-stock companies to raise armies and navies as well as fight wars and make peace in their zones. The Portuguese remained in the Indian Ocean but were marginalized. These companies also had monopoly power. This meant that in Great Britain if you wanted luxuries from Asia, you had to buy these products from the English East India Company.

Initially, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) raised ten times the funds of the English East India Company (EIC). At its peak, the VOC had 257 ships and employed 12,000 people. The VOC focused on Southeast Asia which remained a Dutch colony until after World War II. The objective of the VOC was to have monopoly power in the spice trade which included nutmeg, cloves, mace and cinnamon. In 1619, the Dutch arrived in Indonesia and seized Jakarta which it renamed Batavia. Then, the Dutch took over spice producing islands and controlled the production of spices in Indonesia. The Dutch tried but failed to get a monopoly in pepper. The Chinese and English continued to trade it, because the pepper production was scattered.

The English East India Company was formed in 1600, but the EIC did not control any territory until the English crown obtained Bombay from Portugal and passed it to the company in 1669. By the end of the 1600s, the EIC focused on India and traded silver originally from the Americas in return for cotton cloth, indigo, and spices. Indian cloth was in high demand in the Atlantic World. This cloth was light, soft, and easy to wash.

For the most part, these companies initially were only looking for trading opportunities in the Indian Ocean not territorial conquests. The conquest of the Americas gave Europeans silver and with this they could reshape their relations with Asia. Silver was what connected Europe to the Indian Ocean trade network. Overall, there was no demand for European products other than silver in Asia. So, the Dutch and English become more involved in inter-Asian trade. They diversified their trade to include silk, cotton, tea, and coffee in addition to spices.

Review Questions

- How did the slave trade impact west Africa?
- How were the Dutch and English similar and different from the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean?

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3.6: Change in China

The Fall of the Ming Empire

Beginning in the 1500s, it looked like European trade and more silver would strengthen not weaken the Ming. Silver in China made borrowing and lending easier. There was a cotton boom and the production cotton cloth became one of China's biggest industries. In fact, more silver went to China than anywhere else. It received about one-third of all silver mined in the Americas. China prospered during the Ming period, but this led to a weakening of the empire. As a land-based empire, the Ming government focused on agriculture and not trade. Therefore, a lot of the silver strengthened local elites not the Ming government. There was also increased economic instability. Too much silver increase prices and inflation. With too little silver, peasants had trouble paying taxes. The silver supply from the Americas was inconsistent and not steady.

As the Ming economy grew, so too did its population. Crops from the Americas such as sweet potatoes and maize were adopted by many peasants, especially those who lived in hilly, dry regions like Sichuan. These crops grew well and provided abundant calories for farm families. However, population growth was also not accompanied by an increase in cultivated land sufficient to support the added numbers of people, and in many regions, farmers found themselves tilling smaller fields as the generations passed.

The days of the Ming were numbered. In the early seventeenth century, the onset of one of the intervals of the Little Ice Age, a period of cooling in the northern hemisphere, brought low temperatures and droughts in many parts of the country, leading to famine in some areas. Floods devastated other regions. Throughout the 1600s there were periodic shortages of silver and growing government debts. Farmers whose crops had failed or who had inherited plots of land too small to support their families were unable to pay their taxes or their rents. Even those who could pay had difficulty finding the silver with which the law said taxes must be paid. This led to rebellions. A major rebellion in 1644 toppled the Ming dynasty.

The Qing Empire

The Manchus, who took over China, were not ethnically Chinese and originally lived northeast of the Great Wall in southern Manchuria. Despite what many Chinese had feared, the early Qing emperors proved good rulers. They strove to preserve their identity as Manchus, but they also embraced Chinese culture.The first Qing emperor, Kangxi, toured China to acquaint himself with his new domain. He adopted the Chinese bureaucratic apparatus and ordered that each of the government's six major ministries be led by Manchu and Han Chinese co-administrators. Kangxi governed according to Confucian principles and maintained the system of imperial examinations for government jobs. The Manchu were careful to maintain their superior positions, however, and demanded loyalty from the Chinese. For example, local positions in government were usually given to Han Chinese bureaucrats, but supervisory positions were given to Manchus. Figure 3.6.1 displays Kangxi seated with an open book in front. This emperor embraced the works of Confucius and his disciples.

Figure 3.6.1: Seated Statute of Kangxi in His Study, Author Unknown, National Museum of China, in the Public Domain

The Qing, however, continued the Ming policy limiting interactions with foreigners. European demand for Chinese products did not cease, but non-Chinese could only conduct trade only through the port of Guangzhou (Canton) and trade only with the official Chinese merchant guild. While in the city on business, they had to stay in a special quarter for Europeans. When they had finished their transactions, they had to depart. In the eyes of the Chinese, Europe was inferior and possessed nothing of interest. Although European scientific knowledge was impressive to some, most Chinese merchants and officials maintained a disdainful attitude toward the West.

? Primary Sources: The Qing Education System

During the 1700s, Jesuits in were China recording what they saw and providing their own opinions of Qing society.

Discussion Questions

- What is the opinion of the Qing education system?
- How did it differ from the changes in the education system in western Europe?

The great and only road to riches, honor, and employment is the study of *jing* (the classical cannon). History, the laws, and morality, and to learn what they call *wenshang*, that is to write in a polite manner, in terms well-chosen and suitable t the subject. By this means they become doctors (*jinshi*), having passed the third level of the examinations; soon after they are sure to have a government post. Even those who return to their provinces to wait for posts are in great consideration with the mandarins of the place; they protect their families against all vexations and enjoy a great many privileges. But as nothing like this is to be hoped for those who apply themselves to the speculative sciences, and as the study of them is not the road to honors and riches, it is no wonder that these sorts of abstract sciences should be neglected by the Chinese.

Jean Baptiste du Halde, *A Description of the Empire of China* (1738), Volume 2, in the Public Domain

The Qing, like the Ming, cared much more about agriculture than trade. As long as China's farmers paid taxes, the government was content to demand taxes from merchants on an irregular basis. By the mid 1700s, it still appeared to many that Europe needed China more than the other way around. For the vast majority of Chinese, no superior model of belief, politics, or society was conceivable.

? Review Questions

- How did silver create instability in China?
- How was there continuity under the Qing?

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3.7: The Decline of the Gunpowder Empires

Common Problems

The gunpowder empires entered into decline for a number of reasons. They engaged in long costly wars which drained resources without bringing benefits. None of the empires made the necessary investments for sustained growth and a strong military. European military technology was advancing rapidly but the Islamic empires could not keep up. There was no research and development or efforts to mass produce the newest weapons. Similar to Qing China, there was resistance to learn about science and technology from Western Europe. Succession issues also created instability in all three Gunpowder Empires. The Turks never developed clear lines of succession. Brothers, nephews, and uncles all claimed to be legitimate heirs.

The Ottoman Empire

During the 1600s, a sense of decline became a preoccupation of the Ottoman elite. There were several failed attempts to advance into western Europe, but the Ottomans were defeated by the German Habsburgs. With the end of territorial expansion, the driving engine for Ottoman prosperity was gone. Some government officials recognized the European threat, but Ottoman *Janissaries* opposed modernizing the military. Although the *janissaries* would be dismantled, it was too late for the Ottoman Empire to catch up militarily with the West.

Succession issues also created instability in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the sultan's palace was a place of mistrust and fear which increased as the Sultan got older. Royal princes were killed for potential rather than actual sedition. When an heir apparent had been designated, he was kept under virtual house arrest in a small room known as the "cage," to protect him from possible rivals. Usually, this heir lacked any experience in government and was also often in poor health or even insane from his long confinement. Of the nine men who became sultans in the 1600s, only three were both adult and sane when they took power.

Similar to the Ming, foreign trade destabilized and weakened the Ottoman Empire. As a land-based empire, the focus was on agriculture and European merchants dominated international commerce. For the most part, the Ottoman government was unable to tap into the new wealth from the Americas. The government more and more sought to ban international trade. However, European merchants illegally traded silver for wheat, copper, and wool which were in demand in Europe. Since these goods were illegally exported, this trade did not generate revenue for the government which led to more government debt to pay administrative and military expenses. More silver and budget deficits resulted in higher taxes and inflation. These problems led to a number of rebellions against the government.

The Mughal Empire

The Mughal Empire was at its height in the 1600s, and it controlled most of India. New lands came under cultivation in India in the 1600s, agricultural production grew, and peasants quickly adopted new world crops like corn and tobacco. Cotton exports generated prosperity and many peasants complemented agriculture with weaving.

However, the government did not tap into the wealth being generated from the Indian Ocean trade. The Mughals showed little interest in becoming a naval power. In general, the Mughals paid little attention to commerce, but local leaders encouraged Europeans to establish posts in Indian ports. Economic growth brought a loss of political power to the center. All this wealth created new powerful local and regional elites who challenged the authority of the Mughals. These elites increasingly used their wealth to take over areas with their own military forces. Large powerful kingdoms emerged like Bengal which were only nominally under the rule of the Mughals.

Emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) spent the final quarter century of his life in a mostly failed attempt to conquer the Deccan Plateau of Central India from a variety of Muslim rulers. To pay for new conquests, he reimposed the taxes on Hindus. Akbar's policies of religious toleration were done away with. Hindu temples were destroyed under the orders of Aurangzeb and a decades long war was waged against the Hindu Marathas. Within a few years there were widespread revolts which merely caused the emperor to raise taxes to fund an army to put these revolts down. Figure 3.7.1 shows Emperor Aurangzeb holding court. He is seated and holding a hawk in his hand. Various officials are talking to him under a lavish canopy.

Figure 3.7.1: Aurangzeb Holds Court by Bichitr, Collection of Frances W. Pritchett, in the Public Domain

The Safavid Empire

The Safavid empire was vulnerable economically, because it relied on only one product: raw silk. The EIC and VOC dominated commerce in Iran by the end of the 1600s. Additionally, the Dutch and English had alternative sources for silk coming from India and China. Much of the wealth of Iran traveled to India and the Dutch East Indies in return for spices, cotton textiles, and other luxuries. Since precious metals flowed out of the empire, currency was then devalued. Political then unrest increased because of price inflation.

The Safavid empire entered a decline after Abbas I as most of the shahs who were inept. Increasingly, the high clerics, called **ayatollas,** became politically very powerful. These powerful clerics claimed to be leaders of Islam but lacked political authority until the late 1970s. Nevertheless, there was a dispute over who had the real religious authority, the Shah or the *ayatollahs*. The emperors spent more time devoted to religion and promoting Shiism and neglected the military which could not repel Afghan invasions who toppled the empire in 1722.

Review Questions

- How did increasing foreign trade destabilize the Gunpowder Empires?
- What other factors accounted for the decline of the Gunpowder Empires?

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3.8: Japan and Russia

The "Golden Age" of Japan

In the early seventeenth century, one family clan, the Tokugawa, emerged triumphant and set about a unification of Japanese territory. Although Japan had an emperor, the Tokugawa family was in charge. Japan was ruled by an aristocrat called a shogun.

From the 1530's the Portuguese sought silver in Japan to take to China. Among other things, the great profits from this trade would help finance the Portuguese missionary efforts that always accompanied their commercial activities. While there were early hopes that Catholic missionaries would find success in India or China, Japan turned out to be the one region where significant numbers of conversions occurred. In fact, by the late 16th century missionary efforts had been rewarded with the conversion of hundreds of thousands of Japanese Christians.

However, as the Japanese islands became increasingly unified over that century, the new leadership came to see Christianization as a threat to its ambitions. Over the next half century, the issue of Japanese Christians and European missionaries would continue to vex the state until finally in 1635 the Portuguese would be formally expelled from Japan. Any missionaries who attempted to remain would be executed, and Japanese Christians would be forced to renounce their faith or suffer the consequences.

Still desiring foreign trade, however, the recently established Tokugawa Shogunate permitted Dutch merchants to trade at the single port of Deshima based on the understanding that they would not make any attempt to propagate Christianity among the Japanese. As this example demonstrates, far from being dominant, Europeans often found it necessary to bow to the whims of their hosts if they wished to continue their activities across Asia.**Dutch learning** was the study of European ideas in Japan at this time. Some members of the Japanese elite learned Dutch and about European technology, shipbuilding, and medicine. By 1670, there was a guild of Japanese interpreters in Nagasaki who could speak and read Dutch and European knowledge spread to high circles. Figure 3.8.1 shows a detailed drawing of a microscope from the 1700s by Morishima Chūryō. To both the left and the right of this microscope there is Japanese writing with information.

Figure 3.8.1: Description of a Microscope, by Morishima Chūryō, Artwork of a 1787 book "Sayings of the Dutch," in the Public Domain

Why were the Japanese so eager to learn about ideas from Europe? The Japanese openness to ideas from foreigners stemmed from Japan's long historical relationship to outside influences particularly to Chinese philosophy and institutions. The Japanese did not consider embracing foreign learning as a sign of inferiority, especially when they knew that foreign ideas could put new ideas to good use at home. This openness to outside ideas contrasts with the major Asian land-based empires who were eager lenders but hesitant borrowers of foreign ideas.

The Russian Empire

There was no unified state called "Russia" before the late fifteenth century. Originally populated by Slavic tribal groups, Swedish Vikings called the Rus colonized and then mixed with the native Slavs over the course of the ninth century. The Rus were led by princes who ruled towns that eventually developed into small cities, the most important of which was Kiev in the present-day country of Ukraine. The Rus eventually converted to Eastern Orthodox Christianity thanks to the influence of Greeks missionaries. Ivan IV was the first Russian ruler to claim the title of Tsar (also anglicized as Czar), meaning "Caesar." Russia expanded east and west and became a European land-based empire. The Czar had an enormous amount of power, because there were no legislative assemblies that he had to work with.

The institution of **serfdom** was cemented during the seventeenth century. When times were hard for Russian peasants, they frequently fled to the frontier, either Siberia or what would later be called Ukraine (meaning “border region”). In these regions, Russian commoners worked the land in a manner that gave them the impression that they owned it, or at least the goods produced there. Since Russia was so enormous, this exacerbated what the government saw as an ongoing labor shortage problem. Unlike western Europe, there was more than enough land in Russia, just not enough peasants to work it. Therefore, the Czarist state officially instituted serfdom in 1649 across the board, formalizing what was already a widespread institution. This made peasants legally little better than slaves, forced to work the land of the aristocrats and serve the state in a war when conscripted.

? Review Questions

- How was the Japanese experience different from the Asian land-based empires?
- How was Russia different from the sea-based empires of western Europe?

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3.9: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a massive increase in the interconnectedness between civilizations, a continuation of globalization that started to take place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and grew further in the fifteenth century during the Age of Exploration in Europe. The sea-based empires expanded during this time also saw what many historians consider a "golden age," showing an epitome of wealth and prosperity.

However, this wealth and prosperity came at a severe cost to many people. As empires and countries, particularly European countries, expanded beyond their borders to look for new raw materials and markets for their finished goods, they invaded and overran many of the indigenous populations already living in the areas those countries were "exploring." The creation of colonies in the Americas, with their influx of settlers bringing new technology and diseases, led to violent clashes between them and the indigenous peoples, who often succumbed to this superior new technology and disease that the indigenous had no defense against. This prosperity also destabilized most of the land-based empires including the Ming and the gunpowder empires.

Overall, this period in world history is seen by historians as the first time when the entire world was "united" in terms of trade and economy since all the continents were combined; the first true era of globalization. Although this era certainly increased the growth and development of certain civilizations, it led to the subjugation and even annihilation of others and set the foundation for relationships between different groups of people into the modern age.

Key **Terms**

Sea-Based Empires: Primarily western European empires that promoted commerce and naval military power

Columbian Exchange: Exchange of plants, animals, and diseases between the Western Hemisphere (North and South America) and the Eastern Hemisphere (Europe, Africa, and Asia)

Legislative Assembly: Assembly composed of elected officials who approved of laws and taxes

House of Commons: The legislative assembly of England and later Great Britain

Estates-General: The legislative assembly of France until the French Revolution (1789)

Cortes: The name of the legislative assemblies of Spain and Portugal

Iberian Peninsula: Spain and Portugal

Cabildos: Municipal or city governments in the Iberian Peninsula and later Latin America

Haciendas: Large estates in the Iberian Peninsula and later Latin America

Corrigidores: The Spanish king's representative at the local level who often oversaw the cabildos

Atlantic Islands: Islands off the coast of west Africa where the Spanish and Portuguese used African slaves to produce sugar

Cash Crops: Valuable crops such as sugar that could only be grown in the tropics

Estado da India: Collection of Asia and African territories controlled by the Portuguese

Corporatism: A social and political system were individuals get their rights from their race, ethnicity, or occupation

Fuero: A special court usually for priests and military officers in the Spanish and Portuguese empires

Peninsulares: A Spaniard born in Spain

Creoles: A Spaniard born in Spanish America

Mestizos: Someone who is part Spanish and part indigenous from the Americas

Foresteros: An indigenous person in the Americas that is culturally Spanish

Joint-Stock Companies: Privately owned British and Dutch corporations that engaged in the Indian Ocean trade

Ayatollas: Shi's Muslim religious leaders in Persia/Iran

Dutch Learning: The study of European ideas in Japan

Serfdom: The system of forced labor in the Russian empire where peasants called serfs had to work on estates of the Russian nobilty

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

4: A Revolutionary New World - 1600 - 1825

Learning Objectives

- Define Absolutism and understand how this government structure was established as either a successful or unsuccessful authority over a population.
- Analyze the significant ideas of the Enlightenment.
- Examine the causes and consequences of the Atlantic Revolutions.

Focus Questions

- What were the main ideas of the Enlightenment?
- What were the causes and consequences of the Atlantic Revolutions?
- Compare and contrast the northern Atlantic Revolutions and southern Atlantic Revolutions

Figure 4.1 January Suchodolski, in the Public Domain.

The Age of Exploration, introduced in the previous chapter, opened doors to new societies, cultures, and ways of thinking. This period came to be known as the **Age of Enlightenment** in Europe, where new ideas and concepts about government, religion, and society grew. What was considered reason and rational thought based on the sciences gained popularity during this period. These ideas had great resonance in the Atlantic World. At the same time, a ruling structure emerged, known as **Absolutism** which basically allowed kings unrestrained rulership with little to no oversight from any other entities, including the church, a council, nobles, scholars, or any other group or citizen. The monarchs believed that their rule was ordained by God, so they answered only to God, and any resistance to this was met with quick and brutal restraint, up to and including exile and death. The kings of France, Spain, and Portugal sought to enhance their rule both at home and in their colonies. Meanwhile, Great Britain established a constitutional monarchy with a powerful legislature at the expense of the colonists in North America.

During the 1700s, the western European monarchies were continuously fighting. The most significant war was a global conflict known as the Seven Years War (1756-1763). As a consequence of this conflict, governments increased military spending substantially which ultimately drove up government debt and taxes. Major revolts began in the Thirteen Colonies and France a result from need to increase taxes.

The north Atlantic revolts and their ideals spread to south Atlantic by the early 1800s. The Enlightenment and French Revolutions provided the inspiration for a successful slave revolt in Haiti. Napoleon had recruited thousands of Polish soldiers to put down the revolt in Haiti. Figure 4.1 is a painting by a Polish artist named January Suchodolski, who painted many pictures with military themes. The painting shown in Figure 4.1 is titled "Battle of Palm Tree Hill," and it depicts a battle between Black Haitian rebels and Polish troops who fought on the side of the French colonizers. Armed Haitian rebels are seen marching up a hill atop which is a group of Palm trees. In the left corner of the picture a black soldier is holding the decapitated head of an European soldier. Some Polish soldiers later turned against the French colonizers and fought on the side of the Haitian rebels.

Upheavals Spanish America and Brazil were driven by the collapse of the Iberian governments because of the Napoleonic invasions. However, there was growing tensions between Latin Americans and Iberians as well. The Spanish and Portuguese governments had previously increase taxation in the Americas and marginalized politically the native-born population.

4.1: The Enlightenment

4.2: Absolutist and Constitutional Monarchies

4.3: The Seven Years War and North Atlantic Revolutions

4.4: South Atlantic Revolutions

4.5: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

4.6: Further Reading and Works Cited

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4.1: The Enlightenment

Secularization and Race

A “crisis in religion” was one of the consequences of Isacc Newton’s physics and the Scientific Revolution. Although Newton himself seems to have believed in a God of some type, the universe he described in his theories did not require a personal deity to be actively engaged in making things happen. Newton’s universe seemed more like one of the new mechanical clocks that were just becoming popular. These complex machines might require a mechanical engineer or a watchmaker to design and build them but once made and wound they could be left to themselves. Absorbing this watchmaker metaphor, many Enlightenment thinkers rejected the popular religious vision of an activist God who was involved in the day-to-day operation of the world, who rewarded the righteous and punished sinners, or who chose sides in history. Many also began to doubt traditional stories of the deity’s interference in history, including the Christian story of Jesus.

Politically and culturally, Enlightenment thinking fostered beliefs in common humanity, the possibility of societal progress, the remaking of oneself, and the importance of one’s social and ecological environment—a four-pronged revolt against the hierarchies of the Old World. Yet, tension arose due to Enlightenment thinkers’ desire to classify and order the natural world. Carolus Linnaeus, Comte de Buffon, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, and others created connections between race and place as they divided the racial “types” of the world according to skin color, cranial measurements, and hair. They claimed that years under the hot sun and tropical climate of Africa darkened the skin and reconfigured the skulls of the African race, whereas the cold northern latitudes of Europe molded and sustained the “Caucasian” race. The environments endowed both races with respective characteristics, which accounted for differences in humankind tracing back to a common ancestry. A universal human nature, therefore, housed not fundamental differences but rather the “civilized” and the “primitive”—two poles on a scale of social progress.

Figure 4.1.1 is a world map from 1720, by John Senex, who was one the main European cartographers of the eighteenth century. This map is titled "A New Map of the World: From the Latest Observations." This is a double hemisphere world map. The title cartouche in the top center is elaborately surrounded by allegorical figures representing the four continents. Europe in the top left is portrayed as a land of abundance. The figure depicting Asia is seated to the right, carrying a smoking censer in one hand and a balsam branch in the other hand. Africa is depicted as a figure wearing an elephant headdress and holding the scorpion of the desert sands. America is depicted as a robed female with a feather headdress and holding a bow. The map also includes four hemispheric inset maps in each of the corners. The maps of John Senex capture the exploration spirit of the eighteenth century.

Popular Sovereignty for Who?

The Age of Enlightenment encouraged a gradual shift from an understanding of political sovereignty as a gift of God (the Divine Right of Kings as expressed by absolute monarchs like Louis XIV) to ideas of **popular sovereignty** and government by consent of the governed or through a “social contract” between rulers and people. The Enlightenment blossomed when people discovered new knowledge through both exploration and science and began throwing off what they considered the superstitions of an earlier age, including the “divine right” of kings.

The topic of natural rights, rights possessed by all human beings, such as the right to life and liberty, formed the focus of many philosophical treatises and conversations in the eighteenth century. One of the first Enlightenment thinkers to tackle the issue of natural rights was the English philosopher, John Locke. In his influential work of political philosophy, *Two Treatises of Government*, he argued that all people are born in a state of freedom and that government should exist only by their consent, a principle called popular sovereignty. It was the government’s responsibility to protect natural rights.

This “Age of Reason,” as it was also known, however, only pertained to some people, those who had the time and money to study the philosophy being spread. Enlightenment ideas still enabled the continuation of a belief system started on a large scale by the “discovery” of the American continents and the indigenous populations of that area. The belief that certain people were inferior to others has been around as long as there have been humans, but not to the extent that was seen during this period. Although Locke and his European contemporaries asserted the inherent equality of all humans, their interpretation of equality is somewhat paradoxical, since in practice they supported the unequal institutions of colonialism and the Atlantic slave trade that deprived all but white men of their natural rights. Many of the Atlantic Revolutions described here were fought by Europeans against other

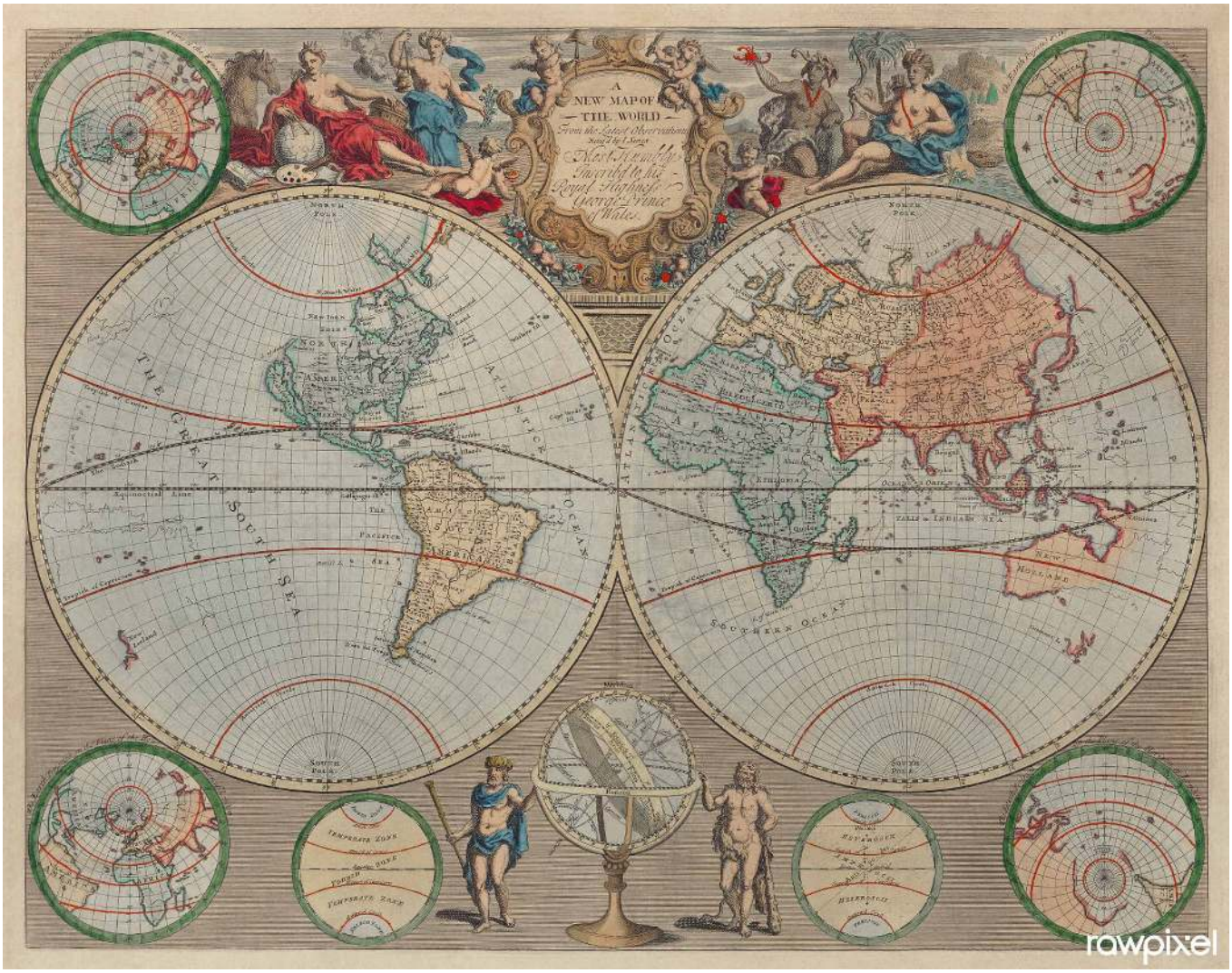

Figure 4.1.1 A "New Map" of the World in 1720, Rawpixel Ltd, licensed under CC BY 4.0.

Europeans, such as the American, French, and Spanish Revolutions. However, it would still inspire other oppressed groups to accomplish freedom for themselves, as seen in the Haitian Revolution.

The Enlightenment and Economics

In 1681, the French finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert asked a group of French business owners led by a man named Thomas Le Gendre how the government could help them. Le Gendre reportedly told Colbert, "*Laissez nous faire*," meaning "let us do it." This gave rise to the concept of laissez-faire economics, which argues that market forces alone should drive the economy and that governments should refrain from direct intervention in or moderation of the economic system.

These ideas were popularized by Adam Smith, a Scottish political economist and philosopher, best known for writing *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Earlier scholars had written about various aspects of economics, but with this book Smith became the first person to produce a comprehensive philosophical examination of the way nations should manage their economies. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith argued that the "invisible hand" of the marketplace guided people when they made their own economic decisions. By doing the work that would bring them the greatest profit, he explained, people inadvertently tended to produce the goods and services most needed by society. In Smith's view, this form of selfishness is often good for the individual and for society. Although Smith did not use the term, preferring to call his system *commercial society*, he and his supporters promoted the idea later known as

capitalism, an economic system in which private individuals and companies typically own the means of production such as factories and farms, and free (unregulated) markets set the value of most goods and services based on supply and demand.

? Review Questions

- In what ways does the Age of Enlightenment reject older ideas?
- Who stood to benefit from the ideas of the Enlightenment?

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4.2: Absolutist and Constitutional Monarchies

The Corporatist Monarchies

France, Spain and Portugal had a system in place called corporatism where individuals had rights based on their occupation. By the mid 1700s, the monarchs in these countries had a tremendous amount of political power and legislatures were weak.

France

King Louis XIV (1654-1715) had a specific way of creating order: He would reign supreme as the “Sun King,” forcing all of his nobles to reside with him and his family in what had originally been a rather run-down hunting lodge known as Versailles. The project of Versailles took nearly his whole reign to complete, and quickly became the most opulent palace in Europe, a crowning achievement for a man who used its imagery to expand his majesty and power over not only the people of France but also the regions of the world that would later be occupied by French powers. Its intent was to showcase the wealth of the French monarchy, and therefore its power, to other nations of the world. Although he spent the majority of his time at Versailles, Louis modernized Paris, under the direction of his finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert. This was done to a similar end as Versailles; to show the rest of the world the wealth and splendor of France’s capital city. However, as France moved into the eighteenth century with subsequent reigns, conditions got worse, with many living in poverty under a corrupt government.

The French monarchy had a tremendous amount of power, because the legislature, known as the Estates-General, rarely met. It was made up of three corporate groups or estates: the Church, the nobility, and everyone else. For the most part, the Estates-General granted the monarchy more permanent taxes than did the English parliament. The First and Second Estates established the principle that they were exempt from taxes, because each estate voted as a block. The clergy claimed that they supported the monarch through prayer and the nobility through fighting. The French monarchy therefore relied on a taxing the Third Estate for revenue. The king’s father, Louis XIII (r. 1610-43), and his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, concentrated power in the hands of the King by refusing to convene the Estates-General.

The Third Estate consisted mainly of landowners, professional men, financiers and merchants. These were wealthy commoners who sought noble status. In fact, the monarchy sold titles of nobility to this group to raise more revenue. These titles provided office holders to pass on their positions to their offspring. As a consequence, more and more people had tax exemptions, and the government brought in less revenue. Figure 4.2.1 was published in 1789 and shows three different figures representing the three different estates. The man representing the Third Estate is carrying the two men representing the other two estates. The caption below is in French and it says, "We must hope this game will be over soon."

Figure 4.2.1: The Third Estate carrying the Clergy and the Nobility on Its Back, Artist Unknown, Gallica Digital Library, in the Public Domain

Absolutist Monarchies in Iberia

During the reign of King Charles II (1664-1700), the Spanish government experienced major military defeats and bankruptcy. There was virtually no industry, because Spain could import whatever it wanted with the silver from the Americas. When Charles III died in 1700, Austria and France went to war over who would be the next monarch. France supported the victorious Bourbon dynasty while the Austrians supported the Habsburgs. Under the Bourbons, the monarchy embraced the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Similar the French monarchy, King Felipe V (1700-1746) ruled without convening the Cortes of Castile or the Cortes of

Aragon. For the most part, Spanish intellectuals rejected the secular anti-Spanish ideas that marked the writings of the Enlightenment.

Portuguese King John V (1706–1750) was able to create an absolutist regime similar to France and Spain. The Portuguese monarchy became wealthy from the massive amount of gold production in Brazil. Therefore, John V had sufficient revenues to finance domestic spending and felt no need to convene the Portuguese Cortes. In fact, the Portuguese Cortes would not be summoned again until 1822. With this wealth, royal palaces and noble manors were built which displayed the opulence similar to the Spanish palaces built from its Latin American silver revenues.

The English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution

The costs of warfare triggered conflicts between the English monarchy and the legislature, called Parliament. English King Charles I (1626-1649) invaded Scotland and turned to Parliament to finance this war. When Parliament denied funds to him, Charles dissolved Parliament and effectively robbed those in Parliament of any authority over the governing of England. For this reason, a civil war erupted between the English crown and Parliament. This war would end with the execution of Charles I. Although the monarchy was restored in 1660, Parliament held onto enough power to depose Catholic-leaning James II in 1689 and invite his daughter Mary (and her Protestant Dutch husband Prince William of Orange) to take the throne in a peaceful transfer of power that became known as the Glorious Revolution.

William and Mary's arrival in England to start their reign in 1688 was deemed a "Glorious Revolution," called so because of the lack of bloodshed surrounding the transfer of power from father to daughter. Parliament also gained a significant amount of power during this time, establishing itself as a separate and equal power to the throne, which remains today. This would become one of the "checks and balances" systems that would inspire the United States government formation, which in turn would inspire other democratic leadership styles. England also saw the creation of a bill of rights in 1689, which gave Parliament power over taxation and laws. This system of government which put constitutional limits on a king is called **constitutional monarchy**. Parliament had two houses. High ranking aristocrats controlled the House of Lords while an elite of merchants, lawyers, and professionals controlled the House of Commons. The House of Commons was the most powerful half of Parliament, and it controlled England's policies and institutions into the twentieth century.

? Review Questions

- What accounts for the growing power of the monarchies in France and Iberia?
- How did government in England differ from France and Iberia?

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4.3: The Seven Years War and North Atlantic Revolutions

Global Conflict

A major global war broke out in 1756 pitting Britain, Prussia, and Portugal against Austria, France, and Spain. The war began with fighting between Britain and France for control over the northern half of North America. Austria and Prussia, two German kingdoms went to war for control over central Europe. Austria sought support from France, with the goal of recapturing Silesia. King of Prussia, Frederick the Great, then, formed an alliance with Britain, France's enemy. For the most part, the Spanish government viewed Britain as its main enemy due to its naval strength and the growth of the British colonies in the Americas. Portugal was brought into the conflict and allied with Britain when Spain attempted to invade its neighbor in 1762.

The war proved to a catastrophe for France and Spain. The French army was defeated in central Europe, and Britain seized its North American colonies. Similarly, Spanish naval forces were soundly defeated as well. The British captured Havana and Manila in 1761 and Spain was forced to cede Florida to Britain. The Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War, was humiliating for France. The settlement of the war saw France defeated and left England in effective control of the eastern part of North America, but Spain's American empire remained largely intact. Figure 4.3.1 shows how the Seven Year's War was very much a global war. There were major conflicts in North America, Europe, and India in addition to the conflicts between Spain and Great Britain and Spain and Portugal.

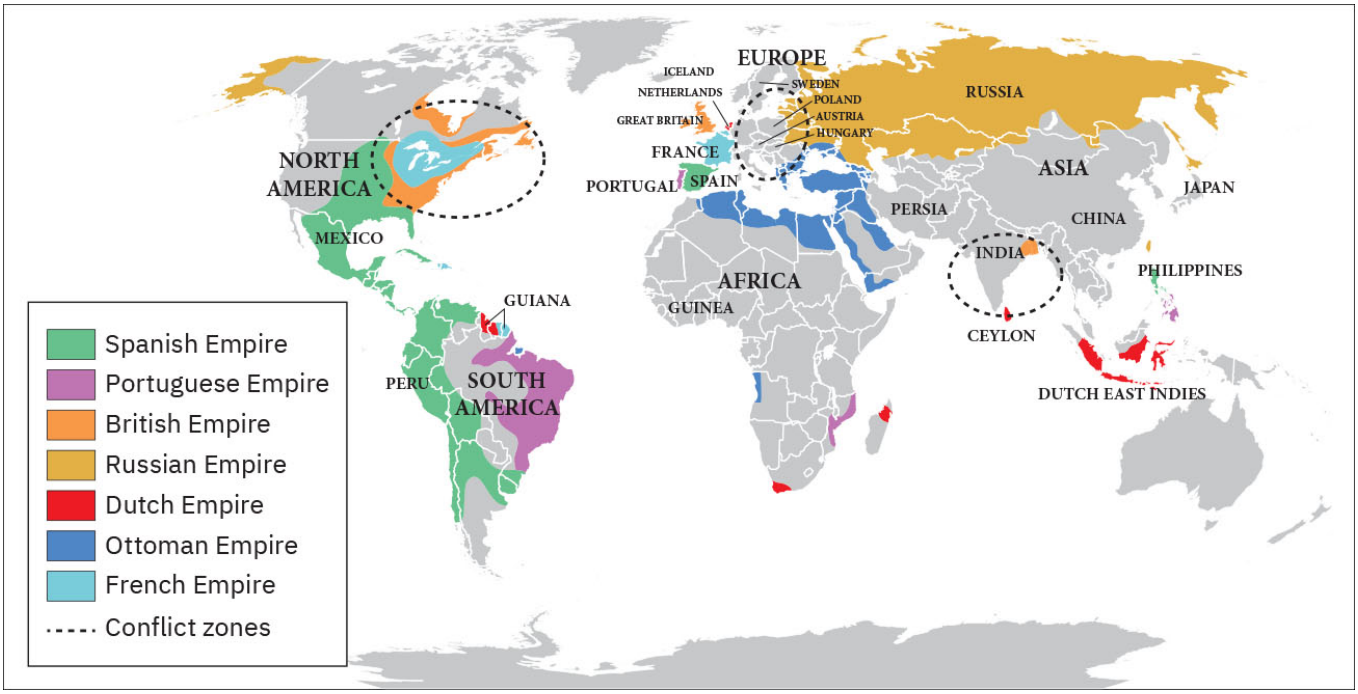

Figure 4.3.1: Global Map of the Seven Years War, Rice University and Open Stax, CC BY

US Independence

Some of the first places Enlightenment political ideas were tested were Britain's thirteen North American colonies. The Seven Years War (1756-63) had been an expensive drain on Britain's treasury and Parliament believed the American colonists ought to pay their fair share of the cost of their defense. By the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, when the British army boasted 100,000 troops, 7,000 of them were permanently stationed on American soil. Overall, the army and navy accounted for more than half of all government expenditure during the 1700s.

To pay for this military buildup, Britain instituted a number of taxes including the Sugar Act (1764), the Stamp Act (1765), the Townshend Act (1767), and the Tea Act (1773). Colonists were angered because they were unable to vote for members of Parliament and thus had no representatives to consent to this taxation on their behalf. Nevertheless, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act, which stated that it had absolute authority to impose taxes on the colonies and to regulate their affairs. Imposing

new taxes on the colonists was a miscalculation by Parliament, because the merchants and the wealthy most affected by the taxes had the means and the motivation to organize a resistance movement.

Boycotts and protests by the colonists soon began, including the famous Boston Tea Party in 1773, during which enraged patriots boarded a British cargo ship and dumped tea from India into Boston harbor, rather than pay the hated new tax. As the crisis escalated, revolutionary sentiment came to a head when the first and second Continental Congresses, assemblies of elected colonial representatives, met in Philadelphia in 1774 and 1775, respectively. The Second Continental Congress adopted the powers of government as a form of resistance to British tyranny, created a Continental Army, and in 1776 approved the Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration of Independence was modeled on Enlightenment principles of sovereignty and natural rights, particularly the social contract theory of the writer and philosopher John Locke. Although support for independence was not universal among the colonists, and a substantial minority remained neutral or actively supported the British, twelve of the thirteen colonies ultimately approved the Declaration of Independence, the only abstention being New York. In the military conflict that ensued, Britain initially won most of the battles, but the Continental Army led by General George Washington eventually prevailed with the support of France. When the British surrendered at Yorktown, Virginia in 1781, Parliament decided to seek a peaceful conclusion. Some fighting continued until the fall of 1783, but peace was formally declared when representatives of the new United States and King George III of Great Britain signed the Treaty of Paris in September that year, officially ending the war.

The United States Constitution that formed the new government began with the words “We the People.” It acknowledged the Enlightenment concept that political power comes from the consent of the governed. The final document was influenced by the framers’ studies of earlier republics and by negotiations over various state constitutions that had favored the idea of three branches of government, the legislative, executive, and judicial, along with a system of checks and balances that made no one branch superior to the others.

? Primary Sources: Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania

After declaring independence, the states of the north abolished slavery. Many saw a contradiction between the fight for liberty while still holding humans in slavery.

Discussion Questions

- Why did the leaders of Pennsylvania abolish slavey?
- Why was slavery not abolished in the US south?

SECTION 1. We conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us..It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty Hand. We find in the distribution of the human species, that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by men of complexions different from ours, and from each other; from whence we may reasonably, as well as religiously, infer, that He who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally his care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing as much as possible the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual, legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrower prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves at this particular period extraordinarily called upon, by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our procession and to give a Substantial proof of our gratitude.

SECT. 2. And whereas the condition of those persons who have heretofore been denominated Negro and Mulatto slaves, has been attended with circumstances which not only deprived them of the common blessings that they were by nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest afflictions, by an unnatural separation and sale of husband and wife from each other and from their children; an injury, the greatness of which can only be conceived by supposing that we were in the same unhappy case.

Pennsylvania - An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery (1780), in the Public Domain

The French Revolution

Massive government debt stemming from the Seven Years War and French support for the independence of the United States forced King Louis XVI (1775-1793) to call the Estates-General in 1789 to raise revenue. Too many people had tax exemptions, and he needed to tax the Second Estate. By 1763, the French national debt stood at an enormous 2,200 million livres, and the government was unable to collect taxes as many of the richest people in France had tax exemptions.

Many in France saw the meeting as an opportunity to create a constitutional monarchy. In 1789, the Third Estate was dominated by educated merchants and large landowners who advocated for establishing a British-style parliament as a check on the King's power. The commoners had enough support from sectors of the clergy and nobility to declare themselves as the National Assembly. These leaders then formed a new government and issued Declaration of the Rights of Man which claimed "Natural Law" as the basis for equal rights for all and called for liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. Like the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution, the Assembly declared that the king did not have absolute power and asserted the rights of freedom of speech, the press, religion, and assembly.

However, the French Revolution differed from the American in that it was not a colonial independence movement, but a rejection of corporatism and absolutist rule by the people of France. The social changes attempted by the new government were much more significant than simply replacing a British ruling class with an American one as the revolution had done in the new United States. Unfortunately, the power vacuum created by the complete elimination of the prior government structure resulted in the rise of a radical Jacobin Party led by Maximillian Robespierre. By 1793, a Reign of Terror imprisoned 300,000 people and executed 40,000, including King Louis XVI and his Queen, Marie Antoinette.

Napoleon Bonaparte and the Restoration

The Reign of Terror led to a rejection of the Jacobin party and the trial and execution of Robespierre in 1794. A more conservative government, the Directory, was installed but it failed to manage an orderly transition from the old regime to a new style of republican government. The Directory's failure created an opening for an ambitious opportunist named Napoleon Bonaparte, who as a general of the French Army had defended the Directory and the new French Republic against the neighboring monarchies, which had sent in troops to put down the Revolution. Returning from an Egyptian campaign in 1799, Napoleon overthrew the Directory and crowned himself Emperor in 1802. Napoleon also introduced a new Civil Code in 1804 that completely revamped the French legal system and is still in use today. The Code replaced France's old corporatist legal system and provided equality under the law.

Napoleon's empire might have lasted a bit longer, if he had not been so interested in expanding it to include not only Europe and Haiti, but Russia. In a final example of bad judgment, Napoleon invaded Russia and occupied Moscow in September 1812. Russia's fast-moving Cossack cavalry executed a scorched-earth retreat before the advancing French army, so Napoleon's forces arrived in Moscow hungry, only to find that the city's quarter-million people had abandoned their homes and taken everything they could carry. The began a long retreat in early October at the beginning of what turned out to be a brutal winter. To make matters worse, Russian cavalry repeatedly cut the French supply lines, and of an original force of over 600,000 men, only about 100,000 made it back to France alive. Napoleon's enemies invaded France and after being defeated at Waterloo Napoleon was out of power. Although the French monarchy was restored, the new King Louis XVIII adopted a constitution that created a legislature which approved of taxes. This constitution also recognized civil liberties and equality under the law.

? Review Questions

- How did the Seven Years War spark upheaval?
- How did the north Atlantic Revolutions promote the ideals of the Enlightenment ?

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4.4: South Atlantic Revolutions

Haitian Independence

As France's wealthiest colony, Saint-Domingue on the island of Hispaniola yielded roughly 40 percent of the sugar and nearly half the coffee imported to Europe in the eighteenth century. Producing these labor-intensive commodities depended on maintaining a ruthless regime that enslaved most of the colony's population. Slave labor was therefore an integral part of the success of this particular commodity since the work was difficult at best and shortened life spans at worst. At the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, roughly 500,000 enslaved Africans lived in Saint-Domingue. A population of about forty thousand Whites was a mix of wealthy planters, middle-class professionals, and poor laborers. A third group of about thirty thousand were free blacks called **Affranchise**, many of mixed-race heritage and some holding enslaved people themselves. Given sharp social divisions and the exploitation of the colony's enslaved people, Saint-Domingue was poised for turmoil.

Figure 4.4.2: "A Representation of the Sugar Cane and the Art of Making Sugar," a picture of a sugar plantation for a magazine in the eighteenth century, Popular Graphic Arts, in the Public Domain.

Figure 4.4.2 depicts sugarcane processing on a plantation in the Caribbean. A white plantation owner with a stick in left hand is looking and pointing in the direction of a few slaves who are engaged in processing the cane. Sugarcane, palm trees, and a man in a boat are also seen in the image.

After news of the revolution in France reached the colony, each group interpreted the principles and goals of the revolution differently. Whereas wealthy White planters sought more political power and greater freedom from trade restrictions, poor Whites were primarily interested in securing equal citizenship for themselves. Neither wealthy nor poor whites were concerned with

gaining equal political or legal rights for people who were not white. The *Affranchise* interpreted the revolutionary rhetoric of liberty to mean the extension of equal rights to all free people regardless of race. Given that some of them owned enslaved people, however, they did not call for an end to slavery. The incompatible goals of each group intensified hostilities among the free sectors of Saint-Domingue's population.

The conflict between Whites and *Affranchise* exploded in 1791, after Haiti's White population refused to acknowledge the citizenship rights that France had extended to wealthy people of color. The resulting turmoil and instability provided the perfect opportunity for rebellion, which expanded into a full-fledged revolution. Encouraged by the French Revolution, slaves on sugar plantations on Hispaniola rebelled. Some *Affranchise* joined forces with rebelling enslaved people in an uprising against White colonists. Slavery in French colonies was then abolished by the Jacobins in 1793, but then Napoleon reinstituted slavery and sent 40,000 troops to retake the island for France. However, these French forces were decimated by yellow fever. The former slaves defeated the French and established the Republic of Haiti in 1804.

Revolutions in the Spanish Empire

The Seven Years War and the French invasion of Spain sparked political revolution in the Spanish world. Political leaders all over the Spanish Empire increasingly embraced Enlightenment ideas.

The Bourbon Reforms

Under the Bourbon King Philip V, the Spanish government sought to strengthen the power of the monarchy on the Iberian Peninsula. However, it was not until Charles III (1759-1788) was defeated in the Seven Year's War that serious reform took place in the Americas. Previously, the Spanish Habsburgs supported the idea that the Spanish Americans enjoyed the same status as the various regions of Spain, such as Aragón and Castile. However, the Bourbons viewed the Americas more as a modern colony which existed to enrich Spain.

The architect for reforms in the Americas was Jose de Galvez who headed the Secretary of the Indies during 1776-1787. Galvez openly stated that C*reoles* were inferior and sought to exclude them from government in the Americas. As a result, most bishops and higher-ranking officers in the military were *Peninsulares*. The Americas were reorganized into administrative districts known as intendancies. There was to be well paid official, known as an intendent, in each important provincial city. Most intendents were *Peninsulares* who were seen as intrusive outsiders.

The goal of the Spanish government was to extract more wealth from the Americas to finance a military buildup. Intendents had a great deal of power, because they oversaw the collection of taxes, local military forces, and public works. For the most part, there was a much more rigorous tax collection. Although revenues increased dramatically, government spending was geared toward lavish spending at the royal court in Spain and the armed forces not public works in the Americas.

Spanish American society was based on a small aristocracy of Spanish *Peninsulares* and *Creoles* ruling large populations of *casta* (mixed) populations, free Afro-Latinos, American indigenous, and enslaved Africans. Most *Penninsulares* believed that they were both racially and culturally superior to C*reoles* who competed with *Penninsulares* for business opportunities as well as military, government and clerical appointments. However, C*reoles* increasingly saw Spain as an underdeveloped country and sought to trade directly with foreigners rather than going through *Peninsular* merchants who controlled internation trade. While Spain was at war with Britain (1796-1810), Spanish Americans were able to freely trade with foreigners, because the British navy cut Spain off from its colonies in the Americas.

Turmoil in Spain

Although the Spanish monarchy was against the French Revolution, King Carlos IV (1788-1808) supported France in its war against Britain 1796. However, the Spanish navy was no match for the British navy. In 1807, Spanish Prince Ferdinand VII sought to end the French alliance and led a rebellion against his father Carlos IV. Napoleon then made his brother Joseph king of Spain and invaded. The French put Ferdinand VII under house arrest in France, but the Spanish considered him their legitimate king.

Spaniards immediately rebelled against Joseph and the country was in chaos. The Spanish formed local governing councils called *juntas* in 1808. These *juntas* argued that with the king gone, the people should rule and that political power rested with the people and not the king. To establish a more permanent government, the Spanish rebels held elections for an empire-wide Cortes to rule. Elections for deputies to sit on this Cortes were held not just in Spain but in Spanish America as well. The Cortes convened in 1810

and were made up of both *Peninsulares* and *Creoles* who drafted the Constitution of 1812. This was the first constitution of the Spanish world and it guaranteed freedom of press and speech. The Constitution of 1812 also created a powerful Cortes which approved of all laws and taxes. All adult males except for Afro-Latinos could vote. Figure 4.4.2 shows Professor Jordan Stanton at the Museum of the Cortes in Cadiz in Spain next to the first ballot box used for the first election of an empire-wide Cortes. The ballot box is fairly small and made out of wood.

Figure 4.4.1: Jordan Stanton next to Ballot Box, Museo de las Cortes de Cadiz, CC BY

France was finally driven out of Spain, but King Ferdinand VII (1813-1833) immediately revoked the Constitution of 1812 and removed anyone who opposed him from the armed forces and the government. For the most part, he sought to bring back every aspect of traditional monarchical authority while he ignored the calls for change in Spain during the French occupation. Nevertheless, many army officers embraced the ideals of the 1812 Constitution. For this reason, the military rebelled in 1820 and forced Ferdinand VII to reinstall the constitution. Spain then became increasingly unstable, because Ferdinand VII never accepted the Constitution of 1812. French forces then invaded Spain in 1823 and restored the king to power. 45,000 French troops would remain in Spain until 1828.

? Primary Sources: The Constitution of 1812

In 1812, the leaders of Spain and Spanish America drafted the first constitution of the Spanish Empire. Many of the ideas in this document were influenced by the Enlightenment and the US and French constitutions.

Discussion Questions

- How is this constitution democratic?
- How is this constitution undemocratic?

Chapter II. Of Religion.

Art 12. The Roman catholic and apostolic religion, the only true one, is and always shall be that of the Spanish nation; the government protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other whatever.

Chapter III. Of Government.

Art. 13. The government has for its object the happiness of the nation, for the only end of all political associations is the welfare of all its members.
Art. 14. The government of the Spanish nation is an hereditary monarchy, moderated by laws.
Art. 15. The legislative power belongs to the Cortes, together with the king.

Art. 16. The executive power belongs to the king.
Art. 17. The judicial power, in civil and criminal cases, resides in the tribunals established by law.

Chapter VII. Of the Powers of the Cortes

Art. 131. The Cortes shall have power—

1. To propose and decree the laws, and to explain and repeal them if necessary;
3. To decide upon every question of fact or law concerning the succession to the crown;
10. To determine every year, on the king's proposal, the number of the sea and land forces, and how many are to be kept on foot in time of peace, and to what extent they shall be increased in time of war;
11. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;
12. To determine the expenses of the public administration;
13. To lay annually the imposts and taxes;
16. To examine and approve the accounts of the expenditure of the public money;
22. To establish a general plan of teaching for the public schools throughout the monarchy, and approve of the plan which shall be prepared for the education of the prince of Asturias;
23. To approve of the general regulations concerning the public health, and the general police throughout the kingdom;
24. To protect the political freedom of the press;
25. To enforce the responsibility of the ministers of state and other public functionaries;

Chapter I. Of the Inviolability of the King, and of his Authority.

Art. 168. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable, and he can do no wrong.
Art. 169. The king shall be styled, his catholic majesty.
Art. 170. The executive power shall be vested exclusively in the king, and his authority shall extend to all that may be conducive to the preservation of the public order and safety of the state, conformably to the constitution and laws.

Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy (1812), in the Public Domain

Spanish American Independence

Spanish Americans believed that they were under the rule of the Spanish monarchy not the Spanish *Peninsular* government. As a consequence, when Ferdinand VII was deposed in 1808, Spanish Americans formed juntas and argued that they were independent of any government in Spain until Ferdinand VII returned. However, once Spain and Britain formed an alliance to fight France in 1810, *Peninsulares* immediately sought to reestablish commercial dominance in the Americas. Creoles in Spain sitting on the Cortes demanded equality and free trade which the *Peninsulares* almost unanimously rejected.

Fighting broke out in Spanish America quickly when the Spanish government collapsed. It tended to be mixed race peoples, culturally Spanish natives (*foresteros*), and Afro-Latinos who never really benefited under Spanish rule that fought the Spanish. These rebels usually fought to end discrimination that they faced under colonial rule and better working conditions. They tended to be led by *Creoles* such as Simon de Bolivar in South America or Father Miguel Hidalgo in Mexico, but there were important mixed-race generals as well such as Vicente Guerrero and Jose Morelos. Ethnic sedentary natives, in general, supported Spain. In Mexico, they did not join the insurgents, and in the Andes they actually fought for Spain against Bolivar and his forces. Nevertheless, a stalemate emerged with neither side being able to defeat the other. Ferdinand VII and the *Peninsulares* would not negotiate and wanted to maintain dominance over Spanish America. Most of Spanish America broke free after the rebellion in Spain in 1820, because Spain was unable to send troops to the Americas.

Independence in Spanish America was not a result so much of European government actions like in British America but from a collapse of authority in Spain. During the US war for independence, the elected civilians remained in control of the government and the military. However, in Spanish America civil authority broke down and *Creole* military officers took control. In some ways, the break with the past was radical. While the US independence movement was a political process where American elites replaced British elites, in Spanish America corporatism was diminished and a new type of society based on Enlightenment principles was introduced.

Revolutions in the Portuguese Empire

The French invasion of Portugal resulted in the reorganization of the Portuguese Empire. Brazil sough independence after political revolutionaries seized the government of Portugal in 1820. The Napoleonic Wars brought about a political revolution in the Portuguese world.

Pombaline Reforms

In the second half of the 1700s, the Portuguese government sought to extract more wealth from Brazil to strengthen the power of the Portuguese monarchy. During the reign of John V and Joseph I (1750–77), Portugal benefited from the gold that flowed in from Brazil. To more effectively tax the wealth of Brazil, the government was strengthened with the creation of a ministry of finance and a ministry of the navy and the colonies. Reforms in the Portuguese empire were implemented by the Marquis de Pombal who granted Jews rights and freed enslaved Blacks in Portugal. The Portuguese government sought to stop colonial families from bringing African slaves off the plantations of Brazil to Portugal as servants. Brazil remained the key to Portugal's finances, and the government could not afford to lose Black labor which was taken away from mines and cash crop estates to work in Europe.

In addition to gold, increasing the agricultural wealth of Brazil became one of Pombal's economic reforms. The monarchy expelled Brazilian Jesuit priests and seized their land. These Jesuits controlled some of the most lucrative plantations and expensive urban real estate in the colony. In fact, one Jesuit estate in Rio de Janeiro covered 100,000 acres and employed 1,000 slaves. Additionally, the Jesuits controlled seventeen sugar processing mills in Brazil.

The Portuguese monarchy sought to tightly control Brazil. Therefore, it appointed all administrative, military, judiciary, and ecclesiastical officials. However, more and more Brazilians felt antagonized by Portuguese born residents who were in control. For the most part, these Portuguese *Peninsulares* saw Brazilians as lazy and inferior. Additionally, the Portuguese government banned printing and prohibited the establishment of universities in Brazil. Brazilian born Portuguese could attend a Brazilian high school but would have to attend college in Portugal. Similar to the Spanish government, the Portuguese government spent little on Brazilian infrastructure. For this reason, there were no roads along the coast or in the interior. Most communication was between major port cities by boat. To better control the colony, the Portuguese government discouraged trade between different regions of Brazil.

Brazilian Independence

In 1807, when Napoleon instituted his Continental System aimed at isolating Britain and economically destroying it. However, Portugal had a long-standing alliance with Britain and was not able to comply. As a result, French troops swept across the Iberian Peninsula to storm into Lisbon. The imminent arrival of French forces in November 1807 convinced King João VI (1816-1826) that fleeing to Brazil was the only solution. As the troops approached, the Portuguese royal family and its entourage of about ten thousand people escaped to Brazil in a fleet under British convoy. In return for their assistance, the British received generous commercial privileges in Brazil.

In 1808, the royal family and their courtiers were welcomed by Brazilian colonists and departed to settle in its capital, Rio de Janeiro. For the first time in modern history, a European monarch had set foot in their American domain. Brazilian ports were opened to all friendly nations and Brazilians no longer had to go through Portuguese merchants. All previous manufacturing prohibitions intended to protect Portuguese industry were revoked, and the Bank of Brazil was established. The Portuguese crown's willingness to share power with the local planter aristocracy led to the expansion of institutions such as hospitals, libraries, and schools and universities. Even after the fall of Napoleon in 1814 and the restoration of Bourbon kings in both France and Spain, the Portuguese Crown resolutely stayed on in Brazil. On December 16, 1815, Brazil was officially given the status of a kingdom. Overall, King João VI was more sympathetic to his Brazilian subjects than King Ferdinand VII was to his own in Spanish America.

In 1820, a political upheaval took place in Portugal. Its leaders drafted a constitution similar to Spain's 1812 Constitution with a powerful Cortes. In fact, this constitution was even more democratic than Spain's. Free Afro-Brazilians were citizens with the right to vote. Portugal's leaders then demanded that King João VI return. However, the Portuguese monarch left his son and heir Pedro I as prince regent in Rio de Janeiro, with instructions to preserve the family's lineage and power. The talented twenty-three-year-old prince enthusiastically took to his duties. The Cortes in Portugal wanted to reduce Brazil to its former colonial status and ordered the dismantling of Rio's central government structure. In January 1822, it commanded the prince to return, but Pedro sided with the

Brazilians when they asked him to stay. Brazilian elites rejected Portuguese rule, and Pedro declared Brazilian independence on September 7, 1822.

Review Questions

- What role did the French Revolutions play in the south Atlantic revolutions?
- What are some similarities and differences between the revolutions in the south Atlantic?

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4.5: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

This period in world history can be defined by both enlightenment and turmoil. More people, particularly in the Atlantic World, demanded that their voices be heard, in many cases through violence and rebellion. The institution of slavery was deeply questioned, although very little would be done to address it for several decades in many places, with just France willing to abolish it outright, if only briefly. This type and amount of change certainly came from the Age of Enlightenment thinking, which gave birth to a number of social and cultural movements throughout the Western world, yet with a Eurocentric perspective.

The revolutionary movements seen here were truly revolutionary in many ways; the idea that "ordinary" people could rise up and refuse to be subject to authoritarian power was a concept alien to many and had been for many years, as indicated by the absolutism government structure that dominated many major world powers. However, once a revolution appeared successful, other regions and territories followed suit, leading to a domino effect of revolutions and rebellions, the rise of new government structures, and a change to what was the definition of "citizen." These movements also created a certain amount of chaos in their wake as these new citizens and their leaders struggled to organize themselves into different government structures or risk societal collapse. In France, this was known as the Reign of Terror**,** subjecting French citizens to violence and severe uncertainty. Because of this uncertainty, a leadership vacuum was created, allowing another authoritarian to become ruler, Napoleon Bonaparte. France would briefly return to a monarchy but with more power given to a representative body, which made the monarchy more symbolic than anything, before becoming obsolete. With the creation of the United States, though, a new government structure emerged, involving a balance of republicanism and democracy. This has become known as the American Experiment and while it has evolved in numerous ways, still essentially remains.

As the United States grew after the American Revolutionary War, both in population and territory, a new concept took root, known as Manifest Destiny. Although this concept wasn't given a formal name until the early part of the nineteenth century, it formed the foundation of European justification for colonization, as well as imperialism later practiced by the US. During the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the American descendants of European colonizers believed it was their Christian God-given right to expand "from sea to shining sea," regardless of who originally occupied the land they were taking over. Europe used this concept to increase its colonization, especially as various European nations moved toward the middle of the Eurasian continent and into Africa.

However, not all revolutions affected the indigenous and marginalized populations in the same way. In Haiti, slavery was abolished and in Spanish America, the more marginalized groups like the *castas* and *foresteros* gained rights with the rise of constitutional rule and the decline of corporatism. It was these revolutions that provided a foundation for what would later be defined as "nationalism;" a distinct change in who was considered a "citizen" of that region or territory, also known as a nation. Under these new governments, citizens weren't defined by their loyalty to a ruler, but rather by sharing common causes and loyalty to a population.

This period in world history was marked by a significant amount of uncertainty, turbulence, violence, and volatility. However, it also saw the greatest amount of change, moving us forward in many ways, both good and bad. The Enlightenment, also known as the Age of Reason, allowed more philosophical ideas and concepts to make their way out into the world, which would provide the foundation for modern ideas, concepts, and social movements. In addition, though, the movement of these ideas and concepts also cost a number of people their livelihoods, if not their very lives, predominately those within indigenous and marginalized populations. The change occurred rapidly which would impact world development, but many didn't survive that change.

Key Terms

Age of Enlightenment: an intellectual movement which supported reordering government and society along rational lines.

Absolutism: a government where the monarch has absolute power

Popular Sovereignty: a government based on the consent of the people

Capitalism: an economic system in which private individuals and companies control the means of production such as factories and farms, and free (unregulated) markets set the value of most goods and services based on supply and demand

Constitutional Monarchy: a system of government which put constitutional limits on a king

Affranchise: the free blacks that lived in colonial Haiti

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

5: Economic Transformation and Nation-Building - 1800 - 1900

? Learning Objectives

- Examine how nation-building and the industrial revolution intensified racism globally
- Analyze the various forms of resistance to increasing racism

? Focus Questions

- How did the Industrial Revolution affect different regions politically, economically, and socially?
- What were obstacles in building nation states?
- How were nation states constructed around racial inclusion and exclusion?

The last two hundred years of human history are also the story of the Industrial Revolution and its effects. For most peasants in the world, life in 1100 CE was not that different from that of a similar peasant living in the same place 200 years earlier or later. However, technology, industrialization, and urbanization created a world that is considerably different today than it was 200 years ago. This economic modernization, known as the Industrial Revolution, transformed all aspects of society. **Liberalism** and nationalism, both ideas from the Atlantic Revolutions, continued to be important. In liberalism, governments have constitutions that grant elected officials real political power and guarantee equality under the law. More and more countries created governments with the trappings of liberalism, but oligarchies continued to dominate these societies. Profound social and economic changes also resulted in the emergence of new ideas. As workers in the industrialized world faced hardships, they found socialism more appealing.

The Industrial Revolution had a profound effect on race relations. New governments were formed to promote economic modernization. Oftentimes, these governments used new technologies to create nation-states that included and excluded individuals based on their race. A new form of racism justified European domination which sought to “prove” through **"scientific" racism** that Europeans were inherently superior biologically to Africans and Asians. A new global economic system based on labor exploitation was constructed based along racial lines. The industrialized world, which included parts of western Europe, the USA, and Japan, required substantial amounts primary products or agricultural goods and minerals. It was primarily non-whites who produced these products mostly as slaves, plantation debt-peons, or low-paid laborers. Africa, Latin America and most of Asia had to produce products such as palm oil or peanuts which were sold at low prices in return for higher-priced manufactured goods from the industrialized world. Although the trans-Atlantic slave trade was abolished, primary products continued to be produced using African slaves in both the Americas and Africa itself. At the same time, there was fierce resistance to this new system. This resistance included litigation by the Cherokees in the USA, a Mayan rebellion in Mexico, and an anti-imperialist independence movement in India.

5.1: The First and Second Industrial Revolutions
5.2: Cultural and Political Effects of the Industrial Revolution in the Industrialized World
5.3: The Effects of the Industrial Revolution on Africa (1800-1850)
5.4: The Industrial Revolution and Nation - Building in the Americas - The USA as an Emerging Power
5.5: The Industrial Revolution and Nation-Building in the Americas - Mexico in Crisis
5.6: The Industrial Revolution and Nation-Building in the Americas - The South American Model Republic Falters
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5.8: Illiberal Modernizers - Japan
5.9: Effects of the Industrial Revolution on India
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5.1: The First and Second Industrial Revolutions

The First Industrial Revolution

Overall, there were two industrial revolutions. The **First Industrial Revolution** primarily took place in Great Britain and largely involved the steam engine. The **Second Industrial Revolution** took place in most of western and central Europe, the USA, and Japan. This industrial revolution involved many innovations and transformed societies from top to bottom.

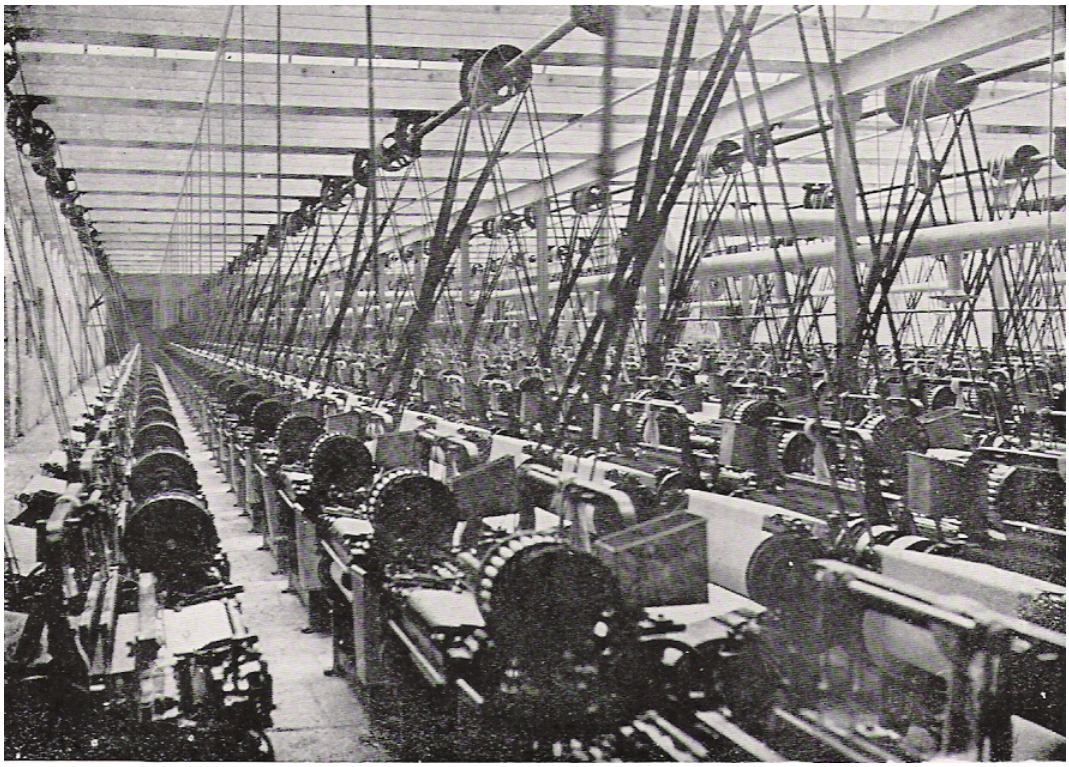

Figure 5.1.1: British Cotton Mill by E.L. Hoskyn, in the Public Domain

The Industrial Revolution was not the result of any type of technological or scientific superiority in Europe. East Asia was just as advanced in both areas during the late 1700s. Rather certain environmental factors existed in England which were absent elsewhere. Most historians agree that there were five necessary inputs that are required for an industrial revolution: capital (wealth for investment), technology, an energy source, availability of labor, and consumers. By the late 1700s, Great Britain had all of these and became the birthplace of the First Industrial Revolution. The steam engine was used out of necessity in Britain during the early 1700s. There was a major need for fuel, and Britain lacked timber. Huge coal seams were found in Britain, but they were flooded. However, British craftsmen made significant improvements to the steam powered pumps to get water out of the mines. Overall, the steam engine became more useful because the British made incremental improvements. Europe had a technological edge in instrument production such as clocks, watches, and telescopes. So, the British used their precision and calibrating skills to make improvements in the steam engine. Then, Englishman James Watt's 1781 engine was the first to produce rotary power that could be applied to drive factories, wheels, and propellers. In the 1700s, the steam engine was used to mechanize the weaving and spinning of cloth which resulted in the mass production of textiles. Figure 5.1.1 shows rows of steam-powered weaving machines placed close to one another in a British cotton mill for the mass production of textiles. Does the technology pictured above look advanced?

People all over the world purchased manufactured cotton because it was comfortable to wear, cheap, and easy to wash. Mass-produced British textiles were also finer, stronger, and more uniform. As a consequence, by the early 1800s, Britain replaced India and China as the leading textile producer. Then, the steam engine launched a transportation revolution. This technology made it possible to sail upstream as easily and quickly as down, causing an explosion of travel and shipping. The other transportation technology from steam power, of course, was the railroad, which was even more revolutionary than the steamboat. Land transport by train was substantially cheaper and much faster than transportation using horses and wagons.

Britain also had an abundance of capital—wealth that is invested to create more wealth was available to merchants and others who benefited from world trade. Great Britain had fuel in the form of coal to power the machines. Machinery and equipment were made out of iron which was also plentiful in Great Britain. Agricultural improvements in the previous century and the introduction of new staple crops like the potato, imported from the Americas, produced more food using less labor. Improved nutrition allowed Britain's population to grow, increasing the number of people available for work in the factories. Tea and sugar from the Caribbean are appetite suppressants and provided British workers with the energy to work harder in factories. For mass production to occur, there needs to be a market for mass-produced goods and there was regional specialization. The colonies in the Americas served as markets for British manufactured goods and supplied key raw materials. Even after independence, the United States remained a supplier of raw materials like grain, timber, cotton, and salted pork to the former "home country."

Governments must have three major policies to promote an industrial revolution. First, a national bank with a national currency is necessary. A modern banking system allows investors to get loans and for smoother commercial transactions. Second, no nation has undergone an industrial revolution without protective tariffs on imported manufactured goods. Tariffs increased the price of imports to consumers, encouraging them to buy the now-competitive domestically-produced goods. Lastly, governments need to invest in and encourage infrastructure to create an integrated economy. The cities, the farms, and the mines all need to be connected for economic modernization to occur. Cities were growing, because the factories were located in the cities. Trains and/or steamships were needed to quickly bring millions of tons of food to feed the cities.

Why not China?

Relative Shares of World Manufacturing Output (1750-1900)

Year	1750	1800	1830	1860	1880	1900
Europe	23.2%	28.1%	34.2%	53.2%	61.3%	62.2%
United Kingdom	1.9%	4.3%	9.5%	19.9%	22.9%	18.5
Germany (German States)	2.9%	3.5%	3.5%	4.9%	8.5%	13.2%
United States	0.1%	0.8%	2.4%	7.2%	14.7%	26.6%
China	32.8%	33.3%	29.8%	19.7%	12.5%	6.2%
India/Pakistan	24.5%	19.7%	17.6%	8.6%	2.8%	1.7%

Table 5.1.1: Relative Shares of World Manufacturing Output (1750-1900) by Jordan Stanton is licensed CC BY and is modified from *Journal of Economic History*, 11 (1982) by P. Bairoch, in the Public Domain

? Discussion Question

Based on data in Table 5.1.1, why would China's share of manufacturing output decrease while manufacturing in Europe increased?

During the 1700s, the Qing Empire (1644-1912) in China was the global economic powerhouse. So, why was there no industrial revolution there? For the most part, China did not undergo an industrial revolution because conditions that existed in Great Britain were lacking in China. China did not have this same type of regional specialization that the British Empire had where one region focused on manufacturing while other regions produced raw materials. There can be no mass production on a factory scale if there is no market for factory-produced goods. The Chinese were focused on expanding their own land frontiers, and about 10,000,000 peasants established farms in western China. This westward expansion of the Chinese frontier was based on agriculture and home handicraft production which reproduced patterns of production found in the more densely populated areas in eastern China. Therefore, families in the West produced their own textiles, and trade with the East was limited. The Chinese ideal was that men would plow and women would produce cloth. So, there was a family division of labor instead of geographical economic specialization.

The technology between Europe and China was about equal in 1750. In fact, the Chinese understood the basic scientific principles involved in steam engine technology. However, the Chinese did not need to use coal since there was no timber shortage in China. Once Western Europe advanced technologically, the Chinese government did not put in place policies that would transform the Chinese economy. During the 1800s, the Qing Empire kept in place the exam system and government-run schools which focused on Confucian texts rather than applied sciences.

The Second Industrial Revolution

Figure 5.1.2: Bowery at Night by William Louis Sonntag Jr, Museum City Library of New York in the Public Domain

Beginning in the 1830s, countries throughout most of western and central Europe, the USA, and Japan initiated the Second Industrial Revolution. This was a much more radical transformation of society from top to bottom. Economic transformation entailed building a modern transportation system, communication system, education system, and advanced health system. Agriculture was also modernized during the Second Industrial Revolution. New products of the Second Industrial Revolution included chemicals, pharmaceuticals, electrical goods, synthetic dyes, aluminum, and vehicles like cars. Steel, which is more malleable and stronger than iron, became an essential metal for ship-building and railways. Additionally, new energy sources were used. Oil, which powered the internal combustion engine, and electricity were cheap energy sources like coal. The painting in Figure 5.1.2 depicts the Bowery, a neighborhood in New York City at night during the late 1800s. The image shows crowded sidewalks on both sides of the street with horses, carriages, trolleys, and trains. What do you see that is modern and what does not appear modern? There were also advances in science and medicine. For the most part, science was a hobby for amateurs during the 1700s. However, by the mid-1800s, the scientist was a professional who was employed by universities, the government, hospitals, businesses, or some other institution. This was when research and development became an essential component of industrial development. Also, Louis Pasteur discovered that bacteria caused diseases, and he promoted the use of vaccines. Soap production increased dramatically as people began to bathe more.

The Second Industrial Revolution also transformed financial systems. Mass production required a tremendous amount of wealth and the modern corporation became a powerful institution to raise capital by selling stocks and bonds. Previously, most businesses were family owned and corporations had only been used for commerce. The size of these new companies was enormous. Additionally, the gold standard facilitated global trade. Discoveries of gold in California, Africa, and Australia resulted in an influx of currency and credit into the global economy.

For the most part, very few countries underwent this tremendous economic transformation. Industrial growth was also limited in Latin America for two reasons. It was the first region to embrace free trade policies. Therefore, these countries abolished most tariffs protecting local producers. The governments of Latin America wanted to focus on exporting primary products with a policy

known as export-led growth. They just wanted to import whatever manufactured goods they needed. Also, there was political instability in Latin America at this time which created a bad climate for major investment. So, Latin America, Asia, and Africa became exporters of primary products which consisted of agricultural goods and minerals. For the most part, Latin American governments made a conscious decision to promote primary product exports. However, European imperial powers forced most of Africa and Asia to focus on primary product production by 1900. Over time, the prices of primary products dropped enormously because of overproduction. Too many regions were producing products like coffee. However, the price of manufactured goods, such as the automobile, remained stable or increased. Nevertheless, primary products from Latin America, Asia, and Africa were essential for the industrial development of western and central Europe, the USA, and Japan. The primary product workers tended to be non-white and worked under oppressive conditions which usually included some form of coercion whether it was outright slavery or debt peonage.

? Review Questions

- Why did the Industrial Revolution originate in England?
- How did the Industrial Revolution affect Asia, Africa, and Latin America?

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5.2: Cultural and Political Effects of the Industrial Revolution in the Industrialized World

Social Transformation

Economic modernization resulted in major social tensions in the industrialized world. While the middle class grew, urban poverty had increased as well, and with it, political instability. Nevertheless, governments adapted to the changing times and addressed many of the new problems created by the Industrial Revolution.

The industrial revolutions transformed social structures. There were the new mega-rich industrialists and bankers. Now, wealth was far less dependent on ownership of land. With the expanding economy, there was a need for college-educated middle-class professionals such as engineers, lawyers, accountants, doctors, dentists, merchants, bankers, teachers, architects, nurses, and white-collar civil servants. Many professions were now certified with specialized education such as medicine, law, and education. Following the example of China, civil service exams were used in most of Western Europe. Governments claimed to staff bureaucracies with men based on talent and merit rather than birth. Overall, this emerging middle class based its status on wealth and education instead of birth and titles.

The other major class that emerged was the working class who were typically factory workers, construction workers, and miners. Increasingly, Europe's working class lived and worked in cities but were at first peasant migrants from rural areas. Their living and working environment were drastically different. For one, working in a factory required regimented discipline. There were bells to start and end work and designated break periods. In the countryside, these workers were free to set their own pace. Secondly, the agricultural worker in Europe had a personal relationship with their landlord. Theoretically, the European peasant lived in a **moral economy** where the landlord knew the worker by name and oftentimes assumed a moral obligation for the wellbeing of his workers. The farm worker had a sense of loyalty to the landowner. In the cities, this moral economy broke down. The factory worker had no relationship with the factory owner and the factory owner felt no obligation to ensure that the basic needs of the worker and his family were taken care of. Therefore, the factory worker had little loyalty to his employer. Cities were often unprepared to receive so many people so quickly. Inadequate housing, sanitation, and transportation contributed to cholera outbreaks, environmental degradation, and psychological stress.

Additionally, many skilled craftsmen lost their jobs. The new factory jobs required less skill than artisanal craftwork, especially when the worker was making a larger number of standardized products. Previously, a carpenter needed to be a skilled craftsman to design and assemble, for instance, a custom-built chair, but with industrialization, a less-skilled lathe operator could turn out large quantities of legs that could be assembled into any number of chairs of a standard pattern. Worker's wages would almost always be lower.

Ideologies of the 1800s

During the 1800s, the ideas of the Atlantic Revolutions, such as liberalism and nationalism, continued to spread and more people began to organize into nation-states. A **nation-state** is a specific ethnic or cultural group (a nation) that has a common government within specific geographic boundaries. In most cases, national governments were formed before a strong national identity took root. So, national governments sought to create culturally homogenous loyal citizens by compelling diverse communities and regions to accept unified time zones, laws, national markets, and a single language or dialect. Also, the government established public education and universal military service as a means of creating a stronger sense of national identity. Governments also promoted national histories, national holidays, national anthems, national flags, and national heroes to unify the nation-state. The new nation-states used technology such as the railroad, the steam-powered ship, the steam-powered printing press, and the telegraph to unite their countries. These national governments wanted their citizens to be loyal to them before any local or regional governments. So, in the USA people from South Carolina would be more loyal to the US government than their state and they would identify as Americans first. In Germany, Bavarians would identify themselves as German first and their loyalty would be to the German Empire. More and more countries adopted constitutional rule with elected legislatures that approved laws and taxes. However, most of these new nation-states were not democracies. In some cases, the elected officials lacked power (Germany and Japan), elections were fixed (Chile and Brazil), or large segments of the population could not vote (USA). In fact, women did not receive voting rights until after 1900 almost everywhere.

New ideas, such as Social Darwinism, emerged in the 1800s. Charles Darwin, a British biologist, traveled throughout the Pacific Ocean and concluded that God did not create each species. Instead, the different species evolved under the uniform pressure of natural laws. According to Darwin, populations grew faster than food supplies which then created competition within and between species for survival. According to Darwin, the fittest survived to reproduce while the least adaptable did not reproduce. Many elites and the middle class embraced Darwin's theories of evolution and applied them to society. These Social Darwinists concluded that Darwin's theories justified the right of the ruling class to dominate everyone else. The Social Darwinists argued that wealthy people were hardworking and intelligent while the poor were lazy and unintelligent. They concluded that government-funded education and healthcare for the poor would perpetuate the survival of the weak and unfit. Many Social Darwinists also supported scientific racism by claiming that Europeans had the right to rule others because they had evolved more than Africans or Asians. Some read "survival of the fittest" to mean that it was natural for stronger industrialized nations to dominate less industrialized ones.

Radicalism also emerged at this time. The term radical refers to those who sought a total reconfiguration of society. They believed that the Atlantic Revolutions had not gone far enough, because these revolutions only brought about political transformation. Radicals were critical of their governments because they did not address the pressing issues of poverty and inequality introduced by the Industrial Revolution. According to these radicals, the government needed to redistribute wealth. The most influential radicals were Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels who developed radical socialism (Communism or Marxism). Figure 5.2.1 depicts the pyramid of the capitalist system. The image is a caricature of American capitalist society. At the top of the pyramid is wealth, which is most accessible to the government and rich people. Below them are religious leaders and military personnel who encourage workers to be obedient and accept the status quo. Under the military, but above the working class, we see the bourgeoisie who exploit workers and enjoy the profits of their labor. The caption for the bourgeoisie reads, "We eat for you." At the very bottom are workers who bear the weight of the entire system. The captions for the working class read, "We feed all" and "We work for all." The caption next to the soldiers reads, "We shoot at you," and the caption next to the religious leaders reads, "We fool you." What is the function of government and religion according to this picture? What would happen if workers withdrew their support for the system?

Marx and Engels believed that over time the economic system would create move poverty which would then result in a revolution, and workers would then take over the government. Was Marxism a serious threat in the industrialized world in the 1800s? With the breakdown of the moral economy, the worker had little loyalty to his employer. Workers tried to improve working conditions and raise wages by coming together and forming unions. These unions would then go on strike to demand these improvements. However, governments at first would back up employers and use force to break up the strikes and the unions. Therefore, the worker had little loyalty to the government which usually sided with their employer. The fear among the elites and middle classes was that workers would find radical socialism appealing. This radicalization of the working class was known as the **"social question."**

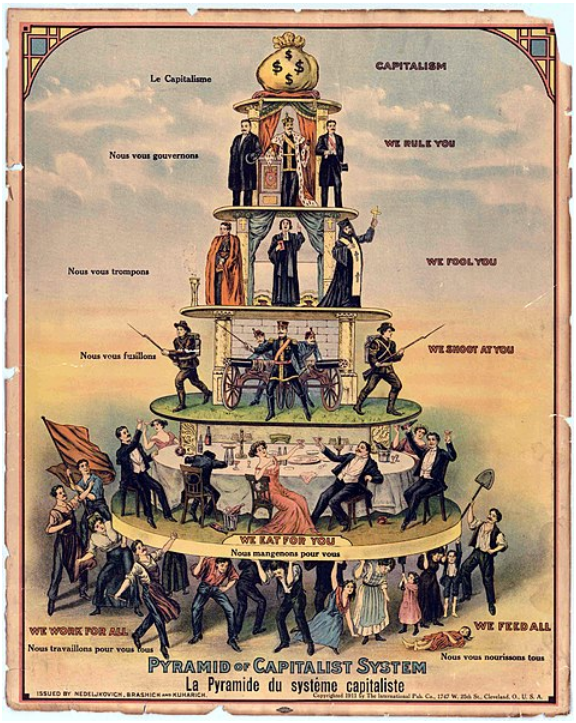

Figure 5.2.1: Pyramid of Capitalist System by Industrial Worker of the World, in the Public Domain

There was no successful socialist revolution in the 1800s as Marx predicted. For the most part, the standard of living for workers in the industrialized world improved. There were some very practical concerns. In the 1840s, the British military rejected four out of ten men because they were too sickly to serve in the military. Governments recognized that poor working conditions and living standards posed a threat to national security. Additionally, more and more medical experts argued that disease in the cities was largely the result of a lack of clean air, water, and sunshine.

By the mid-1800s, a new generation of politicians believed that some government regulation was necessary to protect workers and consumers. Overall, governments enforced sanitary standards which made urban living cleaner and healthier. Governments cleaned up the cities with sewers and waste disposal. Running water and bathing became common by 1900. The British government passed the National Insurance Act of 1911 in which workers, employers, and the state all made payments for worker sickness and unemployment. Mandatory vaccinations were also introduced. Additionally, voting rights made workers less radical, because they felt they had a voice in government and could improve their lives through peaceful democratic means.

As a result of these changes, more and more socialists in Western Europe no longer supported a revolution. They believed that change could occur by working gradually and peacefully within the system. These socialists supported a system called democratic or **evolutionary socialism** with a progressive income tax, government regulation, a safety net for the poor, the right to form unions, and minimum wages. The democratic socialists competed in elections and sought change peacefully through the legislatures. So, in western Europe there would not be a successful radical socialist revolution, because the social question was being addressed. The USA had a powerful progressive movement that shared many of the aims of the evolutionary socialists.

? Review Questions

- What industrial conflicts flared up during the Industrial Revolution?
- Why was there no successful radical socialist revolution in the industrialized world?

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5.3: The Effects of the Industrial Revolution on Africa (1800-1850)

Atlantic Revolutions and the Industrial Revolution

In the early 1800s, two contradictory trends affected Africans in Africa and the African diaspora in the Americas. On one hand, the Atlantic Revolutions ushered in new ideas such as freedom and liberty which contradicted the institution of slavery. Not only were many white elites bothered by this contradiction, but in some instances the slaves themselves sought to abolish slavery through armed uprisings. For this reason, the trans-Atlantic African slave trade was abolished, and slavery came to an end in a handful of places in the Atlantic world such as Haiti, the northern states of the USA, and Mexico. On the other hand, the Industrial Revolution created a high demand for primary products such as raw cotton, palm oil, and coffee which depended upon slave labor. Overall, slavery was actually strengthened in Africa and much of the Americas.

Abolition of the Slave Trade

The slave trade diminished in the 1800s for a number of reasons. The US War of Independence and the French Revolution with its ideas of liberty undermined the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Additionally, sugar estate owners were losing money. Sugar beet production in Europe and overproduction in the Caribbean led to a major decline in the price of sugar while prices for slaves increased. As a result, British bankers began investing in factories rather than sugar production. Powerful industrialists in Britain supported an end to slavery because they argued that the cheap wage labor in European factories was more efficient and less expensive than plantation slavery. As industry began to take off, Europeans more and more saw Africa as a source of raw materials and a market for mass-produced goods. Many concluded that British industrialists and merchants could only earn profits in Africa if the slave trade were abolished.

Beginning with the Atlantic Revolutions, European abolitionists and Christian missions wanted to promote “legitimate trade” in Africa. For the slave trade to be abolished, Africans needed to begin to generate wealth from other products. Gum, coffee, cotton, ground nuts, tobacco, indigo, gold, ivory, and palm oil became important trading commodities. For the most part, Europeans hoped that Africa would develop cash crop plantations. They wanted a new Christian society based on free labor and worked with African governments to achieve this aim. So, Africa began to export low-value primary products and import higher-priced European manufactured goods. There was virtually no industry, and the African economy also became less stable as the prices of primary products fluctuated. Slave labor and other forms of coercion were increasingly used in Africa to produce these primary products.

West Central Africa

By the early 1800s, the industrializing world was searching for a reliable and cheap supply of oils to lubricate machinery and produce soap. Previously, the Atlantic world got oil from whale fat which was expensive. Another source was oil from sesame seeds and olives from the Middle East, but the supply was unreliable. Lards and tallows could also be used as lubricants but did not last long, because heat and moisture made them disintegrate. Rapid urbanization in Europe brought major problems because living conditions in the cities were awful. Doctors concluded that cleanliness reduces disease, but the urban poor lacked basic hygiene. Soap could be mass-produced with tropical oils such as coconut oil, palm oil, and peanut oil. So, western Europeans encouraged central West Africans to produce palm kernels, peanuts, and vegetable oil. The revolution in hygiene only became possible with a cheap supply of these oils to mass produce this soap. In Figure 5.3.1, is a painting of a palm oil plantation in Whydah (modern-day Benin) in West Africa. Several Africans are extracting the oil from the palm kernels. A European man is standing and supervising their work. What do you think his role is in the palm oil industry?

Figure 5.3.1: The Fabrication of Palm Oil at Whydah by Édouard Auguste Nousveaux, Art Prints on Demand, in the Public Domain

Oil palm trees seen in Figure 5.3.1 are indigenous to West Africa. African men usually climbed up the trees and harvested the fruit bunches, while women and children collected the fruits that fell on the ground. The fruits were then processed into red palm oil through a very labor intensive process of boiling and filtering them with water.The prosperity of palm and peanut oil production led to migration from the interior of Africa to the coast. However, the promotion of “legitimate trade” failed to bring an end to the slave trade. In fact, primary product production actually increased the use of enslaved people within Africa, because slavery provided a large amount of labor needed to produce palm oil and peanuts. African slavery and the internal slave trade continued openly until well into the 1900s.

Powerful African warlords established plantations with large numbers of slaves as a result of their military conquests. For the most part, slave-based plantation cash crop production was transferred from the Americas to Africa. African merchants who had traded slaves now sought to monopolize the tropical oil trade. They also used enslaved laborers to transport the oils from the interior to the coasts. Although Europeans sought to stamp out the Atlantic slave trade, they did not actively seek to abolish slavery in Africa itself. They wanted these primary products at a cheap price.

The decline of the Atlantic slave trade resulted in the collapse of the Oyo Empire. There was then a power vacuum which allowed for the spread of Islam. In northern Nigeria, a large Muslim Empire known as the Sokoto Caliphate was established in 1804. Over time, Islam spread as the Sokoto would push further and further south. This Caliphate was located away from the coast and became a major supplier of slaves and slave raiding increased. Islam spread as enslaved people and the workers on estates increasingly were converted to Islam. To the south of the Sokoto Caliphate, there were four smaller Yoruba kingdoms. These Yoruba kingdoms often fought with each other and the Sokoto Caliphate for dominance and then sold war captives as slaves. As with the Sokoto Caliphate, the Yoruba states would conduct slave raids to the east. It was estimated that about 445,000 people were enslaved in this region in the 1800s.

Overall, European influence in Africa was very limited until 1870. The British would try to control Africa by playing one state against another, but the Europeans were only along the coasts. Christian missionaries gave up on trying to abolish slavery within Africa. There was no mass conversion to Christianity at this time, but mission schools were set up. For this reason, more and more Africans spoke English.

The African Interior

The interior of Africa was sparsely populated in the early 1800s. Nevertheless, the ivory trade increased once the Atlantic slave trade began to diminish. There was a high demand for ivory which was used for pianos and billiard balls because the growing middle and upper classes in the industrialized world could afford to purchase pianos and billiard tables. The ivory in Africa was softer than ivory from Asia and could be easily carved into different objects. African ivory was considered the finest, and this ivory was so valuable that it could be transported from the interior and still earn a large profit. The ivory was then sent to the west coast for the Atlantic trade or the east coast for the Indian Ocean trade. Ivory merchants became very wealthy and then purchased more slaves.

Much of the slaves and ivory from the interior came from the Lunda Empire which emerged in central Africa during the early 1800s. This emperor sold war captives and collected slaves and ivory as a tax. The Lunda employed skilled hunters from the nearby Chokwe Empire who used modern European firearms to hunt elephants. The Lunda emperor then kept half of all of the ivory that

was collected by the Chokwe. In general, the powerful ivory traders in the interior focused on dominating trade through the control over important rivers such as the Congo River in central Africa.

? Primary Sources: The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, 1787

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, debates raged in the British government as to whether the slave trade should be outlawed. In this article Olaudah Equiano sought to convince the British public that the British government should ban the Atlantic slave trade.

Discussion Questions

- How is Equiano presenting an economic argument against slavery?
- Why does he make more of an economic argument?

March the 21st, 1788, I had the honor of presenting the Queen with a petition on behalf of my African brethren, which was received most graciously by her Majesty[Y]:

As the inhuman traffic of slavery is to be taken into the consideration of the British legislature, I doubt not, if a system of commerce was established in Africa, the demand for manufactures would most rapidly augment, as the native inhabitants will insensibly adopt the British fashions, manners, customs, &c. In proportion to the civilization, so will be the consumption of British manufactures. The wear and tear of a continent, nearly twice as large as Europe, and rich in vegetable and mineral productions, is much easier conceived than calculated.

It is trading upon safe grounds. A commercial intercourse with Africa opens an inexhaustible source of wealth to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, and to all which the slave trade is an objection. The abolition of slavery, so diabolical, will give a most rapid extension of manufactures, which is totally and diametrically opposite to what some interested people assert. The manufacturers of this country must and will, in the nature and reason of things, have a full and constant employ by supplying the African markets. The abolition of slavery would be in reality an universal good.

Tortures, murder, and every other imaginable barbarity and iniquity, are practiced upon the poor slaves with impunity. I hope the slave trade will be abolished. I pray it may be an event at hand. The great body of manufacturers, uniting in the cause, will considerably facilitate and expedite it; and, as I have already stated, it is most substantially their interest and advantage, and as such the nation's at large, (except those persons concerned in the manufacturing neck-yokes, collars, chains, hand-cuffs, leg-bolts, drags, thumb-screws, iron muzzles, and coffins; cats, scourges, and other instruments of torture used in the slave trade). In a short time one sentiment alone will prevail, from motives of interest as well as justice and humanity.

This I conceive to be a theory founded upon facts, and therefore an infallible one. If the blacks were permitted to remain in their own country, they would double themselves every fifteen years. In proportion to such increase will be the demand for manufactures. Cotton and indigo grow spontaneously in most parts of Africa; a consideration this of no small consequence to the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. It opens a most immense, glorious, and happy prospect—the clothing, &c. of a continent ten thousand miles in circumference, and immensely rich in productions of every denomination in return for manufactures.

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? Review Questions

- How did African primary products fuel the Industrial Revolution elsewhere?
- Why did slavery expand in Africa itself?

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5.4: The Industrial Revolution and Nation - Building in the Americas - The USA as an Emerging Power

The Forging of a New Nation

Few could have predicted in 1846 that the USA would easily defeat Mexico in the Mexican-American War (1846-1848). When the USA achieved independence, the colony of New Spain was twice as large and had more people. Both young nations were primarily agrarian, but there were some major differences between these two countries. For the most part, the USA had an incipient industrial base and was fairly stable.

Overall, Americans in the 1790s had a weak sense of national identity. The states had all been colonies that had their own traditions, histories, and cultures. Many Americans identified as members of their states first and were loyal to their states before the national government. They were also looking at Europe culturally. For the most part, Americans read European books and attended European plays. After independence, the north and south were moving in different directions. Slavery died in the north but thrived and spread in the south. Although there were some factories in the north, the USA did not undergo an industrial revolution until Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860.

The United States was established with a political system known as **federalism** where certain government powers are reserved for the national (or central) government and other powers are reserved for the state governments. Some powers are shared by both such as the power to tax and write laws. During the early Republican era, there was an ideological battle between two government factions. One group, known as the Federalists, wanted to empower the national government to put in place policies to make America a modern urban industrial nation much like Great Britain. They faced opposition from the slave-owning elites in the Republican Party who wanted to keep the national government weak. They preferred that the USA remain rural and agricultural. For the first twelve years, the Federalists were in power. The driving force for Federalism was Alexander Hamilton, who was the Secretary of the Treasury from 1788 until 1795. Hamilton established a national bank and placed protective tariffs on imported manufactured goods. Although the USA did not undergo an industrial revolution until after 1860, these policies resulted in a substantial number of factories in the more urban northeast.

Changing Occupational Distribution (1820-1860)

Year	1820	1840	1860
Agriculture	78.8%	63.1%	52.9%
Mining	0.4%	0.6%	1.6%
Construction	-	5.1%	4.7%
Manufacturing	2.7%	8.8%	13.8%
Trade	-	6.2%	8.0%
Transport	1.6%	1.8%	2.0%
Service	4.1%	5.0%	6.4%
Other	12.4%	9.4%	10.6%

Table 5.4.1: Changing Occupation Distribution (1820-1860), by Jordan Stanton is licensed CC BY and is modified from US Bureau of Census, US Government, in the Public Domain

? Discussion Question

Based on table 5.4.1, how agrarian was the USA in the early 1800s?

Nation-Building and Racial Exclusion

Neither Federalists nor their opponents were advocates of racial equality and inclusion. The US was a racially diverse country. However, one of the first acts of Congress was the 1790 Naturalization Act which specified the requirements for citizenship. Only whites and white immigrants were eligible. Although over time the requirements for citizenship would include non-whites, this law would remain in place until 1952. For the most part, only white men could vote and hold political office.

Ultimately, Hamilton's vision of a modern urban industrial nation would not be realized until the late 1800s. The USA remained predominantly rural and agricultural. This was in large part due to the policies of Andrew Jackson (1828-1836) who dismantled Hamilton's program including the national bank. Jackson was more preoccupied with the promotion of export-led growth of primary products than industrial development. Jackson campaigned for president in 1828 promising to provide more land to white settlement in both the north and south. One of the key raw materials for the industrial revolution was cotton and the USA south was the world's largest producer. However, the natives of the south occupied vast tracks of land that could be used for cotton production. Jackson supported the Indian Removal Act in which the national government gave the states the power to remove the natives. Many of the tribes resisted this act including the Cherokee who sought to use the courts to protect their rights. In fact, the Cherokee were able to take their case directly to the US Supreme Court which ruled in their favor. Nevertheless, Jackson became the only US president to ignore a Supreme Court ruling.

However, a national identity was forming and the national government had increased in size and strength since the 1780s. The government funded some infrastructure, expanded the military, and established an impressive postal system. There was also more unity from technological breakthroughs such as the train and the telegraph. Technological improvements all facilitated westward expansion and manifest destiny or westward expansion. More and more artists and writers promoted the idea that Americans were distinctive from Europeans because they lived in a republican society rather than a monarchy. Increasingly, US Independence was glorified in paintings and books. Public education was increasingly used to create a sense of national identity and loyalty to the national government.

? Review Questions

- How did primary product production affect the natives of the USA?
- How was the USA fairly stable at this time?

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5.5: The Industrial Revolution and Nation-Building in the Americas - Mexico in Crisis

Major Problems in Mexico at Independence

Mexico, in contrast to the USA, experienced acute political and economic instability, but the political system of Mexico was much more democratic and racially inclusive than the USA. However, the nation remained underdeveloped. Its exports consisted of primary products including silver cochineal, tobacco pepper, sisal, sugar, coffee, and tobacco. This primary product production entailed seizing land from indigenous peoples. In both the USA and Mexico, the natives put up fierce resistance which included litigation in the USA and a major uprising in Mexico. When war broke out between the USA and Mexico in 1846, it was by no means a foregone conclusion that the USA would soundly defeat Mexico. The USA was not an economic or military global power. For the most part, Mexico's defeat was not a result of the power and strength of the USA but was the result of the acute instability within Mexico. As Mexico was fighting the USA, there were internal conflicts that sapped the strength of its military.

Mexico faced serious economic problems when it gained independence in 1821. Overall, the wars for independence devastated the Mexican economy. Mexico, like most of Spanish America, was undergoing its most severe political instability during 1820-1870. However, at this moment the USA, Japan, and much of Europe underwent the industrial revolution. The new nations in the Americas missed a crucial period and by 1900 were very far behind the major industrial powers technologically.

Overall, the break from Spain was a radical transformative break socially, politically, and economically. The independence of the USA from Britain was not as radical. The US colonies simply became states and the colonial legislative assemblies became state assemblies. The early leaders of the USA already had political experience governing their colonies. Spanish America did not have strong representative colonial institutions. These all had to be created by the new national leaders who lacked governing experience. The only two major institutions to survive independence were the military and the Catholic church which were allied with each other to maintain their power. Generals such as Augstin de Iturbide were not accountable to civilian institutions the way that George Washington was accountable to the Continental Congress. Additionally, economic instability hurt public finance and fostered regionalism. Look at the portraits of US President George Washington and Mexican General Augustin de Iturbide in Figure 5.5.1. Augustin de Iturbide was a Mexican general who made himself emperor while George Washington was a general who only served two presidential terms. In the portraits, Iturbide is dressed in full military attire while Washington is dressed in civilian clothing. Note how the artist, Gilbert Stuart, depicts Washington as a new Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, the ancient Roman statesman who laid down his arms after establishing peace. Based on these two images, how was George Washington a different type of leader from Agustin de Iturbide?

Figure 5.5.1: Official Painting of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, National Portrait Gallery, in the Public Domain and Oil Portrait of Agustín de Iturbide by Primitivo Miranda, Museo Nacional de History, in the Public Domain

For the most part, there was very little consensus in Mexico as to how much power the national government should have. American leaders had similar conflicts, but they did not flair up into violence and instability until the Civil War in 1860. Additionally, the military and the Catholic church were powerful and caused conflict as well. The Conservatives, who wanted to maintain the power of these institutions, fought with the the Liberals who wanted to diminish the power of the military and the Church. In 1821, the church and military both had their own special courts called fueros and the Church controlled a substantial amount of land in Mexico.

The Constitution of 1824 created a very democratic country compared to the USA. Everyone born in Mexico was a citizen regardless of race and almost all male citizens had the right to vote. Mexico would then go on to have many mestizo presidents throughout the 1800s. In general, this constitution created a very weak national government and powerful state governments. As a consequence, the national government lacked the power to collect sufficient revenue in taxes. By 1828, the national government was bankrupt and defaulted on its loans from Britain. Frequent rebellions resulted as military officers and government officials could not be paid. This political climate only generated more economic problems, because people would not invest when there was so much political instability. There was little industrialization and no railroad construction.

Identity in Mexico much like the USA was local. Outside of Mexico City, few actually called themselves Mexican. Most Mexicans were loyal to their local or state governments before the national government. To generate a sense of national identity and loyalty to the national government, good infrastructure is necessary. Mexico lacked railroads and the road system was utterly inadequate. It took weeks to travel from central Mexico to Santa Fe, New Mexico in the north. Education could also be used to create a sense of national identity, but Mexican parents needed the labor of their children and villages were too impoverished to employ well-educated teachers.

The Santa Anna Dictatorship and Revolt

By 1834, General Lopez de Santa Anna saw political instability and decided that a strong hand was necessary for peace. So, Santa Anna overthrew the government and established a more powerful national government, but instability remained. During 1833-1855, the presidency changed hands thirty-six times and the average term was seven and half months. There were major revolts in Guerrero, Jalisco, Zacatecas, the Yucatan, and Texas against Santa Anna. Public finance remained weak and resources were squandered on imports, monuments, statues, public buildings, and theaters. Little was spent on education and infrastructure.

Nevertheless, the only revolt against Santa Anna to succeed was Texas. Many Mexicans in Texas rose up against the government and they received substantial support from Americans who had flooded into Texas to set up cotton estates. For the most part, these Americans feared that the Mexican government would abolish slavery in Texas. The Mexican government did not recognize Texas as an independent country. However, US President Jackson recognized Texas as an independent country and supported the expansion of cotton and slavery westwards.

Right as the Mexican government was fighting the Texas rebels, another major revolt broke out in the Yucatan. The native Mayans were adversely affected by the demand for primary products as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Beginning in the 1820s, Mexican elites increasingly took over land to produce sugar and sisal which is used to bind bales for North American farms and later to stuff seats for automobiles. The native communities were driven off their land and forced to work on plantations. There was also less land for the natives to grow corn. Additionally, the natives had to pay taxes and serve in the army in the far north to fight Texas. The crisis came in 1838 when a faction of the military in the Yucatan declared independence until the 1824 Constitution was put back in place. The native Mayans were promised land and reduced taxes to join this rebellion. When the Mexican government granted the Mexican elites of the Yucatan self-government, these elites agreed to rejoin Mexico. However, the native Mayans were not given land or reduced taxes. So, a full-blown race war took place. The revolt was only put down after 30% to 40% of the Mayan population perished or were sold into slavery in Cuba.

The Mexican-American War and Its Aftermath

For the most part, the Mexican-American War occurred, because America's new president James Polk was determined to acquire California in 1846. Oftentimes, the Americans who wanted national expansion also wanted to extend slavery. Expansion also entailed taking land from racially mixed and non-white groups in northern Mexico. The US annexed Texas in 1845 and this intensified major conflicts between the US and Mexico. When fighting broke out, the USA was easily able to take over northern Mexico. The Mexican army was mostly in central Mexico and it would take weeks to get to northern Mexico. The Mexican government was immediately thrown into crisis. The 1824 Constitution was reimplemented, but this constitution provided minimal funding to the national government to wage a major war. After US General Winfield Scott took Veracruz in 1847, the will to resist diminished. The states would not provide money and men for the national government. The 1848 peace treaty stipulated that the US would pay fifteen million dollars for Northern Mexico which constituted half of its territory. The Mexican government was on the verge of collapse by this point and desperately needed to end the fighting.

Mexico's problems were far from over after the Mexican-American War. A civil war erupted during the 1850s and 1860s as a new generation of politicians led by Benito Juarez, sought to strip the Catholic church and the military of their powers. Then, the French invaded Mexico at the invitation of both institutions. Juarez ultimately regained power, but Mexico was then governed by dictator Porfirio Diaz who seized power in a military coup. For the most part, Diaz was supported by the elites and stripped the natives of their communal landholdings. As a result, the peasants and middle-class liberals rebelled in 1910. However, the opposition to Diaz was divided. While middle-class leaders wanted political change only, the peasants sought land redistribution. Ultimately, a new government emerged that addressed the demands of the peasants in the 1920s. However, Mexico would not have free and fair elections until the 1990s.

? Review Questions

- What were the causes of instability in Mexico?
- How was the resistance of the Mayans in the Yucatan different from the Cherokees in the USA?

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5.6: The Industrial Revolution and Nation-Building in the Americas - The South American Model Republic Falters

Nation-Building and Racism

In contrast to Mexico, Chile was regarded as a model Latin American republic during the 1800s. The new nation had no powerful generals such as Mexican General Agustin de Iturbide to challenge civilians. At the same time, there are some major similarities. After independence, the USA, Mexico, and Chile had white elites who sought to increase primary product production by seizing land from those that they deemed racially inferior. In all three countries, the indigenous population lost land to make way for commercial agriculture. As with Mexico, the powerful leaders of Chile did not support policies that would make Chile a modern industrial nation. Chile during the first half of the 1800s was stable, because the elites all supported a more centralized system rather than federalism. Much of the warfare in early independent Latin American nations was over states' rights and whether a powerful centralized government should be established. The elites also agreed that Chile should promote exports of primary products and import manufactured goods.

Figure 5.6.1: Inquilinos en el Rancho, US Library of Congress, in the Public Domain

However, Chile was far from democratic, because there was no secret ballot in Chile until 1958. Most of the land was controlled by the white elites who had large estates called haciendas. The majority of voters were workers on estates called *inquilinos* (seen in Figure 5.6.1) who were instructed by the hacienda owner to vote for their candidate. Chile, much like the USA, was a country established on racist foundations. Chilean *inquilinaje* was a rural labor system similar to debt peonage. Chilean elites considered themselves white and *inquilinos* tended to be darker mestizos. On the wheat estates, the hacienda owners had almost complete dominance. The mestizo laborers were given a small subsistence plot but had to labor on the estate of the large landowner. The threat of eviction was frequently used to control *inquilinos*. Additionally, the hacienda owner controlled the local police forces and local government. Oftentimes, he would order the overseers to whip inquilinos. Agriculture relied on cheap labor, and there was little use of modern technology in crop production. Racism was rampant in Chile at this time. For the most part, being mestizo and having indigenous ancestry carried a stigma. They were called *rotos* (broken ones) or *Huachos* (illegitimate orphans). Figure 5.6.1 shows the squalor of the *inquilinos*. Figure 5.6.1 shows a male *inquilino* wearing a hat seated on a low chair, with female members of his family and children behind him outside their small dilapidated shack. Two women and a young child are standing, a woman and two children are sitting on the ground. Agrarian reforms eventually eradicated the system in the late 1960s. What problems did a large *inquilino* population represent for Chile?

One of the reasons why Chile was so stable was due to economic prosperity. Like the rest of Latin America, Chile exported primary products which included copper, silver, and wheat. Chile had geographic good luck because it was the only producer of wheat on the west coast of the Americas during 1830-1850. After the Mexican-American War, there was a gold rush in California, and Chile exported wheat to the US until railroad construction was completed. Mining also brought substantial economic growth. Large silver mines were discovered during the 1830s and 1840s and Chile was also one of the world's leading copper producers. So, international trade created an economic boom in Chile during 1840-1860. With all of this prosperity, the Chilean government had money to improve infrastructure and education to bring greater unity as part of its nation-building project. Literacy rates in Chile were among the highest in Latin America.

Similar to the USA, the Chileans felt a strong sense of racial superiority. During the War of the Pacific (1879-1884), Chile took nitrate fields from Bolivia and Peru. The USA, Western Europe, and Japan used nitrates as fertilizer and for explosives. Chileans saw their country as a racially European, orderly, and united nation-state. The Chilean public perceived Peruvians and Bolivians as inferior Indians and Blacks. After defeating the Peruvians and Bolivians, modern technology such as guns, artillery, trains, and the telegraph was used to take land from the Mapuche Indians in southern Chile.

Although Chile did not experience an industrial revolution, the War of the Pacific stimulated industrialization. Factories were set up in the cities and nitrate workers provided a large market for consumer goods. However, Chile only had low-tech light industry such as textiles and glass. These manufactured goods were also of low quality. Therefore, Chilean manufactured goods were not exported. There was also growth of a small middle class because economic growth and massive wealth from nitrates created a demand for professionals and white-collar workers. Compared to the middle class in the USA and much of Western Europe, the Chilean middle class was small. The middle and working classes had some political power as well, but the *inquilinos* made up the majority of voters.

Economic Underdevelopment and Radicalization

The consensus among the elite broke down in 1891 and a civil war erupted. The Civil War of 1891 revolved around the economic and social policies of the government. By the mid-1800s, the elites were no longer united. Hacienda owners of the Central Valley were like the US southern cotton producers. They wanted a continuation of export-led growth of primary products. These elites were opposed by the copper and silver miners in the Norte Chico region of Chile who supported government policies that would stimulate manufacturing through protective tariffs, direct state investment, and a national bank.

The civil war began when the hacienda owners and their allies rebelled against President Jose Balmaceda. As an ally to the Norte Chico elite, President José Balmaceda sought to make Chile a modern and industrial nation and spent more than any other president on infrastructure and education. Balmaceda wanted to increase taxes on the nitrates to push economic development programs which included an improved railway system, protective tariffs, and a national bank. The problem was that the nitrate miners formed a cartel and limited production. The government was reliant on taxing nitrates, and this reduction in nitrate production reduced government revenues. When Balmaceda attempted to break up the nitrate cartel, the nitrate owners rebelled and were joined by the hacienda owners and the banks. These three groups were tied together economically and all felt threatened by Balmaceda's nitrate policies. The hacienda elites won, and Balmaceda killed himself. The 1891 Civil War had profound social, political, and economic consequences in Chile. The forces which defeated Balmaceda did not promote economic modernization. So, there was no industrial revolution in Chile. In Western Europe and the US, industrialists set government policy, but in Chile, well into the 1900s the landowners remained politically dominant.

By 1900, Chile had serious problems. Not only was there no significant industry, but agriculture was neglected and no longer competitive enough to be exported. Chilean leaders by the 1890s believed that Chile should remain a mining economy that imported manufactured goods from Europe and food from Argentina. Another problem was that nitrate workers and factory workers became more radical because they were impoverished and the government did not help them. Workers had no loyalty to their employers or the government which was dominated by the elites and middle classes. Unions were at first not legal and the government would repress workers when they went on strike. By 1900, more and more workers supported a violent revolution.

Review Questions

- How was Chile’s policy of nation-building based on racial exclusion?
- How did the Industrial Revolution affect the USA and Latin America differently?

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5.7: Illiberal Modernization - Germany

The Creation of the German Empire

Germany did not exist until 1871. Instead, there were a number of independent German kingdoms which included Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony. Similar to the US thirteen colonies, the different German kingdoms all had distinctive traditions, customs, and histories. Additionally, the northern German states were heavily Protestant and the southern states were Catholic. A national government would work to culturally homogenize the people living in Germany. The German states were all undergoing economic modernization before Germany was established. As early as 1830, the German states were also connected by railroad.

It was Prussia under King Wilhelm I that led the effort to unify the German kingdoms under his rule. Otto von Bismarck, who had become prime minister of the Kingdom of Prussia in 1862, was the main architect of the German Empire. German unification was a step-by-step process that involved warfare. Overall, Austria and France were the major obstacles to German unification. However, Prussia had good relations with Russia and Britain who did not see Prussia as a major threat. Prussia soundly defeated Austria in 1866 and France in 1871. A German empire created a new dynamic in diplomatic relations. The Franco-Prussian War (1871) was the first of three major conflicts between the French and the Germans over the next 75 years in which millions would die. Bismarck believed that the French sought revenge after its humiliating defeat and he wanted Germany to have a strong military frontier. France then became enraged after Germany annexed two provinces in eastern France, Alsace and Lorraine.

Figure 5.7.1: The Proclamation of the German Empire by Anton von Werner, in the Public Domain

Nation-Building, Economic Development, and the Social Question

Bismarck was the prime minister of Prussia and the chancellor of Germany. With military success, Bismarck was able to have the German constitution approved. Under this constitution, the emperor had the power to appoint all officials, command the military, and sign treaties. The German Constitution had universal direct suffrage with a secret ballot for the lower house. Although the legislative branch had the authority to approve laws and taxes, it did not control the military. Like the USA, Germany adopted a federalist system. The other German kings remained on the throne and there were separate governments for the kingdoms. However, the king of Prussia was also the German emperor. Figure 5.7.1 depicts the proclamation of the German Empire in January 1871. Artist Anton von Werner created 4 images of the Proclamation of the German Empire, which took place in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles. The German emperor and princes are standing on the dais. Bismarck and a group of military officers are standing below facing the emperor. This painting is the third version, and it was commissioned by the Prussian royal

family in February 1885 as a present for Bismarck's 70th birthday on April 1, 1885. Because the painting was intended to be a birthday gift for Bismarck, he is highlighted and shown wearing a uniform of a different color than the army officers around him. Why would the other German kings need to be present?

The German government was engaged in nation-building after 1871 with public education, infrastructure, a common currency, and standardized weights and measurements. At the same time, there were clear indications that many in Germany saw other Europeans as racially inferior. The national government granted the different German kingdoms the right to expel non-citizens and the Prussian government expelled 32,000 Polish inhabitants. Many in the German government saw the east as a frontier like the US west which should be populated by Germans. The Slavic population to the east was viewed as racially inferior. Additionally, there were members of the German legislature, such as Hermann Ahlwardt, who denounced Jews as an inferior race that had no place in the new German Empire.

Germany quickly became an industrial powerhouse that could economically compete with the USA, France, and Britain. German steel production increased dramatically after it took control over the iron mines of Lorraine. By the late 1800s, Germany produced more steel than Britain. A national bank was established in 1875 which made long-term low interest loans to businesses. High tariffs were also put in place. German businesses promoted research and development which showed impressive results in pharmaceuticals, synthetic dyes, photography, and chemical fertilizers. Germany also became a major producer of automobiles. However, the German economy was dependent on imports of raw materials and food by the early 1900s.

Although Bismarck was not a pro-labor chancellor, he did address some of the problems that workers faced. Overall, Bismarck supported the idea of a moral economy. The health insurance law of 1883 provided health care to a large segment of wage earners. The government also provided unemployment insurance. Workers would receive compensation if injured on the job after an accident insurance law was passed in 1884. Old age and disability insurance was passed in 1889. German workers had a much more positive view of the government after these laws were passed. As a consequence, workers more and more rejected violent revolutions and supported the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) which was an evolutionary socialist political party.

Two New European Nation-States: Germany and Italy Compared

There were some significant similarities as well as differences between nation-building in Germany and Italy. On one hand, Italians held some common bonds, because the history of the Roman Empire was shared by most Italians. On the other hand, Italy was under foreign domination since the Middle Ages. The Papacy controlled Rome and much of central Italy. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Austria controlled most of the remainder of the peninsula. The only independent state was the Kingdom of the Piedmont. This kingdom would unite the rest of the peninsula just as Prussia brought most of Germany under its rule.

Italian nationalism was embraced by more elites by the mid-1800s. However, Italy got its independence due to outside factors. Austrian power was removed after it lost to Prussia in 1866. Then, Britain supported Italian independence to weaken France. Italy was in a much less advantageous position than Germany in the late 1800s. It lacked coal and iron. As a consequence, Italy remained agricultural and most Italians were impoverished peasants. Additionally, most Italians did not share a common language but spoke distinctive dialects. Northern Italians dominated both the government and the military. Only about one-quarter of all Italian men could vote, because there were income and literacy requirements. As a consequence, the vast majority of the peasantry remained disenfranchised.

? Review Questions

- How had Germany become a powerful nation by 1900?
- Why did workers support evolutionary socialists in Germany?

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5.8: Illiberal Modernizers - Japan

Crisis and Reform in Japan

There are several similarities between Germany and Japan that go back to the 1800s. Part of the nation-building process entailed promoting the idea of racial superiority. The German government targeted Slavs to the east as racially inferior and the Japanese government saw as inferioe non-Japanese Asians such as the Chinese and Koreans. Both nations successfully underwent an industrial revolution. Neither country established a liberal political system, because elected officials had very limited powers. Instead, both countries had powerful monarchs. The USA and Britain were not democracies, but the institutions in place were liberal institutions where elected officials were firmly in power. Finally, each country successfully addressed the problem of worker poverty by taking steps to improve the lives of the working classes.

The Japanese, like the Germans, did not live under a unified nation-state until the late 1800s. Beginning in the late 1100s, the Japanese emperor ruled indirectly, ceding power to the Shoguns, who commanded an army of lesser nobles known as samurai. In the 1600s, the Japanese government tightly controlled commerce with the outside world only allowing the Dutch and Chinese to transact foreign trade. Foreign culture was not seen as inferior and by the 1800s the Japanese embraced Dutch learning which was the study of European ideas. This self-isolation ended in the mid-19th century when the United States forced the Japanese to sign the “Treaty of Peace and Amity.” Japan had to open its ports and agree to low tariffs. Americans also gained extra-territoriality which meant if US citizens broke the law in Japan, they would be tried in US courts. The Japanese government then had to sign similar treaties with Britain, the Netherlands, and Russia.

Shimazu Nariakira, a Japanese official stated, “If we take the initiative, we can dominate; if we do not, we will be dominated.” Modernization and the embrace of new technology went hand in hand with the reorganization of the national government in what became known as the Meiji Restoration. Direct control of government was restored to Emperor Meiji. In 1868 the emperor proclaimed the Imperial Charter Oath which stated that knowledge shall be sought from all over the world to strengthen the empire. Overall, there was a real sense of urgency to undertake major changes. The challenge from the USA and Europe created a sense of crisis which allowed a new government elite to put in place major reforms. The Meiji Restoration was driven by reformers who wanted to use Western learning to defend Japan. Many in Japan promoted “Eastern ethics and Western science.” They argued that Japan required Western technology to defend itself and should look beyond Confucianism.

The Meiji Restoration consisted of a series of reforms that established a constitutional government and modern economy. The new government sent out an official mission to the USA and Europe to examine the sources of Western power and wealth to strengthen Japan. They concluded that Japan could catch up because the West was not that advanced technologically. The government then invited to Japan over three thousand foreign advisors which included military consultants, teachers, engineers, technicians, and legal and financial advisors. They were in Japan for about fifteen years and then the Japanese themselves took over. The Western calendar and metric system were also adopted. In education, the government created an extensive public school system. Western languages and scientific and technical training replaced the classical Confucian curriculum.

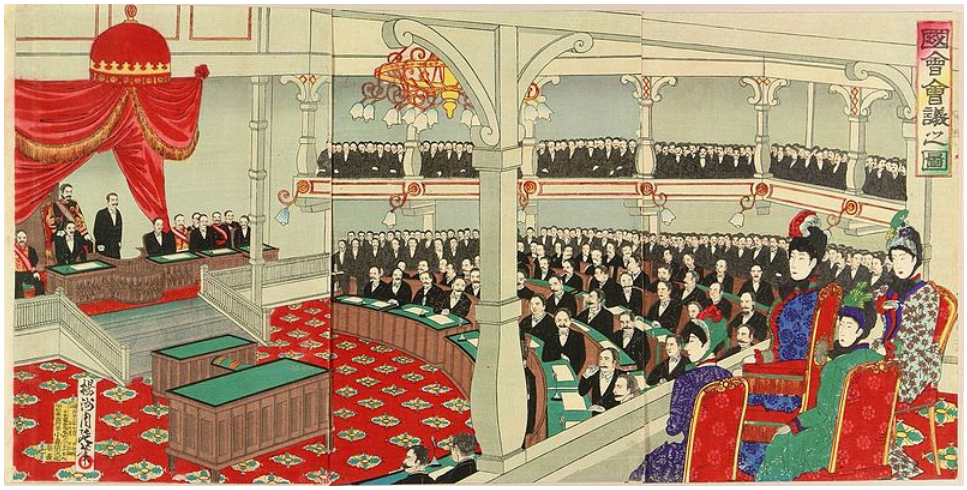

Figure 5.8.1: Scene of the Diet by Toyohara Chikanobu, in the Public Domain

The Japanese reformers also wanted to put in place legal and administrative institutions so that the West would perceive Japan as a "civilized" country where foreigners were confident that they would be properly treated. So, the government drafted a constitution with Germany as its model. The emperor exercised all executive power. He also appointed all ministers and had supreme command over the army and navy. There were elective officials in a legislature called a Diet which was responsible for approving laws and taxes. Only five percent of the population was eligible to vote for Diet members and government officials would use bribery and force to fix elections. Figure 5.8.1 depicts the Japanese parliament in the late 1800s. Several Male cabinet members dressed in western-style suits are sitting on chairs in semicircular rows. A few women, dressed in kimonos, are seated in the gallery and are facing the speaker on the dais. What image did Japan want to present to the world with the establishment of a legislature?

A major goal was to modernize the military. Germany provided the guidance for the new army and the British helped build a new navy. The government established factories to mass produce weapons as well. However, the Japanese understood that military modernization could not be separated from overall economic modernization. Just building a factory that produced guns would not be enough. The government created the necessary infrastructure of communication, transportation, and financial institutions which made economic development possible. The Meiji reformers sought to follow the example of Germany and implement tariffs to protect industries. The government provided low-interest long-term loans and tax breaks to businesses which adopted the most advanced technology. Overall, the government sought to make Japan a major exporter of cotton and silk textiles. The Japanese had a standard currency and railroads and the telegraph linked the nation by 1900. Agriculture was also modernized with new schools in agronomy.

The late 1800s was a time of cultural change in Japan. Baseball, Western clothing, Western-style haircuts, and top hats became popular. The samurai elites no longer carried swords or wore traditional clothing. They popularized fashion from Europe by wearing Western business suits and learning to waltz. At the same time, the Japanese national government sought to make the Japanese loyal to it and foster a sense of national unity. One way by which the government sought to foster loyalty and national identity was by creating strong bonds between the people and the emperor. So, the elites promoted loyalty through the Confucian family-state ideology. The emperor was like the father of the nation and the subjects were like his children. The government sought to promote a national form of Shinto with official state shrines all over Japan. This new form of Shintoism stressed the divine nature of the emperor and Shinto priests were put under the control of the government. The education system was then used to spread nationalist ideologies.

Japanese Expansion and the Working Class

The Japanese government also adopted scientific racism which justified imperialism and expansion. During this time, the Japanese government viewed China and Korea as less civilized. By the 1890s, the unfavorable foreign treaties were revised and Japan had independence from the West. Japanese leaders now wanted to be perceived as a major power with its own colonies. Japanese imperial expansion was spurred by the demand for raw materials and access to markets in East Asia. Japanese defeated China in 1894-1895 in a war for control of Korea. In a treaty, Japan would exercise economic dominance over Korea. However, the Japanese government then sought to expand into Manchuria. Japanese expansion then created another war in 1905 in which Japan soundly defeated Russia. Japan then controlled Korea and Manchuria.

Survey of 580 women who worked in a silk factory in Japan conducted by Yamamoto Shigemi

Response	Poor	Average	Good
Food	0%	10%	90%
Pay	0%	30%	70%
Overall Experience	0%	10%	90%

Table 5.8.1: Japanese Silk Worker Survey, by Jordan Stanton is licensed CC BY and is modified from *Peasants, Rebels, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan* (1982) by Mikoso Han, in the Public Domain

Discussion Question

Why would Japanese factory workers be so satisfied with the food they were given?

Workers in Japanese factories worked long hours for low pay. However, these workers typically did not quit and remained loyal to their employers. By the early 1900s, Japanese businesses provided substantial welfare services for their employees including medical services, loans for housing, retirement benefits, and sports and social facilities. Factory owners believed that their company was like a family. They had a moral obligation to take care of their workers just as fathers took care of their children. For this reason, most Japanese workers did not embrace radicalism. In 1911, the government passed a factory act which provided for minimum safety standards for manufacturing establishments. Also, the government from time to time would arbitrate between labor and employers and there would be some worker gains. In the 1920s the government even provided health insurance for urban workers.

Primary Sources: The Meiji Constitution, 1889

The Japanese elites drafted a constitution during the Meiji Restoration to show the West that Japan had become a modern nation which was fully capable of governing itself and foreigners living in Japan.

Discussion Questions

- Where are there liberal components of this constitution?
- Where are there illiberal components?

Chapter 1

The Emperor

ARTICLE I. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

ARTICLE III. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

ARTICLE IV. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

ARTICLE V. The Emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE VI. The Emperor gives sanction to laws and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

ARTICLE VII. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes and prorogues it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE X. The Emperor determines the organization of the different branches of the administration, and salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same.

ARTICLE XI. The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XII. The Emperor determines the organization and peace standing of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XIII. The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

Chapter II

Rights and Duties of Subjects

ARTICLE XXIII. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished, unless according to law.

ARTICLE XXIV. No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by the judges determined by law.

ARTICLE XXV. Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent.

ARTICLE XXVIII. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

ARTICLE XXIX. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations.

Itō Hirobumi, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the Empire of Japan*, translated by Itō Myoji, University of Toronto, in the Public Domain

Review Questions

- What were some major similarities and differences between the nation-building projects of Japan and Germany?
- How were there policies of both inclusion and exclusion?

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5.9: Effects of the Industrial Revolution on India

Growing Problems in India

The Industrial Revolution created significant problems in India which resulted in increased poverty and greater European domination. Simultaneously a sense of national identity was forming as well. For the most part, India was in crisis in the early 1800s. The Mughal imperial army was in disarray after being engaged in constant warfare all over the Indian subcontinent. Independent Hindu and Muslim kingdoms controlled much of India. These kingdoms constantly had to deal with restless Hindu warriors including the Marathas who would raid and plunder.

The British first became involved in India through the auspices of a joint-stock company called the English East India Company or EIC. Although founded as a commercial operation, the Company slowly established political control on the subcontinent. For the most part, the EIC began to exert influence in India as the industrial revolution began in the early 1800s and as India entered a period of instability. The EIC took advantage of the empire's weakness to expand its trading activities and slowly took over the regional principalities that split off from Mughal control. During the 1700s there were wars between the Mughal elites, the Marathas, the British, and the French. By the early 1800s, EIC emerged as one of the dominant powers in India. From its capital in Calcutta, the EIC then took over Bengal, which was one of India's wealthiest regions. They then used this wealth to finance a well-armed and well-trained force of Indian soldiers known as sepoys. Additionally, the Maratha attacks and instability in India disrupted trade and local elites began to look to the EIC for protection. They saw the British as the lesser of two evils. By the early 1800s, the British then occupied Delhi and the Mughal emperor lost all power. For the most part, the British were able to dominate India through divide-and-conquer tactics. The British steadily increased the size of their army to "pacify" India. The vast majority of soldiers were Indians but the officers were British.

By 1800, the primary products of India were being utilized to fuel economic development in Britain. As a consequence, agriculture in India became more commercialized. Raw cotton, wool, opium, and indigo became major products for international trade. Bengal emerged as a major producer of jute and India began to produce some tea and coffee. The British economy increasingly demanded more tea and sugar, because employers purchased stimulants to ensure that workers remained productive. However, most tea came from China, and raw cotton was the only commodity that the Chinese would buy in large volumes legally in return for tea. There was a massive illicit trade in Indian-grown opium between Britain and China.

By the mid-1800s, the EIC controlled large swathes of territory in what are now India, Pakistan, Burma, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. The EIC shifted its policy away from simply trading and began reorganizing the Indian economy. However, very few Indians actually benefited from increasing British economic domination. During the 1600s, the EIC used precious metals to purchase Indian cloth. Once the British took over Bengal, they forced Indians to pay taxes which would then be used to purchase primary products in India. Taxes were high and if these could not be paid, then Indian farmers were forced to sell their land. Higher caste individuals often took over the land when this happened. As a result, more and more peasants had to rent land and had to sell their products to pay for rent in silver rupees.

At first, the EIC formed "subsidiary" alliances to control India. The local kings and princes were forced to pay taxes to the East India Company and in return, sepoys were stationed in these kingdoms to "protect them" and ensure order. There were also company employees who resided in these kingdoms that oversaw the governments of the local kings and princes. The taxes were very high and local elites struggled to pay them. Therefore, silver and gold flowed out of India. Indian states could not form into bilateral relations and the British controlled relations between the kingdoms.

There were serious problems with EIC rule. By the mid-1800s, more and more EIC British officers belonged to a racist school, known as the Utilitarianists, who regarded Indian civilization as barbaric and backward. In the cities, the English had their own separate neighborhoods and societies. The higher echelons of government were dominated by the British and the EIC limited Indians and mixed-race people to serving in minor local offices. More and more kings and princes went into debt because they could not afford the taxes to the British. These kings and princes also had to deal with frequent upheavals because taxes were so high. As these kingdoms went bankrupt and became unstable, the EIC would then annex them. To provide more raw cotton for British factories, the British annexed much of India for the cotton-producing regions and took control of indigo production. The British often justified annexation by claiming that Indian kings and princes were tyrannical. However, the English East India

Company imposed more hardships on the Indians by increasing land taxes to pay for the growing government and military costs. This only generated more rebellions and protests. More and more, the British relied on its military force to rule.

Nevertheless, increasing British rule created conditions in which elites across the Indian subcontinent could unite in a common cause and begin to develop a shared identity as Indians. A small segment of Indians was becoming familiar with British law, western science, and the idea of linear historical change by the early 1800s in the colleges established by the EIC in India. English became the language of government and higher education. There was also a more uniform legal system based on British interpretations of Hindu, Muslim, and English law which would be administered by British courts. By the 1850s, there were elites from all over India that were college-educated English speakers. There were also British scholars who studied and wrote about Indian history and culture. The British also brought more geographic unity with infrastructure improvements and a postal system.

British rule also homogenized India. The British wrote and distributed grammars for Indian languages. Hindu religion historically has many variations and practices but the British sought to standardize it. British colleges in India published and distributed works on mythology and scriptures of Hinduism. More and more Indians had the shared experience working on estates producing commercial crops.

The Sepoy Rebellion

On the eve of the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, there were serious underlying economic and political problems in India. The decline of Indian industry accelerated as British-manufactured cloth flooded into India. More and more Indians were landless and debt servitude became more common. As commercial agriculture spread, the landowning elites cared less and less for the workers who toiled on their lands. The moral economy in the village broke down. More and more of the elites and kings no longer supported British rule, because they lost their authority and power as the EIC annexed more and more territories. Many were angered that they were stripped of their titles and felt increased pressure as higher taxes were imposed on them.

The revolt began on May 10th, 1857 when sepoys in the Meerut garrison mutinied. It is important to note in this context that the British called the uprisings of 1857 a “mutiny” because they felt that their paid soldiers had betrayed them. The soldiers attacked British officers and civilians and then marched towards the Mughal capital of Delhi. These rebels were soon joined by sepoys in other garrisons in central India and along the Ganges River plain. Sepoys in the Bengal Army resented being sent off to distant areas which included Egypt, Indonesia, and the Caribbean. A rumor had spread that the cartridges for their muskets were greased with pork and beef fat. This was a problem because the sepoys had to bite into the cartridge to load it and most soldiers were either Hindu or Muslim. Hindus were forbidden from consuming beef and Muslims were forbidden from consuming pork. When the soldiers refused to use these new cartridges, they were imprisoned.

The rebels took over Delhi and received the support of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah. He was seen by many Hindus and Muslims as a legitimate authority. The Mughals claimed that they that they aimed to reestablish Indian rule in India (See primary source article #3). The Mughal emperor even banned the Muslim sacrificial practice of cow slaughter and did not frame the rebellion as any kind of Muslim holy war. Muslims argued that the British were a threat to both Hinduism and Islam. Rebellious Hindus and Muslims both had a shared experience of being exploited and mistreated under British rule. However, the major armies in Bombay and Madras did not join this revolt. Also, the Sikhs of the Punjab remained loyal to the British. Figure 5.9.1 depicts the violence of the uprisings in 1857. The image shows the use of swords, rifles, and large animals such as horses and elephants. Figure 5.9.1 shows the Indians being used to put down the rebellion. Rebels are fighting over the division of spoils: a few men are pointing rifles at each other and trying to gather the gold coins and valuables on the ground. Does this picture depict Indian unity against the British? The rebellion was crushed but it resulted in bringing more Indians together. After the rebellion, there was a British push to build more railroads that could help better control India. There were educated elites that were critical of the EIC but they lacked a national organization in the 1850s. The uprising in 1857 was the beginning of Indian resistance to British dominance. It led to the dissolution of the East India Company, reorganization of the army, and ignited nationalist sentiments and opposition against British rule in India.

Figure 5.9.1: Sepoy Mutiny by Granger, Fine Art America, in the Public Domain

Primary Sources: The Azamagrh Proclamation (1857)

When the Indians rose up against the EIC, the Mughals sought to take the lead and unite all Indians behind the Mughal Emperor. The Mughals tried to make the case to Hindus that both groups were Indian and needed to break free of foreign domination.

Discussion Questions

- How is the Mughal emperor seeking to unite all Indians?
- What are the main criticisms of East India Company Rule?

It is well known to all that in this age the people of Hindustan, both Hindus and Muslims, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is therefore the bound duty of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Muslim royal families, ... to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public . . . and I, who am the grandson of Bahadur Shah Ghazi, emperor of India, having... come here to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Mujahidins [fighters for Islam against infidels] ...raised the standard of Muhammad, and persuaded the orthodox Hindus who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been and are still accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir (a name for the Hindu god Vishnu).

…Be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindus and Muslims, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and fortune-tellers, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere ....

Section II Regarding Merchants

It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British government has monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people, and even in this they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees, etc., so that the people have merely a trade in name .... When the royal government is established, all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water, shall be open to the native merchants of India, who will have the benefit of the government steam vessels and steam carriages for the conveyance of the merchandise gratis; and merchants having no capital of their own shall be assisted from the public treasury ....

Section III - Regarding Public Servants

> It is not a secret thing, that under the British government, natives employed in the civil and military services, have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence; and all the poses of dignity and emolument [reward] in both departments, are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen .... But under the royal government, ... the posts ...which the English enjoy at present ... will be given to the natives ... together with landed estates, ceremonial dress, tax-free lands, and influence. Natives, whether Hindus or Muslims, who fall fighting against the English, are sure to go to heaven; and those killed fighting for the English, will, doubtless, go to hell. Therefore, all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and, abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the royal government ....
>
> Charles Ball, *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, London Printing and Publishing, in the Public Domain

Review Questions

- How were Indians united by 1857?
- What were the main causes of the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857?

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5.10: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

The nineteenth century ushered in major global economic transformations that affected all aspects of society. In western Europe, the USA, Latin America, and Japan nation-states were formed based on liberal principles. These new countries sought to forge a sense of national identity through nation-building but also excluded members based on race. With economic transformation, new ideologies emerged including socialism and Social Darwinism. While the abolition of the slave trade brought about a power vacuum in Africa, a sense of national identity was forming in India. Although much of Africa, Asia, and Latin America did not undergo an industrial revolution, major changes were ushered in as these societies became major producers of primary products which were essential to the industrialized world.

Key Terms

- **Liberalism:** A system of government that have constitutions which grant elected officials real political power and guarantee equality under the law
- **Scientific racism:** A form of racism which claims to use science to show that biologically there are inherently superior and inferior races
- **First Industrial Revolution:** Economic modernization which began in Great Britain in the late 1700s and largely involved the use of the steam engine
- **Second Industrial Revolution:** Comprehensive economic modernization beginning in the 1830s which included most of western and central Europe, the USA, and Japan
- **Moral Economy:** An economic system in which the elites assume a moral obligation for the well-being of their workers and in return, the workers are loyal to these elites
- **Nation-State:** A specific ethnic or cultural group (a nation) that has a common government within specific geographic boundaries
- **Radicalism:** The desire for a total reconfiguration of society including the political, economic, and social structures
- **Social Question:** The radicalization of the working class
- **Evolutionary Socialism:** An ideology that seeks a peaceful transition to socialism through elections and legislative actions
- **Federalism:** A system of government where certain powers are reserved for the national (or central) government and other powers are reserved for the state governments

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

6: Imperialism - 1800 - 1900

? Learning Objectives

- How and why did imperialism spread across the globe, creating "winners" and "losers" in a new far reaching capitalism?
- What were the consequences of imperialism for colonized peoples and for the world in general?

? Focus Questions

- How was colonial rule established by European nations and the U.S. in Asia, Africa, and Latin America?
- How did colonized peoples, workers, and native educated administrators take part in anti-imperialist movements?

Nineteenth-Century Neo-Imperialism

During the nineteenth century, expansion of global trade, European colonization, the industrial revolution, the growth of nationalism, and ideologies of race, all combined to lay a foundation for the world we live in today. Within older land based empires, members of distinct cultural, religious, and linguistic groups began to demand independence as separate nation-states. Inspired by ideas about freedom, equality, and consent of the governed, they imagined new shared political and cultural identities that could be the basis for nationhood and new ways of living.

Also during the nineteenth century, European nations and the United States imposed colonial rule, establishing overseas empires by expropriating land and exploiting labor in Africa and Asia. These colonial regimes purported to “civilize” or Christianize their subject peoples, however, their policies and practices, in large measure, proved otherwise. Colonized peoples were treated as second class citizens in their own lands, were turned into a laboring class serving the **metropoles**, and were generally treated as if their cultures, histories, and religions were inferior to those of the colonizers. The logic and strategies of colonizers were faulty and unstable, and in many cases, required violent action in order to maintain them.

Since colonial regimes required local administrators to govern territories within their empires, education was provided to some of the native people in the colonies. Over time, many of these educated administrators sought a return to their own cultures, religions, and political structures and began to articulate a vision for freedom from imperial rule. One of the most famous examples of this phenomenon is Mohandas K. Gandhi.

“Neo-imperialism” emerged during the latter half of the nineteenth century, especially in the new republics of Latin America. In this case, countries that had won their independence from the Spanish and Portuguese empires through hard fought wars faced yet another external challenge. That is, they became economically dominated by European and U.S. investors. Like the outright colonization that had preceded this new configuration, many Latin American republics were turned into access points for natural resources with their native populations generally serving as a severely underpaid and exploited workforce. In these cases too, the people of Latin America agitated for greater freedom, equality, and consent of the governed in response to the power imbalances they faced. One well known example of this phenomenon is the 1910-1911 Mexican revolution that led to the removal of the dictator, Porfirio Diaz.

6.1: Decline of the Land-Based Empires
6.2: The British Commonwealth and the Spread of the British Empire
6.3: China and Japan
6.4: The United States Civil War and United States Imperialism
6.5: Latin America and Neoliberalism
6.6: The European "Scramble for Africa"
6.7: The Role of Military Technology in Colonial Domination
6.8: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

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6.1: Decline of the Land-Based Empires

The Decline of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire declined due to waning military power, British and French colonial conquest, and independence movements by ethnic groups within its borders. Seeking their own geopolitical advantages and influence in the region, the Russian and Austrian governments supported various ethnic groups as they tried to break away from Ottoman rule. What was once one of the largest and most powerful empires in the world became only the country of Turkey by the end of WWI.

The French occupied Ottoman Algeria in 1830 and did not withdraw until 1962. A French protectorate was established in Tunisia between 1881 and 1883. That did not end until 1956. The British defeated what was once Ottoman Egypt, and set up their own colonial regime in 1882. They did not withdraw from Egypt until 1922. British and French military domination thus weakened Ottoman power and geographical spread.

Tsarist Russia encouraged independence movements in the Ottoman Balkan-Black Sea region. There are at least two major reasons why the Russians did this. First, the Russians and a large number of people in Eastern Europe shared an ethnic identity as Slavs and as Eastern Orthodox Christians. Second, Russia has always needed access to the sea because its Pacific ports are frozen for half of the year. Russia has historically sought control of the Black Sea and the Crimean peninsula in order to sail into the Mediterranean and then outward to the Atlantic. Having allies along these coasts was geopolitically advantageous, so the Tsarist government supported breakaway nations to be formed out of territory that had been under Ottoman control.

With their independence movement supported by Russia as well as Britain and France, Greece was the first to break away from the Ottoman Empire as an independent nation in 1832. The British Foreign Secretary, Viscount Castlereagh, stated that the British Empire could interfere within another empire's territory, in this case, the Ottoman empire, "...where their own immediate security or essential interest are seriously endangered by the internal transactions of another state." This perspective provided justification for British, French, and Russian geopolitical and territorial ambitions. Other colonial powers such as imperial Japan and the U.S. would follow and expand this self-serving ideology. During the late nineteenth century, it was euphemistically called, "benevolent assimilation."

In addition to assisting Greece, Russia and Britain encouraged the independence of other regions of the Balkan Peninsula that were Slavic and Orthodox Christian: Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria. These states achieved independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878. The Ottomans passed control of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary. With these continued territorial losses, the dwindling Ottoman Empire was called the "sick man of Europe" for the last two centuries of its existence.

Prior to British domination of Egypt in 1882, the Egyptians had already been trying to establish their independence from the Ottoman Empire under the governor, Muhammad Ali. From 1805-1848, Ali worked to modernize and industrialize Egypt. In 1854, Ali’s son, Muhammad Sa’id, granted land to French businessman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, to create a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. The canal took eleven years to build, using forced Egyptian labor. Completed in 1869, this project became the Suez Canal.

Although the Suez Canal Company was an international corporation, its shares did not sell well outside of France and Egypt. In 1875, Sa’id’s son, Ismail, sold Egypt’s shares in the Canal to British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. The Prime Minister bought these shares with an unsecured £4,000,000 loan from his friend, Baron Lionel de Rothschild, head of a famous international bank. Even though France still owned shares in the Canal, Britain sent military troops to protect its financial interests in the Canal and occupied Egypt as a protectorate in 1882.

In 1888 the Suez Canal was declared a neutral zone under British protection. Figure 6.1.1 is a contemporary satellite view of the Suez Canal today. The Suez Canal can be described as a narrow man-made canal that connects the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean via the Red Sea. Construction of the Suez Canal started in Port Said at the Mediterranean end in 1859 and was completed after 10 years in 1869. The Suez Canal was vital to British interests as its steamships did not have to sail around Africa to reach India, its most wealth producing colony. With the completion of the canal, the trip from Britain to India took two weeks instead of two months. This further cemented British power in the region, further transforming traditional societies and cultures.

Figure 6.1.1: Contemporary Satellite view of the Suez Canal, Axelspace Corporation, in the Public Domain

During the mid-19th century, disputes arose between European governments over the weakening Ottoman empire and territories that were anticipated to split off. These disputes influenced the 1853-1856 Crimean War with France, Great Britain, the Italian Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Ottomans on one side, and Russia on the other. The allied group sought to block Russia's expansion into Ottoman territory. Figure 6.1.2 shows the French army attacking the Russian fort during the Battle of Malakoff on September 7, 1855. Although the rivalry between Russia and Turkic groups was not new, European powers did not want Russia to defeat the Ottomans and take control of the Eastern Mediterranean. As seen in Figure 6.1.2, the French and British became involved in a brutal conflict on the side of the Ottomans to stop Russian expansion and control of important trade routes.

Figure 6.1.2: French army attacking Russian fortification in 1855, William Simpson artist, in the Public Domain.

The Crimean War revealed weaknesses of the Russian Empire, which fielded large armies but lagged in technology and naval strength. The Crimean War was the first major war of the industrial era, featuring the use of railways, telegraphs, and modern ordinance like rifles and exploding naval artillery. There were roughly 500,000 casualties with disease as a major factor in the large number of deaths. Battlefield medicine got a start in this war with two British nurses that treated wounded soldiers, Florence

Nightingale and Mary Seacole. In the 1856 Treaty of Paris following the war, Russia was forced to remove its fleet from the Black Sea. Its expansionist aims were held in check.

The Decline of the Russian Empire

Badly defeated in the Crimean War, the Russian Empire was forced to confront its political, economic, and social weaknesses. It had not industrialized like the western European nations, and serfdom had been in place for centuries. Peasants were tied to the land and were included in property transactions if land was sold. In an effort to modernize and strengthen his country, Tsar Alexander II declared an end to serfdom in 1861, shortly before President Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. Figure 6.1.3 shows Alexander II holding the emancipation act in front of a crowd of peasants. The image in Figure 6.1.3 was created in the late nineteenth century. Feudalism had ended in western Europe long before the nineteenth century, but similar reforms were not implemented in Russia. In response to several peasant uprisings, Tsar Alexander II introduced a series of reforms, including the emancipation of Russian serfs, to restore social and economic stability.

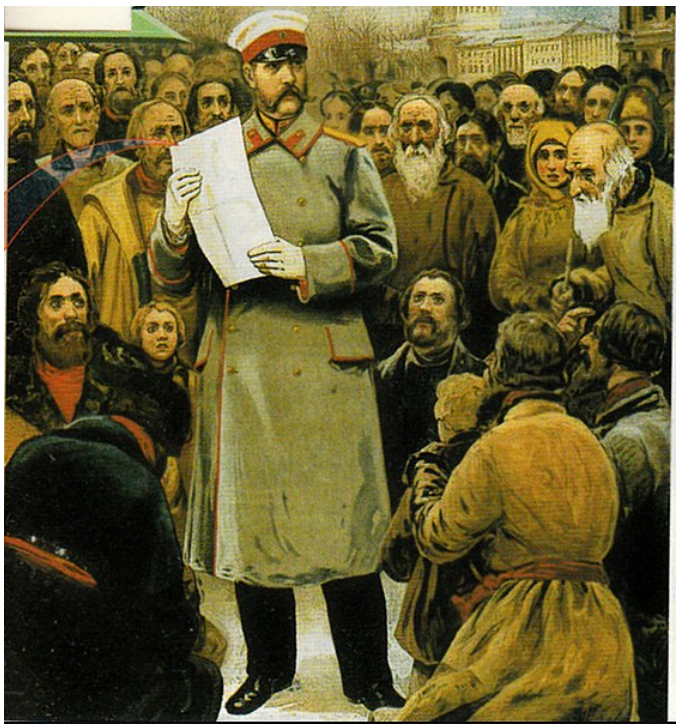

Figure 6.1.3: Tsar Alexander II reading the act of emancipation of the serfs in 1861, in the Public Domain.

After the formal end to serfdom in Russia, western investors promoted the expansion of industry. Factories and railroads were built in the western part of Russia. These changes, however, did not satisfy reformers who wanted a more equalitarian society. Frustrated reformers turned to revolutionary action, often led by anarchists. **Anarchism** is similar to socialism in its concept of class struggle, but anarchists believe that all forms of top-down control such as governments, police, and organized religion, should be eliminated immediately, allowing the natural cooperativeness of humanity to thrive in smaller consensus-based entities. Russian anarchists assassinated the reformist Tsar Alexander II in 1881, on the day he approved a limited form of parliamentary government. His son, Alexander III, rejected political reforms and was also murdered by anarchists in 1894. His son, Nicholas II, was also not open to any checks on his absolute power.

The inflexibility shown by Tsar Nicholas II toward his people did not bode well in the long run as the Russian people were not willing to relent in their demand for political rights and economic well being. In 1905, the priest, Gregory Gapon, led workers in a peaceful demonstration. They addressed Nicholas II directly, presenting their demands. Part of their petition reads,

> *Despotism and arbitrariness are suffocating us, we are gasping for breath. Sovereign, we have no strength left. We have reached the limit of our patience. We have come to that terrible moment when it is better to die than to continue unbearable sufferings. And so we left our work and declared to our employers that we will not return to work until they meet our demands.*

Ongoing conflict of this nature contributed to the Russian Revolution as will be covered in a later chapter.

In the late 19th century, the Tsarist autocracy encouraged anti-Semitism, the idea that Jews were the cause of political, economic, and social problems, and needed to be controlled or subdued. Many Jewish Russians who had lived in territory taken from Poland in the 1790s, were blamed for misfortunes like economic downturns or the deaths of babies or cattle, and attacked in violent pogroms. Although Jews had lived in the region for centuries, the Tsars restricted their ability to own land and to exercise certain professions.

Attacks on Jewish communities and neighborhoods occurred with frightening frequency from the 1880s until the eve of World War One. In 1903, pogroms, or mass killings, went on in Russia in places such as Kishinev and Melitopol (Ukraine). In Odessa in 1905, hundreds of Jews lost their lives in violent attacks. This loss of life received international condemnation and was regarded as proof of Tsarist Russia's backwardness. In total, tens of thousands of Jews lost their lives in these attacks. When possible, Russian Jews migrated to the United States to escape persecution. Other minority groups also suffered under Tsarist autocratic rule: the Poles, Finns, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Romanians.

The Decline of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

Since the late 13th century, the Habsburg Dynasty ruled Austria and its surrounding regions. During the Protestant Reformation which began during the 16th century, the Habsburgs fought to maintain Catholicism as the official religion of their realm. From their center in Vienna, the Habsburgs controlled regions as far as the Spanish Empire, including the Spanish-American colonies, through strategic marriages. The Spanish line of the Habsburgs died out in 1700, but the Austrian Habsburgs reigned until the end of WWI in 1918.

For centuries, the Habsburg monarchs were designated by the Catholic Church as the Holy Roman Emperors. By the end of the Napoleonic period in 1815, the Habsburg Empire dominated southeastern Europe, up to the borders of the Ottoman and Russian empires. The Holy Roman Emperors felt a kinship with Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule—Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians. They also supported Catholics of the Ottoman region, such as the Croats, and maintained support for the Catholic Church.

Although the Habsburg Empire was united by religion, like the Ottoman Empire, it was weakened by emerging independence movements by the middle of the nineteenth century. Various ethnic and cultural groups such as the Hungarians, Czechs, Ukrainians, Poles, Slovaks, Romanians, Jews, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and Albanians sought their own nationhood. This political aim took full expression during a series of revolutions in 1848. In the midst of this ferment, several regions gained greater autonomy, revolutionaries achieved the abolition of serfdom, and Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew, Franz Josef.

Unification of Italy and Germany in 1871 allowed the Hungarians, who became the most numerous minority within the realm, to achieve near-complete independence. In 1867, the Habsburg emperor agreed to establish a "dual monarchy," the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Administration was divided between Austrian and Hungarian parliaments. This compromise merely spread out the nationalist problem for two kings instead of one. Romanians demanded more autonomy from the Hungarian administration in Budapest, while the Czechs demanded more autonomy from the Austrian government in Vienna.

? Review Questions

- What factors account for the decline of the Ottoman Empire?
- How was Russia an oppressive empire in the late 1800s?

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6.2: The British Commonwealth and the Spread of the British Empire

The British Commonwealth: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand

While the British North American colonies achieved independence and became the new nation of the United States, British control of Canada and islands in the Caribbean was retained. The French-speaking Quebecois and the British in Ontario found common cause and allied together against the United States in 1775 and 1812. After the War of 1812, the European population of Canada increased exponentially. This had negative ramifications for the indigenous peoples in terms of disease, warfare, displacement, and state control over their lives.

With the British North America Act of 1867, Canada became a self governing nation within the British empire. This new Dominion of Canada combined Quebec, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and New Brunswick with John A. MacDonald as the nation's first Prime Minister. MacDonald negotiated the purchase of the Northwest Territories from the Hudson's Bay company in 1869, and convinced the people of Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia to join the Dominion of Canada.

MacDonald realized that Canada's western and eastern coastal regions needed a transcontinental railroad to bind them together. Construction started in 1881 and by 1885, the Canadian Pacific Railroad was completed. The C.P. Railroad operates just north of the border with the U.S. (see Figure 6.2.1). Several lines from Canada connected to U.S. cities such as Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Detroit, and Chicago. Even today, 90% of Canada's population lives within 100 miles of the U.S. border. Figure 6.2.1 shows the extensive network of railroads that united Canadians from coast to coast. Several hotels and were built along the railroads to encourage travel and tourism. Canadian Pacific Railway is one of Canada's most influential corporations. It is still one of the most effective transport systems for the Canadian economy.

Figure 6.2.1: Map of the Canadian railway network close to U.S. borders, Central Data Bank, in the Public Domain.

Between 1788 and 1859, the British created six colonies in Australia, which they settled with convicts. Most of the crimes were petty or related to debt, while some were political, such as Irish protest of English rule. The British also annexed New Zealand in 1840, assisted by a joint stock company called the New Zealand Company.

In both Australia and New Zealand, native peoples lost land in much the same manner as in British North America. In Australia, the vast continent allowed aborigines to retreat, until environmental and other factors brought them into increasing contact with the settlers and their descendants. In New Zealand, relations between the native Maori and the settlers followed a pattern similar to those of the western United States: treaties made, treaties broken, wars fought and won by the settlers, who took more land. Figure

6.2.2 is an oil painting of Maori woman in traditional dress in 1890. She is wearing a hei-tiki around her neck, earrings, and two huia feathers in her hair. She has a moko design on her chin. Before the arrival of Europeans Maori women played an active role in their society and could inherit property. However, European imperialism created gender inequalities among the Maori. Respect and celebration of some Maori rights and culture have become integral to New Zealand identity in recent decades.

Figure 6.2.2: c. 1890, Maori woman wearing a hei-tiki around her neck, Alexander Turnbull Library, in the Public Domain.

British India and the Beginning of the Independence Movement

When the British East India Company began its conquest of India in the early seventeenth century, the Mughal Empire was at its height and its emperors were wealthier than all the European monarchs combined. During the eighteenth century, India was still the world's largest producer of cotton, especially in the region of Bengal. Mughal art, architecture and science flourished and these legacies are still widely appreciated today. Figure 6.2.3 shows three of the most important Mughal emperors, namely Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jahan, sitting regally on their ornamented thrones. Below them is an opulent carpet and the emperors' ministers stand deferentially ready to explain documents related to imperial administration. The painting in Figure 6.2.3 was made for emperor Shah Jahan during the seventeenth century to illustrate the dynasty's lineage. Akbar is seated in the center and Shah Jahan is seated to his right and is receiving the emblem of imperial authority from his grandfather, Akbar. Shah Jahan's father, Jahangir, is seated to the left of Akbar.

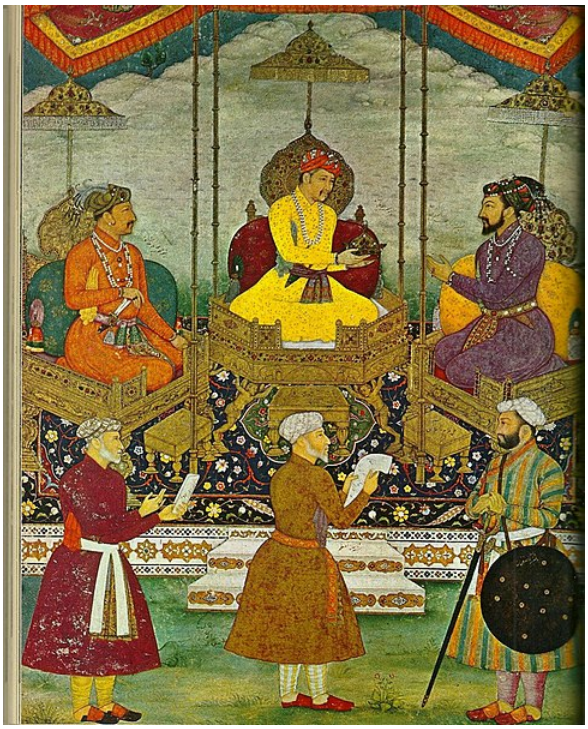

Figure 6.2.3: c. 1610, Mughal Emperors Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan with their ministers, Chester Beatty Library, in the Public Domain.

Gradually, the Mughal's reign began to weaken as the EIC encroached politically and militarily on its territory. The EIC expanded its trading activities, and slowly took over regional principalities, splitting them off from Mughal control. By the middle of the 19th century, the EIC controlled most of modern day India, Pakistan, Burma, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. The EIC began shifting away from simply trading, and began reorganizing the Indian economy, clearing forests, and establishing the widespread cultivation of tea, coffee, and cotton. The EIC developed the cultivation of opium in India in order to smuggle it into Qing Dynasty China, though it was illegal in both Britan and China.

The British Crown took over direct control of the colony in 1858 after an uprising called the Sepoy Mutiny. The people of India were coerced to produce agricultural products for the metropole, and the country's raw materials were extracted to provide for Britain's growing industrial economy. Once products were manufactured in Britain using raw materials from the colony, Indians, in turn, were made to purchase these mass-produced textiles and other goods from British factories as a **"captive market."** Likewise, railways were constructed in India to facilitate the movement of goods and resources and to help facilitate imperial expansion rather than to develop and enhance the lives of the colonized populations of India. This economic system geared toward British economic profitability was attractive to other European empires, influencing, as discussed below, a scramble for colonies in Africa in the late nineteenth century. As can be imagined, this system was not attractive to Indians who wished for a better life in an independent India.

There were "princely states" within British India that were nominally independent, though they still were subject to supervision and control by British authorities. Newer research delves into the internal developments and uniqueness of the princely states and the resistance to British rule that they were able to weave into their societies. Figure 6.2.4 shows a 1909 map of India with British territories in shades of pink and the princely states in shades of yellow. The map was produced by the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

Figure 6.2.4: 1909 Map of the British Indian Empire from Imperial Gazetteer of India. Edinburgh Geographical Institute, in the Public Domain.

By the 1850s, the British had established schools to instruct the local Indian elite in English, engineering, science, and British imperial law. Initially, training and educating Indians began with the formation of army and police forces commanded by British officers. Later this training included local administrators who spoke English and applied British imperial laws.

Some Indians worked in British colonies in Africa, where they operated railways and the postal service. Some worked as carpenters and bricklayers constructing government offices and private homes for the new colonial political and commercial elites. Indian shopkeepers played an enormous role in the local economies of these colonies into the 20th century. Some Indians migrated to Great Britain’s territories in the Caribbean as indentured servants. In Guyana, South America, over 40% of the population is of Indian descent today.

Mohandas K. Gandhi is an example of someone who was trained to work for the British colonial regime. Figure 6.2.5 is a black and white portrait photo taken in 1909 of M.K. Gandhi in a western style suit and tie. After attending a British school in India, Gandhi went to London and studied law. Upon graduating, he went to South Africa and practiced law for twenty-five years before advocating for Indian independence. In India his admirers called him Mahatma, which means the "great soul" in Sanskrit, as an expression of his wisdom and courage.

Figure 6.2.5: Photograph of M.K. Gandhi in South Africa in 1909, in the Public Domain.

The path taken by Gandhi was duplicated in other European colonies. Educated local elites and professionals also began to demand greater autonomy and political rights. Their education provided them with the means to study their own histories, religions, and cultures. They found a sense of pride and identity in these studies, leveled sophisticated critiques of their colonizers, and articulated a collective desire for independence from colonial rule.

? Review Questions

- What was the status of Canada with the passage of the British North America Act of 1867?
- What is a "captive market" and how did this work in India?

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6.3: China and Japan

The Opium Wars

By the mid-1700s, the British East India Company (EIC) dominated the administration of India but was facing an imbalance of trade with Qing China. British demand for Chinese tea, porcelain, and silk was greater than the Chinese demand for British goods. In addition, the only payment Qing officials would accept in exchange for their goods was silver. Since British merchants could not collect enough silver to pay for the trade goods they wanted, the EIC found a way to reverse the trade imbalance: smuggling opium into China.

After they took control of Calcutta, India in 1756, the EIC expanded the production of opium in India and began smuggling it into China. Although the Qing had outlawed opium imports in 1729, the EIC's smuggling activities led more than 1% of China's 400 million people to become addicted to it. China shifted from being a magnet for silver with a huge trade surplus to a net importer whose treasuries were rapidly dwindling. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, an annual average of 4,500 trunks of opium were transported by the EIC and smuggled into China. By 1839, over 40,000 133-pound trunks of opium were smuggled into China. Some Chinese officials wanted to legalize opium so the empire could tax it, but Confucian moralists won the policy debate and opium continued to be illegal in China. A handful of U.S. business entities also smuggled opium into China.

In 1839, the emperor sent one of China's most distinguished officials, Lin Zexu, to the trading settlement of Canton to stamp out the opium trade. Lin blockaded the European trading district, raided and searched the foreigners' warehouses, confiscated 20,000 chests containing 1200 tons of opium, and dumped it into the ocean. The EIC complained about its losses in London, and Queen Victoria sent a naval fleet including four steam-powered battleships. Lightly-armored Chinese war junks, designed to fight river pirates, were severely outgunned. The limited range of Qing cannon compared to British artillery allowed the invaders to pummel Chinese defenses from a safe distance. This conflict is the first of two **Opium Wars**. Figure 6.3.1 shows the East India Company steam ship *Nemesis*, along with a couple of rowing boats on the side, destroying the Chinese war junks in Anson's Bay, on 7 January 1841. There is an explosion in the background. Many people can be seen in the water and clinging on to debris throughout the scene.

The 1842 Treaty of Nanking, called the "Unequal Treaty" by the Chinese, forced the Chinese to accept the opium trade operated by British merchants. According to this treaty, the Qing government also had to open five Chinese ports to European traders, gave the British the island of Hong Kong, and required China to establish diplomatic relations with Britain as an equal power. The Chinese could no longer treat foreigners as barbarians unworthy of official notice. The Chinese were also made to pay Britain for the opium Lin had destroyed. The U.S. counterpart to the Treaty of Nanking was the Treaty of Wangxia, the first treaty signed between the U.S. and China in 1844.

Figure 6.3.1: British EIC Destruction of Chinese war junks, painted by Edward Duncan, in the Public Domain.

China was defeated by the British again in the Second Opium War (1857-59) that resulted in another unequal treaty. The Chinese had to open even more ports for international trade, accept foreign merchants and missionaries traveling anywhere in China, and to set a low import tariff on imported goods, giving foreign merchants an upper hand in their trade transactions.

By the end of the nineteenth century, over 90 ports of call were available to more than 300,000 European and American traders, diplomats, and missionaries. The weakness of the Qing empire against foreign aggression was exacerbated by the ongoing opium crisis and by crumbling infrastructure and famine in the countryside. Magistrates and officials addicted to opium were ineffective and often diverted money that should have been spent maintaining dams and irrigation canals to their own uses.

By 1900, several countries began to carve up Chinese territory into “spheres of influence” where they conducted further trade, resource extraction, and in some cases, Christian missionary activity. These countries included Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. Chinese frustration and anger over the loss of control in their own country led to events such as 1850-1864 Taiping Rebellion.

The leader of the Taiping rebellion was a man named Hong Xiuquan who claimed to be the younger brother of Jesus. Hong preached that he was on a mission from God to save the poor and suffering populations of China. He gained followers by teaching equality among men and women and the elimination of private property. Historians believe that up to 30 million people may have died as Hong's armies conquered 17 provinces over a 14 year period. Hong's armies killed those who opposed his movement. Others died from disease and starvation due to the destruction caused by Hong's military offensives. Chinese cultural traditions such as pottery with its imperial kilns were also dealt a severe blow from which they did not recover, during and after the Taiping Rebellion.

Conflict Between China and Japan

By the 1890s, China also faced the rapidly industrializing Japanese Empire. Since the 1870s, Japan embarked on a policy of industrialization and territorial expansion in order to keep up with the United States and Europe. In less than thirty years, the Japanese reconstructed their government, initiated their own industrial revolution, and modernized their military based on U.S. and European models. They hired military, scientific, and diplomatic advisers from the U.S., France, Germany, and the Netherlands. They adopted western cultural practices, from using pencils and constructing railroads, to abandoning samurai culture for western style military suits. The samurai warriors cut their hair which had traditionally been tied into a topknot.

Despite these dramatic changes, Japan suffered a lack of natural resources needed for industrialization, namely, coal, iron ore, and oil. To acquire both resources and markets, the Japanese government followed the example of European colonial regimes. They claimed territory in China and with assistance from the British, and were victorious in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. With this

humiliating defeat, the Qing Chinese rulers were forced to grant control of the Ryukyu Islands and Taiwan to Japan, and Japanese trading rights in Korea and Manchuria.

Toward the End of the Qing Dynasty

Facing economic decline since the Opium Wars, social disintegration continued with increased opium addiction. Continued Qing political and military weakness made China further subject to colonial domination. In this context, the Boxer Rebellion broke out among its people. The Boxer Rebellion was an anti-colonial, anti-Christian revolt led by martial artists who called themselves the Righteous Fists, or “Boxers” by Westerners. The Boxers believed they were impervious to foreign weapons and marched into Beijing intending to help the imperial government exterminate the foreigners.

An eight-nation alliance, which included European nations, the U.S., and Japan, sent 19,000 troops to fight the Boxers. The foreign soldiers freed the legations besieged in the capital, but they also looted Beijing and the surrounding countryside and summarily executed anyone suspected of being a Boxer. With the suppression of the rebellion by foreign troops, the Qing government agreed to pay an indemnity of 450 million taels of silver to the allies (worth about $10 billion today).

The abject state of the Qing dynasty and the increasing regional power of Japan set the scene for China to become a battlefield for territorial conflicts between Russia, Japan, and the United States. The United States acquired the Philippine Islands from Spain after the 1898 war, and immediately began projecting its own political and commercial power into East Asia. Coming late to the imperial game in China, the United States sought to limit the existing “spheres of influence” and prevent new ones from being imposed by either Russia or Japan. U.S. diplomats advocated for an “Open Door Policy” in China, in which the Qing Empire would not limit any commercial activity by outside powers.

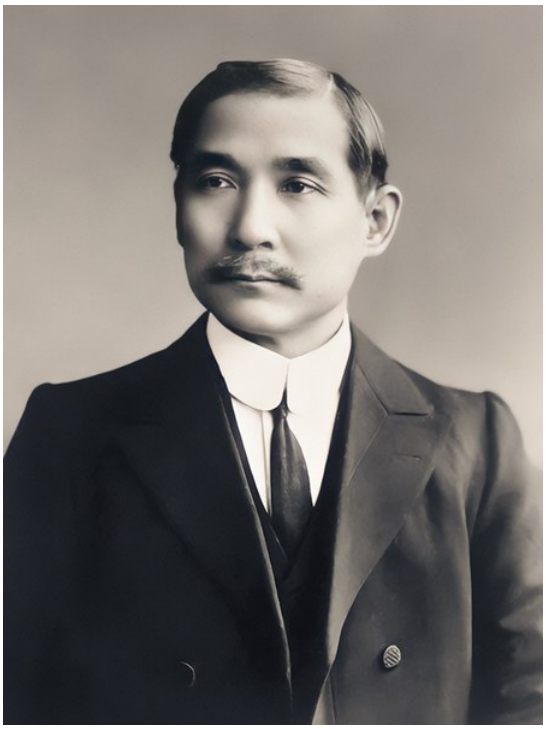

Figure 6.3.2: 1911 Portrait of Sun Yat-Sen, National Museum of China, in the Public Domain.

The most inspirational leader of the modernizers was Sun Yat-sen. Born in 1866, he moved to the then independent Kingdom of Hawaii, where an older brother owned a farm. While in Hawaii, Sun Yat-Sen completed his secondary education at a U.S. missionary school and then studied medicine in Hong Kong. Soon after, Sun Yat-Sen began promoting the end of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of a Chinese republic. Because of his opposition to the Qing, Sun lived in exile in Hawaii, Japan, Malaysia, Canada, and Europe, where he formed the alliance which would end the Qing regime in the 1911 Xinhai Revolution. Figure 6.3.2 is a black and white photo of Sun Yat-sen in a western suit and tie, taken in December 1911 after he returned to China from overseas. Sun Yat-sen was the first leader of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) and the first provisional president of the Republic of China. In Taiwan, he is referred to as the "Father of the Nation."

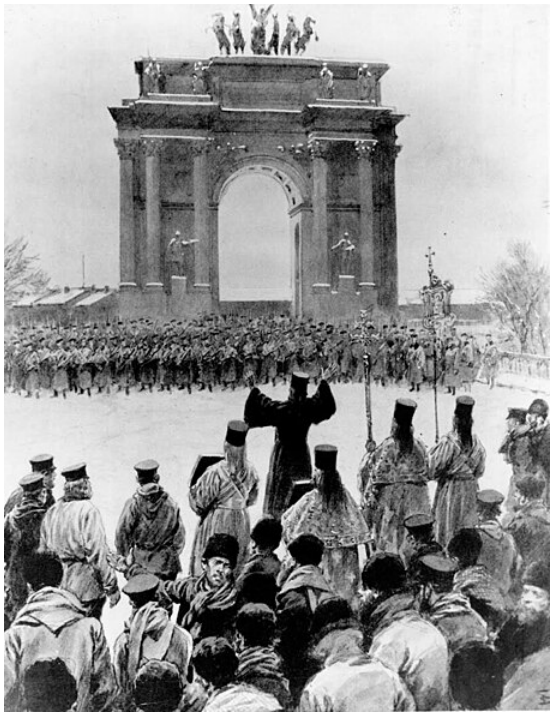

Figure 6.3.3: Crowd facing armed soldiers in Moscow, 1905, in the Public Domain

Japan versus Russia

In 1900, Russia occupied Manchuria and came into conflict with Japanese interests on the Korean peninsula. This led to the **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904-5. After the Japanese Navy sank the main battleships of Russia's Pacific fleet in the 1904 Battle of Port Arthur and held off the Russian army, the world realized the power of an organized and industrialized Japan. The Europeans and Americans had to consider the Japanese as equals, while colonized peoples realized that the Europeans were not invincible.

Russia's defeat by the Japanese highlighted the ineffectiveness of the Tsarist regime. By this time, workers who had been living in the cities wanted the Tsar to help to improve their working conditions and wages. At the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg in January 1905, a priest, George Gapon, presented a petition signed by 135,000 workers asking for these changes. Rather than show concern for the workers' concerns, the Tsar's palace guards fired upon the peaceful crowd. This "Bloody Sunday" increased demands for reform, including widespread support for a parliamentary monarch. Figure 6.3.3 is a black and white image that shows armed imperial soldiers facing Father Gapon and unarmed petitioners standing in the snow outside the Tsar's palace in St. Petersburg.

In an attempt to appeal to the Russian people, the Tsar sent most of the Russian Baltic Fleet to retake Port Arthur from the Japanese. However, two thirds of the Russian ships were sunk by the Japanese fleet in the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905. Later that year in October 1905, Tsar Nicolas II acquiesced to the formation of an elected parliament and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. However, he soon reneged on granting full oversight powers to this new legislature, preferring to retain his traditional role as an absolute monarch.

Tsar Nicholas II also agreed to end the unpopular war with Imperial Japan. Peace between the Russians and Japanese was negotiated in Portsmouth, Maine, in the United States, highlighting the increased importance of the U.S. in world affairs. Figure 6.3.4 shows the Russian and Japanese delegates, dressed in suits, at a reception for the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth negotiations. The treaty was mediated by President Theodore Roosevelt and signed in New Hampshire. For his role in helping to end the war, President Theodore Roosevelt was awarded the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize. Japan took over Russia's "sphere of influence" on China's Liaotung Peninsula and was recognized as the sole power in Korea, which became part of the Japanese Empire in 1910. This event was part of the movement toward Japanese imperialism. Like other colonial regimes, Japan was seeking overseas markets, territorial expansion, and international stature.

Figure 6.3.4: Delegates reception - Negotiations for the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth, Photograph by W.G.C. Kimball, in the Public Domain.

By the time the peace treaty was signed between Russia and Japan in 1905, the Qing empire was devolving into a series of warlord-controlled regions. The Empress Dowager, Cixi, who had wielded effective power for nearly five decades died in 1908. She was replaced by the five-year-old Prince Puyi as Emperor. It was not long before modernizing forces within China soon overthrew the imperial system. This monumental shift in Chinese politics is memorialized in the 1987 movie, "The Last Emperor."

? Primary Source: 1839-Letter from Qing Dynasty Commissioner Lin to the British Queen Victoria

Looking over the public documents accompanying the tribute sent (by your predecessors) on various occasions, we find the following: "All the people of my country, arriving at the Central Land for purposes of trade, have to feel grateful to the great emperor for the most perfect justice, for the kindest treatment," and other words to that effect. Delighted did we feel that the kings of your honorable nation so clearly understood the great principles of propriety, and were so deeply grateful for the heavenly goodness (of our emperor):—therefore, it was that we of the heavenly dynasty nourished and cherished your people from afar, and bestowed upon them redoubled proofs of our urbanity and kindness. It is merely from these circumstances, that your country— deriving immense advantage from its commercial intercourse with us, which has endured now two hundred years—has become the rich and flourishing kingdom that it is said to be!

But, during the commercial intercourse which has existed so long, among the numerous foreign merchants resorting hither, are wheat and tares, good and bad; and of these latter are some, who, by means of introducing opium by stealth, have seduced our Chinese people, and caused every province of the land to overflow with that poison. These then know merely to advantage themselves, they care not about injuring others! This is a principle which heaven's Providence repugnates; and which mankind conjointly look upon with abhorrence! Moreover, the great emperor hearing of it, actually quivered with indignation, and especially dispatched me, the commissioner, to Canton, that in conjunction with the viceroy and lieut.-governor of the province, means might be taken for its suppression!

Every native of the Inner Land who sells opium, as also all who smoke it, are alike adjudged to death. Were we then to go back and take up the crimes of the foreigners, who, by selling it for many years have induced dreadful calamity and robbed us of enormous wealth, and punish them with equal severity, our laws could not but award to them absolute annihilation! But, considering that these said foreigners did yet repent of their crime, and with a sincere heart beg for mercy; that they took 20,283 chests of opium piled up in their store-ships, and through Elliot, the superintendent of the trade of your said country, petitioned that they might be delivered up to us, when the same were all utterly destroyed, of which we, the imperial commissioner and colleagues, made a duly prepared memorial to his majesty;—considering these circumstances, we have happily received a fresh proof of the extraordinary goodness of the great emperor, inasmuch as he who voluntarily comes forward, may yet be deemed a fit subject for mercy, and his crimes be graciously remitted him. But as for him who again

knowingly violates the laws, difficult indeed will it be thus to go on repeatedly pardoning! He or they shall alike be doomed to the penalties of the new statute. We presume that you, the sovereign of your honorable nation, on pouring out your heart before the altar of eternal justice, cannot but command all foreigners with the deepest respect to reverence our laws! If we only lay clearly before your eyes, what is profitable and what is destructive, you will then know that the statutes of the heavenly dynasty cannot but be obeyed with fear and trembling.

Your honorable nation takes away the products of our central land, and not only do you thereby obtain food and support for yourselves, but moreover, by re-selling these products to other countries you reap a threefold profit. Now if you would only not sell opium, this threefold profit would be secured to you: how can you possibly consent to forgo it for a drug that is hurtful to men, and an unbridled craving after gain that seems to know no bounds! Let us suppose that foreigners came from another country, and brought opium into England, and seduced the people of your country to smoke it, would not you, the sovereign of the said country, look upon such a procedure with anger, and in your just indignation endeavor to get rid of it? Now we have always heard that your highness possesses a most kind and benevolent heart, surely then you are incapable of doing or causing to be done unto another, that which you should not wish another to do unto you.

Our celestial empire rules over ten thousand kingdoms! Most surely do we possess a measure of godlike majesty which ye cannot fathom! Still we cannot bear to slay or exterminate without previous warning, and it is for this reason that we now clearly make known to you the fixed laws of our land. If the foreign merchants of your said honorable nation desire to continue their commercial intercourse, they then must tremblingly obey our recorded statutes, they must cut off for ever the source from which the opium flows, and on no account make an experiment of our laws in their own persons! Let then your highness punish those of your subjects who may be criminal, do not endeavor to screen or conceal them, and thus you will secure peace and quietness to your possessions, thus will you more than ever display a proper sense of respect and obedience, and thus may we unitedly enjoy the common blessings of peace and happiness. What greater joy! What more complete felicity than this!

Let your highness immediately, upon the receipt of this communication, inform us promptly of the state of matters, and of the measure you are pursuing utterly to put a stop to the opium evil. Please let your reply be speedy. Do not on any account make excuses or procrastinate.

Source: Digital China / Harvard

? Review Questions

- How was China in crisis during the 1800s?
- What kind of changes did Japan undergo as it pursued its industrial revolution?

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6.4: The United States Civil War and United States Imperialism

Slavery and the United States Civil War

Cotton production was central to the U.S. economy from the time Eli Whitney patented the cotton gin in 1794. Though Whitney is often credited with inventing the cotton gin, in fact, he modified the double roller already in use in India for millenia. The cultivation of cotton began in ancient India, including the inventions of a single and then double roller cotton gin. Cotton production fueled economic growth in the U.S., Britain, and around the world.

By 1820, the U.S. surpassed India as the world's leading producer of cotton. By 1860, the U.S. exported 2/3 of the world's cotton. As forced labor in producing the cotton, slaves suffered while creating wealth for slaveholders, merchants, and people in ancillary businesses such as shipbuilding and insurance. Cotton plantation holders had no motivation to end an institution that was at the heart of their wealth and economy. Newer research addresses slave resistance and struggles against oppression.

The most famous slave revolts were Gabriel's rebellion in 1800 and Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. Both were in Virginia. The first abolitionists were the slaves themselves as the idea of human freedom could never be stamped out. Figure 6.4.1 shows a woodcut of the Southampton County (Virginia) insurrection in two panels: the top panel depicts slaves killing a woman and children as well as the owner of Nat Turner. The bottom panel shows a group of soldiers chasing the rebels. The woodcut shown in Figure 6.4.1 was created in 1831, the year of Nat Turner's Rebellion.

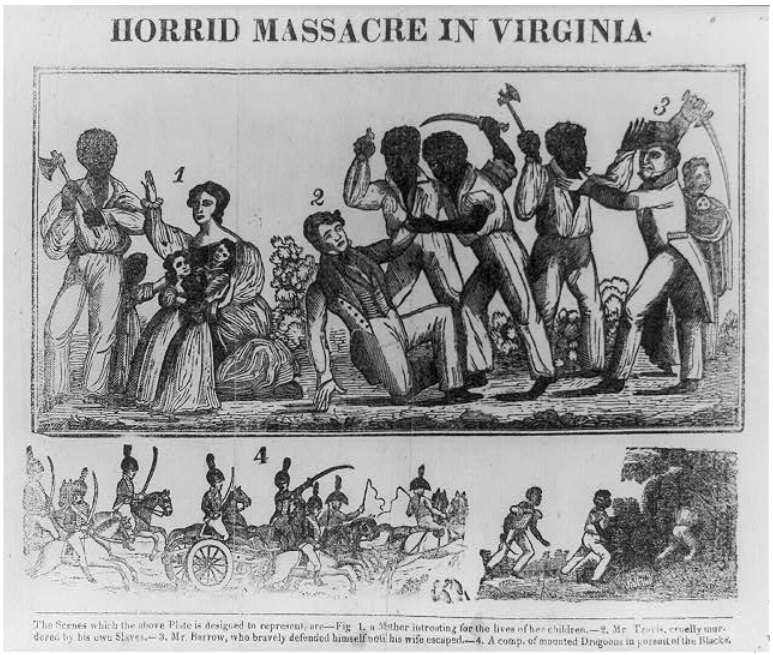

Figure 6.4.1: 1831 woodcut image of Nat Turner's Rebellion. Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

As the abolitionist movement spread grew in the north and Abraham Lincoln was elected as President of the U.S. in 1860, plantation owners in the Southern states knew that their profits from cotton production, dependent on slave labor, was at risk. This led to the creation of the Confederate States of America and the secession of 11 states from the Union at the end of 1860 and the beginning of 1861. During the U.S. Civil War, many Southerners believed that Britain and perhaps France would support its secessionist cause since its manufacturers were dependent on cotton from the U.S. Some Southerners argued that this assumption was wrong. The Governor of Texas at the time, Sam Houston, wrote,

> The secession leaders also tell us if war should come, that European Nations will speedily come to our relief, and aid us to win our independence because cotton is King and European commerce and civilization can not long exist without cotton, therefore they must help us maintain and perpetuate our Confederate government…Never was a more false or absurd statement ever made by designing demagogues.

Houston went on to warn that secession would lead to, "...anarchy and utter ruin…the fearful conflict will fill our fair land with untold suffering, misfortune and disaster." Indeed by the time the Civil War was over, it was the largest war in the all of the

Americas leading to 750,000 dead. Houston lived just long enough to see his prognostication come true.

The Civil War, like the Crimean a few years earlier, was one of the first modern wars that brought new technology to the battlefield. Railroads and steamboats made troop transportation quicker and more efficient, while the electric telegraph not only improved military communication, but also made war news more immediately available to the newspaper-reading public in the U.S. and abroad. The industrialized northern states benefited the most from the new technologies. They could produce more war material and get troops to the front more quickly than the South, which lagged in both industry and railroads. Warfare around the world had changed with the industrial revolution and each new development made killing faster and easier, a problem we face today.

Figure 6.4.2 shows war dead from the battle at Antietam on September 17, 1862. Hagerstown Pike is on the right side of the post-and-fence rail. It was one of the deadliest days in U.S. military history. Almost 28,000 men were dead, missing, or injured. 3,700 of those died. Alexander Gardner was the first photographer to capture dead soldiers on a battlefield. His images shocked the nation and brought the realities of war to people who would have never seen these kinds of atrocities before.

Figure 6.4.2: Dead bodies on the battlefield at Antietam, Alexander Gardner, in the Public Domain.

179,000 African-Americans fought on the Union side in the Civil War, making up 10% of the northern fighting forces. An additional 19,000 African-American sailors served in the Union Navy. African-American women also served in the Civil War as nurses and spies. The most well-known woman was Harriet Tubman, famous for her crucial role in the Underground Railroad. Figure 6.4.3 shows an African-American infantry in formation in front of a long wood paneled building. Each of the men holds a rifle-musket. They were part of Company E, 4th United States Colored Infantry. Theirs was one of the detachments assigned to guard the nation's capital during the American Civil War.

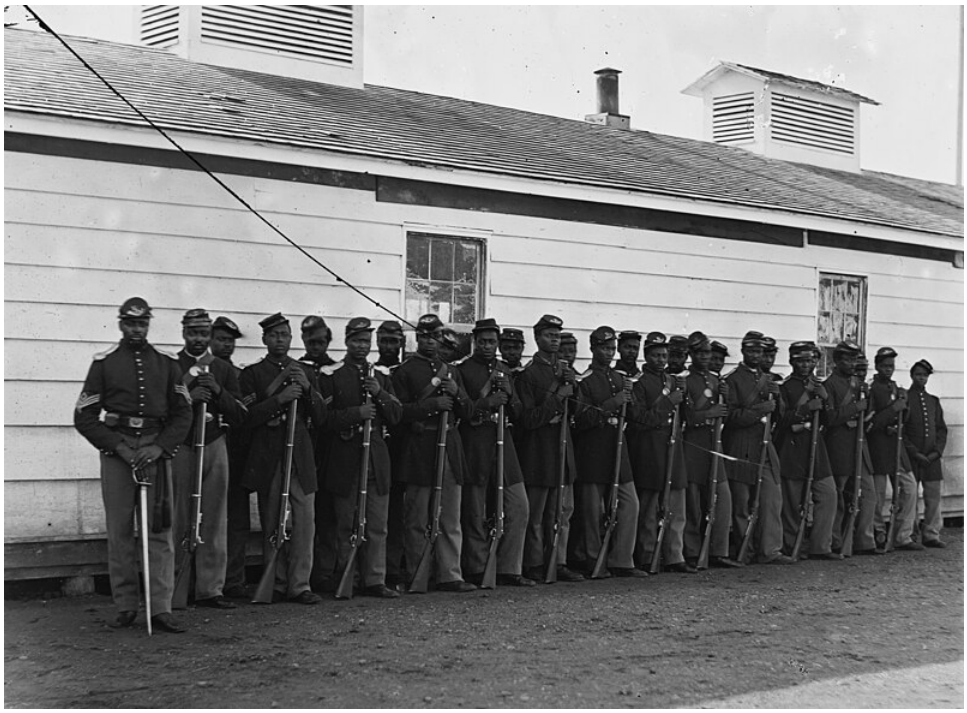

Figure 6.4.3: Photograph of African-American Infantry, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain

Even though slavery was abolished with the 13th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, social and legislative treatment of African-Americans remained oppressive and exploitative for the next one hundred years. African-Americans were not provided equal treatment despite the 14th amendment to the Constitution, and were blocked from voting despite the 15th amendment to the Constitution. Though the 15th amendment stated that voting could not be abridged on the basis of race or previous servitude, the loophole was that it did not rule out suppressing the vote by mandating fees or educational requirements. Not until the Civil Rights movement during the 20th century would basic human rights be enforced.

U.S. Imperialism: The Spanish-American War of 1898

In 1890, Alfred Thayar Mahan published a book called, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*. As a naval officer, historian, and president of the United States War College, Mahan argued that the United States needed to increase its naval power in order to gain status as a world power. He also argued that the U.S. needed overseas markets in order to sell the overabundance of products produced in the nation. His message did not go unheeded. By 1900 the U.S. Naval fleet had grown by over 100 steel ships and several battleships, so that it was the second largest in the world, behind only the British Navy.

Since the 1820s, merchants and Christian missionaries from the United States had been living to Hawaii, cooperating with Native Hawaiian elites, expropriating land, and starting businesses. U.S. influence over island affairs and native government increased as the decades wore on. Figure 6.4.4 depicts **Crown Princess Lili'uokalani** in a formal gown that was made for her trip to London, along with her mother Queen Kapi`olani, for Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebration in 1887. The black and white photograph was taken in London and showcases a diamond butterfly brooch in her hair that the princess bought in London.

Queen Lili'uokalani ruled as the last monarch of Hawaii from 1891 to 1893. In January 1893, businessman Sanford Dole, staged a coup d'etat, and overthrew Queen Lili'uokalani. The U.S. Minister to Hawaii, John Stevens, recognized Dole as the head of state and named Hawaii as a U.S. Protectorate. From that point on, Native Hawaiian people were required to sign a loyalty pledge to the U.S. if they wanted to vote or hold political office.

Figure 6.4.4: Photograph of Crown Princess Lili'uokalani in 1887, Hawaii State Archives, in the Public Domain.

From July 4, 1894 through August 12, 1898, Dole made himself President of the Republic of Hawaii and did not tolerate dissent. Those who protested found themselves in jail. In January of 1895, Queen Lili'uokalani was put in prison. She remained there until 1897, when she sailed to the U.S. to present a petition to the U.S. Congress. She had 20,000 signatures in support of a Hawaii under her own rule and against U.S. annexation.

On July 7, 1898, President William McKinley declared Hawaii a U.S. territory. Five days later, the U.S. Congress voted to annex Hawaii as a U.S. territory. For three years, from 1900-1903, Sanford Dole took the position of Governor of Hawaii. His governorship, therefore, followed his previous role as president as a result of the 1894-1898 coup d'etat. Until her death in 1917, Queen Lili'uokalani fought for Hawaiian independence and her people to no avail. Hawaii became the 50th state on August 21, 1959.

Hawaii was not the only annexation by the U.S. in 1898. Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were also affected by U.S. imperialism that same year. Between 1868-1878, Cubans fought for independence against Spanish colonial rule and for the end of slavery on the island. On December 27, 1868, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes wrote in his *Decree on Slavery* that, “Free Cuba is incompatible with Cuban slavery; and abolition of Spanish institutions must include, and the highest form of justice demands, the abolition of slavery, the most iniquitous Spanish institution of all.” Slavery was abolished in 1886 though Cuban fighting against Spanish rule continued.

In 1895, Cuban independence leader, Jose Marti, led an army of U.S. exiles into battle against the Spanish and lost his life. These kinds of armed conflicts pushed the Spanish to try even harder to hold onto their power as a colonial regime. The Spanish created reconcentration camps where rural Cubans were made to live, so that any rebels against Spanish rule might be discovered. Camp conditions led to the deaths of 170,000 Cubans. Figure 6.4.5 is a panel of 3 black and white photos taken by American and Cuban journalists between 1896 and 1897 of victims in reconcentration camps. The Spanish reconcentration policy was implemented by General Valeriano Weyler who relocated Cuba's rural population into concentration camps, where most people died from starvation or disease.

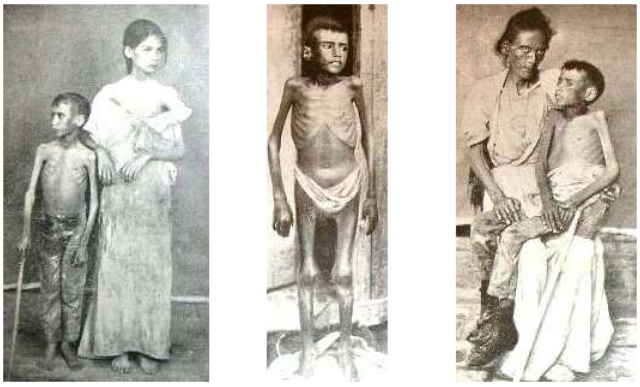

Figure 6.4.5: Photographs of victims of Spanish reconcentration camps in Cuba, in the Public Domain.

At the beginning of 1898, public opinion in the US was divided over entering the Cuban war for independence. U.S. companies built and owned much of the communications and transportation infrastructure on the island. U.S. smokers were the main consumers of Cuban cigars, and U.S. investors controlled the all-important sugar industry.

Major newspapers soon engaged in sensationalist reporting on Spain's crimes in Cuba in order to increase circulation. Media magnates William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer used what became known as "yellow journalism" to agitate for war. Yellow journalism, named after a popular cartoon character, "Yellow Kid," is the technique of using inflammatory headlines backed by little or no factual reporting to stir up public emotion. It is ironic that Pulitzer is now best known for the highest award in journalistic excellence, something he established in his will.

Alarmed about instability on the island, President McKinley sent the U.S. battleship *Maine* to Havana in order to protect U.S. business interests. The *Maine* mysteriously blew up in Havana harbor, killing scores of U.S. soldiers. The Spanish were immediately blamed by the sensationalist U.S. press. (Decades later, investigations showed that the explosion came from the inside and was an accident. The munitions room was located alongside the engine room.) As a result of the explosion, McKinley asked the U.S. Congress to declare war on Spain, and it did on April 25, 1898. Theodore Roosevelt, the Secretary of the Navy at the time, formed his own army unit he called the "Rough Riders" so that he would not miss out on what he called the "splendid little war" in Cuba. However, Black troops from the regular army had to save him and his men at the Battle of San Juan Hill. Figure 6.4.6 shows African American soldiers of the 25th Infantry charging up the hills of San Juan. The Battle of Kettle Hill, also known as San Juan Hill, was significant because it was the only battle that involved all four Buffalo Soldier regiments, the 9th and 10th Cavalry as well as the 24th and 25th Infantry.

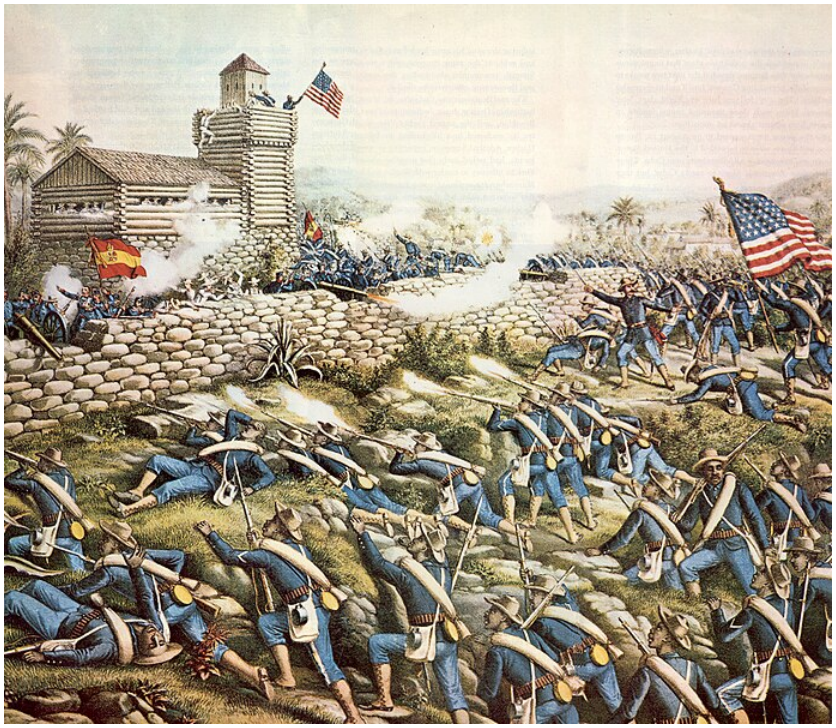

Figure 6.4.6: 1899 Lithograph of Black troops charging San Juan Hill. Kurz and Allison, in the Public Domain.

The most important fighting of the ten-week Spanish-American war was really at sea. The U.S. Navy sank the Spanish fleet in the Caribbean *and* in the Philippines, denying any possibility of the arrival of reinforcements and war material from Spain. At the end of the war in 1898, the Spanish Crown agreed to Cuban independence and relinquished control over Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. With the Treaty of Paris signed on December 10, 1898, the U.S. paid Spain $20 million dollars for the Philippines. Meanwhile, the U.S. annexed Puerto Rico and Guam, which are still U.S. territories today. Cuban nationalists excitedly shouted *Cuba Libre* (“Free Cuba”) with the establishment of a new republic, but Cuba was far from free.

The U.S. government demanded the right to intercede in the internal affairs of Cuba for any reason. The infamous “Platt Amendment” was forced into the constitution of the new Cuban republic, and U.S. Marines were sent periodically to change governments or put down rebellions. U.S. investors were leery of increased Afro-Cuban participation in politics, fearing popular uprisings on the island. U.S. interference in Cuban political and economic affairs continued until Fidel Castro led a successful coup d'etat against Fulgencio Batista in 1959. The outright annexation of the Philippines took a different form.

The Filipinos had already been fighting a war for independence against Spain since 1892. The Filipino middle class and intelligentsia sought home rule, the priests wanted an end to the Spanish monopoly of church power, and the workers were against unjust taxation and forced labor. From 1896 onward, Emilio Aguinaldo led the Filipino forces against Spain and joined the U.S. in their fight, also against Spain in 1898. Aguinaldo declared the Philippines independent on January 12, 1898, using the American Declaration of Independence as his inspiration. One year later, he was Aguinaldo was elected as president. The Filipinos had no desire to become a possession of the United States. Figure 6.4.7 shows pages from the Philippine Declaration of Independence issued on June 12, 1898. The document states that the people of the Philippine Islands,

> ...are and have the right to be free and independent; that they have ceased to have any allegiance to the Crown of Spain; that all political ties between them are and should be completely severed and annulled; and that, like other free and independent States, they enjoy the full power to make War and Peace, conclude commercial treaties, enter into alliances, regulate commerce, and do all other acts and things which an Independent State has a right to do...

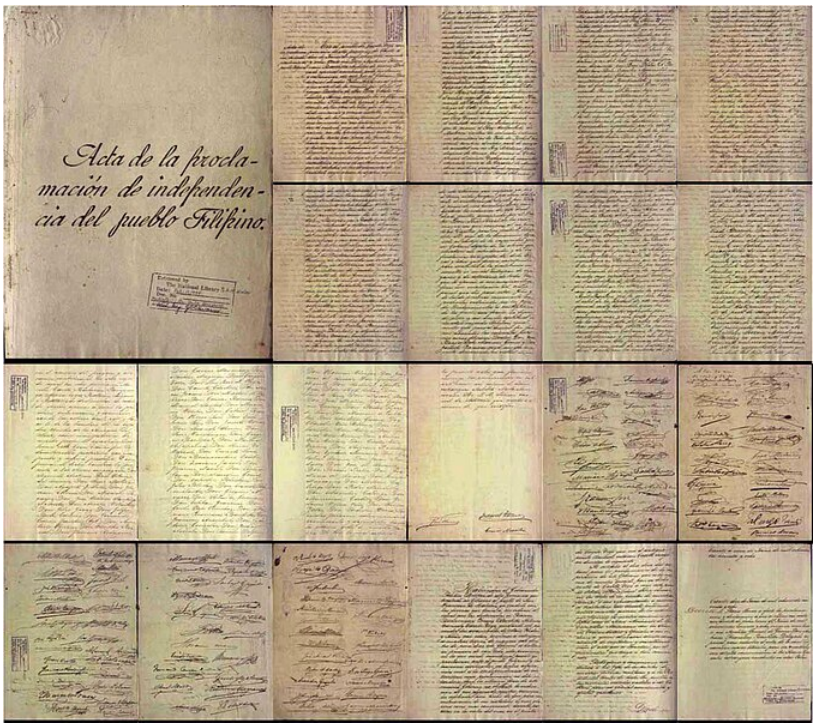

Figure 6.4.7: Declaration of Independence of the Philippines, June 12, 1898, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, National Library of the Philippines, in the Public Domain

The Filipino leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, was promised that the U.S. would recognize the independence of the Philippines, but instead, President McKinley issued a proclamation of “benevolent assimilation.” From 1899 to 1902, the Philippine-American War claimed 4,200 American lives and over 20,000 Filipino military deaths. In addition, more than 200,000 Filipino civilians died from disease, violence, or starvation. Figure 6.4.8 depicts dead bodies of Filipino insurgents in a circular trench on the first day of the Philippine-American War. The photograph was taken on February 5, 1899. As historian Paul Kramer points out, President Theodore Roosevelt cast the Philippine-American War as a race war, stating on Memorial Day at Arlington Cemetery on May 4, 1902, that it was, "the triumph of civilization over forces which stand for the black chaos or savagery and barbarism." Rudyard Kipling’s famous 1899 poem, “The White Man’s Burden,” was written in support of the U.S. effort to subdue the people of the Philippines. Like Roosevelt's message, the poem also centered racist ideology as justification for wars of empire. Scholars like historian Patrick Wolfe help make sense of this settler colonialism by defining race as a justification to expropriate land or exploit labor. It would be hard to justify war in the Philippines if the people were thought about as, and treated as, valuable human beings.

Figure 6.4.8: Filipino casualties on the first day of the Philippine-American War, February 5, 1899, U.S. Archives, in the Public Domain.

When the U.S. Navy destroyed the city of Iloilo to suppress the independence movement, Aguinaldo called on his people to engage in guerrilla warfare. In 1901, Aguinaldo was captured and forced to surrender. By 1902 most of the Filipino fighters had been pushed out of major cities. Nevertheless, resistance to U.S. control continued until 1913. During WWII, the Filipinos endured occupation by Imperial Japan. Finally with the end of WWII, the U.S. granted the Philippines its independence in 1946.

The Panama Canal

The 1848 discovery of gold in California brought the Colombian province of Panamato the attention of investors. The U.S. based Pacific Mail Steamship Company was founded in 1847. Its company sent the first steamship,*The California*, to sail from New York to Panama, leaving on October 6, 1848. From that point forward, steamships from the East Coast ports brought passengers there, who, by 1855, could take a U.S. built and owned railway to the Pacific side, embarking onto other steamers for the trip up to California. The Spanish-American War further highlighted the military importance of building a canal through the isthmus in Panama to shorten the time it takes to sail from the East Coast of the U.S. to the West Coast. The map of Panama in Figure 6.4.9 shows how the canal route that connected the Atlantic side of Panama to the Pacific side of Panama.

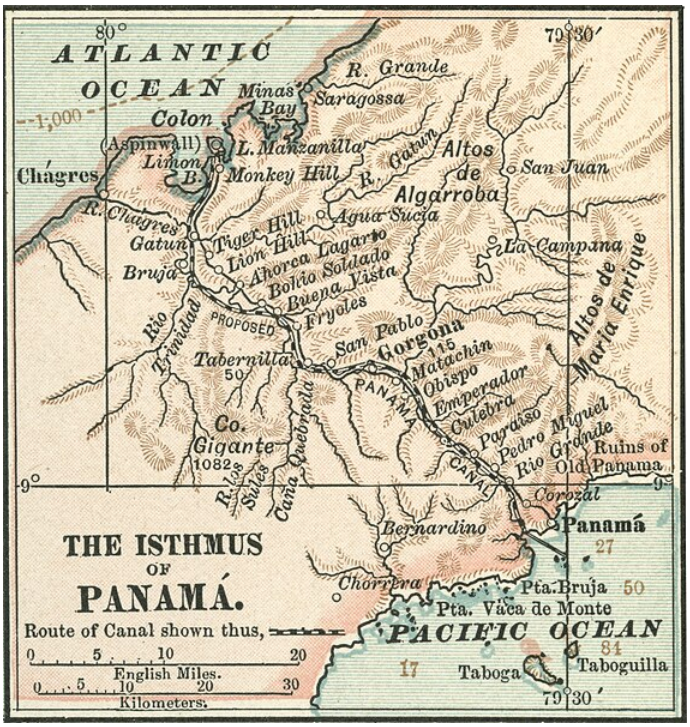

Figure 6.4.9: Map of the Isthmus of Panama, Encyclopedia Britannica, in the Public Domain.

French diplomat Ferdinand Marie de Lesseps was responsible for securing funding for the Suez Canal in Egypt. With over 100,000 Egyptian laborer deaths, it opened in 1869. With this success behind him, de Lesseps was also responsible for the start of the Panama Canal starting in 1880. He was not an engineer, but skilled at making friends and finding willing investors. Figure 6.4.10 is a painting of the Great Culebra Cut made by the French on January 1, 1881. Culebra is the name of the mountain ridge and the Culebra Cut refers to a man-made valley that cuts through the Continental Divide in Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of Panama.

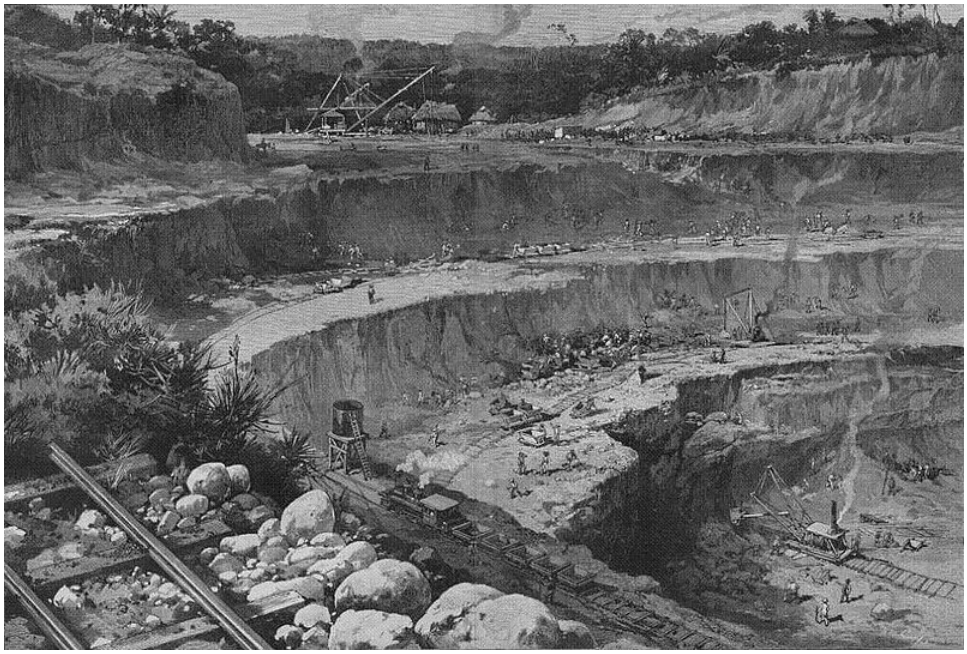

Figure 6.4.10: Painting of the first cut at Culebra on January 1, 1881, Charles Graham, in the Public Domain.

In 1885, the Panamanian people broke out in rebellion against the Colombian government, so the U.S. sent ships and troops to both sides of the isthmus to protect the railroad in Panama owned by North American investors. In response, the Chilean government

sent its British-built armored cruiser *Esmeralda (*the fastest ship in the world when launched the year before) to the Pacific side of Panama, to send a message that it would prevent any annexation of the isthmus by the United States.

Whatever its intentions, the U.S. government withdrew its navy and troops after the rebellion had calmed. U.S. naval observers complained that the mighty *Esmeralda* could sink every ship in the U.S. navy at the time. The incident contributed to the building of a more effective U.S. navy in the ensuing years. As noted above, Alfred Thayar Mahan published his book about the need for the U.S. to emulate the British Navy in 1890. The U.S. Congress also passed the 1890 Naval Act, appropriating funds to create the best armored ships known at that time. The sense of vulnerability in 1885 also intensified U.S. interest in a canal through the isthmus of Panama.

By 1888, nearly 40,000 workers were working on the French Panama Canal Company. However, due to landslides, yellow fever, malaria, and unforgiving terrain, the French gave up on the project in 1893. Though they had already completed some of the most difficult digging, the tropical jungles of the area proved too difficult for the canal workers. Ferdinand De Lesseps had planned a sea-level canal, like the Suez in Egypt, but the hilly topography did not allow for it. Investors lost everything they had put into the project. In the future, it took locks to make it work.

In 1902 with a push from President Theodore Roosevelt, the U.S. government bought the French canal company's land for $40 million. Initially, the Colombian government signed a treaty handing over the canal zone to the United States. However, the Senate stalled in approving the agreement. Panamanians were upset with the delay, and it did not take much for the U.S. to help engineer an independence movement in Panama, sending a naval destroyer to discourage the Colombian government from sending troops. Almost immediately, a new government in Panama signed the canal zone over to the U.S.

Opened in 1914, the Canal was an impressive engineering feat, shortening the trip for cargo between the oceans. The U.S. medical service, with the help of Cuban researchers, also made the connection between mosquitoes and malaria, and were able to check the spread of both while building the canal. In 1915, both San Diego, California and San Francisco, California held "Panama-Pacific Expositions" to commemorate the opening of the Canal. Both locations are still parks today.

In more recent times, on Dec. 31, 1999, the U.S. withdrew from the Canal Zone and the canal became Panamanian property. The canal was expanded in 2016 to accommodate Panamax container ships. Currently about 14,000 ships pass through the canal per year, carrying over 330 million tons of cargo.

? Primary Source: A Southern Statesman Opposes Secession (1861) by Sam Houston 6.4.1

Sam Houston served as Governor of Texas from 1859-1860

"...But the hiss of the mob and the howls of their jackal leaders can not deter me nor compel me to take the oath of allegiance to a so-called Confederate Government. I protest against surrendering the Federal Constitution, its Government and its glorious flag to the Norther abolition leaders and to accept in its stead a so-called Confederate Government whose constitution contains the germs and seeds of decay which must and will lead to its speedy ruin and dismemberment if it can ever secure any real existence. Its seeds of ruin and decay are the principle of secession which permits any one or more of the Confederate States to secede from teh parent Confederate Government and to establish separate governments.

Can any well informed man doubt that the time will soon come when several of the Confederate States will secede and establish separate governments? Why will such results follow in the event the Confederate Government is established? Because in all the Confederate States there are ambitious secession leaders who will be aspirants for the Presidency of the Confederacy and to exercise control and influence in its government and in all cases where their ambitions are frustrated these leaders will cause their respective States to secede and form separate governments wherein they may be able to realize their selfish political hopes. Within ten years we would have ten or more separate Confederate Governments, which would in time fall an easy prey to foreign Governments...

...The secession leaders also tell us if war should come that European Nations will speedily come to our relief, and aid us to win our independence because cotton is King and European commerce and civilization can not long exist without cotton, therefore they my help us maintain and perpetuate our Confederate Government. Gentlemen who use such false and misleading statements forget or else are ignorance of the facts that commerce and civilization existed a long period of time before cotton was generally known and used.

They also forget or else are ignorance of the fact that the best sentiment of Europe is opposed to our systems of negro slavery. They also tell us if war comes that the superior courage of our people with their experience of the use of firearms, will enable us to triumph in battle over ten times our number of Northern forces. Never was a more false or absurd statement ever made by designing demagogues...

...For this reason I predict that the Civil War is inevitable and is near at hand. When it comes the descendants of the heroes of Lexington and Bunker Hill will be found equal in patriotism, courage, and heroic endurance with the descendants of the heroes of Cowpens and Yorktown. For this reason I predict that the civil war which is now near at hand will be stubborn and of long-duration. We are sadly divided among ourselves, while the North and West are united. Not only will we have to content against a united and harmonious North, but we will also have to battle against tens of thousands of our own people, who will never desert hte Stars and Stripes nor surrender the union of states for a Southern Confederacy of states, whose principles of secession must inevitably lead to discord, conspiracy and revolution, and at last anarchy and utter ruin. When the tug of war comes, it will indeed be the Greek meeting Greek. Then, oh my fellow countrymen, the fearful conflict will fill our fair land with untold suffering, misfortune, and disaster. The soil of our beloved South will drink deep the precious blood of our sons and brethren. In earnest prayer to our Heavenly Father, I have daily petitioned him to case out from my mind the dark foreboding of the coming conflict...

From Eugene Barker and Amelia Williams, ed., "Speech at Brentham," March 31, 1861, in *The Writings of Sam Houston*, Austin: Jenkins, 1970, Volume 8: 295-299.

? Review Questions

To what extent and how did the Civil War change the political, economic, and social life of the United States?

How is the United States approach to the Philippines and Panama similar to European colonization?

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6.5: Latin America and Neoliberalism

Latin America

As described in Chapter 4, Latin American nations achieved independence from Spain and Portugal during the first half of the nineteenth century. The British government supported these revolutions, viewing the new nations as markets for its loans and industrial products. Hoping to find new wealth, English and Irish mercenaries, available after the Napoleonic Wars, joined Simon Bolivar and other revolutionaries in Latin America in their fight for independence. Figure 6.5.1 shows an 1826 equestrian portrait of Simon Bolivar in full regalia, as a fearless leader of of independence from Spanish rule. He is on a white horse with his sword drawn. Bolivar is credited with liberating six nations from Spanish rule: Venezuela, Bolivia, Columbia, Panama, Ecuador, and Peru.

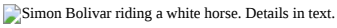

Figure 6.5.1: Equestrian portrait of Simon Bolivar, Jose Hilarion Ibarra, in the Public Domain.

As the new Latin American nations achieved their independence, European countries outwardly respected their sovereignty, but in reality forced governments to bend to their influence. Already in the 1820s and 1830s, several governments in Latin America were in debt to British banks. The banks provided loans anticipating that independence would bring rapid economic development as it had in the United States. However, local artisans could not compete with British textiles and other manufactured goods that flooded the markets of the new republics. As the new Latin American nations fell into debt, they were unable to pay back the loans to the British banks. Other European banks were also engaged in the same loaning activities.

In addition to mounting debts owed to European governments, many Latin American nations became dependent on exporting their natural resources. Some of these resources were copper and nitrates in Chile, coffee in Brazil, beef and grain in Argentina, sugar in Cuba, and bananas in Central America. British investors in Latin America were followed by French and U.S. investors, also interested in resource extraction, business development, and captive markets. As new colonial territories were formed in Africa and Asia, this pattern of resource extraction was repeated into the second half of the twentieth century.

Mexico

On December 8, 1861, French military forces landed in Mexico in an attempt to gain control over the country. For the French, this was the right time since, embroiled in its Civil War, the United States was not able to assist Mexico against foreign invasion. The French forces had planned to quickly take control of Mexico City, but were defeated in the Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1861. (Hence the celebration, "Cinco de Mayo.") It would take another year before the French conquered the capital. In 1863, Napoleon III installed the Archduke of Austria, Maximilian of Habsburg, as the Emperor of Mexico. While Maximilian was emperor, he rebuilt Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City, hoping to establish symbols of imperial rule. However, by 1867, Mexican resistance forced the French to leave.

Porfirio Diaz

For over three decades, from 1877-1880 and 1884-1911, Porfirio Diaz was president of Mexico. Diaz ruled in a dictatorial fashion, rewarding those loyal to him and his regime. Those loyal members of the Mexican elite and middle class as well as foreign investors followed Diaz in his pro-business approach to governance. Under Diaz, foreign investors funded railways, roads and other crucial infrastructure or business. The problem is that they took their profits out of the country and did not help develop Mexico itself or the majority of its people. Native populations generally served as an underpaid and exploited work-force.

Increasingly the people of Mexico agitated for greater freedom, equality, and consent of the governed in response to the power imbalances they faced. This became the 1910-1911 Mexican revolution that led to Diaz's removal. Diaz did not go down without a fight to try and maintain his power. His use of the military against his own people is memorialized in artworks that have now become famous throughout the world. As just one example, Figure 6.5.2 features a zinc etching of lithographer Jose Guadalupe Posada. He used skulls in an unprecedented way to draw attention to economic and social inequality in Mexican society. Figure 6.5.2 depicts a female skeleton wearing a hat to show how the upper class emulated European fashion, and La Calavera Catrina symbolizes the intersectionality of race, privilege, and class.

Figure 6.5.2: La Calavera Catrina ("The Dapper Skull"), 1910, Jose Guadalupe Posada, in the Public Domain.

Latin American Commodity History

Crops like coffee became significant commodities in Latin American international trade. The production, sale, and transport of coffee interlinked people from different parts of the globe and changed people's lives and their societies. Coffee was originally from Yemen. Arab and Indian merchants had transported it across the seas for centuries. However, with the era of European colonization, Dutch merchants displaced the Arab and Indian merchants. The Dutch trade was diminished once coffee production was established in Latin America.

During the nineteenth century, Brazil became the leading producer of coffee, reliant on slave labor. Slavery and the suffering and exploitation involved, made the production of cheap coffee possible, influencing cultures across the globe. As the last country to emancipate its slaves in 1888, Brazil had been exporting cheap coffee, mostly to the United States. Brazilian coffee became the drink of Americans who wanted to distinguish themselves from British tea drinkers. Coffee was at the center of Brazil's economy, and this was a key reason it developed the most extensive railroad infrastructure in Latin America by 1890. Figure 6.5.3 shows the loading of large bags of coffee brought on carts from São Paolo for shipment to Europe from Port Santos in 1880.

Loading coffee bags on ships in the Port Santos. Details in text.

Figure 6.5.3: Photograph of coffee being embarked at the port in Santos, 1880, Marc Ferrez, in the Public Domain.

In Costa Rica, the landscape was less amenable to coffee production, so smaller areas were used to grow higher quality and more expensive beans. For Brazil and Costa Rica, the coffee commodity chain played a role in race and class relations while coffee drinking became ubiquitous around the world and remains so today. When buying coffee at the local store, check to see where it has come from.

Between 1866 and 1870, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil fought Paraguay over border disputes. The result was the bloody War of the Triple Alliance. Desperate for soldiers, the Brazilian government offered freedom to enslaved men if they served in the army. Impressed with the ability and dedication of these soldiers, many Brazilian army officers began to feel that slavery should end in their country.

Even without the war, slavery was coming to an end in Brazil because coffee cultivation used less labor than either sugar plantations or mines. Also, as Brazil was the last country to free its slaves, it was facing growing international scrutiny and criticism. By 1880, nearly three quarters of the slave population had been freed. King Pedro II finally and formally abolished slavery in 1888. A year later, Pedro II abdicated and the military organized a republic.

Bananas also became a major Central American commodity. A Cape Cod, Massachusetts sea captain named Lorenzo Dow Baker bought 160 bunches of bananas in Jamaica and resold them in Jersey City in 1870. Realizing bananas were immediately popular

with U.S. consumers, Minor C. Keith began planting banana trees alongside his railroad in Costa Rica in 1873. The Costa Rican government had defaulted on some payments to Keith, so instead they gave him 800,000 acres of tax-free land along the rail line. When the railroad failed to pay for itself in the 1890s, Keith concentrated on bananas. He merged with Baker's Boston Fruit Company, which was growing bananas on about 10,000 acres in Jamaica. Figure 6.5.4. shows Jamaican workers transporting bananas on small boats for shipment to US markets. The **United Fruit** Company (UFC) was the result, established in 1899. The UFC quickly bought up several competitors and gained control of 80% of the bananas reaching the U.S.

Figure 6.5.4: Transport of the banana crop in Jamaica, 1894, New England Magazine, in the Public Domain.

While the U.S. media praised United Fruit for its growing banana business, its leaders brutally suppressed worker strikes, even leading later to the 1928 "Banana Massacre," in which over one thousand were killed. This 1928 event was in response to workers asking for changes such as 6-day work weeks and compensation for work related accidents. Overlooking United Fruit's monopolistic practices and abuses, the U.S. government needed the UFC's reach into Central America whether it was their shipping fleet, large number of railways, or transport of the U.S. mail. Imperialism was often a combination of private business and governmental cooperation, with the most vulnerable people, such as the workers, at risk of immense exploitation and suffering.

? Review Questions

- How did Brazil become the leading exporter of coffee during the nineteenth century?
- What happened during the 1928 "Banana Massacre" in Columbia?

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6.6: The European "Scramble for Africa"

In 1803, the Dutch were the first to abolish the transatlantic slave trade. Britain and the U.S. were next in 1807. By 1836, the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Brazilian governments also abolished the trade. Still, the exploitation of the continent and its peoples did not end. By the end of the nineteenth century, European nations seized most of the continent of Africa as colonial possessions. This scramble was motivated by the desire to secure resources like copper, tin, rubber, cotton, and to create captive markets for its manufactured goods. The Europeans made agreements with many local kings and chieftains and went to war with others, always seeking a pledge of loyalty to their particular empire.

To bring order to the “scramble,” German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck organized the 1884 Berlin Conference to organize and delineate colonial claims. The conference was attended by representatives from 12 European countries as well as a representatives from the United States and the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans were there with claims to their provinces along the Mediterranean. Figure 6.6.1 depicts Bismarck and European diplomats around a horseshoe-shaped conference table at Bismarck's official residence in Berlin. A European diplomat is pointing to a large map of Africa. No Africans were present at this European conference concerning the partition of their continent.

Figure \(\PageIndex{1}\): Drawing of the participants in the 1884 Berlin Conference, Aldabert von Robler, in the Public Domain.

Conference members created administrative boundaries that deliberately cut across existing political and ethnic boundaries. In some cases, these new boundaries forced historically warring groups and enemies to live and work together. Other newly drawn boundaries divided historical allies in order to weaken resistance. The conference focused on connecting European centers of trade rather than considering borders that were the best for the people living in the regions. In later decades, these externally imposed boundaries became a source of continuing civil unrest, separatist movements, and boundary disputes as new African countries were formed in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Belgian Congo

Between 1885-1908, Belgian King Leopold II claimed he was “civilizing” the Congolese, though his system of forced labor included whipping, torture, debt peonage, dismemberment, and outright murder. It was standard practice in the so-called “Congo Free State” to cut off the hands or arms of African workers who did not meet their rubber collection quotas. Figure 6.6.2 shows photographs of mutilated children and adults in the **Belgian Congo** between 1900-1905. Alice Harris and her husband Rev. John Harris were European missionaries in the Congo Free State in the 1890s. They used the photographs of mutilated victims to

document the atrocities against Congolese children and plantation workers. At the bottom of the image in Figure 6.6.2 is a caption that reads "These pictures get sneaked around everywhere." Leopold II's private army, *Force Publique* (FP), routinely tortured and slaughtered Congolese, and the baskets of severed hands became the dominant symbol of Leopold's atrocities and cruelty.

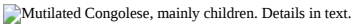

Figure \(\PageIndex{2}\): Photograph of mutilated children and adults in the Belgian Congo, c. 1900-1905, The P.R. Warren Company, in the Public Domain.

During the time that Leopold controlled the Congo as a personal colony, ten million Congolese died from murder or from being worked to death. This was a holocaust of unimaginable proportions. Using wealth from the extraction of rubber in the Congo, King Leopold II financed such monuments as the *Parc du Cinquantenaire* seen in Figure 6.6.3. *Cinquantenaire* in French means fiftieth anniversary because it was constructed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Belgian independence in 1830. Among the many buildings and museums inside this large public park in Brussels stands a monument that honors Belgian pioneers in Congo. Today this has become a controversial topic, and raises questions about the relationship between art and profit, art and colonization, and art and imperialism.

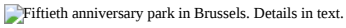

Figure \(\PageIndex{3}\): Parc du Cinquantenaire in Brussels, Marc Ryckaert, in the Public Domain.

How do we assess wealth and riches that are directly tied to colonial regimes and the era of imperialism? There will be many different answers. Even with the unthinkable amount of torture and suffering that Leopold inflicted, he presented himself as a benevolent king. This story of the Belgian Congo is featured in a 2003 BBC documentary series entitled, "White King, Red Rubber, Black Death." Finally after after thirty years of Leopold's brutal rule, the international outcry over his practices forced the Belgian government to take over his holdings in 1908. The newly named Belgian Congo remained in place until 1960, during the era of post World War II decolonization.

Rwanda

In Rwanda, the Belgians noted the existence of separate castes that lived side-by-side for generations under the same rule. However, the Belgians decided to put the cattle-raising Tutsis, ten percent of the population, in a privileged status and position over the Hutu farmers. Because of more access to animal protein, the Tutsis seemed taller and better-looking to the Europeans and were deemed to be naturally superior to the Hutus. Figure 6.6.3 is a black and white photo of Tutsi Chief Kaware traveling in 1904. Tutsi women specialized in basket weaving. Figure 6.6.3 shows their chief carried in a traditional basket.

Figure \(\PageIndex{4}\): c. 1900, Tutsi Chief traveling in Rwanda, Richard Kandts' book, Caput Nili, in the Public Domain.

After Rwanda gained its independence in 1962, the Hutus took control and subjected the Tutsis to periodic pogroms. In 1994, nearly a million Tutsis were killed by their neighbors in a government-orchestrated genocide, until a largely Tutsi-led guerrilla insurgency took over the government. In the aftermath, up to 2 million Hutu refugees fled Rwanda for the Congo, exacerbating the humanitarian crisis and further destabilizing central Africa.

South Africa

In the case of South Africa, the Dutch established a “settler colony” beginning in the mid-seventeenth century. They formed a community of farmers that could supply the fleets rounding the Cape of Good Hope on their way to the East Indies. Thousands of Dutch and other Europeans were attracted by the relatively cooler climate of southern Africa and plentiful arable land. The Dutch sought to remove the original inhabitants rather than subjugate them. The long history of colonial expropriation of land from the original owners had begun.

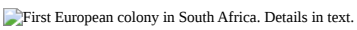

Figure \(\PageIndex{5}\): 1809 Map of Cape Colony in southern Africa, John Pinkerton, in the Public Domain.

In 1806, the British imperial government took control of South Africa from the Dutch. Figure 6.6.5 show a map of the British colony in pink color. The Cape Colony was the first European colony in South Africa. During the 1830s, the British began abolishing slavery and requiring English in schools and in legal transactions. In reaction, many Dutch settlers moved farther inland in the “Great Trek,” taking more land from the natives and establishing two republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. At the same time, the descendants of unions between Europeans, Africans, and the Dutch, occasionally established their own autonomous regions.

Also in South Africa in the 1820s, the British faced the independent kingdom of the Zulus led by Shaka Zulu and his well-trained army. When local British commanders decided to attack the Zulus in 1879, they were defeated by Zulu troops in a series of major battles. A second invasion of Zululand led to a Zulu defeat, but the British continued to recognize Zulu autonomy in much of their territory.

The later descendants of the Dutch settlers in Africa called themselves “Boers” (Dutch word for “farmer”) or Afrikaners. They successfully repelled a British invasion of the Transvaal and the Orange Free States in 1881 but were defeated in the 1899-1902 Second Boer War. The latter war included guerrilla warfare and concentration camps for Boer civilians. Figure 6.6.6 shows Boer soldiers in a shallow trench during the Siege of Mafeking in the Second Boer War.

Figure \(\PageIndex{6}\): An 1899 Boer trench during the Second Boer War, Imperial War Museums, in the Public Domain.

A young Winston Churchill, the future Prime Minister of Great Britain, went to South Africa as a journalist to report on the war, and was instead captured by the Boers. Churchill escaped and his story helped launch his career in British politics. The Germans, who held territory bordering South Africa, supported the Boers in the conflict, adding to mounting tensions between the governments of Great Britain and Germany in the years preceding World War I.

In 1910, the British organized the Union of South Africa. They included the Boers as equal citizens, but denied equality to the native people of South Africa, nearly 85% of the population. South Africa became an autonomous dominion within the British Empire. Racial segregation continued in South Africa all the way up to 1990. Nelson Mandela led changes toward justice and equality.

? Review Questions

- What caused Europeans to believe they could meet in Berlin and divide Africa between themselves?
- How did the partition of Africa by European colonial regimes affect the political difficulties faced by African countries into the present?

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6.7: The Role of Military Technology in Colonial Domination

Gatling Machine Guns and the Maxim Gun

The British, French, Dutch, Germans, Belgians, and Americans exerted power and dominance over colonized people through the use of military technology. Britain gained the upper hand using armored steamships during the Opium Wars. They sailed up the Yangtze River and threatened the Grand Canal and Beijing, forcing the Chinese to surrender and agree to unequal treaties. During the 1870s, the British began using Gatling hand-cranked machine guns against the Zulu in Africa and the Bedouin in the Middle East. The Royal Navy used them against the Egyptians in 1882 during Egypt's civil war. The U.S. used them to support American troops during the Battle of San Juan Hill in Cuba.

During the 1890s, the British switched to the **maxim gun**, the first machine gun capable of firing 600 rounds per minute seen in Figure 6.7.1. Guns based on Hiram Maxim's gun design were widely used by the British army during World War I. Hence the term "machine gun war." The British used this to conquer the Ndebele kingdom in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in South Africa from 1890-1895, armed about 750 British troops with maxim guns battle in their attack against 80,000 tribal spearmen and 20,000 riflemen. In one battle, the British used maxim Guns to attack 5,000 Zulu warriors. In 1898 the British killed 20,000 Sudanese warriors with four maxim Guns in a few hours without taking many casualties.

This was the beginning of a period of asymmetrical warfare based on technology that continues into the present. It has forced people who could not stand up to the imperialists' superior weapons to find other ways to resist. Europeans regarded their military success over colonized people as justification of their right to expropriate land and exploit labor. They utilized theories of Social Darwinism and so called "scientific racism" in order to justify treating conquered peoples as less than fully human. They also took advantage of African customs and tribal alliances or animosities to divide and conquer.

Figure 6.7.1: Maxim machine gun mounted on a Dundonald gun carriage, 1890s, Navy and Army Illustrated, in the Public Domain.

Telegraph Communications

In addition to weapons and transportation by steamship, Europeans and Americans had the advantage of telegraph communications. Telegraphs using Morse code became widespread in the U.S., Britain, and Europe during the 1850s, but undersea cables were required to connect the colonies. Before telegraphy, a letter from London took about two weeks to reach New York or Alexandria Egypt, a month to reach Bombay on the west coast of India, six weeks to reach Singapore or Calcutta on the East side of India, two months to get to Shanghai and ten weeks to arrive in Sydney, Australia.

A successful undersea cable line between Britain and the US was completed in 1866, and Britain and India were connected in 1870. Australia was linked to the system in 1872 and a trans-Pacific cable was completed in 1903 linking the U.S. with Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines. Although telegraphy had been pioneered by Americans like Samuel Morse, the British dominated undersea cable. At the end of the 19th century, Britain owned 24 of the world's 30 cable-laying ships and the British owned and operated 2/3 of the world's cable. During World War I, British telegraph communications were uninterrupted while the British cut German cables, forcing them to rely on wireless radio wave transmissions that were easy to listen to. Figure 6.7.2 shows a chart of transatlantic undersea telegraph cables that expedited communication with Europe and the Americas.

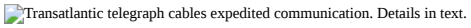

Figure 6.7.2: 1901 Chart of Submarine Telegraph Cable Routes, A.B.C. Telegraphic Code, in the Public Domain.

The Oil Industry

Oil initially played a fairly simple role in the Industrial Revolution as a machine lubricant. However, by the late 19th century, internal combustion engines, which relied on firing cylinders using gasoline or heavy oil (diesel) as fuel, were quickly becoming more efficient, replacing steam-power in transportation. Diesel-fired ship and train engines, for instance, carried less fuel than coal-fired steam engines. Gasoline-powered automobiles quickly became commonplace by the 1920s.

As oil became increasingly central to powering industry and transportation, oil companies became more powerful and were able to project their economic influence to shape the politics of the countries they operated in. This became especially true in the Arabian Peninsula, which until the discovery of oil had been a sparsely-populated desert. Today, about 80% of the world's readily-accessible oil reserves are located in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia, Russia, and the U.S. are the three largest producers.

Oil was first drilled by a Russian engineer on the west side of the Caspian Sea in Azerbaijan in 1848. Eleven years later, Edwin Drake drilled for oil in Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. Figure 6.7.3 shows the first oil well in the United States built by Edwin Drake in 1859. Drake's drilling techniques transformed Titusville and northwestern Pennsylvania communities into boomtowns. Although Russian fields and refineries in Azerbaijan were industry pioneers, the U.S. took an early lead and by 1880 the Bradford Field in Pennsylvania produced 77% of the world's oil supply.

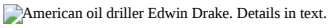

Figure 6.7.3:1890 photograph showing Edwin Drake and the Drake Well in the background, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

By 1900 the Russian Empire had taken back the lead in production. By 1910, numerous other countries began oil production as well such as Sumatra, Persia, Peru, Venezuela, and Mexico, as well as Texas, California, and Ohio. In the early twentieth century, the corporations dominating the global oil business were Standard Oil (later Exxon, est. 1870), Royal Dutch Shell (est. 1907), and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later British Petroleum, est. 1909).

? Review Questions

- What is the relationship between colonization and military technology?
- In what year did the U.S. start to produce most of the world's oil supply?

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6.8: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

Imperialism, global capitalism, and racial hierarchies had developed in tandem over the nineteenth century. These interlocking systems produced "winners" and "losers" as some people were able to derive privileges from the new and emerging world order and others were not. Whether they were European, American, or Japanese, colonial regimes expropriated land and exploited labor. They saw themselves as racially superior with the rise of Social Darwinism and the beginning of the eugenics movement, and used this ideology as a justification for their inhumane treatment of colonial peoples, especially the working class. These chapter sections have shown the imbalance of power and extreme inequality of wealth that is characteristic of imperialistic undertakings. The colonized people, however, were not merely passive victims. They resisted, fought, and challenged colonial officers and private companies. We are living with the legacies of the nineteenth century today. Remembering and studying this time period should offer us not only context and perspective for understanding the present, but also inspiration to respond constructively to current challenges.

Key Terms

- **Anarchism:** A political theory that advocates the abolition of hierarchical authority and espouses voluntary cooperation among society's members.
- **Belgian Congo**: Between 1885-1908, Belgian King Leopold II claimed he was “civilizing” the Congolese, though his system of forced labor included whipping, torture, debt peonage, dismemberment, and outright murder. It was standard practice in the so-called “Congo Free State” to cut off the hands or arms of African workers who did not meet their rubber collection quotas.
- **Captive Market:** Natural resources were extracted from a colony and then brought back to the metropole. Once manufactured products were created using those natural resources, those products were then sold to the colonized populations. This profitable economic system influenced the eventual partition of almost the entire continent of Africa into colonies, where the same process was repeated.
- **Maxim Gun:** During the 1890s, the British switched to the maxim gun, the first machine gun capable of firing 600 rounds per minute. They used this to conquer the Ndebele kingdom in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in South Africa from 1890-1895, armed about 750 British troops with maxim guns battle in their attack against 80,000 tribal spearmen and 20,000 riflemen. In 1898 the British killed 20,000 Sudanese warriors with four maxim Guns in a few hours without taking many casualties. The maxim gun is one of the means by which European colonialism proceeded in Africa and elsewhere.
- **Metropole:** The parent state of a colony.
- **Opium Wars:** In order to reverse its large trade imbalance with China, British merchants of the East India Company began to smuggle opium into China. Eventually, Qing Dynasty officials in China sought redress with Britain, and failing any resolution, used its limited military power to dump tons of opium into the ocean. The British response was a series of naval conflicts in which the Chinese were forced to capitulate to British demands and terms of peace. This led to the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. The U.S., which had also been smuggling opium into China, signed its own Treaty of Wangxia in 1844. In both treaties, the Chinese were forced to accept further trade relations with both countries. In the British case, their merchants were allowed to continue the lucrative opium trade. These unequal treaties caused great tension in Chinese society, becoming factors in later decades to events like the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) and the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901).
- **Queen Lili'uokalani:** Queen Lili'uokalani ruled as the last monarch of Hawaii from 1891 to 1893. In January 1893, U.S. businessman Sanford Dole, staged a coup d'etat, and overthrew the Queen. The U.S. Minister to Hawaii, John Stevens, recognized Dole as the head of state and named Hawaii as a U.S. Protectorate. The U.S. annexed Hawaii as a U.S. territory in 1898. Native Hawaiian people were forced to accept this change against their will. Until her death in 1917, Queen Lili'uokalani fought for Hawaiian independence and her people to no avail. Hawaii became the 50th state on August 21, 1959.
- **Russo-Japanese War:** Taking place between 1904-1905, the victorious Japanese halted Russian expansion into East Asia. Both countries had imperial ambitions in Manchuria and Korea. This was the first time an Asian country defeated a European country in a military battle. In 1905, President Teddy Roosevelt helped to negotiate peace between the two countries.
- **United Fruit:** Before WWII, the U.S. media praised United Fruit for its growing banana business. However, United Fruit brutally suppressed worker strikes, leading later to the 1928 "Banana Massacre," in which over one thousand were killed. This

1928 event was in response to workers asking for 6-day work weeks, compensation for work related accidents and other reasonable demands. Since the U.S. government needed the company's reach into Central America, whether it was their shipping fleet, large amount of railways, or transport of U.S. mail, its officials overlooked United Fruit's business practices and abuses.

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6.9: Suggested Readings and Works Cited

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

7: The Great War - 1914 - 1919

? Learning Objectives

- Understand World War One as a conflict with global roots and global consequences.
- Describe the ways that nationalism, racism, imperialism, and competitive industrial capitalism helped precipitate the coming of war.
- Examine how the post-war settlement created disaffection among peoples and communities from outside the global power structure.

? Focus Questions

- How did ideas of race factor influence the outbreak of war and how the war was fought?
- Why might colonial peoples have been dissatisfied with the post-war settlements?

> This is where the world has arrived, these dark and awful depths and not the shining and ineffable heights of which it boasted. Here is whither the might and energy of modern humanity has really gone. – W.E.B. Du Bois

In 1914, Europe had been officially "at peace" for nearly a century. However, the official peace covered a growing tension that was beginning to flare up into military conflict. The unification of Germany in 1871, after the Prussian-led victory over the French, had created a new nation with imperial aspirations in the middle of Europe. Bismarck's new nation competed with neighboring countries in industry, agriculture, and overseas empire-building. The existence of a strong, united Germany ended the careful balance of power created by the Congress of Vienna in its effort to reset the clock and redraw the map after the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. France and Germany were enemies and sought alliances against each other. Russia was at odds with the Japanese Meiji government over control of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria. By 1914, most governments in Europe were preparing for an eventual war between these groups of allied nations, although no one knew what incident would bring the continent to battle. But, as early as 1888, German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck had predicted that "some damned foolish thing in the Balkans" could initiate a wider European conflict. He was proven correct on the streets of Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.

During World War One, the principal members of each of these alliances were the "Central Powers", consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire against the "Allied Powers", which at the beginning of the war was called the "Triple Entente" after the original allies, France, Great Britain, and Russia. Russia left the war in 1918, Italy joined the allies in 1915, and Japan was an additional ally on the French side. The United States entered the war to support the allies in 1917. The very way we talk about the First World War is a reflection of the power structure that existed at the time. So often that discussion focuses on the primacy of a small group of "Great Powers" who shaped the world to their whims. But this was every bit a world war and one that cannot be fully understood without taking a global view and bringing in the perspectives of a diverse group of actors whose lives were irrevocably altered by the events of 1914-1918 and their aftermath.

The underlying causes of World War One were nationalism, an increasingly competitive industrial-capitalist world economy, racial paranoia, and simmering rivalries between the Great Powers that were exacerbated by a set of interlocking treaties between and among the various nations. Since 1815, the Great Powers had largely avoided major conflicts with each other. Of course, the relative peace in Europe stood in contrast to the tremendous violence European colonial armies inflicted across the world. While European statesmen patted each other on the back for peaceably dividing Africa among themselves at the Berlin Conference in 1885 or establishing "Spheres of Influence" in China to regulate trade, such maneuvers did not seem so high-minded to the populations subjected to them. This is all to say that we should not see the outbreak of violence in Europe as anomalous, but rather as the outcome of a modern world that they had constructed. Or as famed African-American historian and intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois observed about the First World War, "This is not Europe gone mad; this is not aberration nor insanity; this *is* Europe…"

The fact that competition among European states led to the eruption of war is not itself odd. After all, such moments have not been particularly rare in world history. It was unprecedented, however, for one small region of the world to amass as much wealth,

power, and influence as was held by the nations of Europe in 1914. As a result, the blundering of European statesmen not only dragged Europe into a calamitous war but the entire world. The impact of that war would reverberate throughout the globe for decades to come.

7.1: The Coming of War
7.2: The Western Front
7.3: Beyond the Western Front
7.4: The World at War
7.5: The Russians Exit, the United States Enters
7.6: Political Dissent on the Homefront
7.7: The Costs of War
7.8: Envisioning a Post-War World
7.9: The Post-War Middle East
7.10: Racism and the Red Scare
7.11: Chapter Summary and Key Terms
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7.1: The Coming of War

The Coming of War

The unification of Germany upset the balance of Europe. Not only did the new German nation aspire to become an imperial power like Britain, France, and Russia, it had rapidly built up its military and industrial power. By the first two decades of the twentieth century, Germany surpassed Britain to become the largest economy in Europe and second in the world. German scientists won more Nobel Prizes than any other nation besides the United States. And Germany's navy was racing to surpass Britain's.

Figure 7.1.1: "Portrait of Kaiser Wilhelm II, 1902," Thomas Heinrich Voigt, in the Public Domain.

In 1888, Kaiser Wilhelm II took the imperial throne when both his grandfather and father died in rapid succession. Wilhelm I, the King of Prussia whom Bismarck had made an emperor, ruled until he was 90. Figure 7.1.1 is a headshot of Kaiser Wilhelm II taken in 1902. In this portrait, the last emperor of Germany and last king of Prussia is dressed in military uniform. Kaiser Wilhelm II's grandson took the throne at 29. Due to the elaborate intermarriages of the European ruling families, Wilhelm II was also the eldest grandson of Queen Victoria of England. Perhaps taking inspiration from the British Empire, Wilhelm II launched Germany on a "New Course" toward overseas imperialism. The Kaiser ordered his military leaders to read Alfred Thayer Mahan's book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, which had also impressed Theodore Roosevelt in the United States. By 1914, the German Navy was second only to the British Royal Navy. The new emperor also dismissed Bismarck as Chancellor in 1890 and began looking for ways to make Germany a colonial empire, through a much more aggressive foreign policy than that envisioned by his chief advisor.

The eighty-four-year-old Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Josef had been reigning since 1848. His nephew, Archduke Franz Ferdinand (age 50) was the Crown Prince and expected to soon become the next Emperor. In the area of southeastern Europe between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea called the Balkans, the Austro-Hungarian, the Russian, and the Ottoman empires each claimed control. The Ottomans had gradually been losing power in Europe since the 1700s. By the end of the nineteenth century, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Montenegro, and Serbia had all asserted themselves as newly-independent nations in former Ottoman territory. The Orthodox Russians dreamed of reestablishing Constantinople in Istanbul and felt that a shared ethnic and religious identity made them a natural fit to be the leading power in a Balkans region filled with their fellow Orthodox Slavs like the Serbs and Bulgarians.

The Balkan conflict Bismarck had predicted was made more likely to begin in 1908 with the Austro-Hungarian takeover of Bosnia from the Ottoman Empire. Since Bosnia contained many ethnic Serbs, Serbian nationalists believed that the territory naturally belonged to Serbia. The desire to fulfill their national aspirations pushed Serbia to deepen its alliance with Russia which they hoped could check the expanding influence of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. The competition between two Great Powers in the region made the situation even more volatile.

The independent nations of the Balkans fell into war in 1912-1913, first with the Ottomans, resulting in an independent Albania, and then with each other as ethnic and religious boundaries were contested. These were bloody conflicts that included attacks on civilian populations in waves of ethnic cleansing. The Balkan armies on both sides dug into trenches as new arms and technology limited the movement of troops.

Figure 7.1.2: "Arrest of a suspect just after the assassination Franz Ferdinand and Sophie," Walter Tausch, in the Public Domain.

The Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

To strengthen Bosnian ties with Austria, Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife made an official visit to the regional capital of Sarajevo on June 30, 1914. A secretive Serbian nationalist group, that had been encouraged and supported by Serbian military officers, plotted the assassination of the royal couple as their motorcade made its way through the city. After some initial bungling, one of the conspirators, nineteen-year-old Gavrilo Princip, shot and killed the Archduke and his pregnant wife. Figure 7.1.2 is a photograph taken in 1914. It shows Austrian troops arresting a man suspected of assassinating the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife. It turned out that the suspect in the photograph was an innocent bystander by the name of Ferdinand Behr and not the assassin Gavrilo Princip.

For much of July 1914, Germany had prodded the Austro-Hungarian government to take military action against Serbia. Finally, on July 28th Austria-Hungary made a series of demands for restitution from the Serbian government. These demands were so onerous as to be virtually impossible for Serbia to accept. When Serbia refused, Austria declared war. Austria's invasion of Serbia activated the European alliance system: Russia sided with the Serbs, France supported Russia, and Great Britain decided to honor earlier agreements with France. Confusingly, Germany which entered the war under the pretext of defending Austria-Hungary from Russia immediately invaded France instead. A war that had been precipitated by national and imperial rivalries in the Balkans quickly came to be fought primarily along two massive fronts to Germany's east and west. The Balkan War was basically over with the occupation of Serbia from November 1915, but the larger war, fought among Europe's four greatest powers, would rage on for three more years.

? Review Questions

- How did the emergence of a unified Germany upset the balance of power in Europe?
- Why were the Balkans a potential source of conflict by the beginning of the 20th century?

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7.2: The Western Front

The Western Front

All of Europe's armies had been preparing for a continent-wide conflict since the unification of Germany in 1870. Most nations required some form of military service from all young men so that thousands of trained reserve soldiers could be quickly called up. All war plans relied on the quick mobilization of troops, and the extensive European railway network built in the nineteenth century moved regiments more rapidly than in any previous war. Figure 7.2.1 is photograph of a train wagon carrying German soldiers to the front during World War I. In the photo, a couple of German soldiers are holding flowers, some are waving, and others are raising their clenched fists. Handwritten messages in German on the railcar read "Trip to Paris," "See you later on the Boulevard." This rapid deployment meant that as soon as one side mobilized, the opposing side also had to mobilize in defense. Less time was available for calm decision-making as every nation rushed to arms. In July 1914, when Austria declared war and shelled the Serbian capital, Belgrade, Russia mobilized its military. Germany mobilized against Russia. Russia was allied with France, so France mobilized. Great Britain was allied with France, so Great Britain mobilized. The Ottomans sided with Germany as a counter to Russia. Italy, which had a *defensive* alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, sat out of the first months of the war until its government decided to side with France, Great Britain, and Russia in early 1915.

Figure 7.2.1: "German soldiers in a railway supply train on the way to the front in 1914," in the Public Domain.

Because of the French-Russian alliance, the Germans knew that they would face a two-front war in any European-wide conflict. Expecting to face enemies on Germany's eastern and western borders, the German generals had been planning for years to initially fight a defensive war with Russia in the east and an offensive war with France in the west; holding off invading Russian armies while focusing on defeating the French first.

In the first months of the war, the Germans were successful in carrying out their strategy. The German army on the Eastern Front was able to stop and even defeat the advancing Russians. On the Western Front, the German government asked permission from neutral Belgium to pass through on their way to a surprise attack on France. When the Belgians rejected the request, German troops invaded and occupied Belgium in August 1914. The Germans advanced rapidly into France but were halted by combined French and British forces, miles from Paris. Both sides dug in, creating a network of opposing trenches that ultimately extended from the North Sea to the Swiss border. Armies on both sides would be frustrated in their attempts to break through on this "Western Front" for the next four years.

Figure 7.2.2: "British machine gunners at the Battle of Ypres, 1917," Ernest Brooks, in the Public Domain.

Technology and Innovation

Advances in military technology caused the stalemate. The nineteenth-century wars had been mobile, with generals coordinating the movements of infantry foot-soldiers, horse cavalry, and artillery cannons on the battle landscape. However, conflicts like the Crimean War and the U.S. Civil War had begun introducing better, more deadly weapons. The Charge of the Light Brigade had proven that cavalry was ineffective against dug-in artillery. And in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Europeans had perfected the use of machine guns, practicing on native populations in their colonies. By 1914 the armies of Europe had better weapons and better defenses: long-range artillery, machine guns, trenches, and barbed wire. And they were ready to use these on each other, rather than just on the so-called “barbarians” their empires ruled over. Figure 7.2.2 is photo of British soldiers operating the Vickers machine gun. At least 3 men were required to move and operate this gun: typically one soldier fired, one fed the ammunition, the other soldiers helped to move the gun, ammunitions, and spare parts.

Since neither cavalry nor infantry could stand against machine guns, attacks in trench warfare began with massive artillery barrages to “soften” the other side before troops were sent out of their trenches, “over the top” into the no man’s land between their trenches and those of the enemy, with fixed bayonets to overwhelm any enemy soldiers who had survived the shelling. When their artillery had not “softened up” the opposing forces enough, attackers would be met with enough machine gun fire to slow down any effective advance. During four long years of war, millions would either be severely wounded or killed in the “no-man’s-land” that separated the opposing armies.

Frustrated with the stalemate of trench warfare, the opposing sides on the Western Front tried new technologies and strategies in search of a decisive victory. Airplanes, first developed by the Wright Brothers in 1903, proved their value in reconnaissance and later in strafing trenches with machine guns and dropping small bombs. Early radios allowed aviators to coordinate with ground controllers. And in the spring of 1915, the Germans first experimented using poison gas on the battlefield. Within months, all sides would develop different varieties of poison gas, while racing to improve the designs of their gas masks. Poison gasses added another devastating weapon to trench warfare while achieving no significant advantage. At least 1.3 million people were killed by gas attacks. Chlorine and mustard gas were two of the most common chemical weapons used by both sides in the war. In the case of mustard gas poisoning, the effects took 24 hours to begin and it could take four to five weeks to die.

German development of poisonous chlorine gas and its first use was supervised by Fritz Haber, a scientist who won the Nobel Prize for co-inventing the Haber-Bosch process for synthesizing nitrogen from the atmosphere. After 67,000 troops were killed and wounded by the gas in its first use in April 1915, Haber’s wife, the scientist Clara Immerwahr, killed herself with his service revolver in protest. Poison gases were heavier than air, so they settled into low areas like trenches and sometimes rolled into low-lying towns, killing and injuring civilians. Figure 7.2.3 shows a Mustard Gas attack by the US Army in 1918 in Germany. Chemical warfare required new training for soldiers. Unfortunately, there were no gas masks at this time to protect the soldiers from the toxic gases. Soldiers wore linen masks soaked in water and “respirators” made from lint and tape.

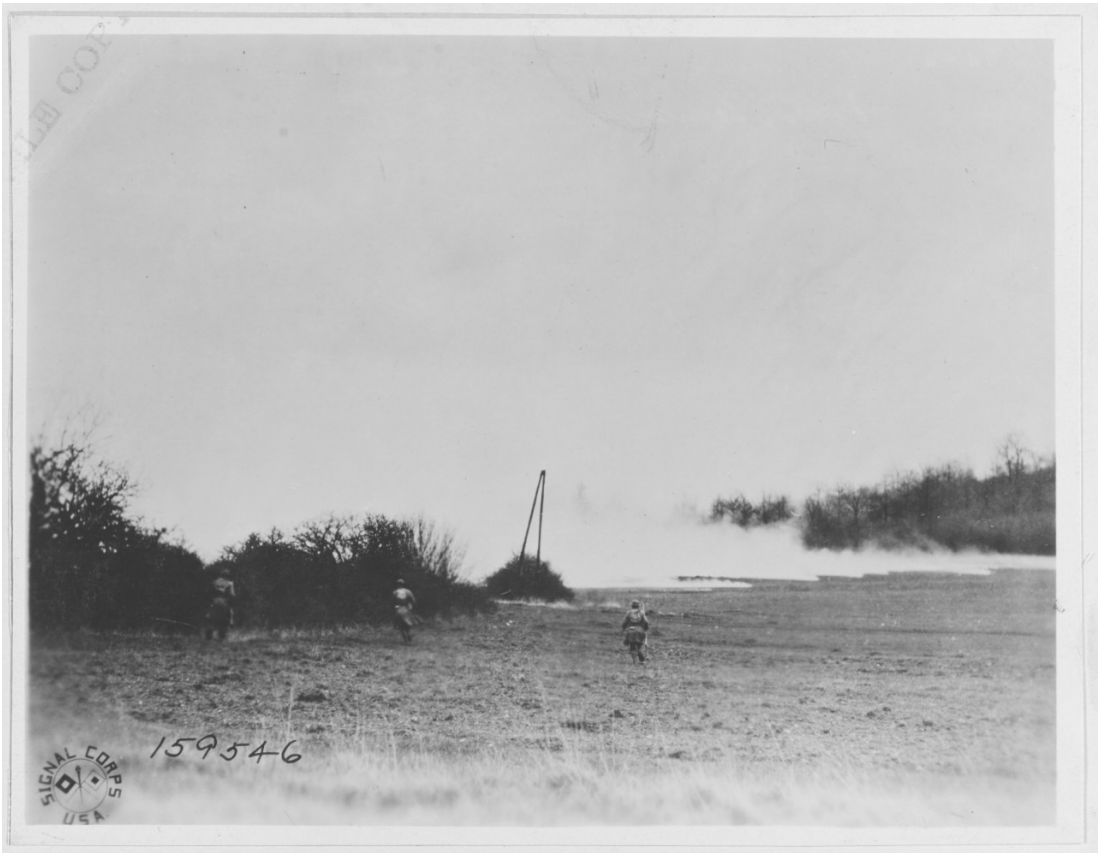

Figure 7.2.3: "Mustard Gas. Gas attacks, 2nd Division, U.S. Army in action. Kurdsheid, Germany. May 26, 1918," Naval History and Heritage Command, in the Public Domain.

Airplanes, poison gas, machine guns, and massive artillery simply became more cogs in the war's increasingly effective killing machines. More people were killed but without any change in the outcome of the war. Enormous battles raged for months at a time at Verdun and the Somme in 1916, resulting in millions of casualties but hardly any territorial changes.

? Review Questions

- How did advances in technology contribute to the military stalemate?
- How were chemicals used as weapons?

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7.3: Beyond the Western Front

The Brusilov Offensive

Figure 7.3.1: "Russian cavalry on the eastern front during the Brusilov Offensive, 1916," in the Public Domain.

The conflict on the Eastern Front, where the Germans and Austro-Hungarians faced the Russians, was more mobile. In 1916, as the months-long Battle of Verdun seemed to be going against the French, the Russian Army overwhelmed Austrian forces in the Brusilov Offensive (see Figure 7.3.1), the largest and most deadly of the war. Hundreds of thousands died on both sides as the Russian army advanced, forcing the Germans to divert their forces from the Western Front. Austro-Hungarian offensive capabilities were largely destroyed, but Russian soldiers were also disillusioned and began to seriously question the competence and decisions of their officers and commanders, including the Tsar himself. Figure 7.3.1 shows the Russian cavalry charging against the armies of the Central Powers on the Eastern Front in 1916.

Japan and East Africa

Even before the entry of the United States in 1918, the war had become truly global. Japan was eager to be counted as a world power, and Japanese leaders seized upon the opportunity the war provided to improve their status in Asia. After taking control of German colonies in China and the Pacific in 1914, Japan sent the Chinese government a list of 21 Demands. The Chinese believed that giving in to Japan's demands would have basically resulted in China becoming a colony of the Japanese Empire. The Chinese government agreed to some of the demands but leaked the list to British diplomats, who intervened to prevent a complete shift in the balance of power in Asia.

In Africa, Germany lost its colonies in the fighting. A German commander in East Africa, led a largely native African force in guerrilla tactics against Allied troops for most of the war. The scale of fighting in Africa may have paled in comparison to the main theaters of the war, but the deaths were no less tragic. Nor was it only soldiers who died. In eastern Africa, for instance, disruptions to crop cultivation led to hundreds of thousands of deaths by starvation and disease.

The Ottoman Empire controlled territory on either side of the Bosporus Straits, which connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. In 1915, the Allies landed troops at Gallipoli, a peninsula on the European side of the Bosporus, about 200 miles (320 km) from the Ottoman capital in Istanbul. The plan was to take Istanbul, knock the Ottoman Empire out of the war and open a third front against Austria-Hungary and Germany through the Balkans. However, the Ottoman military held the high ground above the landing site chosen for the mostly colonial troops. Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) troops were decimated, in a battle that marks the beginning of a sense of nationality in those countries. The anniversary of the Gallipoli landing, April 25th, is still celebrated as ANZAC Day. The disastrous plan nearly ended the political career of the British First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill.

Figure 7.3.2: “Those who fell by the wayside," Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, in the Public Domain.

Gallipoli Invasion

The eleven-month-long Gallipoli invasion was even more important for the Turks. The hard-fought victory was led by General Mustafa Kemal, who soon became a national hero and would go on to found the modern Turkish Republic and serve as its first president after the war. However, at nearly the same time as the Gallipoli landings, the Ottoman government also decided to take action against the Christian minority in Armenia. Armenians had suffered from periodic pogroms in the decades preceding World War One. The Armenians were loyal subjects (many were serving in the army when the persecution began), but after an unsuccessful Russian attempt to invade Turkey from the east, some military leaders in the Turkish government accused the Armenians of collaborating with the Russian troops and decided to eliminate the Armenian population. Men were executed, while women and children were force-marched across the desert to Mesopotamia. Numbers are hard to verify, but at least one million likely died in what would come to be called the Armenian Genocide. Henry Morgenthau, the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, while the genocide was ongoing claimed that an Ottoman official he spoke to, "made no secret of the fact that the Government had instigated [the massacres], and, like all Turks of the official classes, he enthusiastically approved this treatment of the detested race." Morgenthau also photographed some of the aftermath. Figure 7.3.2 is one of his photographs that documents the Armenian genocide during the war, and the caption reads: "Those who fell by the wayside." Scenes like this were common all over the Armenian provinces in the spring and summer months of 1915. Death in its several forms—massacre, starvation, exhaustion—destroyed the larger part of the refugees. The Turkish policy was that of extermination under the guise of deportation.” Western powers were appropriately swift in their denunciation of the Genocide, but it had only been two years earlier, in 1913, when Muslims in former Ottoman territories had been subject to ethnic cleansing at the hands of Balkan Christians with the tacit approval of Europe’s Great Powers.

In an interview with a German newspaper from May of 1915, Talaat Pasha, one of the leading figures in the Ottoman Empire, attempted to justify his government's genocidal policy towards Armenians saying:

> We have been blamed for not making a distinction between guilty and innocent Armenians. [To do so] was impossible. Because of the nature of things, one who was still innocent today could be guilty tomorrow. The concern for the safety of Turkey simply had to silence all other concerns. Our actions were determined by national and historical necessity.

Later in the year, Talaat met with a German embassy official and explained: "Turkey is taking advantage of the war in order to thoroughly liquidate its internal foes, i.e., the indigenous Christians, without being thereby disturbed by foreign intervention… What on earth do you want? The question is settled. There are no more Armenians." The Armenian Genocide is the clearest example that the costs of the war were not only paid on the battlefields of Europe.

Review Questions

- How did the war on the Eastern Front and in the Mediterranean differ from the Western Front?
- The international community was generally quick to condemn Ottoman actions against the Armenians, yet the Armenian Genocide was not the last such event to occur over the next century. What factors might explain why genocide was so prevalent across the 20th century?

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7.4: The World at War

Colonial Troops

Traditional pop-cultural depictions of the First World War tend to whitewash the proceedings. In reality, this was a war between empires and each, to a greater or lesser extent, exploited their colonies to prosecute the war. As a result, huge numbers of people from the colonized and semi-colonized world took part in World War I. This included nearly 4 million colonial troops who would serve directly in the fighting and hundreds of thousands of others who contributed to the war effort as auxiliaries – collecting bodies, laying railroad tracks, digging trenches, or transporting materials – or filled vital roles on the home front by filling in gaps in the workforce created by conscription. A testament to the diversity of fighting forces is a piece of German propaganda that collected photographs of men in prisoners of-war camps with a focus on people of color According to Santanu Das, "These pictures intended to show German readers the face of the enemy and convey the message that Germany had the capacity to take on the entire world. The intentional and xenophobic portrayal of the prisoners frames them as 'strangers' who threaten Germany." As ugly as this propaganda is, it nevertheless speaks to a greater presence of Black and brown people in the war than is often conceded.

Indian Troops Fought for the British

As the largest imperial power, the British made use of the empire and its subjects most intensively. In doing so, they made a distinction between their colonies, on the one hand, and the self-ruled “White Dominions” of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, on the other. The latter were included in the war declaration but could choose whether to send troops. For the former, however, their participation in the war was assumed as was the fact that they would provide soldiers and manpower. Nor were they treated the same once they arrived in Europe. White citizens of the dominions fought as equals beside their English cousins, while for non-white colonial subjects race was often the determinant of where, when, and how they were allowed to take part in the fighting. Using colonial troops in the colonies against colonial people was one thing, but using them in Europe against whites made many British uncomfortable. Ultimately, Indian troops were the only colonial soldiers allowed to fight for the British on the Western Front and even this was more out of necessity than any racial progressivism. As the single largest colony in the world, and with the largest standing army in the British Empire, India would play a vital role in the war effort. By the end, approximately 1.3 million Indians had served, offering invaluable help to British forces on the Western Front, while providing them with the manpower needed to attack German colonial possessions in East Africa and, more importantly, fight the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and Arabia. Over 700,000 Indians served in those latter campaigns. By the end of the war Indian troops had suffered more than 130,000 casualties including 74,000 deaths.

Troops from France's Colonies

The French also made use of their colonial holdings, bringing in roughly 500,000 troops from throughout their immense empire to help. The largest contingent came from French West Africa, followed by Algerians, Indochinese, Tunisians, Madagascans, and Moroccans. The French were less reluctant to make use of colonial soldiers than the British. Yet, race was no less important to their deployment of colonial troops than it was for the British. Like the British, French military planners divided their subjects into warlike and non-warlike races (*races guerriéres* and *races non-guerriéres*) based on gendered assumptions of the inherent “manliness” of the races. One of France’s greatest concerns before the war was the country’s demographic disadvantage relative to Germany. The French general Charles Mangin argued in 1910 that only by creating a French colonial army, a “force noire”, could the French make up for this disadvantage. His key insight was to dispel the notion that Africans were inherently poor soldiers. In dispelling one racist assumption, however, he substituted a new one. Using the scientific racism of the age, Mangin argued that West Africans were “natural warriors,” whose very primitiveness made them ideal for the battlefield: “[their] young blood flows so ardently, as if avid to be shed.” Where the British felt it improper and even dangerous to “employ coloured troops against a white enemy,” Mangin argued a colonial army was necessary for French survival and furthermore should be embraced as part of the “real French army.” This is not to say that French colonial soldiers were treated as equals or to deny that French interest in the assimilation of the “darker races" was based on racist assumptions itself. Instead, it served as a reminder that we must understand racism as a generalized concept while also exploring the particular ways it functioned in different times and places.

Chinese Labor Corps

In addition to military service, many hundreds of thousands of migrants served in crucial auxiliary roles. Although officially neutral, China contributed 140,000 laborers to the French and British war efforts through the auspices of the Chinese Labor Corps (CLC). Xu Gouqi describes their labor as, "painstaking, but also dangerous. The CLC often worked within military zones, under constant threat from shelling and gas attacks. Living conditions did not ease the strain of the work. The British Army accommodated laborers in barbed wire enclosures, where disease was rife and the diet poor…members of the Chinese Labor Corps were [also] subjected to racism, cultural misunderstanding, and ignorance." At least 3,000 CLC members died throughout the war and even after the fighting ended the work continued. As late as 1920, the CLC was still being used to engrave tombstones for fallen soldiers. The fact that France and Britain could rely on troops, supplies, and labor from their colonies and beyond was crucial to their ability to eventually win the war. Figure 7.4.1 shows Chinese men working in a large warehouse during the war. Men of the Chinese Labor Corps performed many grueling and dangerous tasks for the Allied Powers. They dug trenches, repaired roads, delivered supplies, and cleaned up bloody battlefields.

Figure 7.4.1: "Images of the Chinese Labor Corps in France, 1914-1920," in the public domain, licensed under CC By-NC-SA.

? Review Questions

- Does seeing the faces of German POWs change the way you think about WWI?
- How did race inform the use of colonial peoples in the war effort?

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7.5: The Russians Exit, the United States Enters

The Lusitania and Zimmerman Telegram

Despite all of the efforts for a breakthrough on the battlefields of France and Eastern Europe, the most effective strategy against Germany was the British-led naval blockade, which cut off grain and other food supplies from overseas. The Germans, who had developed the most effective submarines and torpedoes, tried to blockade Great Britain and France by sinking incoming supply ships. This German naval strategy, however, risked bringing the United States into the war. After the sinking of the passenger ship *Lusitania* in May 1915 (see figure 7.5.1), when a hundred U.S. citizens were drowned a few miles from the Irish coast, some American public opinion began to shift in favor of entering the conflict. The German government quickly backed away from unrestricted submarine warfare against supply ships bound for Great Britain and France. Figure 7.5.1 is an illustration of the British steamship *Lusitania*, which was owned by Cunard Line. When she was launched in 1906, the Lusitania was the world's largest ship, sailing from Liverpool to New York. In 1915, a torpedo struck the *Lusitania*, and she sank within 20 minutes. Figure 7.5.1 depicts the sinking ship and drowning of passengers. Some lifeboats are seen on the port side of the sinking ship.

In November 1916, Woodrow Wilson was re-elected President of the United States. The people rallied around the slogan, “He kept us out of war.” By the spring of 1917, President Wilson believed a German victory would drastically and dangerously alter the balance of power in Europe. But he had promised to keep the U. S. out of the war. Submarine warfare had been a problem earlier in the conflict when the Lusitania was sunk in 1915. In 1917, the German general staff decided that a new push for victory on the Western Front needed to be combined with the renewal of U-boat attacks in an effort to starve the British and French. The Germans realized that such a policy would draw the U.S. into the conflict on the side of the Allies, but calculated that the military unpreparedness of the United States would give them time to break through the trench lines in France and end the war before the Americans arrived.

In January 1917, a document called the Zimmerman Telegram surfaced. When decoded it was found to contain a suggestion from an official of the German foreign office to the German ambassador in Mexico that if the U. S. entered the war, Mexico should be encouraged to invade America to regain the territory taken in the Mexican-American War. Many Americans doubted the authenticity of the telegram, especially because it was delivered by British intelligence officers to the secretary of the U. S. Embassy in London. However, Zimmerman soon acknowledged its authenticity, claiming he had only been suggesting a Mexican invasion if the United States had already entered the war. The Mexican government, for its part, announced they had never seriously considered the German suggestion—after all, they were occupied with their revolution. With American public opinion finally behind him, President Wilson went to Congress in February 1917 to announce that diplomatic relations with Germany had been severed. On April 2, Wilson returned with a “War Message” that included the argument that “The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.” Congress declared war on Germany on April 4, 1917.

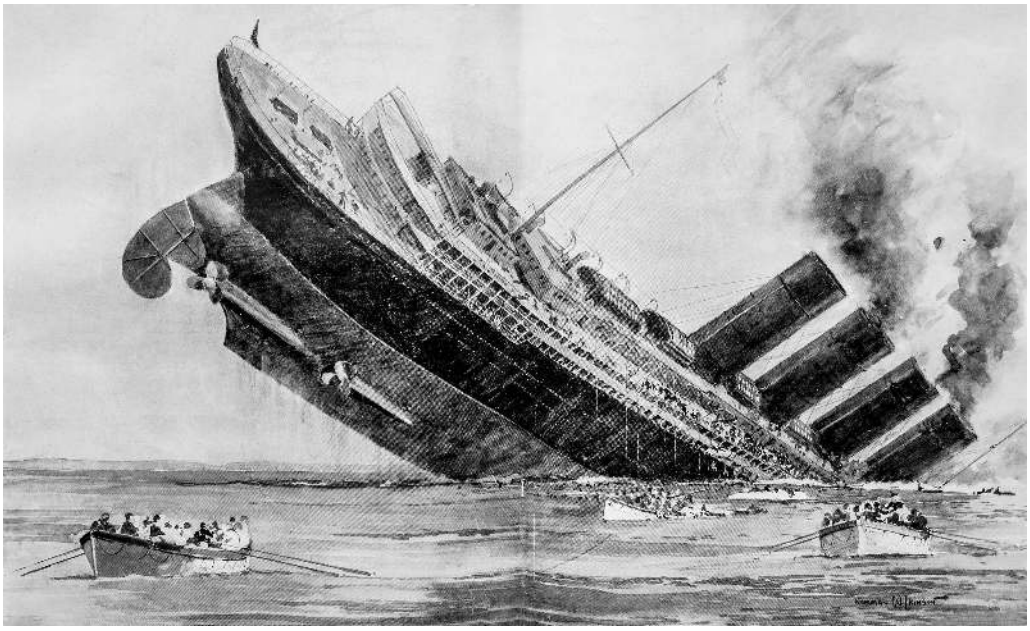

Figure 7.5.1: "Sinking of the Lusitania," Norman Wilkinson, in the Public Domain.

Wilson's request for a declaration of war followed just a few days after Russia's withdrawal from the conflict. The third year of the war saw a major change in German military prospects when the Romanov Dynasty of Tsar Nicholas II collapsed in 1917. The trouble had begun in late February with a strike by women factory workers in St. Petersburg. 90,000 women took to the streets shouting "Bread!", "Down with the autocracy!", and "Stop the war!" The following day, over 150,000 men and women marched and a general strike began. Within a few days the army had sided with the revolutionaries and Nicholas II was forced to abdicate.

Liberal reformers soon established a republic, which made it easier for U.S. President Wilson to proclaim that the war was to "make the world safe for democracy," since a major ally was no longer ruled by an absolute monarch. However, the democratic reformers in Russia were not as well organized as socialist revolutionaries led by Vladimir Lenin, who saw the end of tsarist rule as an opportunity to also defeat capitalism and create a "dictatorship of the proletariat". The revolutionaries and the soldiers and sailors who supported them wanted to end Russian participation in the war.

The Bolshevik Revolution

By the fall, Lenin's party, called the Bolsheviks, established workers' and soldiers' councils—"soviets"—in major cities. In October 1917, they overthrew the fledgling republic to establish a revolutionary socialist state under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who began to call themselves the Communist Party. Lenin, who had opposed the war since its beginning and had been advocating for a Russian withdrawal since the February Revolution, quickly negotiated a peace with Germany in March 1918. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk would cede much of Russia's western territories, including Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine, losing 34% of the former Russian Empire's population and most of the industrial base. The treaty also called for territories claimed by the Ottoman Empire to be handed over to Germany's ally, but Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia declared their independence instead. Russia also agreed to pay 6 billion marks to compensate Germany for its losses.

The Russian Revolution soon became a civil war between the "Workers' and Peasants' Red Army", formed by the Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, and the armies of the "White Russians" under several leaders, dedicated to restoring the Tsarist monarchy. To prevent the return of the Romanovs to power, the revolutionaries had the entire family killed in July 1918. The revolutionaries also waged war on uncooperative peasants called Kulaks, whom they accused of withholding grain from the Bolshevik government. Many of the Kulaks were Ukrainian, which contributed to ongoing aggression toward Ukraine by the new Soviet Union.

Even after World War One ended, the Allies, including the United States, supported the White Russians against the Bolsheviks, sending thousands of troops to support the counterrevolutionaries in Siberia between 1918 and 1920. Years later Josef Stalin, who fought on the Soviet side in the civil war, would remember this fact while negotiating with Britain and the U.S. during World War II.

Between 1917 and 1924, the Soviet Union took control over what had been previously the Russian Empire. Central Asia, which Imperial Russia had conquered in the mid-to-late 19th century, was subdued anew by Communist rule. Communist rule in Central Asia was reinforced through the expansion of political messages and symbols, many of which were simplified images and texts so that the entire population could understand their meanings. At the time of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, only half of the population was literate, and that number quickly rose to 75% by the mid-1930s. The Soviet aesthetic of “the New Soviet Man” and “New Soviet Woman” were reiterated through pictures of hardworking farmers, factory workers, and educators.

Sovietization, as the process came to be known, profoundly affected Central Asians, their cultures, and their societies. Many Central Asians saw the Bolshevik takeover as an opportunity for Islamic modernist reforms. These reformers, known as Jadids, argued that Muslims had entered a period of degeneration in the Russian Empire, and the new Soviet system would enable Central Asians to implement new, modern education systems that would save Muslims. Leaders of the Jadid movement, like Abdurauf Fitrat, argued that a Central Asian political movement centered on the education of the populace would lead to an autonomous Central Asia. While their efforts were successful in transforming the educational and religious landscape of the region, Central Asia remained part of the Soviet Union until its collapse in 1991.

? Primary Source: Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, "What is to Done?" 1902

In this text, Lenin makes his argument for a coherent, strictly controlled party of dedicated revolutionaries as a basic necessity for a revolution. Some have seen an analogy with the Jesuit Order in his proposals for an elite corps to lead the masses. One may see in Lenin's proposals a deep insight into to necessary requisites for a revolution, or a deep contempt for the working classes.

The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, *i.e*, it may itself realise the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. Similarly, in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social Democracy [*Note: By "social democracy" Lenin means revolutionary political Marxism, not the later concept of "moderate" socialism*] arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the labour movement; it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia. At the time of which we are speaking, *i.e.*, the middle of the nineties, this doctrine not only represented the completely formulated programme of the Emancipation of Labour group, but had already won the adherence of the majority of the revolutionary youth in Russia.

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It is only natural that a Social Democrat, who conceives the political struggle as being identical with the "economic struggle against the employers and the government," should conceive of an "organisation of revolutionaries" as being more or less identical with an "organisation of workers." And this, in fact, is what actually happens; so that when we talk about organisation, we literally talk in different tongues. I recall a conversation I once had with a fairly consistent Economist, with whom I had not been previously acquainted. We were discussing the pamphlet *Who Will Make the Political Revolution?* and we were very soon agreed that the principal defect in that brochure was that it

ignored the question of organisation. We were beginning to think that we were in complete agreement with each other-but as the conversation proceeded, it became clear that we were talking of different things. My interlocutor accused the author of the brochure just mentioned of ignoring strike funds, mutual aid societies, etc.; whereas I had in mind an organisation of revolutionaries as an essential factor in "making" the political revolution. After that became clear, I hardly remember a single question of importance upon which I was in agreement with that Economist! What was the source of our disagreement? The fact that on questions of organisation and politics the Economists are forever lapsing from Social Democracy into trade unionism. The political struggle carried on by the Social Democrats is far more extensive and complex than the economic struggle the workers carry on against the employers and the government. Similarly (and indeed for that reason), the organisation of a revolutionary Social Democratic Party must inevitably *differ* from the organisations of the workers designed for the latter struggle. A workers' organisation must in the first place be a trade organisation; secondly, it must be as wide as possible; and thirdly, it must be as public as conditions will allow (here, and further on, of course, I have only autocratic Russia in mind). On the other hand, the organisations of revolutionaries must consist first and foremost of people whose profession is that of a revolutionary (that is why I speak of organisations of *revolutionaries*, meaning revolutionary Social Democrats). In view of this common feature of the members of such an organisation, *all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals*, and certainly distinctions of trade and profession, must be obliterated. Such an organisation must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible.

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I assert:

1. that no movement can be durable without a stable organisation of leaders to maintain continuity;
2. that the more widely the masses are spontaneously drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement and participate in it, the more necessary is it to have such an organisation, and the more stable must it be (for it is much easier for demogogues to sidetrack the more backward sections of the masses);
3. that the organisation must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession;
4. that in a country with an autocratic government, the more we *restrict* the membership of this organisation to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organisation, and
5. the *wider* will be the circle of men and women of the working class or of other classes of society able to join the movement and perform active work in it...

The active and widespread participation of the masses will not suffer; on the contrary, it will benefit by the fact that a "dozen" experienced revolutionaries, no less professionally trained than the police, will centralise all the secret side of the work-prepare leaflets, work out approximate plans and appoint bodies of leaders for each urban district, for each factory district and to each educational institution, etc. (I know that exception will be taken to my "undemocratic" views, but I shall reply to this

altogether unintelligent objection later on.) The centralisation of the more secret functions in an organisation of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a large number of other organisations intended for wide membership and which, therefore, can be as loose and as public as possible, for example, trade unions, workers' circles for self-education and the reading of illegal literature, and socialist and also democratic circles for *all other sections of the population.* etc, etc We must have *as large a number as possible* of such organisations having the widest possible variety of functions, but it is absurd and dangerous to *confuse those with organisations of revolutionaries,* to erase the line of demarcation between them, to dim still more the masses already incredibly hazy appreciation of the fact that in order to "serve" the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social Democratic activities, and that such people must *train* themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries. Aye, this appreciation has become incredibly dim. The most grievous sin we have committed in regard to organisation is that *by our primitiveness we have lowered the prestige o revolutionaries in Russia.* A man who is weak and vacillating on theoretical questions, who has a narrow outlook who makes excuses for his own slackness on the ground that the masses are awakening spontaneously; who resembles a trade union secretary more than a people's tribune, who is unable to conceive of a broad and bold plan, who is incapable of inspiring even his opponents with respect for himself, and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art-the art of combating the political police-such a man is not a revolutionary but a wretched amateur! Let no active worker take offense at these frank remarks, for as far as insufficient training is concerned, I apply them first and foremost to myself. I used to work in a circle that set itself great and all embracing tasks; and every member of that circle suffered to the point of torture from the realisation that we were proving ourselves to be amateurs at a moment in history when we might have been able to say, paraphrasing a well known epigram: "Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn the whole of Russia!"

Internet Modern History Sourcebook. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: What is to be Done, 1902

Discussion Questions

- What is Lenin’s argument for why an “organisation of revolutionaries” is necessary for making a political revolution?
- How does the work of this organization of revolutionaries differ from the organization of the workers?

? Review Questions

- Why did the United States enter the war?
- How did World War contribute to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution?

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7.6: Political Dissent on the Homefront

Stiffling Dissent

As soon as the war began, governments on both sides moved quickly to portray the war effort as a success and to eliminate any sign of dissent. Britain censored mail sent by soldiers at the front to their families, instituting standardized postcards that allowed men in the trenches to choose from a menu of statements but not to write anything specific about their experiences. Society became completely focused on the war effort, and governments reorganized the economy around war production. The state also rationed food and strictly controlled the media (which at the time meant the press) to silence dissent and present news of the war that boosted the morale and resolve of the population.

The British were even quicker to stifle dissent in their empire. By 1914, Indians were still just dipping their toes into mass nationalism and British statesmen were not sure if they would willingly support Britain's war effort. These fears intensified when the Ottoman Empire entered the war on the side of Germany. The British Indian Army was disproportionately Muslim and many doubted whether they could be convinced to fight against the Ottoman Empire, which claimed to be the leader of global Islam. Those fears proved unfounded when the major Indian nationalist organizations, including the Muslim League, agreed to work with the British in return for vague promises that they would be rewarded with some manner of self-rule when the war ended. Even armed with this support, the British-Indian government nevertheless passed the Defence of India Act in 1915. This was a preventative measure meant to curb any potential nationalist or even revolutionary action that could harm the British war efforts. The Act gave the Governor-General of India the ability to detain or jail individuals without trial or even a justification, to restrict Indian's (already limited) freedom of speech and assembly, and even curtail their ability to travel.

To stifle dissent in the U.S., the government passed the Espionage Act in June 1917. Woodrow Wilson declared the act was designed to prosecute those who had "poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life…to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue." Although Wilson implied that the people he intended to target were "born under other flags," most of the people prosecuted, like labor leader and Socialist Party presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs, were American citizens. Wilson also suggested that labor unions' actions to defend worker rights during wartime would be considered an attack on America. The law was expanded with the Sedition Act of 1918, which prohibited any forms of speech that could be considered "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States." As the Russian Revolution was taken over by the Bolsheviks, U.S. concern shifted from draft resistance to socialism, and a "Red Scare" gripped America. Hundreds were arrested, deported, and jailed under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. By 1919 even the authorities realized they had gone too far, and the U.S. Attorney General convinced President Wilson to commute the sentences of 200 prisoners convicted under the acts.

Women's Labor

With a large proportion of the male working population fighting in the war, women were needed to take up positions that the men had abandoned on the homefront. Women on all sides served as nurses and medics but also worked in more agriculture and industry to keep the economy going while men were away fighting while ensuring that the armies would be adequately supplied. Many governments promised equal pay, although most did not make good on their promise. But women gained greater political influence and achieved the right to vote in the U.S. and many European countries almost immediately after the war's end as a result of their contributions to the war effort and concerted political activism. Figure 7.6.1 is photograph from 1917, and shows a few men supervising the work of women in a large ordinance factory in Britain. Family life was disrupted during the war. During the war, arms production centers/factories employed the largest number of female workers.

Figure 7.6.1: "Female workers arranging and packing fuze heads in the Coventry Ordinance Works. September 1917," Horace Nicholls, CC BY-NC-SA.

? Review Questions

- How did the ongoing Russian Revolution and the growing prominence of the Bolsheviks influence U.S. government policy?
- Why might the clamp down on dissent have been more severe in British India than in Britain itself?

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7.7: The Costs of War

War Casualties

The European powers struggled to adapt to the brutality of modern war, with its advanced artillery, machine guns, poison gas, and submarines. Until the spring of 1917, the Allies possessed few effective defensive measures against German submarine attacks, which had sunk more than a thousand ships by the time the United States entered the war. The rapid addition of American naval escorts to the British surface fleet and the establishment of a convoy system countered much of the effect of German submarines. Shipping and military losses declined rapidly, just as the American army arrived in Europe in large numbers. Although many of the supplies still needed to make the transatlantic passage, the physical presence of the army proved to be a fatal blow to German plans to dominate the Western Front. Where Germany had numerical superiority on the Western Front in April 1918, the addition of American troops throughout the rest of the year provided the Allies with a decisive military advantage. In March 1918, Germany tried to take advantage of the withdrawal of Russia and its new single-front war before the Americans arrived, with the *Kaiserschlacht* (Spring Offensive), a series of five major attacks. By the middle of July 1918, every one had failed to break through the Western Front. Then, on August 8, 1918, two million men of the American Expeditionary Forces joined the British and French armies in a series of successful counter-offensives that pushed the disintegrating German lines back across France. The gamble of the Spring Offensive had exhausted Germany's military, making defeat inevitable. Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated at the request of the German military leaders and a new democratic government agreed to an armistice on November 11, 1918, hoping that by embracing Wilson's call for democracy, Germany would be treated more fairly in the peace talks. German military forces withdrew from France and Belgium and returned to a Germany teetering on the brink of chaos. November 11 is still commemorated by the Allies as Armistice Day (called Veterans' Day in the United States). Figure 7.7.1 shows the bones and skulls of unidentified soldiers who died during the Battle of Verdun.

In all between 16 and 19 million soldiers died in World War I along with 7 to 8 million civilians (before the influenza pandemic of 1919). Some of the worst battles were:

- Verdun: 976,000 casualties (Feb.-Dec. 1916)
- Brusilov Offensive: Nearly 2,000,000 casualties (June-Sept. 1916)
- Somme: 1,219,201 casualties (July-Nov. 1916)
- Passchendaele: 848,614 casualties (July-Nov. 1917)
- Spring Offensive: 1,539,715 casualties (March 1918)
- 100 Days Offensive: 1,855,369 casualties (Aug.-Nov. 1918)

Figure 7.7.1: "German remains from the Battle of Verdun recovered in 1919," Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

Civilian populations were also targeted. While bombing cities from airplanes was not yet common, naval blockades were also an effective way of putting pressure on civilians. Even if a nation was relatively self-sufficient in food production under normal circumstances, war was not a normal circumstance. The British blockade of Germany prevented not only war supplies but food from reaching the German people, resulting in a half million civilian deaths. For the Europeans, World War One was a “Total War” involving every level of society.

By the end of the war, more than 4.7 million American men had served in all branches of the military. The United States lost over one hundred thousand men, with fifty-three thousand dying in battle, and even more from disease. Their terrible sacrifice, however, paled before the European death toll. After four years of stalemate and brutal trench warfare, France had suffered almost a million and a half military dead and Germany even more. Both nations lost about 4 percent of their populations to the war. By contrast, Serbia’s population had fallen by nearly 17% by the war’s end with the Ottoman Empire nearly matching them at 15%.

Figure 7.7.2: "Soldiers from Fort Riley, Kansas, ill with “Spanish flu” at an emergency hospital ward at Camp Funston in 1918," Public Domain in Wikimedia Commons

Even as war raged on the Western Front, an even deadlier threat loomed. In the spring of 1918, a new strain (H1N1) of the influenza virus appeared in the farm country of Kansas and hit nearby Camp Funston (see Figure 7.7.2), one of the largest army training camps in the nation. The virus spread like wildfire. Between March and May 1918, fourteen of the largest American military training camps reported outbreaks of influenza. Some of the infected soldiers carried the virus on troop transports to France. By September 1918, influenza had spread to all training camps in the United States. Figure 7.7.2 shows rows of beds with patients during the 1918 pandemic.

The second wave of the virus was even deadlier than the first. Unlike most flu viruses, the H1N1 strain struck down those in the prime of their lives rather than old people and young children. A disproportionate number of influenza victims were between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. In Europe, influenza hit troops and civilians on both sides of the Western Front. The disease was misnamed “Spanish Influenza,” due to accounts of the disease that first appeared in the uncensored newspapers of neutral Spain while the warring nations tried to suppress the news of the disease for propaganda purposes.

The Influenza Pandemic infected about 500 million people worldwide and resulted in the deaths of between fifty and a hundred million people; possibly more. The world population in 1918 was about 1.8 billion; influenza infected nearly a third and killed between 5% and 10%. Reports from the surgeon general of the army revealed that while 227,000 American soldiers had been hospitalized from wounds received in battle, almost half a million suffered from influenza. The worst part of the wartime epidemic struck during the height of the Meuse-Argonne Offensive in the fall of 1918 and weakened the combat capabilities of both the American and German armies. During the war, more soldiers died from influenza than combat. But the pandemic continued to spread after the armistice, with a death toll of nearly 20% of those infected, as opposed to about 0.1% in regular flu epidemics. Four waves of worldwide infection spread before cases and deaths finally began fading in the early 1920s. No cure was ever found.

? Review Questions

- Why was the arrival of American troops such a decisive moment in the War?
- How did the war contribute to Influenza Pandemic?

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7.8: Envisioning a Post-War World

Wilson's Fourteen Points

On December 4, 1918, President Wilson became the first American president to travel overseas while in office (see Figure 7.8.1). Wilson went to Europe to end “the war to end wars”, and he intended to shape the peace. The war brought an abrupt end to four European imperial powers. The German, Russian, Austrian-Hungarian, and Ottoman Empires each evaporated and the map of Europe was redrawn to accommodate new independent nations. As part of the armistice, Allied forces occupied territories in the Rhineland separating Germany and France, to prevent conflicts there from reigniting war. A new German government disarmed while Wilson and other Allied leaders gathered in France at Versailles to dictate the terms of a settlement to the war. After months of deliberation, the Treaty of Versailles officially ended the war. Figure 7.8.1 is a photograph of President Woodrow Wilson holding up his hat in his right hand and smiling. He was on his way back from the the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Figure 7.8.1: "Woodrow Wilson returning from the Paris Peace Conference, 1919," in the Public Domain.

In January 1918, before American troops had even arrived in Europe, President Wilson had offered an ambitious statement of war aims and peace terms known as the Fourteen Points to a joint session of Congress. The plan not only addressed territorial issues but offered principles on which Wilson believed a long-term peace could be built. The president called for reductions in armaments, freedom of the seas, adjustment of colonial claims, and the abolition of the types of secret treaties that had led to the war. Some members of the international community welcomed Wilson’s idealism, but in January 1918, Germany still anticipated a favorable verdict on the battlefield and did not seriously consider accepting the terms of the Fourteen Points. Even the Allies were dismissive. French prime minister Georges Clemenceau remarked, “The good Lord only had ten [commandments].”

President Wilson continued to promote his vision of the postwar world. The United States entered the fray, Wilson proclaimed, “to make the world safe for democracy.” At the center of the plan was a new international organization, the League of Nations. It would be charged with keeping a worldwide peace, “affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.” This promise of collective security, that an attack on one sovereign member would be viewed as an attack on all, was a key component of the Fourteen Points. Wilson’s Fourteen Points speech was translated into many languages and was even sent to Germany to encourage negotiation.

But while President Wilson was celebrated in Europe as a “God of Peace,” many of his fellow statesmen were less enthusiastic about his plans for postwar Europe. Former U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt called the Fourteen Points “high-sounding and meaningless” and said they could be interpreted to mean “anything or nothing.” Whether intentionally or not, the very ambiguity of many of Wilson’s points helped make him for a time the most popular politician in the world. It turned out that when the ideas were unclear people tended to choose the meaning they wanted in the “high-sounding” text. Indeed, when Wilson traveled through Italy and France before the opening of the Peace Conference he was greeted by rapturous and adoring crowds wherever he went. As popular as he was among Europeans, he was just as loved by those living under colonial rule. Across the world, colonized people

assumed that Wilson's embrace of "self-determination" meant that they would finally have a sympathetic figure to turn to at the height of the global power structure. Such hopes would end in disappointment for many. Traveling to Versailles in 1919, and renting a suit for the occasion, the future Vietnamese anti-colonial leader Ho Chi Minh was frustrated to find that he was never even able to get close to Wilson, much less present him with his petition for Vietnamese independence.

In an even more disappointing example, a group of Korean nationalists drafted their own declaration of independence from Japanese rule which they hoped they could get Wilson to support. Japanese authorities in Korea, however, refused to give them exit visas to leave the country. Still desperate to get their declaration to Wilson at Versailles, they gave the job to one of their members who had been living in China. He set off on foot, following the tracks of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, but by the time he arrived, the peace talks had already concluded and Wilson was gone. Such disappointments were not all the fault of Wilson. It turned out that, like the Japanese in Korea, the French and the British also worked to prohibit the travel of the most influential colonial leaders. Additionally, the British were careful that any petitions sent from the colonies would be safely filed away before reaching the American delegation. In the end, though, the inability of colonial people to meet with him or get their petitions read was not what undermined this Wilsonian moment. Instead, it was the formidable barriers of white supremacy and the unwillingness of the victors to place abstract principles above what they saw as their national interests.

High-minded rhetoric could not overcome the fact that many of those responsible for crafting what would become the Treaty of Versailles, including Wilson himself, held deeply racist assumptions about the natural order of the world. One of Wilson's fears of bringing the U.S. into the war was that it would weaken the country's ability, "to keep the white race strong against the yellow – Japan for instance.… White civilization and its domination of the planet rested largely on our ability to keep this country intact." Self-determination was fine for – to use the language of the time – "self-governing races" but inappropriate for non-Europeans. "After all," Wilson is quoted as saying about America's colonial subjects in the Philippines "they are children and we are men in these deep matters of government and justice."

The degree of racism among the representatives at Versailles can be seen in the experience of the Japanese delegation. The Japanese arrived in France convinced that as an imperial nation themselves they had graduated to the rank of Great Power and deserved a seat at the table. They were indeed at the table, but it was at the far end of the conference table away from where the important conversations were happening. Aside from being mostly left out of the key discussions, they also had to deal with the racist remarks and insults of their fellow delegates. The senior Japanese diplomat, Mokino Nobuaki, nevertheless attempted to push forward Japan's most important item – adding a racial equality clause into the charter of the proposed League of Nations:

> The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord as soon as possible to all alien nationals of states, members of the League, equal and just treatment in every respect making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality.

The clause was mostly meant to push back on generations of anti-Asian legislation in the U.S. and Australia. In making his case for the clause, Mokino quoted extensively from the constitutions of the Western Powers and called on these nations to live up to their liberal promises. This was met with fierce resistance. When Mokino referenced Thomas Jefferson's words that "all men are created equal," Lord Balfour of the British delegation angrily responded with his disbelief that, "a man of Central Africa was created equal to a European." Despite this attitude, when Mokino put the racial equality clause to a vote it won. Refusing to accept the outcome, the American and Australian delegations vetoed the clause with Wilson claiming that the strong objections to the clause were enough to annul the vote. If industrialized Japan with its constitutional system, emerging economic might, and overseas empire could barely get its voice heard in international affairs then what chance did Indians, Vietnamese, Koreans, or other colonized people have?

National interests also got in the way of Wilsonian idealism. Even the closest allies of the United States had little passion for Wilson's pet project of the League of Nations. The British and French were instead focused on guaranteeing the future security of their own nations. Unlike the United States, safe across the Atlantic, the Allies had endured the horrors of the war firsthand. They believed that the sacrifices they made in pursuit of victory meant they should not have to sacrifice when it came to the peace. Negotiations made it clear that British prime minister David Lloyd-George was more interested in preserving and expanding Britain's imperial domains, while French prime minister Clemenceau wanted severe financial reparations and limits on Germany's future ability to wage war. Wilson would stand and fight for a League of Nations, but in other matters was all too ready to bow to British and French desires. In 1919, writing in a journal that he edited, a young Mao Zedong lamented the helplessness of Woodrow Wilson among "the thieves" at Versailles: "Wilson in Paris was like an ant on a hot skillet. He didn't know what to do…

He heard nothing except accounts of receiving certain amounts of territory and of reparations worth so much in gold. He did nothing except to attend various kinds of meetings where he could not speak his mind…I felt sorry for him for a long time. Poor Wilson!" (quoted in Mishra, 199)

Wilson would not have been happy to be pitied by this obscure young Chinese intellectual and neither he nor the American delegation were deserving of that pity. Despite the Allies' lack of agreement with the Fourteen Points, the key role of U.S. troops and U.S. dollars in the outcome gave the Americans an influential seat at the negotiating table at Versailles. Woodrow Wilson was seen as an international hero, and his appointee Thomas Lamont became a central figure in the negotiations that ended the war and set guidelines for German reparations. Britain and France were eventually successful at getting the punitive items they wanted into the final treaty and Lamont went along with them because shifting the financial burden to Germany guaranteed that the Allied nations that owed J.P. Morgan and Company so much money would be able to pay it back.

The Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles was signed in June 1919 and would mark the formal end of the fighting between Germany and its adversaries (additional treaties dealt more specifically with the other combatants). Since the moment of its signing contemporary observers and later historians and political scientists have argued over its significance. Was it too harsh on Germany? Too lenient? Did its terms make future war inevitable or was it mistakes by the following generation that led to the next crisis? Beyond such questions, the terms of the Treaty did, at least, radically reshape the borders of Europe by dismantling the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, creating new nations based on ideas of ethnic kinship in their place, and also enlarging the borders of existing nations.

The treaty was a compromise that included demands for German reparations, provisions for the League of Nations, and the promise of collective security. Wilson did not get everything he wanted, but Lamont did. According to historian Ferdinand Lundberg, the "total wartime expenditure of the United States government from April 6, 1917, to October 31, 1919, when the last contingent of troops returned from Europe, was $35,413,000,000. Net corporate profits for the period January 1, 1916, to July 1921, when wartime industrial activity was finally liquidated, were $38,000,000,000." In the years after the war, J.P. Morgan and Company would earn additional millions by loaning Germany the money the treaty required it to pay to the allies so they could pay the bankers.

? Review Questions

- How did racism impact the negotiations over the Treaty of Versailles?
- The main players at Versailles brought their own interests and biases into their construction of the post-war world. If you were at Versailles in 1919 what would have been your vision for the new order?

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7.9: The Post-War Middle East

The Middle East

After more than six hundred years in power, WWI brought an end to the supremacy of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East. When the war began in 1914, the Ottoman Empire, at the behest of Enver Pasha, its Minister of War, entered the conflict on the side of the Central Powers. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the war against Britain, France, and Russia was directly tied to the Empire's close military alliance with Germany, a power that had aided in revitalizing the Ottoman military against British economic colonialism in the region.

Territorial losses in North Africa and the Balkans also served as motivation to join the Central Powers in what had been deemed a "European war." More than half a million men served in the Ottoman military, presenting a huge risk to Britain because of its positions in the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf. The Ottomans were prepared for British maneuvers. Upon the British attack on Iraq, an Ottoman holding, the Central Powers attacked the British in Egypt, starting a drawn-out conflict between the British and Ottoman empires in the Middle East.

Figure 7.9.1: "The Imperial Camel Corps Brigade outside Beersheba, 1st November 1917," George Westmoreland, in the Imperial War Museum, CC BY-NC-SA.

The Ottoman military's successes against the British led to the disastrous Gallipoli campaign of 1915-16. Initially, the British attempted to subdue the Ottoman capital, Constantinople, by sending the Royal Navy through the Dardanelles. Defenses on the Ottoman side, led by individuals like Mustafa Kemal – the military leader who would at the end of the war found the Republic of Turkey out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire – were able to stave off the British advance.

As the Gallipoli campaign came to an end, Britain redoubled its efforts against the Ottomans in Iraq. Figure 7.9.1 shows Sir Stanley Frederick Maude leading 150,000 well-equipped soldiers on camels into the region to build up the infrastructure of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, setting the Central Powers back in their attempts to prevent further British incursions into Ottoman territory.

The Great War transformed the world. The Middle East, especially, was drastically changed. Before the war, the region east of the Mediterranean had three main centers of power: the Ottoman Empire, British-controlled Egypt, and independent Iran. As early as 1916, the French and British had already agreed to a plan to partition Ottoman territory after its defeat. The Sykes-Picot Agreement (named after British and French diplomats Mark Sykes and Francois-George Picot) established spheres of influence for each nation and was ratified by their respective governments in May 1916 (figure 7.9.2). By 1918 the situation had become far more complex as a result of President Wilson's call for self-determination in the Fourteen Points. That promise appealed to many under Ottoman

rule, especially the Arabs. In the aftermath of the war, Wilson sent a commission to determine the conditions and aspirations of the people. The King-Crane Commission found that most favored an independent state free of European control. However, the people's wishes were largely ignored and the lands of the former Ottoman Empire were divided into several nations created by Great Britain and France with little regard to ethnic realities and still largely based on the secret agreement of 1916. The British in particular wanted to continue to control the Suez Canal which was their route to India, and to monopolize the oil of the Persian Gulf to fuel the diesel engines of their navy and merchant marine.

The Arab provinces of the Ottomans were to be ruled by Britain and France as League of Nations "mandates" and a new nation of Turkey emerged in the former Ottoman heartland in Anatolia. According to the League of Nations, mandates were necessary in regions that "were inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." Though supposedly established for the benefit of the Middle-Eastern people, the mandate system was essentially a reimagined form of nineteenth-century imperialism. France received Syria; Britain took control of Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan (Jordan). The United States was asked to become a mandate power but declined.

To consolidate their power over the Arabs, the British supported Hussein Ibn Ali (related distantly to the Prophet Muhammad) as king of Hejaz on the Arabian Peninsula, including the holy sites of Mecca and Medina, in 1916. His sons Abdullah and Faisal were chosen to be kings of Transjordan and of Syria, where Faisal was rejected and so instead became the king of Iraq. The Iraqi dynasty ended in violence with the murder of Faisal's grandson in 1958, but Abdullah's dynasty still rules Jordan, under Abdullah II and Queen Rania. In Hejaz, Hussein Ibn Ali was overthrown in 1925 by Ibn Saud, a tribal leader from eastern Arabia. Through strategic marriages with other tribes, Ibn Saud established Saudi Arabia. He had so many children that the current king is still one of his many sons.

The disposition of the Middle East was complicated by the increasing importance of its oil resources. Oil had been discovered in Iran in 1908, and during the period when petroleum was becoming the most important commodity of the twentieth century, it was also becoming clear that some of the world's largest reserves were located in the Middle East. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company (now known as British Petroleum or BP) was established in 1908 to control production in Iran. After the war, British-controlled businesses that had been licensed by the Ottomans to develop oil discovered in Mesopotamia spurred British interest in creating the new Kingdom of Iraq under British mandate in 1920. The British-controlled multinational, TPC (Turkish Petroleum Company, established in 1912), received a 75-year concession to develop Iraq's oil.

However, in 1933 when enormous deposits of oil were discovered in eastern Arabia, Ibn Saud turned to the Americans rather than the British to exploit these oil deposits, fearing renewed British meddling in his country. U.S. oil companies have been there ever since.

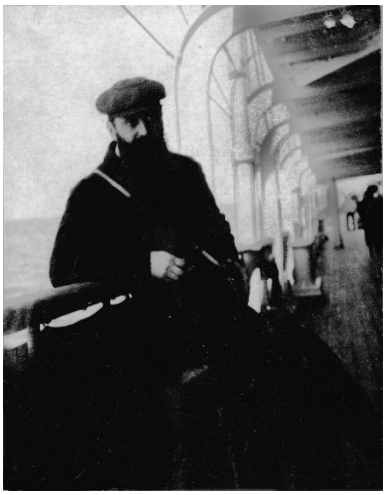

Figure 7.9.2: "Theodor Herzl on board a vessel reaching the shores of Palestine, 1898," in the Public Domain.

Zionism

The movement to establish a Jewish Homeland—Zionism—was begun in the 1890s by Jewish Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl. Figure 7.9.2 is a photograph from 1898 of Theodore Herzl. He is wearing a cap and standing against the railing on board a ship

near the shores of Jaffa. Shocked by how Jews were being persecuted throughout Europe, even in liberal France, Herzl concluded that Jews would never be fully accepted as citizens anywhere and that they needed to establish a separate Jewish homeland. It was by no means a forgone conclusion that Israel would become the destination for many Jews fleeing persecution. Over 2.5 million Jews fled Europe and went to the USA. Portugal sought to strengthen its rule in Angola by enlisting Jewish leaders to establish a colony there. Many Jewish leaders wanted to create a Jewish homeland in Angola.

After some debate, Herzl's movement decided to begin buying land in Palestine, the site of the ancient Hebrew kingdom. In the heat of the war, in 1917, the British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour promised that Palestine would be recognized as a "Jewish homeland," in an attempt to gain the support of Jews among the belligerents. In 1918 there were 618,000 Muslims, 70,000 Christians, and some 59,000 Jews in Palestine.Of course, the British also promised to respect Arab sovereignty in Palestine; setting the stage for conflict in the region that has continued to today.

It is hard to overstate how destabilizing the post-war settlements in the former Ottoman territories were to the rest of the 20th century. There is a straight line between many of the decisions made so quickly and thoughtlessly in 1919/1920 and current issues in the region today. To choose one example, the boundaries that were drawn for the new British Mandate of Iraq were almost guaranteed to create tension among the populations involved. Roughly two-thirds of the people in British-mandate Iraq were Shi'a Muslims while Sunni represented much of the remainder. Despite the numerical dominance of Shi'a by 1921, the British would install a Sunni monarchy. This reflected an all too familiar colonial pattern. In many European colonies in Africa, for instance, certain ethnic groups were selected out of the broader population to receive greater economic and political opportunities. They would then become staunch allies of the colonizer while also earning the enmity of less favored groups. This divide-and-rule strategy was very much alive in the Kingdom of Iraq. Under first the British, then the British-backed monarchy, and even under the authority of the secular Ba'athist Party, the majority Shi'a population would be economically disadvantaged while also underrepresented politically and culturally in the country.

Correctly feeling that living under a League of Nations Mandate was little different than being a colony, many Iraqi Shi'as (along with some Sunni tribes) were in revolt by 1920. With the war now over, the British army was in the process of demobilizing and there was little public interest in fighting a new war in a faraway location. Instead, the British unleashed their recently discovered air power against the rebels. These bombing campaigns were more cost-effective than traditional military operations and easier too. The British considered the entire Iraqi population as potential fighters and therefore potential targets of their bombs. Writing in 1946, George Orwell described the kind of colonial warfare that was being pioneered in the Middle East: "Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification.*" (Orwell) Iraq was indeed "pacified" with the help of this aerial terrorism, but even when the revolt ended the planes remained. As Priya Satia has written, "Bombardment was used routinely even for tax collection. As a wing commander explained, in Iraq they did 'with explosives what should be done by policemen and sticks.'" Although casualties numbers were not officially collected, Satia suggests that "A hundred casualties were not unusual in a single operation, besides those lost to starvation and the burning of villages; homes, crops, and livestock were also targeted." This loss of life was dismissed by authorities in Britain based on the idea that "these tribes love fighting for fighting's sake…They have no objection to being killed." All this is to say that current conditions in the Middle East do not represent the basic nature of the region, the people, or the culture. Instead, they are the result of this particular history of imperialist interference, violence, and economic exploitation that came about as a result of a postwar settlement that was based on many of the same failed imperialist assumptions that had hastened the coming of war in the first place.

? Primary Source Articles: Emir Faisal at Versailles, 1919

At Versailles, Arab leaders like Emir Faisal arrived to seek the formation of independent Arab nations in the Middle East.

Discussion Questions

- What kind of relationship is Emir Faisal seeking between Arabs and Europeans?
- What is the perception of the Jews?

The aim of the Arab nationalist movements is to unite the Arabs eventually into one nation. As an old member of the Syrian Committee I commanded the Syrian revolt, and had under me Syrians, Mesopotamians, and Arabians.

We believe that our ideal of Arab unity in Asia is justified beyond need of argument. If argument is required, we would point to the general principles accepted by the Allies when the United States joined them, to our splendid past, to the tenacity with which our race has for 600 years resisted Turkish attempts to absorb us, and, in a lesser degree, to what we tried our best to do in this war as one of the Allies.

The unity of the Arabs in Asia has been made more easy of late years, since the development of railways, telegraphs, and air-roads. In old days the area was too huge, and in parts necessarily too thinly peopled, to communicate common ideas readily. The various provinces of Arab Asia — Syria, Irak, Jezireh, Hedjaz, Nejd, Yemen — are very different economically and socially, and it is impossible to constrain them into one frame of government.

We believe that Syria, an agricultural and industrial area thickly peopled with sedentary classes, is sufficiently advanced politically to manage her own internal affairs. We feel also that foreign technical advice and help will be a most valuable factor in our national growth. We are willing to pay for this help in cash; we cannot sacrifice for it any part of the freedom we have just won for ourselves by force of arms.

Jezireh and Irak are two huge provinces, made up of three civilised towns, divided by large wastes thinly peopled by seminomadic tribes. The world wishes to exploit Mesopotamia rapidly, and we therefore believe that the system of government there will have to be buttressed by the men and material resources of a great foreign Power. We ask, however, that the Government be Arab, in principle and spirit, the selective rather than the elective principle being necessarily followed in the neglected districts, until time makes the broader basis possible. The main duty of the Arab Government there would be to oversee the educational processes which are to advance the tribes to the moral level of the towns. The Hedjaz is mainly a tribal area, and the government will remain, as in the past, suited to patriarchal conditions. We appreciate these better than Europe, and propose therefore to retain our complete independence there.

In Palestine the enormous majority of the people are Arabs. The Jews are very close to the Arabs in blood, and there is no conflict of character between the two races. In principles we are absolutely at one. Nevertheless, the Arabs cannot risk assuming the responsibility of holding level the scales in the clash of races and religions that have, in this one province, so often involved the world in difficulties. They would wish for the effective super-position of a great trustee, so long as a representative local administration commended itself by actively promoting the material prosperity of the country.

The powers will, I hope, find better means to give fuller effect to the aims of our national movement. I came to Europe, on behalf of my father and the Arabs of Asia, to say that they are expecting the Powers at the Conference not to attach undue importance to superficial differences of condition, and not to consider them only from the low ground of existing European material interests and supposed spheres. They expect the powers to think of them as one potential people, jealous of their language and liberty, and ask that no step be taken inconsistent with the prospect of an eventual union of these areas under one sovereign government.

In laying stress on the difference in the social condition of our provinces, I do not wish to give the impression that there exists any real conflict of ideals, material interests, creeds, or character rendering our union impossible. The greatest obstacle we have to overcome is local ignorance, for which the Turkish Government is largely responsible.

In our opinion, if our independence be conceded and our local competence established, the natural influences of race, language, and interest will soon draw us together into one people; but for this the Great Powers will have to ensure us open internal frontiers, common railways and telegraphs, and uniform systems of education. To achieve this they must lay aside the thought of individual profits, and of their old jealousies. In a word, we ask you not to force your whole civilisation upon us, but to help us to pick out what serves us from your experience. In return we can offer you little but gratitude.

David Hunter Miller, *My Diary at the Conference of Paris* (1924) vol. 4, in the Public Domain

? Review Questions

- How did the particulars of the post-war settlement in the former Ottoman territories help create instability in the region?
- Why did the British prefer aerial warfare for their pacification campaigns rather than using traditional armies?

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7.10: Racism and the Red Scare

Racial Tensions

The United States grappled with harsh postwar realities. Racial tensions exploded in the "Red Summer" of 1919 when violence broke out in at least twenty-five American cities, including Chicago and Washington, D.C. Industrial war production and massive wartime service had created vast labor shortages, and thousands of black Southerners had traveled to the North and Midwest to work in factories. But the Great Migration of Black people escaping the traps of southern poverty and Jim Crow sparked new racial conflict when white northerners and returning veterans fought to reclaim the jobs and the neighborhoods they believed were theirs alone.

Many Black Americans who had fled white supremacy in the South or had traveled halfway around the world to fight for the United States would not so easily accept postwar racism. The overseas experience of Black Americans and their return triggered a dramatic change in their home communities. W.E.B. Du Bois, a black scholar and author who had encouraged blacks to enlist, highlighted African American soldiers' combat experience when he wrote of returning troops, "We return. We return *from fighting*. We return *fighting*. Make way for Democracy!" But white Americans just wanted a return to the status quo, a world that did not include social, political, or economic equality for black people. And they were alarmed and frightened by the thought of fearless, capable black men who had learned to handle weapons and defend themselves on foreign battlefields.

Figure 7.10.1: "Neighborhood children raiding an African American family's house after they were forced out during the 1919 Chicago Race Riots," Jun Fujita, Chicago History Museum, in the Public Domain.

Riots

In 1919, racist riots erupted across the country from April until October. The bloodshed included thousands of injuries, hundreds of deaths, and vast destruction of private and public property across the nation. The week-long Chicago Riot, from July 27 to August 3, 1919, considered the summer's worst, included mob violence, murder, and arson. Race riots had rocked the nation before, but the

Red Summer was something new. Recently empowered black Americans actively defended their families and homes from hostile white rioters, often with militant force. Figure 7.10.1 shows a large home with broken glass windows after being ransacked by a large group of children from the neighborhood. This behavior galvanized many in black communities, but it also shocked white Americans who interpreted black self-defense as a prelude to total revolution. In the riots' aftermath, James Weldon Johnson wrote, "Can't they understand that the more Negroes they outrage, the more determined the whole race becomes to secure the full rights and privileges of freemen?" In the fall, an organization called the African Blood Brotherhood formed in northern cities as a permanent "armed resistance" movement. The socialist orientation of its members rapidly led to an affiliation with the Communist Party of America. But the Russian-led Communist International (Comintern) had no interest in semi-independent groups like the ABB with their Afro-Marxist ideas. The Brotherhood's members found their way to other organizations like the Workers Party of America and the American Negro Labor Congress.

The wave of widespread lynching and riots against African-Americans lasted into the early 1920s. One of the most prosperous Black communities in the United States, the Greenwood neighborhood in Tulsa, Oklahoma, was burned to the ground and over a hundred people were killed by a white supremacist attack that included aerial bombing in June 1921. Many white Americans felt threatened by African-American success and increased social mobility. The early 1920s also saw a resurgence of the white supremacist Ku Klux Klan, which now added immigrant Jews and Catholics to the list of those who would destroy "traditional" white Protestant America. These ideas culminated in the Immigration Act of 1924, which lowered overall immigration to a small fraction of what it was before World War One while setting up a quota system based on the ethnic makeup in the U.S. in 1890, a time before many Jewish and Catholic immigrants arrived from southern and eastern Europe. This Act would later be used as inspiration for Nazi racial policies.

? Review Questions

- What did the extension of racial conflict into the North after the war suggest about American attitudes regarding race?
- Why were Americans so afraid of communism in the early 1920s?

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7.11: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Post-War Order and the Seeds of Disorder

In 1922 the French poet, essayist, and philosopher Paul Valery reflected on the feelings of unease that still clung to the post-war world:

> The storm has died away, and still we are restless, uneasy, as if the storm were about to break. Almost all the affairs of men remain in a terrible uncertainty. We think of what has disappeared, we are almost destroyed by what has been destroyed; we do not know what will be born, and we fear the future, not without reason. We hope vaguely, we dread precisely; our fears are infinitely more precise than our hopes; we confess that the charm of life is behind us, abundance is behind us, but doubt and disorder are in us and with us.

While more eloquently expressed than most, Valery's feelings of anxiety were shared by many of his contemporaries who found it harder to believe than ever before that history had a trajectory, that it was leading to something better. The hope that the war's end would mean a return to the heady days of early summer 1914 – when European elites could sleep soundly, assured that their civilization represented an unprecedented engine of progress and order – had been dashed.

The world needed to be remade. But rather than responding to the calamity of industrialized global warfare with an honest assessment of the failures of the modern world, the victor nations instead decided to tinker around the edges. Far from renouncing nationalism, imperialism, racial hierarchy, and competitive industrial capitalism that had led to the complete breakdown of the pre-war order, the treaties and institutions that emerged in the wake of the First World War embedded them all deeper into the system. In place of the multiethnic empires that had collapsed due to revolution or defeat on the battlefield, the plan was to shepherd the rise of new, more coherent, and rational nation-states based around populations that shared ethnic and linguistic identities. Doing so required ignoring the actual complexity of such identities and the fact that such complexity was one of the key sources of tension in the pre-war Balkans. Thus, Woodrow Wilson's famed "Fourteen Points" referenced the existence of "clearly recognizable" and "historically established…lines of allegiance and nationality." In doing so he promoted the idea that the nation represented the natural expression of an ethnic community rather than a recent and, given the recent war, fatally flawed invention of the 19th century.

Race and Imperialism

Similarly, race and imperialism continued to influence the post-war world. As we saw earlier, Woodrow Wilson became a hero to many colonized people through his call for self-determination. Yet, those who put their hopes in Wilson were disappointed when the post-war settlements continued to deny them a voice. As a result, anticolonial protests erupted in China, Korea, India, and Egypt in the Spring of 1919 when it became clear that the Treaty of Versailles would not extend self-determination to people like themselves. Mao Zedong may have pictured Wilson as a helpless rube among the "thieves of Versailles" ("poor Wilson…"), but there is no reason to assume that the continuation of empire, the granting of self-determination to formerly subject peoples in Europe and not elsewhere, and the creation of Mandates represent a failure of Wilson's vision. He was an avowed white supremacist and one of his closest allies at Versailles was the Prime Minister of South Africa Jan Smuts who just before the war had declared in a public speech the vital need to preserve, "white supremacy on this planet." Rather than a failure to achieve political ideals then, we should see the post-war settlement as the realization of a different set of ideals. For Wilson, Smuts, and many others creating and maintaining world order required the continuation of racial hierarchy. In their minds, consent of the governed was all well and good for some, but not for "racially backward" peoples who were unsuited for democracy.

This unwillingness to recognize the voices of the world's subject peoples had consequences. Prior to the First World War, colonial nationalism tended to center on Western-educated elites who, even in their opposition to imperialism and racism, continued to put their faith in the liberal world order to produce incremental progress. By refusing to address the issues of imperialism and racial hierarchy and, in fact, further entrenching them, the post-war settlement put such elites in an awkward situation. Some sacrificed their credibility by clinging to their belief in Western liberalism. Japanese liberals, for instance, who argued that the best path forward for Japan was to win acceptance into the Western-dominated international order would be further undermined in the 1920s by the establishment or continuation of racist immigration policies like "White Australia" and the 1924 Immigration Act in the U.S. Anti-immigrant sentiments, especially towards southern and eastern Europeans, swept across the US after World War I. The US government enacted the National Origins Act, a component of the Immigration Act of 1924, to set immigration quotas for each

European nation and greatly reduce the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States. Figure 7.11.1 is a political cartoon that depicts this anti-immigrant sentiment. The caption at the top reads, "Europe, take notice. This is not a dumping ground. Signed Uncle Sam." In the cartoon, Uncle Sam is making sure that European immigrants and undesirables are not dumped in the USA.

Figure 7.11.1: "Political cartoon from the Ku Klux Klan newspaper *Fiery Cross*, May 1924," Hoosier State Chronicles, in the Public Domain.

As the legitimacy of Western-style liberalism faded, Japanese politics would increasingly come to be dominated by those promoting ultra-nationalist militarism, culminating in military rule after 1930. Other figures, though, responded to the war years by renouncing old beliefs and embracing a new vision. In India, Mohandas Gandhi had once been “a staunch loyalist and co-operator,” with the British Empire based on the belief that in service to it, he could “gain a status of full equality in the Empire of my countrymen.” Having experienced and witnessed years of repressive tactics, discrimination, and racial arrogance on the part of “Englishmen and their Indian associates,” by 1919 Gandhi had become the most prominent anti-colonial figure in India. Through his efforts, Indian nationalism was transformed from a debating club made up of Western-educated lawyers into a mass movement centered on Gandhi’s distinct program of nonviolent civil disobedience. As a demonstration of how far he had come from his earlier pro-imperial stance when he was arrested in 1922 on the charge of “promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India,” he proudly pled guilty stating: "Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law…I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. … In fact, I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-cooperation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion, non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is cooperation with good.”

In China, Mao Zedong had spent the war years voraciously reading everything he could relating to Western political philosophy, economics, and science. He was convinced that the key to China’s salvation lay within these works. While already on the path towards radicalization by the war’s end, Mao was nevertheless presenting Woodrow Wilson as a sympathetic figure as late as Spring, 1919. Like many young Chinese, Mao’s political awakening came within the May 4th Movement that emerged in opposition to the Treaty of Versailles and its granting of Chinese territory to the Japanese. Over the next two years, he began drifting towards Marxism. It was the perfect doctrine to appeal to Chinese youths who were both certain that traditional Chinese culture was the source of the country’s backwardness and were suspicious of the West. In the words of one young Chinese intellectual, “Marxism was a Western heresy to use against the West.” Mao would become a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party in the Summer of 1921 and for the next 6 years served as the Party secretary in his home province of Hunan. While the Party’s top leadership tended to follow the lead of the Soviet Union in terms of activities and doctrine, Mao’s experience working with peasants in Hunan began to move him in a new direction, towards what would eventually be called Maoism. Writing to his superiors in 1927, Mao issued what turned out to be a prescient prediction of what was to come: “In a very short time … several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back.”

We began this chapter with W.E.B. Du Bois’ fiery words of denunciation of the entire Western project and we will end the chapter with Du Bois as well. Four years before penning those words, Du Bois had taken up his pen to write an editorial for the journal

Crisis urging Black Americans to take up the cause of resisting "the menace of German militarism." He wrote: "Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy. We make no ordinary sacrifice, but we make it gladly and willingly with our eyes lifted to the hills." Controversial at the time, Du Bois would quickly regret ever writing it. Already by 1920, his disillusionment was total. Black service in the segregated U.S. army had not opened a path toward acceptance and equality and, even worse, the 1920s saw a resurgence of white supremacy marked by horrific domestic terrorism led by groups like the Ku Klux Klan. Lynchings in this era were so numerous, in fact, that the practice was separately noted as proof of American barbarism by the Chinese intellectual Liang Qichao and the Japanese politician Okuma Shigenobu. So, when Du Bois reflected on the war and its consequences in an essay titled "The Souls of White Folk" he was not in a conciliatory mood:

> What then is the dark world thinking? It is thinking that as wild and awful as this shameful war was, it is nothing to compare with the fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World cease. The Dark World is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer…Is, then, this war the end of wars? Can it be the end, so long as sits enthroned…the despising and robbing of darker peoples? If Europe hugs this delusion, then this is not the end of world war, – it is but the beginning!

The delusions that clouded the minds of so many did not affect Du Bois who saw as clearly as anyone that the post-war order was untenable. This was indeed not the end of world war. As we will see in the coming chapters, a new storm was about to break.

Key Terms

- The Balkans: A region of southeastern Europe that had once been ruled by the Ottoman Empire. Rivalries among the new nations there as well as older empires helped spark WWI
- Gavrilo Princip: Bosnian-Serb who assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie
- Western front: the theater of World War I involving mostly German armies versus the French and British armies. By the end of 1914, this front was made up of opposing trench lines stretching from the North Sea to the Swiss border.
- Gallipoli: a peninsula on the European side of the Bosporus, about 200 miles (320 km) from the Ottoman capital in Istanbul. Site of an Ottoman defeat of a British invasion force in 1915
- The Armenian Genocide: Beginning in April 1915 this was an attempt by the Ottoman Empire to eliminate its Armenian population
- Force Noire: Literally "Black Forces", an idea by the French general Charles Mangin to overcome France's low population relative to Germany with an army made up of its colonial subjects
- Chinese Labor Corps (CLC): China was technically neutral during the war but did provide significant labor to the Allies under the auspices of the CLC. The 140,00 members of the CLC contributed to all aspects of the war effort and continued to provide labor for the French and British up to 1920.
- The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk: After the October Revolution in Russia the new communist state signed the treaty to end their participation in the War. Ceded significant territories in the West to Germany and allowed the Germans to shift men and resources to the western front.
- Influenza Pandemic: The H1N1 variant that struck towards the end of the war and was spread globally as soldiers returned home after the peace. More people died during the pandemic than due to the fighting itself
- Racial equality clause: Clause that the Japanese delegation to Versailles proposed to be added to the charter of the League of Nations. Was ultimately rejected due to the efforts of the U.S. and Australian delegations
- Treaty of Versailles: The treaty that officially ended World War I. Signed in the town of Versailles, France in 1919
- Mandates: Under the new League of Nations, these would be areas of the former Ottoman and German empires placed under the stewardship of member nations (including France, Great Britain, Belgium, Australia, and South Africa). Generally understood to be a new form of colonialism
- Zionism: The movement to establish a Jewish homeland. Emerged in response to the continued prevalence of anti-semitism in Europe which convinced European Jews like Theodor Herzl that they would never be accepted as full citizens unless they had their own nation
- Red Summer: a series of race riots that occurred in the United States over the summer of 1919.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

8: Causes and Consequences of the Great Depression - 1920 - 1938

? Learning Objectives

- Examine how the Great Depression intensified racism in some areas and generated anti-racist movements in other regions
- Compare how different regions were affected by the Great Depression politically and economically

? Focus Questions

- How were government responses to the Great Depression based on racial inclusion and exclusion?
- What factors allowed for liberalism to survive in the United States, Chile, and parts of Western Europe during the Great Depression?
- How did the Great Depression shake up political and social structures around the globe?

The Great Depression was the largest economic downturn of the twentieth-century and it sent shockwaves throughout the world. The United States' stock market crash sparked the depression, but it was also caused by low wages, low prices for primary products, and an unregulated financial system. Poverty levels increased dramatically, and a general sense of malaise set in as the income gap widened. Nevertheless, government responses to this economic cataclysm were quite diverse. Communism became fully institutionalized in the USSR where Stalin's Five-Year Plans brought improving economic conditions. The USSR, however, stood in direct contrast to the economies of the other significant powers in the world, including Japan, Western Europe, and, perhaps most importantly for the global markets, the United States. For the most part, Germany, Japan, Mexico, and China embraced nationalist authoritarianism. Although Germany and Japan differed from the Soviet Union, all three regimes supported a system called **totalitarianism** where the government sought to control how people behaved inside and outside of their homes through fear and violence. China continued to suffer from political as well as economic instability as the Nationalists sought to stamp out the communists.

For the most part, racism became more pronounced during the 1930s even though anti-racist movements gained momentum in certain regions. While Mexico pursued a policy of industrialization and limited inclusion of racial minorities, Germany and Japan embraced an ideology known as **fascism** which is a form of extreme nationalism that entailed scientific racism, massive military buildup, authoritarianism, and expansion. Although democratic reformists assumed power in the USA, Chile, and much of western Europe, their policies primarily benefited white citizens and excluded people of color. Non-whites in the USA, Africa, and India were disproportionately impacted by the Great Depression and ramped up demands on their governments to address racism. In figure 8.1 Chilean Nazis attempted a coup and are shown being arrested by the government in 1938. Why did fascism take hold in some areas but not others?

Figure 8.1: Captured Nazis at the University of Chile, author unknown, in the Public Domain.

8.1: Causes of the Great Depression in Europe and the United States

8.2: Democratic Reformers in the Americas - A New Deal for Who?

8.3: The Popular Front Comes to the Americas - The Oligarchy Remains

8.4: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Americas - Forging the Cosmic Race

8.5: Africa during the Great Depression - Emerging Nationalism

8.6: Scientific Racism - Germany

8.7: Scientific Racism - Japan

8.8: The Great Depression - Asia

8.9: Communism in the USSR and China

8.10: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

8.11: Suggested Readings and Works Cited

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8.1: Causes of the Great Depression in Europe and the United States

The Economic Aftermath of World War I

Many of the economic implications were due to the aftereffects of World War I. In the months immediately following the end of the war, the victorious states from the West joined together to create the Reparations Commission, designed to hold the belligerent powers, most notably the Germans, responsible for the cost and cause of the war. The Commission, after many months of deliberation, set the cost of the war owed by Germany at 132 billion gold marks (more than $270 billion in today's currency), and ordered the Weimar Republic to repay that amount to the Allies. The United States wanted nothing to do with the reparation payments, but they did want the loans that they had made to the Allies repaid, which created a cycle of German reparation payments being made, and then the Allies returning monies to the United States from those payments. The situation was not long lasting, as the Germans defaulted for the first time in 1923, with the French and British responding by occupying the Ruhr River Valley. The situation remained at an impasse until the United States agreed to lend Germany money.

The imposition of war reparations meant that these states, previously significant empires in the cases of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were forced into recessions, resulting in inflation, hyperinflation, and then poverty for many regular citizens. This economic crisis led to the creation of new political parties that were quick to promise a return to glory, power, and economic prosperity; much of this will be covered in the section about the rise of the fascist autocratic states.

The Impacts on the United States

While the United States had tried to isolate itself from its European and Asian counterparts, part of the problem for America's economy was due to the fact that even prior to the war, speculators had been allowed to buy stocks on margin. This meant that, instead of having to pay the full value, a speculator only needed to produce a percentage of the price to purchase stock. The idea behind this was fairly simple – the speculators bought the stocks, paying about 10% of the purchase price up front, waited for the stocks to go up, and then sold them, paying back the remainder of the purchase price from the profits and pocketing the rest. In order to buy the stocks, speculators took out loans, with the understanding that they would profit sufficiently to pay the loans back.

This system worked fine when it involved a fairly small number of people and the economy was continually growing, but as time passed, average citizens also began to get involved in the purchasing of stocks, believing that it was a quick and easy way to make money. This continued through the 1920s in the United States. Then, in October 1929, the United States Stock Market crashed, shrinking the economy, and plunging the US into a depression unlike anything that had been seen before.

Banks began to recall loans, and speculators and others were forced to default without the benefit of institutional insurance, leading to runs on banks resulting in a general economic collapse. The United States' collapse impacted the European states that had been borrowing money and selling goods to the Americans, with Germany and Great Britain particularly hard hit. Because of the depression in Germany, people began to call for changes to government, leading to the rise of fascism, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist Workers Party (Nazis). Similar events happened with the rise of Benito Mussolini as the head of the Republican Fascist Party in the wake of Italy's depression.

? Review Questions

- Why did the United States' stock market fall? Was the collapse avoidable?
- Why did some nations turn to fascism as the solution to their economic and political problems?

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8.2: Democratic Reformers in the Americas - A New Deal for Who?

The Economic Policies of Franklin Delano Roosevelt

The stock market crash and the collapse of the financial system hit the United States hard. As poverty skyrocketed, Republican President Herbert Hoover had few initiatives to bring economic recovery. As a result, American voters simply changed the party in power in the 1932 elections, from the Republicans to the Democrats. The new president, Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR), initiated an economic recovery program known as the New Deal**.** For the most part, Roosevelt supported government intervention and regulation to address the ongoing Depression. He embraced the ideas of John Keynes who established **Keynesian Economics**. Keynes argued that the government should spend on public works and other projects to put money in the pockets of workers. Then, these workers could buy things and businesses would hire more workers. The people who supported these reforms were part of the New Deal Coalition which consisted of farmers, industrial workers, the urban middle class, northern African Americans, academic elites, and white southerners. They all believed that the national government should provide Americans with protection against the economic hard times from the Great Depression. Unregulated capitalism was discredited. The working class (factory workers, miners, and construction workers) primarily benefited from the New Deal and the vast majority of these workers were white. Agricultural workers were mostly non-white and included sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and agricultural wage laborers. These workers remained impoverished and did not benefit from New Deal programs.

Roosevelt's first priority was stabilizing the economy by restoring confidence in the financial system. The government temporarily closed the banks and examined them. This "banking holiday" gave the government time to allow the healthy banks to reopen while keeping at-risk institutions closed. Additionally, FDR established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) which is insurance paid for by banks that guarantees that depositors will receive their savings (nowadays up to $250,000), in case of a bank failure. The FDIC helped bring an end to "runs on banks" by increasing people's confidence in the banking system. Also, the Glass-Steagall Act prevented commercial banks from dabbling in the securities and insurance industries, acting like an investment bank. Finally, the government created the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) which was a new agency that would oversee Wall Street. After these reforms, no major banks failed.

Another area of the economy that Roosevelt wanted to stabilize was agriculture. During the 1920s, US agriculture was in serious decline, because crop prices were too low. So, the government put in place the Agricultural Adjustment Act which raised crop prices by paying farmers not to plant more crops. This raised the incomes of property-owning farmers and land foreclosures dropped dramatically in the 1930s. However, the Agricultural Adjustment Act harmed many LatinX, Asian, and African-American families who were landless farm workers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers. When the government paid mostly white farmers not to grow crops, many of these families who actually worked the land were evicted. Right as the Great Depression was setting in, a drought struck the Great Plains in the early 1930s. Then, winds blew away the topsoil which resulted in over half a million people left homeless. The "Dust Bowl" displaced more than one million farmers, many who became migrant farmers relocating to California. Roosevelt's new programs taught new farming methods in an effort to prevent a future Dust Bowl.

The New Deal sought to reduce both unemployment and poverty. The government went into debt and increased taxes on the rich to fund programs to help the workers and the poor. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was a massive infrastructure program which employed millions of Americans. Wages and living standards went up dramatically for industrial workers. Union membership skyrocketed under the Wagner Act which legalized labor unions. Wages also increased for millions of Americans with the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act which set a minimum wage and required overtime pay for hours of work exceeding the forty-hour work week. The Roosevelt administration also raised living standards with the creation of government funded welfare. The Social Security System was established in 1935 in which workers and employers contributed to the creation of retirement pensions and unemployment insurance.

The Politics of Racial Exclusion

The promotion of racial equality in the United States was not one of FDR's major priorities. During the 1930s, the government did not put in place laws which banned employment discrimination, education discrimination, or residential segregation. More and more, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were being scapegoated for high levels of unemployment. As a result, US government vans drove all over the country and demanded that Mexicans and Mexican Americans show proof that they were in the USA legally. If they did not have the right documentation on the spot, they were deported to Mexico. For this reason, hundreds of

thousands of Mexicans were rounded up indiscriminately and deported. Additionally, the government did not enforce the Wagner Act or the Fair Labor Standards Act for farm workers who tended to be Asian, African American, and LatinX. Farm workers, domestic workers, and housewives were also ineligible to receive social security benefits. Millions of Americans got low interest, long term loans to buy homes, because the government created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) which insured long-term mortgages issued by banks. However, banks would only give loans to buyers that could move into white neighborhoods and African Americans could not move into white neighborhoods. This practice is known as redlining and resulted increasingly in White suburbs and Black urban areas.

Nevertheless, there were some advances toward greater social justice at this time. Roosevelt appointed more African Americans to mid-level government positions than any other president before him. About forty-five African Americans in cabinet departments and New Deal Agencies came together to form the Black Cabinet. These leaders worked with civil rights activists to fight racism. The most important civil rights organization in the USA was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in the early 1900s. Together with the Black Cabinet, civil rights leaders sought to pressure the government to end Jim Crow, enforce voting rights, and put in place anti-lynching legislation. However, FDR believed that he needed the support of the southern Democrats so he did not challenge the racism in the South. The New Deal was not designed to benefit African Americans but was created to help those experiencing economic hard times and a lot of African Americans were experiencing poverty. So, some African Americans, particularly in the north, benefited from the New Deal. Eleanor Roosevelt was one of the first national figures in the Democratic Party to come out in favor of racial equality. She was an advocate for anti-lynching measures and also criticized segregation. Eleanor Roosevelt was a very visible first lady, because she traveled throughout the country to see the New Deal in action and made public speeches. Her husband was less mobile, because he had been stricken with polio years earlier. Eleanor Roosevelt is shown in figure 8.2.1 visiting African Americans at a nursery school funded by the national government. How was she different from other first ladies?

Figure 8.2.1: Eleanor Roosevelt at WPA Nursery School, FDR Presidential Library and Museum, is licensed under CC BY

After mounting pressure from civil rights activists and a major war on the horizon, in 1941 FDR created the Fair Employment Practices Committee which was a government agency designed to ensure that the defense industry would not discriminate based on race. This was the first major civil rights initiative by the US government since Reconstruction and the first time a Democratic president ever supported civil rights policies. Additionally, FDR signed into law the Indian Reorganization Act which allowed for communal ownership of land, tribal self-government, and government assistance. More natives were hired to oversee native communities in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The New Deal encouraged natives to revive their arts and culture. So, the government abandoned the policy of forcing natives to give up their culture. Nevertheless, living conditions for Native Americans did not

improve. The government did not make the reservations economically prosperous with things like irrigation or the modernization of agriculture.

By the late 1930s, southern Democratic congressmen, who initially supported the New Deal grew increasingly opposed to it. In particular, White southerners feared that African American sharecroppers would try to unionize. Roosevelt was concerned about growing government debt, resulting in cuts to program spending and worker layoffs. Unemployment then increased dramatically in 1938 while Democrats in the north lost seats in Congress to the Republicans. The Republicans in the North made some gains and worked with the Southern Democrats to block any New Deal legislation. This “Conservative Coalition” would continue to dominate Congress until 1965.

? Primary Sources: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Speech to the Democratic National Convention (1936)

By 1936, the New Deal was in full swing and President Roosevelt marshaled support for initiatives that would raise incomes for millions of Americans.

Discussion Questions

- What problems are people facing?
- What is the role of government in this speech?

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. It was natural and perhaps human that the privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, thirsting for power, reached out for control over government itself…The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor these had passed beyond the control of the people and were imposed by this new industrial dictatorship… Private enterprise, indeed, became too private...A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness. Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could appeal only to the organized power of government. The collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was then people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended.

These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power

The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, edited by Samuel I. Rosenman, Random House, in the Public Domain.

? Review Questions

- How were FDR’s policies based on racial exclusion?
- What were some of the successes and shortcomings of the New Deal?

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8.3: The Popular Front Comes to the Americas - The Oligarchy Remains

The Chilean Popular Front

Similar to the USA, the Great Depression brought democratic reformers into power in Chile. By 1930s, more and more of the Chilean middle class believed that the government must step in to promote economic growth and address the poverty and radicalism of the workers. A few months after Roosevelt was elected president, Adolph Hitler began to establish a fascist dictatorship in Germany in large part, because moderate liberals, Social Democrats, and Communists of Germany were unable to unite. As a result, the Communists changed tactics and formed anti-fascist **Popular Fronts** with liberals and democratic socialists. By the mid 1930s, Popular Front governments were formed in France and Spain. In Chile, the radical Socialist Party and the Communist Party allied themselves with moderates to form a Popular Front which swept the elections in 1938. Similar to the New Deal, this government favored the middle classes and the industrial working classes while ignoring the problems of the agricultural workers, the *inquilinos* (see chapter 4). The Chilean agricultural workers, just like US farm workers, tended to be non-whites. Many of the governments in Latin America were looking for new solutions to their economic problems. In Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico the governments sought to initiate massive industrialization projects.

During the first year of the Popular Front unions for industrial workers were legalized and membership increased by 40%. The number of unions doubled, and many strikes were settled in favor of the workers. Similar to the USA, the wages of industrial workers increased as well. Additionally, the Popular Front government established a social security system. It created a workers' fund financed by workers, employers, and the state to provide blue-collar and white-collar workers with retirement pensions, healthcare, and disability insurance, and other social services. There was also an increase in public expenditures on health, education, and housing. In figure 8.3.1, the statute of Pedro Aguirre Cerda with two children says, "To govern is to educate." What does that say about the priorities of the Popular Front government of Chile?

Figure 8.3.1: Statue of Pedro Aguirre Cerda by Galvarino Ponce Morel, is licensed under CC BY.

Shortcomings of the Popular Front

In contrast to the New Deal, the Popular Front government sought to economically transform and modernize Chile through a policy of rapid industrialization. High protective tariffs resulted in substantial growth for manufacturing. By the mid 1940s, Chile produced a wide range of goods including cement, tires, electrical motors, household utensils, and drugs. The Popular Front governments promoted the expansion of basic infrastructure which included a major push to provide electricity for the country. In

retrospect, the Popular Front government was largely a failure. There was no industrial revolution and poverty remained high. For the working class, serious problems with housing, health, nutrition, and infant mortality remained. During the 1930s, Chile switched from being reliant on nitrate exports to being reliant on copper exports. So, the economy remained dependent on exporting only one low-value product. Instead of importing cars, Chile imported expensive machinery and equipment to manufacture cars. So, the economy was dependent on foreign technology as US companies invested in copper and heavy industry by building factories. Profits were then repatriated back to the USA rather than invested in Chile. Additionally, large mechanized factories did not need to hire millions of workers. Furthermore, agriculture was not modernized. A small landed elite owned three-quarters of the land and relied on cheap labor instead of machinery. In fact, agricultural production fell by 16% during 1932-1952 and Chile had to actually import food. The failure to modernize agriculture was significant. A prosperous agricultural sector will produce food for workers and purchase manufactured goods, yet neither occurred in Chile. As a consequence, industry was stunted because there were not enough people who could afford to purchase goods such as automobiles. By the 1940s, the economy began to show signs of slowing down.

The state of agriculture was not just an economic problem, but a political one as well. The elites, who controlled Chile since its independence, would not simply hand power over to the Popular Front. They also controlled the military, because the majority of officers came from the Chilean elite. So, the elites could use the military to overthrow the government unless major concessions were made. These elites wanted to maintain their dominance over their mestizo *inquilinos*. Similar to the New Deal program, the Popular Front government agreed that unionization would not extend to the countryside. However, the elites relied on the *inquilinos* for more than just cheap labor. The stability of the Chilean political system during 1938-1958 stemmed from the ability of the landed elites to control the countryside. There was no secret ballot in Chile until 1958. Therefore, the elites determined who their *inquilinos* voted for. The Chilean government did not distribute a national ballot with all of the candidates' names listed. Each political party had its own ballot, so the estate owners simply distributed the ballot of their candidate to the *inquilinos* who were forced to vote for that candidate. This was a practice known as the *cohecho* and estate owners could dismiss any *inquillino* who did not vote for his candidate, guaranteeing their veto power in government. As long as elites had power in Congress through their large, controlled block of *inquilino* voters, they were willing to support this semi-democratic system.

? Review Questions

- How were the policies of the Popular Front different and similar to the New Deal?
- Why did the Popular Front policies fail?

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8.4: The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Americas - Forging the Cosmic Race

The Rise of Lazaro Cardenas

The twentieth century began in Latin America with the Mexican Revolutions. Peasants demanded land and workers sought higher wages. With the power of the elites weakened, middle-class reformers took over and drafted a constitution that embraced agrarian reform, an eight-hour workday, the right to organize labor unions, and a declaration that the subsoil belongs to the state in the name of the people. These ideas were inspirational for the rest of Latin America and even other parts of the world.

In the USA, Chile, and Mexico, new governments came to power during the Depression with the support of the middle and working classes and put in place policies that raised the incomes for both groups. Industrial workers received the right to form unions and obtained welfare benefits. However, the Mexican government was more inclusive than either the USA or Chile by addressing the poverty of indigenous agricultural workers. While the US government sought to revive the economy by stabilizing the financial system and increasing the earning power of workers, the Chilean and Mexican governments implemented policies to rapidly industrialize their economies.

In Mexico, the Great Depression demonstrated the shortcomings of unregulated capitalism and alternative economic policies emerged during this period. Mexico was hard hit because of its close ties to the USA. Exports dropped and poverty increased dramatically. Lazaro Cardenas, the president of Mexico from 1934-1940, was part of a worldwide trend of rejecting unregulated capitalism. While campaigning for president, Cardenas gained first-hand knowledge of the problems of the poor by traveling throughout Mexico and visiting factories and villages. His campaign raised popular expectations for change. Cardenas promoted the integration of natives as well as the formation of a common front of workers and peasants. He promised to reduce poverty and provide greater access to education. His campaign asserted that economic transformation could only occur with the mobilization of workers and peasants. Cardenas supported private ownership of land and private business, but the economy needed to be regulated by the government which stood above the different classes. Similar to the Chilean and American governments, industrial workers were able to successfully go on strike and earn more money under Cardenas.

The Policies of Larzaro Cardenas

In contrast to the New Deal and the Popular Front, the Mexican government in the 1930s had policies that sought to improve the lives of agricultural workers and non-whites. The power of the landowning elites was diminished during the Mexican Revolution. These elites no longer controlled the military as the elites did in Chile. Under President Cardenas, land reform was implemented that brought back indigenous communal landholdings which had been broken up in the late 1800s. As a result, 728,847 peasants received land and millions of acres of land were redistributed to the natives of Mexico. Agricultural workers could also join the government-controlled peasants' labor union.

There was also a major push to both acknowledge the importance of the natives of Mexico and to integrate them in a policy known as **indigenismo**. The government rejected scientific racism and believed that the natives would succeed economically with some government assistance. Overall, the indigenous population was overwhelmingly rural and benefited from land redistribution. Cardenas wanted the natives to be loyal to the new national government. So, native customs were integrated into national traditions. The Cardenas administration restored the pre-Hispanic city of Teotihuacan and funded studies on Mexico's ancient civilizations. The governments after Cardenas would go on to construct a massive museum in Mexico City, the National Museum of Anthropology, which highlighted the history and contributions of Mexico's indigenous cultures. The Mexican government also funded art such as murals which highlighted natives in Mexican history. However, the natives were to culturally assimilate. There was a massive increase in education to teach the natives Spanish. What Cardenas envisioned was a *mestizo* nation, embracing Mexico's mixed heritage. The new Mexican was a mestizo, part of the "Cosmic Race" which was a culture that combined the best of Europe with the best of the Americas.

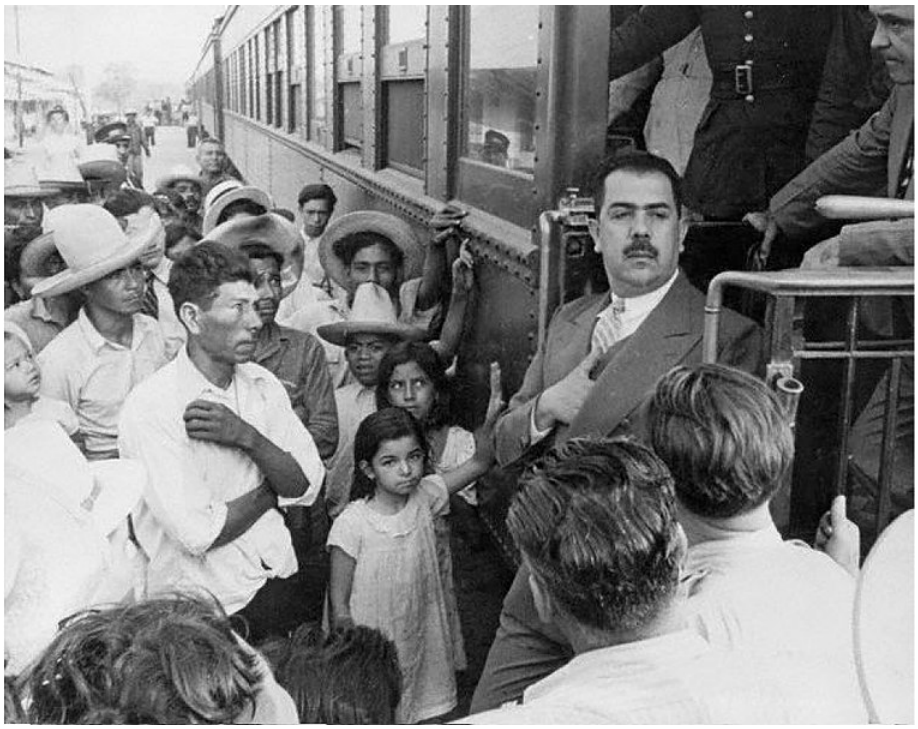

Figure 8.4.1: Lazaro Cardenas Nationalizes the Railroads, by Doralicia Carmona Dávilavia, Memoria Politica de Mexico, is licensed under CC BY.

Cardenas was also a nationalist. In 1937, the Mexican government took over control of the nation's railroads. In figure 8.4.1 Cardenas is pictured with indigenous peasants proclaiming that now Mexico controls its own railroads. Why would he be pictured with indigenous villagers? Cardenas also nationalized Mexican oil, taking over leases given to U.S. and British oil companies. In addition to the oil wells, communications, and the electrical industry would also eventually be nationalized. At this time, the US government was focusing on its own recovery and was more interested in the promotion of manufactured goods than extractive industries in Latin America. The American president, Franklin Roosevelt, began a “Good Neighbor Policy” toward Latin America which emphasized trade and cooperation rather than military intervention. So, settlements were reached in the 1940s on favorable terms to Mexico, because the USA wanted to maintain a strong relationship in the midst of World War II.

Similar to Chile, there was a big push to industrialize with higher tariffs and massive investments in irrigation, roads, and railroads. There were still serious economic problems in Mexico that were not addressed. Although the standard of living for peasants improved, poverty remained a significant problem in the countryside. Fifty percent of the agricultural workforce remained landless and impoverished. For the most part, the government was more concerned with demobilizing the peasants and stabilizing the countryside rather than creating a prosperous middle-class peasantry. Overall, Cardenas did not provide the necessary resources to peasants other than land. The government modernized agriculture mostly in the north where small and medium-sized farmers were producing fruits and vegetables to export to the USA. However, corn and wheat production was not modernized and by 1970, Mexico had to import food.

Mexican industry was stunted by poverty in the countryside and the neglect of exports. By 1940, Mexico still exported lower-value primary products and mineral exports accounted for 60% of all exports. However, industrialization in both Mexico and Chile required imports to work. Modern factories needed expensive technology, equipment, and machinery from the USA. Similar to Chile, Mexico was not on the technological frontier. Large US corporations, such as General Motors and Chrysler, came in and established factories. The technology was imported and the profits were repatriated back to the USA rather than being reinvested in Mexico. The Mexican government was going into debt to fund industrialization. Also, the factories were heavily mechanized and did not employ millions of people. So, poverty in the cities and countryside placed limits on the market for production in factories.

The government also remained undemocratic. During the 1930s, the president gained more power at the expense of the legislature. Cardenas controlled land redistribution and the nationalization of foreign industries. The government had a tight grip over the unions, because workers had to join the government union and the government appointed the union leaders. Employers could not

hire workers who were not members of the recognized union. For the 1940 presidential election, the more pro-worker candidate, Francisco Jose Mugica, sought to continue with the policies of Cardenas. However, Cardenas chose the more moderate Manuel Avila Camacho as his successor. The election was then fixed to ensure that the official candidate won. Cardenas began a practice known as the *dedazo* (finger pointing) where the incumbent president chose his own successor. Elections would continue to be rigged in favor of the "official" candidate until the 1990s.

? Review Questions

- How were the policies of racial inclusion and exclusion different in the USA and Chile compared to Mexico?
- How were the economic recovery policies of Chile and Mexico different from the USA?

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8.5: Africa during the Great Depression - Emerging Nationalism

The Effects of the Great Depression on Africa

Africans and the African Diaspora were hard hit by the Great Depression but at the same time, these economic hardships strengthened Black activist movements for equality. One major problem was that many Africans were involved in primary product production which was perhaps the hardest hit sector during the Great Depression. During the 1920s, Africa was tied even closer to the global economy and became more dependent on producing primary products. There was a push to produce more cotton, ground nuts, palm oil, coffee, and cocoa. Wealth was extracted, but the European powers spent little on healthcare, education, and other vital services for the Africans themselves. There were some elementary schools but very few secondary schools. The only university in British West Africa was in Sierra Leone. As prices for agricultural goods plummeted, wages dropped, and unemployment increased. Additionally, the governments of colonial Africa did very little to address this increasing poverty or the racism which denied Africans employment and educational opportunities. Africans then began to intensify their calls for governments to really put in place policies that would improve their lives and reduce racism in their societies.

The European governments promoted policies in Africa that only generated more poverty. These governments encouraged farmers to grow more but that only reduced prices. Additionally, the oversupply of primary products became an even bigger problem because primary product production in Asia increased as well. Less land was used to grow food and primary product producers needed cash to purchase food. As a result, Africa experienced more famines, and the depression lasted into the 1940s for some colonies.

The Rise of Modern African Nationalism

Before the Great Depression, many Europeans and Africans believed that European imperialism brought growth and opportunities. This optimism was shattered by the Great Depression as wages and prices fell and unemployment soared. During the 1930s, the European governments were less able to collect export-import taxes so taxes went up on Africans. Many farmers could not pay the higher taxes and migrated to the cities where they joined the urban poor. At the same time, government spending on social services that benefited Africans was slashed. By the 1930s, more of the younger Africans had studied in Europe and the USA where they were exposed to the ideas of African independence and Black Pride coming from thinkers such as Marcus Garvey in the Americas. Also, more Africans were thinking regionally beyond just their tribe or ethnic group. The protests of the Great Depression formed the foundation for the independence movements that came later.

Figure 8.5.1: Kwame Nkrumah on Time, 1953, by Boris Chaliapin, in the Public Domain

During the 1930s, a new generation of urban, foreign-educated Africans emerged as leaders in the 1930s. They studied abroad in Britain and the USA. In figure 8.5.1, Kwame Nkrumah is pictured on the cover of Time Magazine in 1953. He was an African nationalist who studied in the USA during the 1930s. What ideas might he have picked up? These leaders forged contacts with Black people in other parts of Africa, the Caribbean and the USA. The members of the new generation of Western-educated Nigerians became the leaders of the anti-colonial struggle and were beginning to develop full-scale, pan-Nigerian nationalist movements. The nationalism of these educated Nigerians promoted African unity. These leaders focused on the inequalities between the African subjects and their foreign white European rulers. The Nigerian Youth movement demanded better opportunities for higher education and called for African self-rule but not independence. These leaders were born after the British established a colony in Nigeria. Therefore, they had never known anything but the colonial boundaries of Nigeria. Additionally, Africans began to form their own Christian congregations which demanded more rights. The government then censored the press. However, public demonstrations increased due to opposition to taxation and government oppression. Nevertheless, these movements lacked a broad base and were primarily urban. For the most part, the educated elite lacked links to the cash crop producers in the countryside.

French West Africa faced many of the same problems. Much of the economy in French West Africa was centered around the production of groundnuts which faced lower prices and overproduction. The groundnut growers tried to raise prices by cutting production. However, this was unsuccessful, because the French controlled the import-export trade. With a decline in revenues from trade, taxes went up in French West Africa even though farmers were experiencing more poverty. The resistance to French rule centered in the cities which were growing due to increased migration from the impoverished countryside. Similar to British West Africa, the protests were led by the western educated urban middle class. A large number of urban small businessmen joined the protests because they were harmed by increasing taxes. Many of the protesters were labeled communists by French officials. The French Popular Front government championed the rights of workers, but similar to the New Deal, there was very little done to promote racial equality within the French Empire. The Popular Front did not support increased political power for Africans, but it legalized labor unions in French West Africa

? Review Questions

- How did the Great Depression affect Africa?
- What factors account for the rise of the equal rights movements in Africa?

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8.6: Scientific Racism - Germany

Germany's Fragile Democracy

The fascist Nazi government sought to get out of the Great Depression through a policy of massive rearmament and racial exclusion. Although Germany was a democracy during the 1920s, it was fertile ground for racist antisemitism in early 1900s where racists and social Darwinistic theories were widely held. Additionally, the Weimar government did not create a loyal military. The anti-democratic officers from the German Empire were kept in place. Early on, the Weimar Coalition faced a major communist revolution and needed the support of the military to put down this uprising. These officers were granted autonomy from the government, but they were virtually all anti-democratic and wanted the emperor brought back. The Weimar Coalition also failed to put in place democratic judges. Therefore, the German judiciary was sympathetic to the anti-democratic nationalist groups. During the 1920s, the German government was on life support. After the war, France sought to keep Germany powerless by requiring them to make yearly deliveries of coal to Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. Germany got loans from the USA which were used to pay back for war reparations.

The disruption caused by the Wall Street crash and world trade brought down the moderate social democratic government. When US banks were unable to lend money to Germany, its economy collapsed, and millions of employees lost their jobs. The socialists in the German government supported welfare programs to help the poor but these were rejected by other parties who feared increased government spending would bring inflation. Then the moderates coalesced around Chancellor Heinrich Bruning, a conservative of the Catholic Center Party, who was tight-fisted on social and economic policies. The German government cut spending which kept unemployment high. This high unemployment led to less demand and then lower production.

Previously, the virulently antisemitic National Socialists (**Nazis**—German fascists), headed by Adolf Hitler, had been a fringe party, easily ignored. As Germans became increasingly desperate, they looked for easy solutions, or at least someone to blame for the crisis of global capitalism. Hitler was an anti-Marxist and gained the support of wealthy elites. Overall, the Nazis focused on obtaining support not from blue-collar workers but from members of the middle class who were economically vulnerable and felt threatened by communism. In Germany, one-third of the labor force was unemployed in the early 1930s. This unemployment weakened the power of unions and the Social Democrats, turning many of the unemployed towards the Nazis.

In the 1932 elections, no party won a clear majority (which was not unusual), but for the first time, most German voters backed either the Communists or the Nazis. So, the majority of the members of the German legislature, the Reichstag, supported the abolition of democracy in Germany. Meanwhile, intrigues began swirling around the aging President Paul von Hindenburg who was responsible for choosing a politician to take the role of chancellor and form a government. The chancellor ran the day-to-day affairs of the government and was supposed to have a majority of members in the Reichstag to work with and get things done. Hindenburg took the advice of aristocratic nationalists in January 1933 to call upon Adolf Hitler to form a government. The elites believed Hitler could be controlled. Big business saw Hitler as the best hope in forestalling a communist takeover. He promised to create a new order based on class harmony, not on socialist class conflict. Big business would continue to hold sway in Nazi society.

Hitler and the Nazis were like the Italian Fascists in their anti-liberal, anti-democratic, hyper-nationalist ideology, and support of the totalitarian ideal for ruling their nation. The Nazis also appealed to many voters because of their consistent opposition to the Versailles Treaty, which nearly all Germans blamed for their economic distress. The Nazis successfully tapped into German nationalism. Hitler’s policy was based on extreme nationalism, anti-Semitism, and Social Darwinism. He believed Germany needed to expand or it would end up like a small power like the Netherlands. The Nazis were able to tap into a long history of anti-Semitism in Europe. Historically, Jews in Europe were often despised because they rejected Christianity. However, the Nazis combined biological racism with traditional anti-Semitism in Europe. For centuries Jews were the largest, and often the only minority in every European nation, and therefore provided a convenient scapegoat for the latest socio-economic problem. They argued that Jews were biologically inferior and posed a threat to the German or Aryan race. The blame for the Versailles treatment rested squarely on the Jews. The Nazis argued that Jews did not produce anything and benefited as exploiters in capitalism. They were depicted as bankers and middlemen. Incongruently, the Nazis claimed that Jews were behind both communism and the international banking and financial system that communists wanted to destroy. According to Hitler, Marxism was a Jewish conspiracy to take over the world. The Nazis believed the future lay with land-based not sea-based empires. So, Germany began a

military buildup against the terms of Versailles to expand east. The Slavs of eastern Europe were also regarded as an inferior race. They would be slaves of the German colonists who would settle in Eastern Europe.

The Nazi Dictatorship

As Hitler took control, new elections were called for in March 1933. During the campaign, the Reichstag building was burned down, supposedly by a disgruntled Communist. Hitler used this incident to arrest Communist politicians. Once again, the Nazis failed to win a majority in the election, but Hitler was granted near-dictatorial powers when the Enabling Act was passed in March 1933. Although the Nazis did not even have a majority in the Reichstag, they were able to get other parties to grant Hitler these powers. Only the PSD voted against the Enabling Act. Hitler threatened to use emergency powers to destroy the Christian Democratic Center Party unless they supported the Enabling Act. These centrists feared the communists more and saw the Nazis as the lesser of two evils.

Hitler did not move against everyone at once. He attacked threats one at a time. The Nazis took over the trade unions. All workers would belong to a government Nazi-controlled union. With the elimination of the trade unions, the PSD lost its base of supporters. Hitler prohibited strikes and independent unions and the PSD was then banned. The Center Party existed for the purpose of protecting the Catholic Church in Germany. The papacy saw Communism as the number one threat and favored authoritarian government. Hitler promised freedom of religion for Christians and the protection of Church institutions such as parochial schools. The Pope then pressured the Center Party to dissolve itself. During the 1920s, the major right-wing parties were in favor of restoring the monarchy, but during the early 1930s, these parties lost support because people were voting for the Nazis instead. Most conservatives liked the militarism and nationalism of the Nazi party. The right-wing monarchist leaders were rewarded with government positions if they went over to the Nazi party. The right-wing parties then fused with the Nazi party.

By 1934, The Nazis then became the only legal party and put its leaders in charge of the different state governments. After Hindenberg's death in 1934, Hitler sought complete power by demanding to become the president. The only institution that stood in his way was the German military. Almost all of the German officers at first wholeheartedly supported the Nazis. These officers were authoritarian, nationalistic, and anti-Semitic. Very few supported the Weimar Republic or the parties of the Weimar Coalition. Hitler rearmed Germany and expanded the army. Therefore, officers got promotions and owed their careers to the Nazis

The Nazis wanted to create a totalitarian state by controlling how people behaved inside and outside of their own homes. They used the modern media including the radio, the "talkie," and even the television to convey their ideology. In particular, the Nazis wanted to control arts and entertainment. The secret police, known as the Gestapo, employed around 100,000 informers who would report to the government about anyone who could potentially threaten Nazi rule. The Nazis also wanted to reshape the family. They argued that granting women rights had led to widespread misery for the women themselves. The female contribution was to be as mothers and wives. Families received marriage loans if the wives promised to stay home and raise children. For every baby, part of the loans would be canceled. Abortion and contraception were outlawed. Children received Nazi indoctrination at a young age because they were forced to join the Hitler Youth. Initially, Hitler's popularity in Germany was not based on Nazi racism. Instead, Germans appreciated the political, social, and economic stability the regime brought, and the ways Hitler was thumbing his nose at the Versailles Treaty. To lower unemployment, the government launched massive rearmament and massive public work projects.

Figure 8.6.1: Nazi Boycott, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, in the Public Domain.

German Jews, however, suffered under the regime. Almost immediately after Hitler became chancellor, Jews were fired from government positions. The 1935 Nuremberg Laws prohibited mixed race marriage with Jews and defined Jewishness based on ancestry. Anyone with three or more grandparents regardless of their faith was considered Jewish. The Nuremberg Laws also stripped the Jews of German citizenship and barred them from the professions. In figure 8.6.1, the Nazis block the entrance to a Jewish-owned shop. The signs read: "Germans, defend yourselves against the Jewish atrocity propaganda, buy only at German shops!" and "Germans, defend yourselves, don't buy from Jews!" What would the “Jewish atrocity propaganda” be? Many Nazified German towns “encouraged” Jews to leave so that they could put up signs declaring that they were “Jew-free”. A trickle of German Jews was able to emigrate: artists, actors, and film directors moved to Hollywood, while academics like Albert Einstein found positions in U.S. universities. However, most of the world did not accept Jewish immigrants. Anti-Semitism was an international problem.

? Review Questions

- What were the weaknesses of the Weimar Republic
- How were Nazi policies based on exclusion and scientific racism?

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8.7: Scientific Racism - Japan

Japan on the Eve of the Great Depression

Germany and Japan had very distinctive responses to the Great Depression compared to the democratic reformers. Both countries adopted fascist regimes which promoted scientific racism and nationalist expansion. Democratic forces were weakened in Germany and Japan from the Great Depression, because they could not reduce poverty and unemployment. The new regimes that were then established reduced poverty and unemployment through massive public spending with an emphasis on arms production. Japan in the 1920s was gradually adopting a more liberal political system and continuing its path toward economic modernization. It also built the world's third-largest navy and by the 1920s, Japan dominated the textile market. During this time, Japan had a constitutional monarchy, with political parties, trade unions, a legislature, and a "divine" emperor. There was by the 1920s an emergent class of professional women who were energized by political rights earned by other women in the West. Some calls were made to give women voting and office-holding rights in local elections, but they failed to pass. Women were not allowed to join political parties, but they could attend and sponsor political discussion meetings.

There was instability in Japan due to the intentionally vague language of the Meiji Constitution as to who exercised executive authority. The prime minister represented the majority party in the Diet but did not control the cabinet, military, bureaucracy, or the judiciary. The emperor chose all ministers and officers in the military, who reported to him but did not take orders from him. Only officers could serve as ministers of the army or navy. Overall, democratization was accompanied by new repressive measures. In 1925 universal male suffrage was passed. However, the Diet also passed a law that outlawed any organization that sought to alter the form of government or the system of private ownership.

Similar to Nazi Germany, the Japanese government in the 1920s championed nationalist indoctrination. Japanese youth groups were established to promote loyalty to the nation and the emperor. Education emphasized racist nationalism, and Japanese students were taught that different societies were arranged in a hierarchic order by degree of "civilization." Japan was the most civilized while other Asians lived in less civilized societies. Many educated Japanese went abroad to Germany to study where they learned about German militarism and racism. Just as the Germans wanted to settle in Eastern Europe, more Japanese saw the northern Chinese region of Manchuria as an "empty" space for Japanese settlement.

In international affairs, the civilian government supported the West in its effort to decrease the militarization of the Pacific and East Asia. The Japanese government agreed to maintain a smaller navy than either the U.S. or Great Britain in the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty. This treaty was used by nationalists to discredit the civilian politicians much like the Treaty of Versailles was used to discredit the Weimar Coalition. Similar to the German military, Japan had an authoritarian, ultra-nationalist officer corps who were upset with the civilian government for negotiating the treaty. They wanted Japan to dominate East Asia, eventually replacing European rule and influence. "Asia for the Asians" was a motto they would use as they turned their attention to more regions that needed "liberating". The Japanese nationalists rejected Western values as inferior and criticized Western society as conflict-ridden. These nationalists wanted to create a new social order based on notions of class harmony. More and more, China was targeted as a major area for Japanese expansion.

The Rise of Fascism in Japan

Japan was hard hit by the Great Depression because its economy depended on a few exports to the West to pay for essential imports. The protectionism of many countries in the wake of the international financial crisis harmed the export-dependent Japanese economy as well. With the Great Depression, exports dropped by half, real wages fell steeply, unemployment soared, and poverty became widespread. The civilians who headed the Japanese government lost legitimacy by their failure to resolve these problems. Also, fascists in the military saw the civilian leaders as easily bullied by the US and Britain. Overall, during the 1930s the military gained power at the expense of the civilian leaders in the Diet. Army officers formed right-wing extremist groups which sought to take control of the government by assassinating civilian leaders who became intimidated and scared. Military leaders replaced civilian politicians in government cabinets.

Ultra-nationalists in the military began advocating an extension of the Japanese Empire, following the example of the British in India. In 1931, the Japanese army unilaterally took over the region of Manchuria from China. The civilian Japanese government was not in a position to act, because the Diet had no power over the actions of the military. Both the USA and Great Britain

supported Chinese independence and condemned the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. More and more Japan was isolated on the world stage in the early 1930s. Then, Japan united with Germany in an Anti-Comintern Treaty (1935) in opposition to the Soviet Union and communism. The ideology of Japanese militarists was similar to the Nazis in its racism. They believed that it was the destiny of the Japanese people to dominate East Asia just as Hitler claimed a similar mantle for his pure "Aryans" in Europe. In figure 8.7.1, Japanese Ambassador Viscount Kintomo Mushakoji and Hitler's foreign affairs adviser Joachim von Ribbentrop signed the Anti-Comintern in 1936. Why would Japan reach out to Nazi Germany?

The fascist Control Faction of the army assumed control of the government by the mid 1930s. These fascists were committed to total war and a military dictatorship. Japan also withdrew from naval limitations and built up its army. The Japanese fascists wanted to create a totalitarian state through thought control and secret police terror.

Figure 8.7.1: Anti-Comintern Pact Signed 1936, Imperial War Museums, in the Public Domain

Similar to Germany, the Japanese government went on a spending spree and the economy improved. Japan got out of the Great Depression through a massive public works program and rearmament. Japan also became a major producer of heavy industry after the government put in place high protective tariffs. In contrast to Latin America, Japan used its own technology and resources for economic modernization. The country already had an industrial base with light industry and the government had already made serious investments in human capital by expanding its education system. Toyota and Nissan became the major auto producers while Ford and GM had to close their operations in Japan.

? Primary Sources: Illusions of the White Race (1921), by Okuma Shigenobu

Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) was a prominent Japanese politician in the early 1900s who was increasingly critical of the racism espoused by the West and believed that Japan should serve as a leader in East Asia.

Discussion Questions

- What is Okuma's criticism of the West?
- How is Japan distinctive in Asia?

The Renaissance during the Middle Ages stimulated the progress of the material civilization in Europe and helped the Europeans to grow richer and stronger than the Asiatic races who kept on slumbering in their old civilization. Being seized by an insatiable, aggressive desire, the Europeans took full advantage of their lethargy and swooped down on India and other parts of Asia. They either conquered the Asiatic people by force, or dominated them by dint of superior economic organization, or cheated them out of their territories. The ascendance of the white races is due to the fact that they came into the possession of material civilization a little earlier than their non-white brothers.

The whites are obsessed with the mistaken theory that they are superior to all other races.

This is the most serious obstacle in the way of the realization of racial equality. Now the Japanese, the Chinese, the Mongolian, the Turks, the Indians, the Afghans, the Persians, the Arabs, the Malayans, the American aborigines, and the African peoples are all non-white. They are all held in contempt by the whites. And it is the common belief among the whites that the darker the skin, the more inferior is the race. It is based neither upon science, nor upon any positive experience. It is mere superstition backed by historical prejudices.

The whites are of the conviction that they are too superior a people to be governed by their non-white fellows. Therefore, they demand the privilege of extraterritoriality in the countries of the Asiatic races. They establish their own courts and trample under foot the laws and courts of Asiatic countries …Of all the non-white countries, Japan had taken the lead in adopting the best parts of European civilization — including its military side. She codified her laws, and reformed her police and judicial systems, her military and naval forces, thus placing herself almost on an equal footing with that of the European countries. Therefore, the Europeans were compelled to withdraw their extraterritorial rights from Japan …

Some whites regard the development of Japan as an unjustifiable encroachment upon their own rights. They either instigate a non-white race against Japan or plan to organize a league of the white nations to perpetuate a white supremacy in the world. Be it remembered, however, that no unjust and unreasonable agitation against this country will ever succeed, as God never sides with an unjust cause.

It is, of course, true that there are still peoples in this world who are so backward in civilization that they cannot at once be admitted into the international family on an equal footing. But it will never do to give discriminatory treatment to them. What is needed by them is proper guidance and direction. And when they have reached a certain stage of civilization, they should be given an equal place and rank in the comity of the nations. Although most Asiatic nations are fully peers of European nations, yet they are discriminated against because of the color of the skin. The root of it lies in the perverted feeling of racial superiority entertained by the whites. If things are allowed to proceed in the present way, there is every likelihood that the peace of the world will be endangered. It, therefore, behooves all well wishers of mankind to exert their utmost to remove this gross injustice immediately.

What Japan Thinks, edited by K. K. Kawakami, Macmillan, in the Public Domain

Review Questions

- What were some similarities and differences between the governments of Japan and Germany during the 1930s?
- How did Japan and Germany envision a new society based on racist principles?

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8.8: The Great Depression - Asia

China

While most of the focus around the Great Depression centered on Europe and the United States, there were also significant impacts in Southeast Asia. In China, the creation of the republic in 1912 and the establishment of the Kuomintang (KMT) meant changes to government and political alliances, but Sun Yat-sen had little time to establish these new structures before the outbreak of war pulled most of the world into crisis. Through the 1910s and into 1920s, China lacked strong centralized leadership and was dominated by warlords, and while the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925 saw the emergence of Chiang Kai-Shek as the new leader of the KMT, the economy was already struggling due to the lack of any kind of centralized control. In the 1920s, China's economic structure was centered on the silver standard – making it the only significant state at the time to be on something other than the gold standard, as following the suspension of the international standard during World War I, most of the major powers had returned to it, including the United States in 1919 and Great Britain in 1925. As silver prices fluctuated, China's economy suffered and the country began to suffer from severe deflation, making it vulnerable to market variations and political destabilization. It was during this uncertainty that the Chinese Communist Party began to make gains (see below for more on the political history of the period).

India

As they had with other colonies, the British trained and educated locals in India as soldiers, police, government administrators, and professionals in the nineteenth century in order to run the Empire, claiming they were preparing India for eventual self-rule. When the promised self-rule would begin became a source of debate and conflict between the colonizers and the colonized. In 1885, a group of British-educated Indian reformers organized the Indian National Congress (INC) to protest the unfair treatment of Indians by the British. The INC believed that they were already administering the country and no longer needed British bureaucrats to tell them what to do. When Mohandas K. Gandhi returned to India in 1915, after years of using non-violent tactics to fight for the rights of Indians in South Africa, he joined the INC, and embraced asceticism and simplicity as a way of life. The following year, the mostly-Hindu Congress united with Mohammed Ali Jinnah's Muslim League in a sincere attempt to create a party that represented all of the peoples living in British India.

When World War I began, Indian soldiers took part in many of the British campaigns, especially in Africa and the Ottoman Empire. The Indians supplied Great Britain with not only soldiers, but with supplies, ammunition, and textiles. As with other states around the globe, World War I led to economic increases in India, and the end of the war saw those increases plummet. Some of the most consistently exported Indian goods, such as jute, saw the market plunge and Indian farmers took a significant hit, and while the British government passed some measures to assist the Indian population, many saw these actions as less than genuine. As the curtailing of exports, especially in agriculture, continued, many farmers were forced to sell gold ornaments and trinkets worn by family members in order to pay off their debts. Indians, led by the INC and the Muslim League, began to protest these conditions, especially because the gold that made its way to Great Britain helped shore up the British economy. The INC had already stated in 1929 that their new goal was complete independence from British rule, and as the Depression became more significant and had greater impacts globally, this helped to solidify that aspiration. Figure 8.8.1 shows the first of the great marches in 1930 against the British government occurred, with Gandhi leading a group of followers to the ocean to make salt, which was illegal based on the British monopoly, and the demands for independence gained steam.

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Figure 8.8.1: Salt March by Yann, in the Public Domain

Discussion Question

Why was the Salt March such a radical act?

The British responded to these concerns by creating a centralized bank in 1935, although it remained very much in the hands of the British and particularly the Viceroy (the leader of the British in India, as designated by the king of England) and his counsel. Other measures, including allowing for greater Indian participation in the provinces, also occurred, but the Great Depression had taken a significant toll on the Indian population and they blamed the British government for their woes.

India's frustration with being tied to the British economy did not end when World War II began – if anything, it intensified, and throughout the war period the INC and the Muslim League continued to discuss independence as a right for India at the end of the war. That independence would not occur in the manner that the INC and the Muslim League had initially viewed – instead, the British would divide the country to create East and West Pakistan, in addition to India, imposing new economic challenges on the state. This divide was largely driven by the religious conflict between the colony's Hindu majority and its Muslim minority. When independence comes, much of Western India, as well as territory in the East, will become Pakistan – a state physically divided and separated by India.

Review Questions

- Why was India divided the way that it was? Was there a workable alternative?
- How was China's post-World War I experience different from that of Japan?

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8.9: Communism in the USSR and China

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

The victory of the Bolshevik-led "Reds" over the "Whites" in the Russian Civil War led to the creation of a communist political system in Russia, the first state to implement the idea of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels of **communism**. Following their overthrow of the Provisional Government in October/November 1917 (the dates vary due to the use of the Julian calendar by the Russians and the Gregorian calendar by the rest of Europe) the Bolsheviks had immediately begun to make changes to governmental and economic policies, including expanding the roles of women, (who had been granted the right to vote by the Provisional Government in 1917), creating new structures to oversee the workings of the state, and centralizing many of the major industries, including banking and communications; however, the efforts were stymied by the outbreak of the civil war. Once the civil war had ended with the victory of the Reds, the new rulers, led by Vladimir Lenin, began to enact other changes, including withdrawing from most diplomatic efforts around the world other than with the communist parties outside of Russia and the border states. In December 1922, Lenin's government created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which included the Transcaucasian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian republics (others would be added after World War II). Lenin introduced a New Economic Policy (NEP), which adhered to many elements of Marxism while allowing for some limited private ownership, in an attempt to mollify many of his citizens who owned small businesses or farms. Lenin suffered a stroke in 1922 and was somewhat incapacitated for the remainder of his life; following his death in 1924, the remaining leaders divided into three major groups: the left, formed around Leon Trotsky, Lenin's close ally during the revolution and the successful commander of the Red Army; the center, formed around Joseph Stalin, an extremely capable organizer who controlled much of the Party machinery; and the right, formed around Nikolai Bukharin, the editor of *Pravda* newspaper and Lenin's closest friend. Trotsky argued in favor of a "permanent revolution," constantly perfecting the workers' state, which included eliminating private property in the countryside and collectivizing the agricultural sector. Stalin insisted that Lenin had already established a precedent by allowing a degree of market orientation in farming and that it seemed to be working well. Stalin allied himself with Bukharin, and they succeeded in expelling Trotsky, first from the Party and then from the country. Trotsky went into exile in 1928, traveled around the world attempting to foment another revolution, became friends with Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera, and was assassinated in 1940 in Mexico City, by a Soviet agent. Figure 8.9.1 shows Leon Trotsky (far left, on gang plank) walking with Frida Kahlo (center, in white blouse and shawl) and others.

Figure 8.9.1: Trotsky and Kahlo, Les Etats et Empires de la Lune, in the Public Domain

? Discussion Question

Why would Trotsky's friendship with people such as Kahlo and Rivera matter to Stalin?

Stalin, in the meantime, continued to consolidate his power. He announced the first in a series of Five-Year plans to industrialize the Soviet Union even more rapidly. He also essentially came around to Trotsky's view that small land-holders would become bourgeois anti-revolutionaries and forced the collectivization of farming as well as the centralization of small businesses. These actions alienated Bukharin, and he and Stalin split as allies. Peasants resisted the loss of their land by planting and harvesting fewer crops and by killing their livestock before they could be seized. Many peasants were punished by the authorities, who confiscated everything they had and left them to starve. By 1932 when Stalin announced to the world that the wildly successful five-year plan had been completed ahead of schedule, hundreds of thousands of farmers, primarily in Ukraine, had already died. The famine is known in Ukraine as Holodomor, or the Ukrainian Genocide, and it continued through 1933, with the death toll eventually reaching as high as 5 million people.

Stalin was becoming increasingly paranoid of any individual or group that he thought threatened his own authority, including his hold over the Communist Party, the government (including the Comintern, the international arm of the Communist Party), and the apparatus of the Soviet bureaucracy. He began to suspect everyone was plotting against him, and as the claims made by Stalin diverged more and more from reality, dissenters had to be dealt with. Stalin began sending critics to gulag prison camps in Siberia, or simply having them executed by his secret police. When the party leader of Leningrad, Sergei Kirov, was assassinated in 1934 (probably by the NKVD, the predecessor to the KGB, and likely on Stalin's orders), Stalin used the death to launch what became known as the "Great Purge". Thousands of party members, including many leaders who had worked closely with Lenin, were targeted. A series of show-trials in Moscow featured shocking scenes of senior Party officials confessing to counter-revolutionary crimes and begging to be executed for their crimes. Among the people accused of treason were Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Russia's most brilliant military commander who had been awarded Marshall of the Soviet Union, the country's highest military rank; Nikolai Bukharin, Stalin's former ally and Lenin's closest friend; and Nikolai Yezhov, the head of the NKVD. All of them were eventually executed. Stalin wiped out an entire generation of seasoned military leaders who had helped the Bolsheviks achieve their power. By the end of the purge in 1938, based on Soviet records, about 1.7 million suspected dissenters had been arrested and more than 700,000 people had been executed or died in the prisons; however, given the lack of veracity of many of the Soviet records, outside historians estimate that as many as 3 million people may have been imprisoned in this time. Among these were hundreds from the Red Army officer corps, who Stalin suspected were sympathetic to the ideas of Trotsky. Both the purge and the famine in Ukraine would make it easier for Hitler to invade the Soviet Union in 1941: the Germans found willing collaborators among the Ukrainians, while they rapidly chased the ill-led Soviet army all the way to the gates of Moscow itself.

There is considerable debate about the number of people killed under Stalin's rule. At the time, most of the world's communists either refused to believe or tried to justify Stalin's excesses, and his regime certainly did not advertise its deeds. The low estimates are 10 to 15 million killed and the high estimates of non-war-related deaths reach 60 to 65 million. One of the advocates for the 60 million number was Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a Russian dissident author who had been sent to Siberia when accused of writing anti-Soviet propaganda in 1945 (while on the front lines of the war as a tank officer in the Red Army), and who won the Nobel Prize for his writing in 1970 while in exile in the United States.

China

In 1911, Sun Yat-sen and his Xinhai Revolution finally overthrew the empire that had ruled China for over two thousand years, but the revolutionaries were not strong enough to install an effective government throughout China. Warlords (army generals and minor regional nobility) quickly organized troops to bring order to the countryside. However, they were not interested in respecting or supporting the new republic, which was seen as a European novelty. In the power struggle between Sun Yat-sen and General Yuan Shih-kai, the head of the Imperial Army, Yuan won. Instead of Sun Yat-Sen, a warlord became president of the republic under the new constitution. In the chaos of the republic's early years, remote imperial provinces were able to establish their own nations, separate from China -- Mongolia remains independent, while Tibet was reconquered by China in the 1950s and is still seeking independence.

Civil conflict broke out between the republic and the warlords. Yuan had declared himself emperor in 1915, and additional provinces had broken away in protest. Sun and the nationalists experienced a resurgence on May 4, 1919, when students revolted in

Beijing against the Versailles Treaty, in which Japan, rather than China, received the German protectorates in Shandong province. These demonstrations marked an important modernizing moment for the new Republic. By 1921, Sun had reestablished the republic in Canton; that same year, western-educated intellectuals began organizing the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Shanghai, supporting Sun and the Kuomintang against the warlords. Figure 8.9.2 shows Sun Yat-sen in 1924, a year prior to his death, seated with documents.

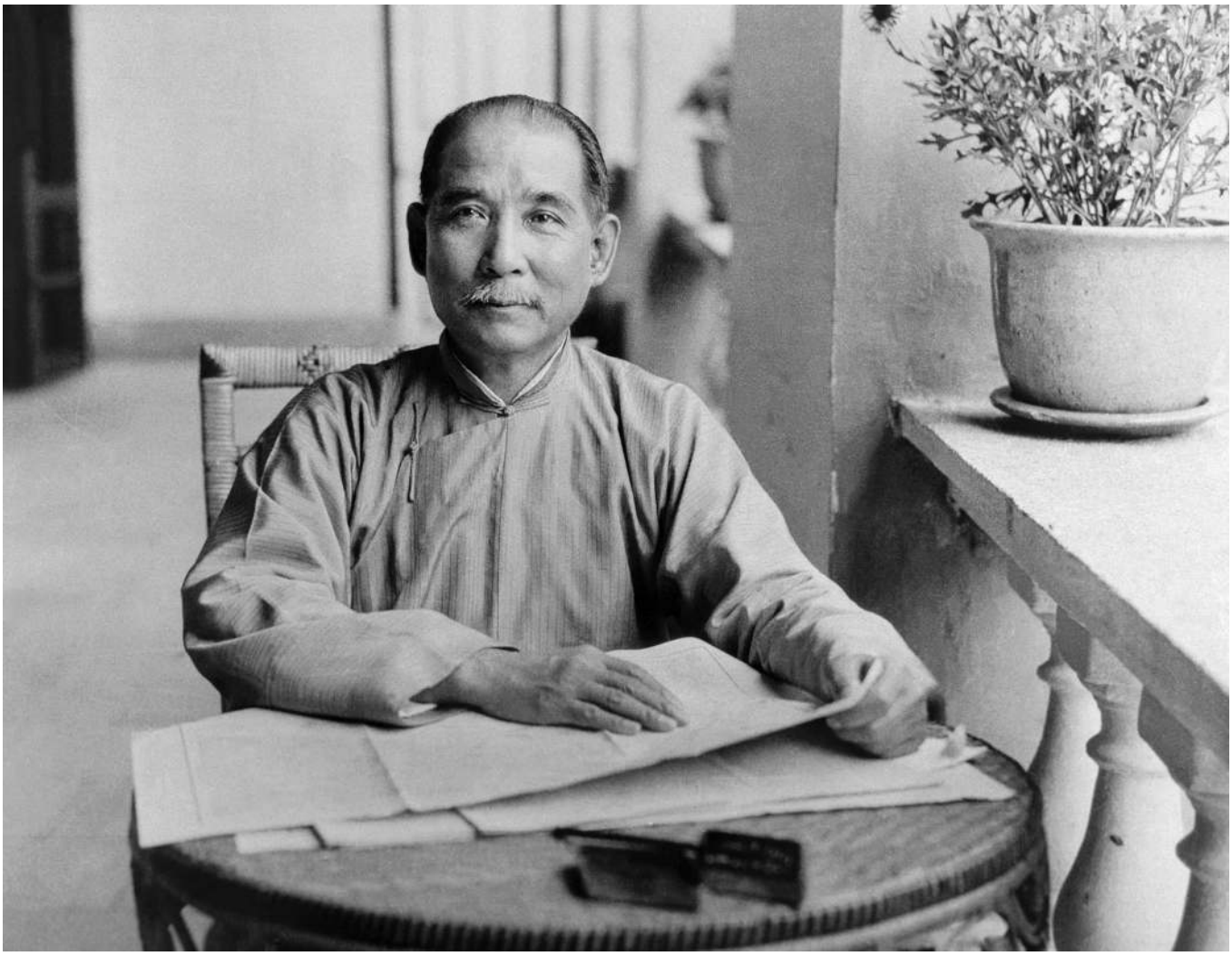

Figure 8.9.2: Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Canton, Author unknown, in the Public Domain

? Discussion Question

Why was Sun Yat-sen successful as a leader within China?

While the North remained in conflict, Sun died of cancer in 1925, and his protege, General Chiang Kai-shek, took over the leadership of the Kuomintang. Chiang was a capable leader who was able to unite the government. In 1927, Chiang married U.S.-educated Soong Mei-ling, the sister of Sun's widow Soong Ching-ling. By 1927, the "Northern Expedition" against the warlords found success under the leadership of Chiang with CCP and Soviet support. A few months later, however, a new civil war began in China. Chiang turned against his communist allies, who he feared were strengthening KMT support in the cities. Chiang purged CCP members from the Kuomintang, and beginning in Shanghai, started rounding up and executing many Communist leaders while imprisoning others. In 1931, the Japanese military invaded Manchuria and created the puppet Kingdom of Manchukuo, installing the heir to the Qing dynasty, Pu Yi, as the monarch. The Chinese Republic, in the midst of a new civil war, was not in a position to fight the Japanese, and so the invasion went unchecked.

With so many communists imprisoned or executed, Mao Zedong, a charismatic leader of peasant origin, rose to prominence in the Chinese Communist Party by the early 1930s. The KMT armies reconquered parts of China's interior under Communist control and surrounded the communists in the Jiangxi Province in October 1934, including the majority of the CCP's military known as the Red Army. The CCP forces broke out of the trap and began what became known as the Long March. In 370 days, the communists covered 5,600 miles including some of the most rugged terrain in China, but not without substantial losses – it's estimated that less than 10% of the Red Army survived the march. Following the end of the march in October 1935, Mao Zedong emerged as a leader of the CCP, along with Red Army leader Zhou Enlai. Zhou would become the first Premier of the People's Republic of China and Mao would become the Chairman of the CCP.

As seen in previous chapters, by embracing Western technology and government, Japan went in the opposite direction of China in the late 19th and early 20th century. By 1910 the Japanese Empire extended its territory to include the Ryuku Islands and Taiwan, defeated the Russians in the 1905 Russo-Japanese War, and had taken control of the Korean peninsula. Japanese industrial goods, especially textiles, found markets in the U.S. and other parts of the world. As part of the victorious Allied coalition in the Great War, the Japanese were awarded the Marshall Islands and Shandong peninsula from Germany, although their proposal to condemn racism was not approved by the Allied diplomats in Paris. With the invasion of Manchuria (which had been under the control of Japan since 1911) in 1931, and subsequent military action around Shanghai, it was becoming clear the Japanese were not content with remaining confined to their home islands.

In China, the battle for control of the government had left the state vulnerable, and by 1937 the Japanese had invaded China and seized control of the city of Nanking, resulting in the "Rape of Nanking" which saw tens of thousands of ordinary Chinese murdered and raped at the hands of the invading Japanese army. China was unable to regain control of the country until after the end of World War II, when another civil war led to the Kuomintang being ousted and the CCP taking control and establishing a communist state on the Chinese mainland.

? Primary Sources: Requiem, by Anna Akhmatova

Most of the artists that lived in the Soviet Union during the Stalinist Era were silenced or forbidden from working. Anna Akhmatova was an exception. She continued to write throughout the Stalinist period and while her loved ones, including her second husband and her son, were imprisoned, she remained free. This poem, written during the imprisonment of her family, is perhaps the most poignant and important of all of the works to come out of the Soviet Union during this period.

Discussion Questions:

- How did Akhmatova's work reflect the actions of the Communist Party at the time?
- Why do you think Akhmatova chose to write "Requiem"?

Not under foreign skies

Nor under foreign wings protected - I shared all this with my own people

There, where misfortune had abandoned us. [1961]

INSTEAD OF A PREFACE

During the frightening years of the Yezhov terror, I spent seventeen months waiting in prison queues in Leningrad. One day, somehow, someone 'picked me out'.

On that occasion there was a woman standing behind me, her lips blue with cold, who, of course, had never in

her life heard my name. Jolted out of the torpor characteristic of all of us, she said into my ear (everyone whispered there) - 'Could one ever describe this?' And I answered - 'I can.' It was then that something like a smile slid across what had previously been just a face.

[The 1st of April in the year 1957.]

INTRODUCTION [PRELUDE]

It happened like this when only the dead Were smiling, glad of their release,

That Leningrad hung around its prisons Like a worthless emblem, flapping its piece. Shrill and sharp, the steam-whistles sang Short songs of farewell

To the ranks of convicted, demented by suffering, As they, in regiments, walked along -

Stars of death stood over us As innocent Russia squirmed

Under the blood-spattered boots and tyres

Of the black marias.

I

You were taken away at dawn. I followed you As one does when a corpse is being removed. Children were crying in the darkened house.

A candle flared, illuminating the Mother of God. . . The cold of an icon was on your lips, a death-cold sweat

On your brow - I will never forget this; I will gather

To wail with the wives of the murdered streltsy (1) Inconsolably, beneath the Kremlin towers.

[1935. Autumn. Moscow]

II

Silent flows the river Don

A yellow moon looks quietly on Swanking about, with cap askew

It sees through the window a shadow of you Gravely ill, all alone

The moon sees a woman lying at home Her son is in jail, her husband is dead

Say a prayer for her instead.

V

Giggling, poking fun, everyone's darling, The carefree sinner of Tsarskoye Selo (2) If only you could have foreseen

What life would do with you -

That you would stand, parcel in hand, Beneath the Crosses (3), three hundredth in line,

Burning the new year's ice With your hot tears.

Back and forth the prison poplar sways With not a sound - how many innocent Blameless lives are being taken away. . . [1938]

V

For seventeen months I have been screaming, Calling you home.

I've thrown myself at the feet of butchers For you, my son and my horror.

Everything has become muddled forever - I can no longer distinguish

Who is an animal, who a person, and how long The wait can be for an execution.

There are now only dusty flowers, The chinking of the thurible,

Tracks from somewhere into nowhere And, staring me in the face

And threatening me with swift annihilation, An enormous star.

[1939]

VII

THE VERDICT

The word landed with a stony thud Onto my still-beating breast.

Nevermind, I was prepared, I will manage with the rest.

I have a lot of work to do today; I need to slaughter memory, Turn my living soul to stone

Then teach myself to live again. . .

But how. The hot summer rustles Like a carnival outside my window; I have long had this premonition

Of a bright day and a deserted house.

[22 June 1939. Summer. Fontannyi Dom (4)]

FOOTNOTES

An elite guard which rose up in rebellion against Peter the Great in 1698. Most were either executed or exiled.

1. The imperial summer residence outside St Petersburg where Ahmatova spent her early years.
2. A prison complex in central Leningrad near the Finland Station, called The Crosses because of the shape of two of the buildings.
3. The Leningrad house in which Ahmatova lived.

Public Domain Poetry, in the Public Domain

? Review Questions

- How did Stalin come to power over his adversaries?
- Why was China so ill-prepared for the invasions that occurred in the 1930s?

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8.10: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

Overall, the Great Depression affected different regions in different ways. While much of the world drifted towards authoritarianism, democratic reformers were elected in much of Western Europe, the USA, and Chile. For the most part, these governments were able to lower unemployment through massive spending. Mexico, Chile, and the Soviet Union also sought to promote industrialization as a means of lowering unemployment and raising wages. The effects of the Great Depression were not felt as strongly in the Soviet Union as Stalin institutionalized communist rule. While in China, communists were forced to retreat west as the Nationalists sought to unify the nation. Government policies in Mexico provided greater economic opportunities for non-whites, but the mestizo *inquilinos* were neglected in Chile. Similarly, FDR sought to reduce poverty through massive public works which benefited primarily white Americans. Germany and Japan boosted employment through a massive arms buildup and embraced racist expansionist policies. Nevertheless, during this time non-whites in the Americas, Asia, and Africa increasingly organized to push for civil rights and racial equality.

Key Terms

- **Fascism:** A political and social system that relies on extreme nationalism, scientific racism, massive military buildup, authoritarianism, and expansion
- **Totalitarianism:** A society where the government controls how people behaved inside and outside of their homes through fear and violence
- **Keynesian Economics:** Government policy where deficit spending is used in public works and other projects to reduce unemployment.
- **Popular Front:** Anti-fascist political alliance of liberals, democratic socialists, and communists during the 1930s.
- **Indigenismo:** Mexican government policy that acknowledges the importance of the natives of Mexico and promotes their cultural, economic, and political integration.
- **Nazism:** Anti-democratic and hyper-nationalist ideology that promotes totalitarian rule, anti-Semitism, and expansion.
- **Communism:** A political system where private property is eliminated; workers work based on their abilities and are provided for based on their needs. Originally developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in The Communist Manifesto, published in 1848.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

9: World War II - 1939 - 1945

? Learning Objectives

- Understand the development of the largest war in human history
- Explore the horrific costs in human life (war casualties, the Holocaust, atomic weapons)

? Focus Questions

- How did the events that culminated in a New World Order at the end of 1945 set the stage for the following 70 years?
- How did World War II challenge the domestic order of patriarchy, which dominated Western societies since the dawn of agriculture?

Introduction

In many ways, World War II was a continuation of the first Great War, especially in Europe. Germans supported Hitler and the Nazis because they promised to overcome the humiliation suffered at the Versailles peace conference in 1919. Germans were forced to admit "war guilt," pay massive reparations, loss of territory, and limit the size and quality of their armed forces. The Nazi regime promised to reverse all of it and establish a powerful new German Empire as the dominant force on the Continent. However, World War II was also a result of the worldwide reaction to the Great Depression, which was seen by many as not only a failure of capitalism but also a failure of democracy. Both fascism and communism offered plausible solutions to the crisis. Although neither the Nazi nor the Communist parties in the German Weimar Republic ever won a majority in a contested election, by 1932, most German voters opted for one or the other, and essentially voted against liberal democracy. Germany was not alone in abandoning democracy and embracing authoritarianism; Southern and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Japan witnessed similar events. Chapter 8 explained how the Japanese military, taking the initiative against the weak objections of Japan's elected government, initiated the first conflicts that evolved into global war by invading and occupying the northern Chinese province of Manchuria in 1931. Again, it is striking how similar the racial beliefs in the Japanese military were to those of the Nazis: the "Yamato" people of Japan had a special mission to dominate East Asia in the same way that the "Aryans" of Germany were destined to rule all of Europe. Eventually in February 1945 US Marines landed on the island of Iwo Jima (see Figure 9.1) as part of Allied strategy to defeat Japan. The Battle of Iwo Jima was one of the costliest and bloody wars in US history. Figure 9.1 is a black and white photo taken in February 1945. It shows a US Landing Ship that has dropped its ramp very close to the beach. Several soldiers are seen on the ship as well as on the shore. The rear gates of ship are wide open and soldiers are using the ramp to bring out the supplies from the ship to the shore.

Figure 9.1: US Marines unloading supplies on Iwo Jima Beach in February 1945, US Marine Corps Archives, in the Pubic Domain.

9.1: The Road to War in Asia
9.2: The Road to War in Europe
9.3: The Road to Victory
9.4: Important Battles and Conferences
9.5: Human Costs of the War
9.6: US Industry and the Home Front
9.7: Chapter Summary and Key Terms
9.8: Suggested Readings and Works Cited

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9.1: The Road to War in Asia

How the War Began

As described in chapter 8, the government ruling in the name of Japanese Emperor Hirohito also shifted toward fascism after the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the establishment of the puppet state Manchukuo in northeast China and Inner Mongolia. Manchukuo provided Japan with the economic benefits of an imperial colony: raw industrial materials not available on the islands of Japan, and a foreign captive market for Japanese goods. The military also justified their conquests by claiming they were liberating Asia from European colonialism. Not all the Asian territories they invaded, however, were happy to become part of the Japanese "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Civil War in China

China was still in the midst of a civil war between the Republican Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. Kuomintang leader and President of the Republic, Chiang Kai-shek, ignored the Japanese threat in northern China until it was too late. Chiang appealed to the League of Nations for assistance against Japan, and the United States supported their efforts. After a six-month investigation, the League found Japan guilty and demanded the return of Manchuria to China. The diplomats of the League had no way to enforce their ruling, so Japan ignored the demand and simply withdrew from the League of Nations. Japanese diplomatic isolation further empowered radical military leaders who could point to success in Manchuria and compare it to the diplomatic failures of the civilian government. The conquest of China would not only provide for Japan's future industrial needs, but also secure the Empire's military supremacy in East Asia.

Japan launched a full-scale invasion of China on July 7, 1937 and routed the forces of the Chinese National Revolutionary Army led by Chiang Kai-shek. The broken Chinese army gave up Beijing to the Japanese on August 8, Shanghai on November 26, and the Nationalist capital, Nanjing, on December 13. In the first six weeks after capturing the capital, Japanese troops killed half of the city's population of 600,000. They began by executing 90,000 Chinese Army deserters who they despised for surrendering, and then moved on to civilians. Japanese troops raped up to 100,000 women and girls and then killed most of them in what is now recognized as one of the worst atrocities of World War II. To pacify the rest, the Japanese distributed opium and heroin to the captive population. Like the Italian fascists in Ethiopia and the German Nazis in occupied Europe, the Japanese military felt themselves to be superior to the conquered peoples and believed that only terror could subdue the civilian population.

The Rape of Nanking

Hoping to halt the invading enemy, Chiang Kai-shek adopted a scorched-earth strategy of "trading space for time" by destroying dams to stop his nationalist opponents, even if it meant killing millions of his own citizens. His Nationalist government retreated inland, burning villages, breaking down infrastructure, and destroying roads and rails. Chiang established a new capital deep in the interior at the Yangtze River port of Chungking. Although the Nationalists' scorched-earth policy hurt the Japanese military effort, it alienated Chinese civilians and became a potent propaganda tool of the emerging Chinese Communist Party. When news of the "Rape of Nanjing" first reached the West, many were skeptical because the violence described was so extreme. However, U.S. missionaries and European businessmen had established an "International Safety Zone" in Nanjing during the atrocities, which saved 200,000 Chinese civilians and documented the Japanese actions. Curiously, the effort was led by the German businessman John Rabe, at the time a card-carrying member of the Nazi Party. Eyewitness accounts written by Westerners were published in American newspapers, along with photographic evidence, and the brutality of Japanese imperialism began to sink in. However, not one of the League members one was going to declare war on Japan to save the Chinese.

The United States lacked both the will and the military power to oppose the Japanese invasion, and even continued to sell oil and scrap iron to Japan during their expansions. The Japanese army was a technologically advanced force consisting of 4,100,000 men and 900,000 Chinese collaborators armed with modern rifles, artillery, armor, and aircraft. By 1940, the Japanese navy was the third largest and among the most technologically advanced in the world. Still, Chinese Nationalists lobbied Washington for aid. Chiang Kai-shek's popular wife, U.S.-educated Soong May-ling, known to Americans as Madame Chiang, led the effort. In contrast to her gruff husband, Madame Chiang was charming and able to use her knowledge of American culture and values to garner support for Chiang and his government. But although the United States denounced Japanese aggression, it took no action. As the Nationalists fought for survival, the Chinese Communist Party was busy accumulating supporters and supplies in the

northwestern Shaanxi Province. Mao Zedong recognized the power of the Chinese peasant population and began recruiting from the local peasantry, capitalizing on the outrage caused by both the Nationalist failure to prevent Japanese invasion and its scorched-earth retreat policy. Mao gradually built his force from a meager 7,000 at the end of the Long March in 1935 to a robust 1,200,000 members by the end of World War II.

Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor

While Hitler marched across Europe, the Japanese continued their war in the Pacific. In 1939 the United States dissolved its trade treaties with Japan and the following year placed a war-stopping embargo on oil, steel, rubber, and other vital goods. Instead of being starved into submission, Japan's resource-challenged military accelerated invasions across East Asia to sustain its war effort. The Japanese took control of French Indochina from the Vichy Regime and began threatening the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) after the Netherlands was occupied by Germany. Diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States collapsed. The United States demanded that Japan withdraw from China and stopped supplying the island empire with oil (of which they were the major supplier). The Japanese considered the the oil embargo a *de facto* declaration of war.

Japanese military planners, believing that American intervention was inevitable, planned a coordinated Pacific offensive to neutralize the United States and other European powers by providing time for Japan to complete its conquests and fortify its positions. On the morning of December 7, 1941, the Japanese launched a surprise air attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii (see Figure 9.1.1). Military planners hoped to destroy enough battleships and aircraft carriers to cripple American naval power for years. The Japanese **Kamikaze** pilots destroyed or seriously damaged eight battleships (four sank), three cruisers, three destroyers, and 180 aircraft, killing 2,403 American servicemen and wounding a thousand more. Only 353 Japanese bombers, fighters, and torpedo planes were taken out while crippling the entire US Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor. Luckily for the U.S. Navy, the four aircraft carriers assigned to the Pacific were out on maneuvers during the attack…a coincidence that seemed consequential at the time. Figure 9.1.1 is a black and white photo taken on December 7, 1941, soon after the Japanese attack. The photo shows the destruction of 3 American naval ships, namely the USS *Arizona*, USS *Tennessee*, and USS *Virginia* after they were torpedoed. The ships are on fire and are engulfed in thick dark smoke reaching upward into the darkened skies. In the foreground USS *Arizona* has almost sunk; water jets are in use to put down the flames on the USS *Tennessee* and USS *Virginia*.

American isolationism fell apart after the **attack on Pearl Harbor**. Japan simultaneously assaulted Hong Kong, the Philippines, and American holdings throughout the Pacific, but it was the attack on Hawaii that threw the United States into a global conflict. Franklin Roosevelt referred to December 7 as "a date which will live in infamy" and called for a declaration of war, which Congress approved within hours. Without any provocation, both Germany and Italy declared war on the US on December 11. Within a week of Pearl Harbor, the United States was at war with the entire Axis, turning two previously separate conflicts into a true world war. After Pearl Harbor, Japan conquered the American-controlled Philippine archipelago. The prisoners were marched over 80 miles to a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp without food, water, or rest. Ten thousand died on the so-called "Bataan Death March".

Although Japan hoped the United States would be unable to respond quickly, four months after Japan's surprise attack on Hawaii, in April 1942, the US Army Air Force bombed Tokyo using sixteen B-25 medium range bombers launched from an aircraft carrier in the Pacific. The man who planned and led the raid, Lt. Col. Jimmy Doolittle, said of the plan, "*The Japanese people had been told they were invulnerable…An attack on the Japanese homeland would cause confusion in the minds of the Japanese people and sow doubt about the reliability of their leaders.*" Doolittle added, "*There was a second and equally important psychological reason for this attack: Americans badly needed a morale boost.*" Doolittle would lead a long series of daring bombing runs against mainland Japan that would land in China after not being able to return to refueling spots in the Western Pacific.

Figure 9.1.1: Burning and Damaged Ships at Pearl Harbor after the Japanese attack on December 7, 1941, National Archives Catalog, in the Public Domain.

The Atlantic Charter

Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill understood that Germany was a more immediate threat the Japanese. In 1940 and 1941, the United States had already begun providing financial and material support to Great Britain, as it had previously in World War I. New to the Allied list of support was the Soviet Union. Britain had stood alone militarily in Western Europe, but the British made a great show of resistance during the battle of Britain. Roosevelt and Churchill met in April 1941 on a ship off of the coast of Nova Scotia to agree on the Atlantic Charter, a pledge to defend freedom and democracy from fascism.

Churchill referred to the unofficial prerequisites of the charter as the “naughty document”, because it carved the world up into spheres of the victors. After the U.S. officially entered the war, Hitler unleashed U-boat “wolf packs” into the Atlantic Ocean with orders to sink anything carrying aid to Britain. After losing thousands of merchant ships in 1942 and early 1943, British and U.S. tactics and technology began to turn the tides during the Battle of the Atlantic. British code breakers at Bletchley Park, led by Alan Turing, cracked Germany’s Enigma radio cryptography, partially through the new ENIGMA computer he developed. The surge of intelligence, dubbed Ultra, coupled with naval convoys escorted by destroyers armed with sonar & depth charges, as well as air support, gave the advantage to the Allies. By the mid-1943, Hitler’s navy was losing ships faster than they could be built. Soon the “wolf packs" were sheltering in a defensive crouch in the harbors of occupied Europe.

? Primary Source: Atlantic Charter, 1941

In 1941 US President F.D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill issued a joint statement called the Atlantic Charter, which affirmed American and British solidarity against the Axis powers.

- What was the main purpose of the meeting between the US president and British prime minister?
- What were the common principles of the Atlantic Charter?
- What is the significance of the Atlantic Charter?

Review Questions

- Which technological developments were accelerated by the war?
- Was Chiang Kai-shek was an effective leader of the Kuomintang?

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9.2: The Road to War in Europe

Italian Invasion of Ethiopia

The belief that a nation's greatness lay in war and conquest was fundamental to the fascist ideology in both Italy and Germany. While Hitler was still consolidating the Nazi regime and rebuilding German armed forces in violation of the Versailles Treaty, Mussolini decided to act. In October 1935, Italy invaded independent Ethiopia from its colonies in Eritrea and Somalia. Italy, like Germany, was not unified until the second half of the nineteenth century. Both Germany and Italy were therefore latecomers to the colonial race in Africa. Ethiopia was one of the only African nations that had not yet been colonized by Europeans. Italians launched an unsuccessful invasion of Ethiopia in 1896. This first attack was repelled with traditional spears and out-of-date guns. However, during the second attack on Ethiopia Italy used tanks, machine guns, air power, and poison gas to secure a sweeping victory. Ethiopia was ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie, and Ethiopia was a member of the League of Nations. Emperor Haile Selassie inspired Rastafari, a cultural and religious movement that viewed him as a messiah for people of African descent. Time Magazine named Emperor Haile Selassie as one of the top 21 political icons in history. Figure 9.2.1 shows the photo of Emperor Haile Selassie on the cover of Time Magazine soon after his coronation in 1930. He is dressed in regal attire, and is wearing a sash. The caption at the bottom of the photo reads "The King of Kings." Ethiopia and Emperor Haile Selassie had a special significance for the Black diaspora. First, Ethiopia was an ancient center of Christianity. Second, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia galvanized Rastas, Africans, and the Black diaspora in their struggles against racism, fascism, and imperialism. Ethiopia and Selassie became symbols of anti-imperial resistance. By April of 1936, the League of Nations failed to respond to the pleas of the exiled Ethiopian king Haile Selassie. Italians engaged in a three-day killing spree in response to an attempted assassination on the Italian viceroy in the conquered capital city of Addis Ababa the following year. At least 20,000 were murdered, including Ethiopian intellectuals who had already been imprisoned after the takeover. As we'll see, such atrocities were typical of the racism inherent in fascist regimes, who thought that using such terror was the only way to "teach a lesson" to "inferior" conquered peoples.

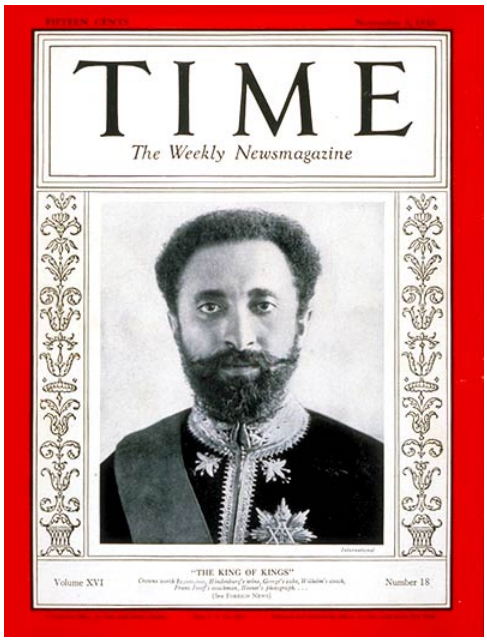

Figure 9.2.1: Photo of Emperor Haile Selassie on the cover of Time Magazine, Time Magazine, in the Public Domain.

Europe in the 1930s

After losing most Latin American colonies in the early nineteenth century, Spain fell into decades of civil war and unrest. Once they lost the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico to the United States in 1898, the Spanish empire was less stable and poorer than several former territories, such as Argentina and Chile. In the early years of the 20th century, many Spanish workers championed the cause of taking down all forms of repression as the pathway to liberate the natural socialist and communal tendencies of humanity. Many found fault with the Catholic Church, which received government funds to educate and provide for the poor, but was seen by the starving, illiterate, landless peasants, and proletarians as ineffective and hypocritically enjoying its riches. By 1931,

even the middle class had had enough of Spain's repressive backwardness. The king abdicated—another victim of the crisis of the Great Depression—and the Spanish Republic was established. A new Spanish constitution formed a presidential-parliamentary government with proportional representation, much like the Weimar Republic in Germany. Agrarian reform and limiting the temporal power of the Catholic Church divided the Spanish people, resulting in the liberals and socialists losing control of the government in 1933. Rebellions in 1934 by radical miners in northern Spain led to repression and the imprisonment of thousands. In response, a competing, alternative government was formed in February 1936, "The Popular Front".

Soviet leader Joseph Stalin ordered the world's communist parties to join in supporting the anti-fascist Popular Front coalition of socialist, anarchist, and workers' parties seeking to preserve and extend liberal reforms. However, when the new government rolled out agrarian reforms and began suppressing the Church, street fighting and assassinations led to a **fascist**-supported military coup orchestrated by General Francisco Franco in July 1936. The "nationalist" Franco regime and the "republican" Popular Front government entered into a bloody civil war. One of the greatest atrocities carried out by Franco took place against the Basque people in the northern town of Guernica - a crime represented below in Pablo Picasso's canvas by the same name. Hitler and Mussolini immediately sent weapons, troops and air support to Franco, while Stalin supported the Republic. The leading European democracies—Great Britain and France—declared neutrality while the United States chose once again to try to stay out of Europe's disputes. Individual British, French, and American volunteers arrived to fight for the Republic, hoping to make Spain "the graveyard of fascism". However, even before Franco and the nationalists finally defeated the Republic in April 1939, Stalin had pulled Soviet advisors out of Spain and abandoned the Popular Front strategy. Francisco Franco remained the authoritarian dictator of Spain until his death in 1975.

The response of World War I victors may seem puzzling. Why not step in and swiftly put an end to the rising threat posed by emerging dictators? By the 1930s, and the Great Depression, the French, British, and Americans were wondering what "winning" the Great War had really meant. The deaths of millions and the wounding of millions more did not seem worth repeating. All the vitriol and propaganda justified to cause such suffering fell flat. On the other hand, the Germans had been humiliated by the peace and were now led by a man and a party, who claimed that they could have won if they had not been "stabbed in the back" by liberals, communists, social democrats, and Jews. Unfortunately, many fascist sympathizers in the democracies agreed with this assessment: that corrupt politicians and capitalists, as part of a Jewish-led cabal, had been the only ones to benefit from leading their countries into a useless war. There was truth in the observation that bankers and capitalists had profited from the war, but there was no evidence of widespread, racial or political conspiracy. The fact that public opinion descended into fantastic conspiracy theories is a testament to the psychological effect of the worldwide economic crisis on a fearful humanity.

Hitler's foreign policy, which he had announced to the world in his 1925 book *Mein Kampf*, was based on the idea of absorbing regions with German-speaking populations into his Greater Reich. *Lebensraum*, living space, for Aryans would be taken from the Slavic peoples of eastern Europe. In March 1938, Germany annexed Austria, its ally in the previous war and homeland of Hitler, with the support of most Austrians (the von Trapp family of *Sound of Music* fame were the exception, not the rule). This was a direct violation of the anschluss clause in Versailles, and once again, Great Britain and France failed to respond. Hitler next set his sights on the Sudetenland, an ethnically German region of Czechoslovakia. In October 1938, the British and French leaders, alarmed but still anxious to avoid war, attended a diplomatic conference in Munich where they agreed to German annexation in return for a promise to stop all future German aggression. They were desperate to believe the *Führer* could be appeased, but in March 1939, German troops rolled into the rest of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovakian government had not even been invited to the conference in Munich; despite being the only democracy standing in Central Europe by 1938, they were betrayed by the appeasement policy of their fellow democracies in the League of Nations.

Nor were the democracies moved by Nazi excesses against the Jews in Germany. There was great international concern over Germany hosting the 1936 Olympics in Munich, but the Nazi government took down all anti-Semitic propaganda, loosened restrictions and fooled the world with a facade of international peace and prosperity when the international organizations began arriving for the events. In November 1938, after a German diplomat was assassinated by an exiled German Jew in France, the Nazi government allowed a massive outpouring of violence against Jews and Jewish-owned businesses. German mobs murdered dozens of Jews, publicly humiliated thousands, and burned businesses and synagogues in a frenzy of violence that became known as *Kristallnacht*, "the Night of Broken Glass." Many people in these democracies were outraged, thinking that such pogroms (state sponsored violence) could not exist in such advanced nations like Germany despite the fact that pogroms against Jewish communities have taken place throughout Europe for thousands of years. Still, no action is taken.

All of this was happening as Stalin supported the Spanish Republic, hoping that the other democratic countries would join in a struggle against rising fascism. When they instead appeased Hitler, Stalin correctly concluded that the capitalists perceived Hitler as a bulwark against the communist Soviet Union rather than as a threat to their own territories and interests. The Soviet Premier changed his diplomatic strategy on August 23, 1939 by signing a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. By that time, Hitler had set his sights on "liberating" the German-speaking population in Poland, so the two despots devised a plan to divide the nation into two "buffer states". The world learned of the secret agreement to divide Poland included in the Nazi-Soviet Pact when Stalin sent his armies into eastern Poland three weeks later. This uneasy peace disintegrated just over a year later when German troops poured across the border on September 1, 1939.

The Invasion of Poland

Two days after the German *Wehrmacht* invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, Britain and France declared war and began mobilizing their armies. The war planners hoped the Poles would be able to hold out for three to four months to give the Allies time to prepare an intervention, but Poland fell in three weeks, partly due to the Russian invasion in the east and partly due to a new form of warfare. The German leadership, anxious to avoid the rigid, grinding war of attrition in the trenches of World War I, had built its new army for speed and maneuverability. German strategy emphasized the use of tanks, planes, and motorized infantry to concentrate forces, smash front lines, and wreak havoc behind the enemy's defenses. It was called **Blitzkrieg** or "lightning war", and it was incredibly effective. After conquering eastern Poland, Stalin's armies shifted focus to occupying the Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and to invading Finland. The Soviet leader was planning to reestablish the borders of the former Tsarist Russian Empire. However, the invasion of Finland met stubborn resistance and a bitter winter, and resulted in small territory losses for the Finns.

The Phony War

Meanwhile, after the fall of Poland, France and Britain braced for the inevitable German attack. In April 1940, the Germans quickly conquered Denmark and Norway in an effort to prevent the British naval blockade which had been so key to their defeat in World War I. The following month, Hitler launched his *Blitzkrieg* further into Western Europe by invading the Netherlands and Belgium to avoid well-prepared French defenses along the French-German border (The Maginot Line). Poland had fallen in three weeks; France lasted only a few weeks more. By June, Hitler was posing for photographs in front of the Eiffel Tower. In another propaganda victory, Hitler made the French diplomats sign their surrender in the same railroad car used for the German surrender in the First World War.

The Vichy Regime in France

Germany split France in half, occupying the north and allowing a collaborationist government to form in Vichy to administer the south and the French colonies. Led by the "Hero of Verdun," Marshal Philippe Petain, the Vichy regime sought to reorganize France along authoritarian fascist lines. Significant support for Germany by the French right was one of the reasons for their defeat in June 1940. Many in France had also abandoned democracy and welcomed the demise of the Third Republic. They reasoned that if the future held a German-dominated Europe, it would be better for France to collaborate as partners rather than as subjects in a new Nazi empire. Although this rationalization fit into the scheme proposed by German propaganda, Hitler would never allow a full partnership with any of his conquered peoples.

The Battle of Britain

With France under control, Hitler turned to Britain, the last free democracy of Europe. Operation Sea Lion, the planned German invasion of the British Isles, required air superiority over the English Channel and would necessitate an amphibious landing of massive proportions. From June until October 1940, the German *Luftwaffe* fought the Royal Air Force for control of the skies. Despite having fewer planes, British pilots won the so-called Battle of Britain, saving the islands from invasion and prompting the new prime minister, Winston Churchill, to declare, "Never before in the field of human conflict has so much been owed by so many to so few."

However, if Britain was safe from invasion, it was not immune from ongoing air attacks. Frustrated by losing the Battle of Britain, Hitler began a bombing campaign against cities and civilians. The Blitz, as the British came to know the nightly bombing raids on London, killed at least 40,000 civilians. Population centers like Bristol, Cardiff, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Southampton and industrial cities like Swansea, Belfast, Birmingham, Coventry, Glasgow, Manchester, and Sheffield were also targeted for heavy bombing.

The Royal Air Force defended the cities as well as they could, people slept in the Underground subway tunnels for protection at night, and British industrial production continued after being moved out of major cities. The British people, encouraged by Churchill, kept calm and carried on.

In anger, Hitler and his Vice Chancellor Herman Göring began a policy of striking London every day in an effort to break the will of their enemy. Beginning on September 7, 1940, London was bombed every night for 56 days, including a large daylight attack on September 15. British morale failed to break, and Germany eventually shifted to targeting Atlantic shipping and bombing port cities to starve the enemy. When the port of Clydebank in Scotland was bombed in March 1941, only 7 of 12,000 buildings escaped damage. But the Germans failed to gain complete air superiority, partly due to the British deployment of RADAR (Radio Detection and Ranging). The technology had been developed in the 1930s and was advanced and finally perfected by Britain in the early 1940s. It would be offered to the Americans in exchange for financial and industrial support as the two nations strengthened ties to "defend democracy" even before official U.S. involvement in the war.

Operation Barbarossa and German *Lebensraum*

Nazi ideology considered the English as close to racial equals, and Hitler hoped that Great Britain would eventually join a crusade against Bolshevism. However, Nazi doctrine focused on establishing German *lebensraum* in Eastern Europe, enslaving the lesser Slavic peoples to work for the Aryans. In order to break with the Soviet pact German armies invaded the Balkans and set up puppet regimes in Hungary and Romania, giving them a wider front for attacking the Soviets. Mussolini sent his troops from Albanian (conquered in 1939) to conquer Greece. The Greeks not only defended themselves but pushed the Italians back into Albania, forcing Hitler to bail out Mussolini by invading Yugoslavia and Greece.

In June 1941, German forces crossed into the Soviet Union in a massive surprise attack. "**Operation Barbarossa**" was the largest land invasion in human history, fought over a 1,800 mile front between 10,000,000 combatants. France and Poland had fallen in weeks, and Germany hoped to use the same *Blitzkrieg* tactics to break the USSR before the winter. Initially this plan succeeded in catching Stalin's Red Army unprepared, quickly conquering enormous swaths of land and nearly three million prisoners. The sheer size of the assault, the distance of supply lines, and a late start in the year result in significant slowdowns after 4 or 5 months. After recovering from the initial shock of the German invasion, Stalin moved his factories east of the Urals, out of range of the *Luftwaffe*. He ordered his retreating army to adopt a scorched earth policy, destroying food, rails, and shelters to slow the advancing German army.

Germany had won massive gains, but the winter found troops exhausted and overextended eventually split into three main forces. Northern army group reached Leningrad and waged an 827-day siege where over 1,000,000 Soviets starved to death. Center group came within 60 miles of Moscow, but Stalin refused to evacuate women and children, and instead ordered every single citizen to dig anti-tank ditches with their bare hands if tools were unavailable. The refusal to retreat created a sense of unity and desperation. This combined with the brutal Russian winter and German supply lines thousands of miles long left the Nazis faltering, and ever naturally falling back after a three-month battle that killed a million people. The third army group to the South will face off in what proves to be the most decisive battle of the entire war: The Battle of Stalingrad.

? Review Questions

- How did Hitler surprise Stalin with Operation Barbarossa?
- Why was the *Blitzkrieg* strategy unsuccessful in Russia?
- What were the main causes of World War II?
- How did racism play an early role in fascist expansionism?
- Why did Stalin support the Spanish Popular Front?
- Why did the European democracies try to appease Hitler?
- Was Stalin wrong to sign a non-aggression pact with Germany?

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9.3: The Road to Victory

Battle of Stalingrad

When Hitler renewed his invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1942, he focused on conquering the breadbasket and oil fields of southern Russia, namely Stalingrad. The *Blitzkrieg* again brought rapid success, but also brought the Reich army too far ahead of its supply lines. Although the strategy included sophisticated tanks, armored troop carriers, and dive bombers, the Germans still used horse-drawn wagons to bring up food, ammunition, and spare parts to the advancing armies. As the advance slowed, Axis armies arrived at Stalingrad, the new industrial city on the Volga River, too slowly to take advantage of the si. Hitler badly wanted to conquer and wipe out Stalin's namesake city, and the Soviet Premier was just as determined to defend it. In late 1942, the two armies commit themselves to death in the destroyed city, fighting house to house in a five-month battle that killed nearly two million people on both sides. Stalin placed his trust in General Georgy Zhukov, who planned a brilliant Soviet pincer move, cutting off the German 6th army in Stalingrad. When his army was forced to surrender in February 1943, Hitler was apoplectic in his anger and his generals began to doubt that he any longer had the strategic brilliance he showed in the previous years. Stalingrad is undoubtedly the single most important battle of the entire war. Hitler never recovers the advantage and remains in a constant state of defensive retreat from her on out. While the American beachheads in Sicily and France decisively opened a second front and ensured a more swift victory, the Soviets were on their way to defeat Hitler on their own. Had the Nazis succeeded at Stalingrad they would have shortened the front lines while ensuring access to the oil fields of Baku. The **Battle of Stalingrad** was the turning point of World War II.

The Soviet Counterattack

The Germans planned to follow up with renewed attacks to get at Soviet oil, but their battle with the Red Army at Kursk turned the course of the war definitively to the Soviets. Zhukov correctly guessed the German strategy, and fortified Kursk while massing armies to the north and south. After the greatest tank battle in world history, Zhukov unleashed another pincer move, and the Germans retreated from battle as quickly as they could. The Red Army began rolling westward, putting the Germans permanently on the defensive for the remainder of the war. More than any other Ally, the Soviet Union was most responsible for defeating Hitler, but at a great sacrifice. 25,000,000 Soviet soldiers and civilians died in what Russians call the Great Patriotic War, and roughly 80 percent of all German casualties during the war came on the Eastern Front.

The North African Campaign

Allied victories in North Africa in 1942 also reversed Axis gains. The Germans and Italians had been threatening British Egypt since late 1940, and led by the capable General Erwin Rommel, seemed to be on the brink of victory in the spring of 1942. Hitler's decision to invade southern Russia was based, in part, on the expectation that the Middle East would soon fall into Axis hands. In November, the first American combat troops entered the European war, landing in French Morocco, where French Vichy forces switched sides and joined the struggle to defeat the Axis. The Americans pushed the Germans and Italians eastward while the British, after defeating Rommel at El Alamein in Egypt, began rolling the Axis armies back to the west. By early 1943, the Allies had pushed Axis forces into Tunisia and then out of Africa.

American Island Hopping

Meanwhile, the Americans gradually stopped Japanese expansion in the Pacific. In the summer of 1942, American naval victories at the Battle of the Coral Sea and the aircraft carrier duel at the Battle of Midway crippled Japan's Pacific naval operations. The battles were the first time two naval fleets engaged one another by air and not by sea. At Coral Sea, the U.S. Navy blocked the Japanese threat to Australia, ultimately stopping their territorial advancement. Midway Island became the ultimate turning point for the war in the Pacific when the U.S. destroyed three Japanese aircraft carriers, the most important weapon of that war. While American carriers were sunk at various battles, U.S. industrial power was able to replace them…a capacity that Japan lacked.

To dislodge the Japanese hold over the Pacific, the U.S. began a campaign of "island hopping"…attacking island after island, bypassing the strongest but seizing those capable of holding airfields to continue pushing Japan out of the region. Combat was vicious. At Guadalcanal Japanese soldiers launched suicidal charges rather than surrender. Many Japanese soldiers refused to be

taken prisoner or to take prisoners themselves. Such tactics, coupled with American racial prejudice, turned the Pacific Theater into a much more brutal and barbarous conflict than the American-European Theater.

Italy: Europe's "Soft Underbelly"

In January 1943, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met at Casablanca to discuss the next step of the European war (see figure 9.3.1). They also declared that they expected nothing short of unconditional surrender from the Germans to avoid a repeat of the confusion and ambiguity after the Great War. Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin and French General Charles de Gaulle could not attend the Casablanca Conference. Figure 9.3.1 is a black and white photo of US President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill seated on chairs outdoors, and they are surrounded by a large group of war correspondents, seated on the ground in front of them, taking notes. Roosevelt and Churchill made a public announcement about the "unconditional surrender" of the Axis Powers. In other words, they announced that their goal was to fight the Axis Powers to their ultimate defeat. Churchill convinced Roosevelt to chase the Axis up the Italian peninsula, into the "soft underbelly" of Europe. Stalin preferred a cross-Channel invasion of France, but the British and Americans were not yet prepared in 1943. In July, Allied forces led by General Dwight Eisenhower crossed the Mediterranean to invade Sicily in the largest amphibious assault to that point (D-Day will be even larger). The Italian King dismissed and arrested Mussolini, who escaped with Germany's help and established a fascist government in northern Italy. The south, however, switched sides and fought alongside the Allies for the rest of the war. However, the advance northward toward Europe's "soft underbelly" turned out to be much tougher than Churchill had imagined. Italy's narrow, mountainous terrain and Mussolini's newly formed fascist state gave the defending Axis the advantage. Movement up the peninsula was slow, and in some battles, conditions returned to the trench-like warfare of World War I as the German armies fell back to new defensive positions, exhausting Allied forces in one battle after another. It would take nearly a year to capture Rome, and northern Italy was not liberated until the last weeks of the war in 1945.

Figure 9.3.1: US President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill at the Casablanca Conference, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

Futile Firebombing

Meanwhile, the U.S. Army Air Force (USAAF) sent thousands of bombers to England and North Africa in preparation for a massive strategic campaign against Germany—another move to assure Stalin the Allies were opening a "second front" against Germany. Initially, U.S. bombers focused on destroying German ball-bearing factories, rail yards, oil fields, and manufacturing centers during the day, in part out of reluctance to target civilians in terror bombings. However, after the London Blitz, the British felt no compunction against retaliation in kind, and carpet-bombed German cities at night. By the end of 1944, the Americans joined the British in the same strategy, bombing urban industrial targets despite massive civilian casualties. The joint RAF-USAAF

bombing of the industrial city, Dresden, in February 1945, dropped 3,900 tons of high explosives on the city, causing a firestorm that killed 25,000 civilians.

Air squadrons initially flew unescorted, since many believed that “flying fortress” bombers equipped with defensive firepower flew too high and too fast to be attacked. However, advanced German technology allowed fighters to easily shoot down the lumbering bombers. German fighter planes shot down almost half of American and British aircraft until long-range escort fighters were developed that allowed the bombers to hit their targets while fighters confronted opposing German aircraft. Historians still debate the effectiveness of the Allied bombing campaign against both Germany and Japan, and the overall usefulness of bombing civilians in World War II. The Germans increased production of war materiel during the war, relocating factories and streamlining production. German and Japanese civilians, like the Londoners in 1940, learned to live with aerial attacks instead of rising to overthrow their own governments and sue for peace. Critics of terror-bombing argue that targeting civilians rarely results in surrender, and instead often stiffens a country’s resolve to fight on and inflict the same terror on its foe.

? Review Questions

- How did the different wartime experiences of the Allies influence the goals of the “Big Three” leaders, Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt?
- If terror-bombing civilian populations is ineffective, why did everyone continue to do it?

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9.4: Important Battles and Conferences

Tehran Conference

In the wake of the Soviet victory at Stalingrad, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met in Tehran, Iran in November 1943. Dismissing Africa and Italy as a sideshow, Stalin demanded that Britain and the United States invade France to support the Soviet advance on the Eastern Front. Churchill was hesitant, but Roosevelt was eager and pushed for an invasion tentatively scheduled for May 1944. The leaders also began post-war planning, considering the best ways to prevent another world war. The Allies had already begun calling themselves the “United Nations,” especially as Latin American republics and other countries began joining the fight against the Axis. To avoid another Great Depression it was agreed that war-torn nations would need to be rebuilt rather than penalized (as they had after Versailles). In 1944 the Allies sent representatives to the Bretton Woods resort in New Hampshire to forge new international financial, trade, and developmental relationships. In April 1945, diplomats from around the world gathered in San Francisco to design a way for the United Nations to address world problems in a post-war world. The results of both conferences will be discussed below, but it is important to notice that both international meetings were held in the United States. Americans had become convinced that isolationism was no longer a practical foreign policy, and the world recognized that the U.S. was going to be instrumental in a post-war effort to keep the peace. Headquartering the United Nations in New York City ensured that American involvement would be guaranteed.

Operation Overlord: D-Day

On June 6, 1944, the same day the American army entered Rome, American, British and Canadian forces launched Operation Overlord, the long-awaited invasion of France. D-Day, as it became known, was the largest amphibious assault in history. American general Dwight Eisenhower was uncertain enough of the attack’s chances that the night before the invasion he wrote two speeches: one for success and one for failure. Using over 5,000 landing and assault craft, about 160,000 men crossed the English Channel on D-Day. The Allied landings at Normandy were successful, and by the end of the month 875,000 Allied troops had arrived in France and liberated Paris within a few months.

Allied bombing sorties intensified, continuing to level German cities and reduce Axis industrial capacity. The Royal Air Force estimated that the Allies destroyed more than half of the “built up areas” in seven of the ten German cities with more than 500,000 residents. The RAF’s goal, similar to that of Germany during the Blitz, was for bombing to be “focused on the morale of the enemy civil population and in particular of the industrial workers.” The USAAF flew over 750,000 bomber sorties and dropped nearly a million and a half tons of bombs. Up to five hundred thousand German civilians were killed by allied bombing.

Battle of the Bulge

The Nazi armies were crumbling on both fronts. Hitler tried to turn the war in his favor in the west by exploiting a weakness along the Allied front. The Battle of the Bulge (December 1944-January 1945) was the largest and deadliest single battle fought by U.S. troops in the war. The desperate Germans failed to drive the Allies back from the Ardennes forests, but the delay cost the western-front Allies the winter. The Soviet Union continued its relentless push from the east, ravaging German populations in retribution for German war crimes. German counterattacks failed to prevent the Soviet advance and 1945 dawned with the end of the European war in sight.

Yalta Conference

In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met again at Yalta, located on the Crimean Peninsula in the Black Sea (see Figure 9.4.1). Roosevelt and Churchill were anxious for Soviet help in defeating Japan; the atom bomb was months away from being tested and no one knew whether it would work. Stalin agreed to join the fight in Asia against Japan three months after peace was declared in Europe. The three leaders discussed their own long-range strategic interests at Yalta. Stalin, whose country had sacrificed the most in the war, insisted on defending the Soviet Union from future invasion by occupying Eastern Europe. Remembering British and U.S. support of the White Russians in the Civil War he had fought in the 1920s, Stalin distrusted his temporary allies against Germany. Partly to destabilize the capitalist nations he distrusted, and partly because he was still a dedicated revolutionary, Stalin also wanted to continue to promote communism around the world. Figure 9.4.1 is a black and white photo of the "Big Three," namely Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, all wearing winter coats and seated outdoors, in the courtyard of

the Livadia Palace in Crimea. All three leaders look relaxed and are smiling. At this time they were confident about their victory in Europe. They met in Yalta to discuss Soviet participation in the Pacific theater and postwar diplomacy.

Figure 9.4.1: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet General Secretary Joseph Stalin meet at the Yalta Conference, National Archives (NARA), in the Public Domain.

Churchill, for his part, believed that the colonial European empires in Africa and Asia should continue on as before (the French also supported this position). Roosevelt's main interest was maintaining the economic boom that had pulled the United States out of the Great Depression through free international trade. The war had put people back to work and the nation was at near full employment. Since the United States mainland had not been bombed, American industry was in a position to supply the world and American firms were in position to dominate world markets. Although the three nations shared the victory in World War II, in the long run, the United States "defeated" its allies through economic superiority. The European empires Churchill hoped to save were ended by the 1960s with the independence of Asian and African colonies. The Soviet Union and its domination of Eastern Europe dramatically collapsed in 1989-1991. Roosevelt's position was the most successful in the long run. Free trade exists throughout the world and is currently embraced by industrially developing nations as a means for economic growth. However, nothing lasts forever: the United States is beginning to lose its position as the leader of the capitalist world, as will be discussed in a later chapter.

Potsdam Conference

Soviet troops reached Germany in January 1945, and the Americans crossed the Rhine in March. In late April, American and Soviet troops met at the Elbe River while the Soviets pushed relentlessly to first reach Berlin…a feat accomplished by May. A few days before their arrival, Hitler and his high command committed suicide in a city bunker. Germany was conquered and the European war was over. A new set of Allied leaders met at Potsdam, Germany to plan the rehabilitation of Europe and the final defeat of Japan. Of the "Big Three" who had met at Yalta, only Stalin was at Potsdam for the whole conference. Roosevelt had died of natural causes in early April and Churchill was replaced by new Prime Minister Clement Atlee in the early days of the meeting when his Conservative Party was defeated at the polls by the Labour Party. The leaders agreed that Germany would be divided into pieces according to the current Allied occupation. Berlin, over 100 miles within the East, Soviet section of Germany, was likewise divided between American, British, French and Soviet sections.

? Review Questions

- D-Day is an iconic moment for Americans. Identify similar moments in Britain and the Soviet Union?
- Why did the U.S. and U.S.S.R. race to reach Berlin?

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9.5: Human Costs of the War

The Holocaust

We have already seen the application of fascist ideology in murderous atrocities against "inferior people" by the Italians in Ethiopia and the Japanese in China. Nazi anti-Semitism had revealed its violent aspects in *Kristallnacht* in 1938 but was even more viciously applied once German armies began conquering Eastern Europe. Ten percent of Poland's pre-war population was Jewish, about 3 million people, who had been subjected to discrimination by the authoritarian Polish government in the 1930s. However, under German occupation, Jews were forced into overcrowded ghettos in certain Polish cities. The areas captured by the *Wehrmacht* in the western Soviet Union during Operation Barbarossa added millions of Jews to Nazi-occupied Europe. While Hitler and his government had briefly considered sending Jews to far-off exile outside of Europe, ultimately the *Führer* decided that their physical elimination was necessary…a "Final Solution" to the "Jewish Problem." Mass shootings by specialized troops called *Einsatzgruppen* accompanied the invasion of the Soviet Union. In October 1941, outside of the Ukrainian capital of Kiev, Jewish men were forced to dig mass pits in the Babi Yar ravine into which they and their families were herded naked and shot by *Einsatzgruppen* and Ukrainian collaborators. Babi Yar was among the largest mass shootings of the war.

During Operation Barbarossa, the Germans also captured millions of Soviet troops, who they herded into prisoner-of-war camps, were over 2,000,000 died of disease or starvation. Non-Russians in these camps, Balts and Ukrainians, were given the option to join special guard units and collaborate with the Germans. As the mass shootings took their psychological toll on German soldiers and guardsmen, these non-Germans were called upon to murder Jewish civilians and patrol the ghettos and concentration camps. Even before the war began, "mercy killing" had become a Nazi policy in German psychiatric and mental institutions, where those with physical and mental disabilities were denied care and murdered. Shortly after defeating Poland, Hitler ordered the elimination of all "defectives". The staffs of these hospitals experimented with mass killing through carbon monoxide being pumped into buses and discovered a new use for a rodent repellent called "Zyklon B." These methods were soon applied at specially built extermination camps in the Eastern Europe, the first opening in early 1942. Jews were packed into railroad cattle-cars and taken to these camps, where they were told that they were going to "showers," but instead were sealed in and gassed. "Work Jews" were assigned to cremate the remains, until they too were exterminated.

With the establishment of the extermination camps, the Germans began "relocating" Jews from France and other occupied areas in Western Europe by rail to the East. In every country of occupied Europe, some Jews were saved by their Christian neighbors, hidden in attics, barns, churches, and monasteries until the end of the war. But even then, they were not always safe. The German-Jewish Frank family had moved to the Netherlands to escape the Nazi regime in late 1933. They had hoped that Holland would be a safe haven in a new European war since it had remained neutral in World War I. However, the Germans occupied the country along with Belgium and France in 1940, and by 1942, were sending Dutch Jews in transports to the East. The Frank family was able to hide in an annex with others, supplied with food and news of the war by a group of Dutch friends active in the underground resistance. However, they were discovered by German authorities in August 1944, and sent off to the camps. Young Anne Frank had kept a diary during their two years in hiding, and her father, who was the only member of the family to survive the war, published it in 1947. Although Anne Frank's diary has become one of the most important accounts of the **Holocaust**, the Germans themselves were good at keeping records of their actions against Jews and others. New details emerge frequently of the extent and reach of the Holocaust, concentration camps, and slave labor. Despite the efforts of some to deny the historical existence of the Holocaust, there is no doubt it took place. The physical and written evidence is undeniable, but the sheer weight of this reality leads many to believe in wild conspiracy theories rather than face what this world-defining event means about, not the Germans, but humanity itself…how can we do this to one another.

However, during the war itself, it was difficult for the Allies to believe rumors and reports they were receiving of atrocities, mass executions, and death camps in Nazi-occupied Europe. Polish resistance fighter Jan Karski was smuggled into the Warsaw ghetto and a transit camp in order to witness how the Jews were treated. He saw teenage Hitler Youth members walking into the ghetto to casually murder a Jew or two and Jewish families destined for extermination packed into rail cars. It was difficult for Roosevelt, Churchill, and others to believe his report, given in-person in Washington and London. When Karski described what he had seen to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, a Jewish-American, Frankfurter replied, "I know you are telling the truth, but I don't believe you"; expressing the world's incredulity that Christian Germany, one of the most technologically advanced and highly educated countries of the world, could perpetrate such atrocities.

Uncovering the Unthinkable

As the Allies pushed into Germany and Poland, they uncovered the full extent of Hitler's genocidal policies. The Allies liberated elaborate camp systems set up for the imprisonment, forced labor, and extermination of the Jews and other "undesirables" including Roma ("gypsies"), political prisoners, outspoken pastors, members of the resistance, individuals from the LGBT community, and pacifists. Allied officers often forced German civilians to visit the camps in their towns and regions to witness the consequences of Nazi and fascist extremist ideology. Since then, Germany has been forced to come to terms with this history, and most Germans have tried to confront their past honestly. This effort has been unusual: not only have the Turks, Japanese, and others not addressed their actions, but white treatment of non-white populations has also often been passed over. Europeans intentionally mass murdering other Europeans was unacceptable. The atrocities of Europeans against colonized peoples in Africa, Asia, and the American West seemed more acceptable, and were rarely addressed, due to a legacy of institutionalized racism.

The attempted elimination of the entire Jewish population in Europe has had other geopolitical effects. The Holocaust seemed to prove the Zionist thesis correct, that the Jews would never be safe unless they established their own homeland. This was achieved in Israel three years after the war ended in Europe; but not, as we shall see, without long-term consequences for the Palestinian Arabs and the rest of the Middle East. News of the death of six million Jews was especially difficult for Jewish-Americans, who struggled with the realization that they were now the largest surviving remnant of an ancient people after their relatives and loved ones were murdered in Hitler's camps. Previously Jewish life had been centered in Poland and the Ukraine; now it was in the United States and Israel.

The Most Terrible Weapon

As the Allies celebrated V-E (Victory in Europe) Day, Americans redirected their full attention to the still-raging Pacific War. In 1944 and 1945, the Japanese military continued to fight tenaciously while suffering defeat after defeat. Few battles were as one-sided as the Battle of the Philippine Sea in June 1944, a Japanese counterattack that the Americans called the Great Marianas Turkey Shoot for the number of planes and vessels that they sank. At Iwo Jima, an eight-square-mile island of volcanic rock upon which the Americans wanted to build an airfield from which to attack the main islands of Japan, seventeen thousand Japanese soldiers held the island against seventy thousand Marines for over a month. At the cost of nearly the entire Japanese force, they inflicted almost thirty thousand casualties before the island was lost in early 1945.

By that time, American heavy bombers were in range of the Japanese homeland, and began targeting industrial facilities. To spare bomber crews from dangerous daylight raids and to achieve maximum effect against Japanese morale, the USAAF began night raids, dropping incendiary weapons that created massive firestorms consuming the wood-and-paper houses of the residential neighborhoods. Over sixty Japanese cities were fire-bombed, with the most disastrous attack on Tokyo, where one hundred thousand civilians died in a single attack in March 1945.

In June 1945, after eighty days of fighting and tens of thousands of casualties, the Americans captured the island of Okinawa. Okinawa was a viable base from which to launch a full invasion of the Japanese homeland and end the war. Estimates varied but given the tenacity of Japanese soldiers fighting on islands far from their home, some officials expected that an invasion of the Japanese mainland could cost half a million American casualties and kill millions of Japanese civilians. Terrorizing the Japanese into surrender was a much more appealing option to Americans who had already suffered deaths in the hundreds of thousands. Historians debate the many motivations that drove the Americans to use atomic weapons against Japan, and many American officials criticized the decision at the time. Government leaders and military officials cited the casualty estimates of an invasion to justify their use. Early in the war, fearing that German scientists might develop an atomic bomb, the German-Hungarian-American physicist Leó Szilárd had written a letter to Franklin Roosevelt, which Albert Einstein signed, warning of a nuclear-armed Hitler. After some debate, other American physicists acknowledged the possibility. The U.S. government responded in 1942 with the Manhattan Project, a hugely expensive, secretive, ambitious program to create a single weapon capable of leveling an entire city. Three years later, the Americans successfully detonated the world's first nuclear device, Trinity, in New Mexico in July 1945 while Allied leaders were meeting in Potsdam. Truman had delayed the beginning of the conference until the test was complete. This way, the President would know what kind of bargaining chips he would be bringing to the postwar planning session. With a successful explosion, America no longer needed Soviet partnership in subduing Japan….and therefore no longer needed to share in the governing of Japanese territory after the war. Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, the director of the Los Alamos Laboratory

where the bomb was designed, later recalled that the event reminded him of a line from Hindu scripture: “Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds.”

Two more bombs, Little Boy and Fat Man, were quickly built and detonated over two Japanese cities in August. The Hiroshima bomb was dropped at 8:15 on the morning of August 6, killing 100,000 civilians instantly, and thousands more later from radiation poisoning. On August 9, the second bomb, Fat Man, was scheduled to be dropped on the castle town of Kokura. But the town was obscured by clouds, so the mission proceeded to the secondary target, Nagasaki, an important port city on the southern island, Kyushu, with a population of a quarter-million people. The Fat Man bomb detonated over the Mitsubishi munitions factory and the city arsenal, killing an additional 80,000. In addition to the American atom bomb attacks, on August 9th, Soviet forces invaded Manchuria and overthrew the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo. The following day Japanese cabinet ministers agreed to the Allied terms for surrender. Emperor Hirohito endorsed their decision on August 15 and announced the surrender of Japan. On September 2, aboard the battleship USS Missouri, delegates from the Japanese government formally signed their surrender. World War II was finally over.

? Review Questions

- Why did the United States drop atom bombs in Japan?
- What was the "Final Solution"?

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9.6: US Industry and the Home Front

Keynesian Economics

In modern warfare, national economies are equally if not more important than national militaries. The war effort converted American factories to wartime production, restored America's economy to full employment, armed the Allies and American forces, pulled America out of the Great Depression, and ushered in an era of unparalleled economic prosperity. Roosevelt's New Deal had ameliorated the worst of the Depression, but the economy was only limping forward. When Europe fell into war, Americans were glad to sell the Allies arms and supplies, and then Pearl Harbor changed everything. The United States drafted the economy into war service. The "sleeping giant" mobilized its unrivaled economic capacity to wage worldwide war. Government agencies such as the War Production Board and the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion managed production for the war effort and economic output exploded. An economy that had been unable to provide work for a quarter of the workforce less than a decade earlier now struggled to fill vacant positions. Many women stepped up to fill factory positions, leading to the popularized image of Rosie the Riveter. Thousands left the countryside to take up work in cities, including another great migration of Black Southerners, accelerating the speed of urbanization.

Although Franklin Roosevelt had already embraced the ideas of economist John Maynard Keynes on using deficit spending to jump-start the economy, the war wiped away any resistance among conservatives. Government spending during the four years of war doubled the total amount of federal spending from all previous years of American history up to that point. The federal budget deficit soared, but just as Keynes had predicted, the government's massive intervention annihilated unemployment and propelled growth. The economy that came out of the war looked nothing like the one that had begun it.

Military production came at the expense of the civilian consumer economy. Appliance and automobile manufacturers converted their plants to produce weapons and war vehicles. Consumer choice was sacrificed to patriotic duty. Every American received rationing cards for goods such as gasoline, coffee, meat, cheese, butter, processed foods, firewood, and sugar. New house building was shut down and cities became overcrowded, but the wartime economy boomed. The Roosevelt administration urged citizens to save their earnings or buy war bonds to prevent inflation. Bond drives headlined by Hollywood celebrities were hugely successful in funding the war effort, but they also helped tame inflation as well. So too did high tax rates after the federal government raised income taxes and boosted the top marginal tax rate to 94 percent.

Rosie the Riveter

President Roosevelt and his administration encouraged all able-bodied American men *and* women to help the war effort. He considered the role of women in the war critical for American victory, and the public expected women to free men for active military service. While most women opted to remain at home or volunteer with charitable organizations, many went to work or put on a military uniform. World War II brought unprecedented labor opportunities for American women. Industrial labor, normally dominated by men, shifted to women for the duration of wartime mobilization. The image of Rosie the Riveter inscribed with the phrase "We Can Do It!" encouraged female factory labor during the war, and the ballooning government employed over a million women in administrative jobs at the local, state, and national levels (see Figure 9.6.1).

Figure 9.6.1: Rosie the Riveter, National Museum of American History, in the Public Domain.

For women who chose not to work in factories or government service, many volunteer opportunities presented themselves. The American Red Cross, the largest charitable organization in the nation, encouraged women to volunteer with local city chapters. Millions of women organized community social events for families, packed and shipped almost half a million tons of medical supplies, and prepared twenty-seven million care packages for American and other Allied prisoners of war. The American Red Cross required all female volunteers to certify as nurse's aides, providing an extra benefit and work opportunity for hospital staffs that suffered severe personnel losses. Military service was another option for women who wanted to join the war effort. Over 350,000 women served in several all-female units of the military branches. The Army and Navy Nurse Corps Reserves, the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, the Navy's Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service, the Coast Guard's SPARs (named for the Coast Guard motto, Semper Paratus, "Always Ready"), and Marine Corps units gave women the opportunity to serve as either commissioned officers or enlisted members at military bases at home and abroad. The Nurse Corps Reserves commissioned 105,000 army and navy nurses recruited by the American Red Cross. Military nurses worked at base hospitals, mobile medical units, and onboard hospital ships. However, despite all the wartime and postwar celebration of Rosie the Riveter, when the war ended millions of men returned home expecting their jobs back. Some women gladly left their jobs once the need had diminished, but many fought against a return to domesticity after finding satisfaction and fulfillment in the workforce. Many former military women faced difficulty obtaining veteran's benefits during their transition to civilian life. The nation that called for assistance to millions of women during the four-year crisis seemed unprepared to accommodate their postwar needs and demands. Many women who had answered the call refused to step back into the shadows and pushed forward, igniting a struggle that eventually became the Women's Movement.

Double V for Victory

In early 1941, months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the largest black trade union in the nation, had made headlines by threatening President Roosevelt with a march on Washington, D.C. In this "crisis of democracy," Randolph said, defense industries refused to hire African Americans and the armed forces remained segregated. In exchange for Randolph calling off the march, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, banning racial and religious discrimination in defense industries and establishing the Fair Employment Practice Committee to monitor defense industry hiring practices. While the armed forces would not desegregated until just after the war, the order showed that the federal government could stand against discrimination. The black workforce in defense industries rose from 3 percent in 1942 to 9 percent in 1945. More than one million African Americans fought in the war. Most blacks served in segregated, non combat units led by white officers. The number of black officers increased from five in 1940 to over seven thousand by 1945. An all-black fighter and bomber squadron, known as the Tuskegee Airmen, completed more than 1,500 missions and earned several hundred merits and medals. Black pilots of the 332nd Fighter Group painted the tails of their P-47 Thunderbolts red, and many bomber crews specifically requested the "Red Tail Angels" as escorts. Near the end of the war, the army and navy began integrating some of their units and facilities, before the U.S. government finally ordered the full integration of its armed forces in 1948.

While some black Americans served in the armed forces, others on the home front became riveters and welders, rationed food and gasoline, and bought victory bonds. Many black Americans saw the war as an opportunity not only to serve their country but to improve it. The Pittsburgh Courier, a leading black newspaper, spearheaded the "Double V" campaign. It called on African Americans to fight and win two wars: victory against Nazi racism abroad and victory over racial inequality at home. To achieve double victory and "real democracy," the Courier encouraged its readers to enlist in the armed forces or volunteer on the home front, and fight against racial segregation and discrimination. During the war, membership in the NAACP jumped tenfold, from fifty thousand to five hundred thousand. The Congress of Racial Equality, formed in 1942, proposed nonviolent direct action to achieve desegregation. Between 1940 and 1950, 1.5 million southern blacks also demonstrated their opposition to racism and violence by migrating out of the Jim Crow South to the North and West. Racial tensions often followed migrants to their new homes. While systems of racial inequality were less entrenched in nonSouthern cities, newly arrived Black Southerners found themselves alienated and relegated to poorer neighborhoods. In 1943 a series of riots erupted across American cities. The bloodiest race riot occurred in Detroit and resulted in the death of twenty-five blacks and nine whites. Still, the war ignited in African Americans an urgency for equality that they would carry with them into the subsequent years.

American Concentration Camps

Many Americans had to navigate American prejudice, and America's entry into the war left foreign nationals from the enemy nations in a precarious position. The Federal Bureau of Investigation targeted many on suspicions of disloyalty for detainment, hearings, and internment under the Alien Enemy Act. Those sentenced to internment were sent to government camps surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards. Early internment was based on determinations of probable cause. Then, on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the removal of any persons from "exclusion zones", ultimately placing a third of the country at the discretion of military commanders.

Thirty thousand Japanese Americans fought for the United States in World War II, but wartime anti-Japanese sentiment built on long-standing prejudices was at an all time high. Under Roosevelt's order, both immigrants and American citizens of Japanese descent were rounded up and placed in prison camps under the custody of the War Relocation Authority. They lost jobs, businesses, farms and homes. Over ten thousand German nationals and a smaller number of Italian nationals were interned at various times in the United States during World War II, but American policies disproportionately targeted Japanese-descended populations where individuals did not receive personalized reviews prior to their internment. Out of the 110,000 Japanese interned, 70,000 were American citizens. In a 1982 report, a congressional commission concluded that the causes of Japanese internment had been "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership." Although the exclusion orders were found to have been constitutionally permissible based on claims of national security, they were later judged unjust, even by the military and judicial leaders. In 1988, President Reagan signed an act that formally apologized for internment and provided reparations to surviving internees.

The actions are regrettable with the hindsight of historical perspective, as is American inaction when we view the horrors of the Holocaust. Initially, American officials had expressed little official concern for Nazi persecutions. As the first signs of trouble

became clear in the late 1930s, the State Department and most U.S. embassies did little to aid European Jews. President Roosevelt publicly spoke out against persecution and even withdrew the U.S. ambassador to Germany after *Kristallnacht*, the pogrom against German Jews in 1938 that had caused even former German Kaiser Wilhelm II to say, “For the first time, I am ashamed to be German.” Roosevelt pushed for the 1938 Evian Conference in France, where international leaders discussed the Jewish refugee problem and worked to expand Jewish immigration quotas, but the conference came to nothing, and the United States turned away countless Jewish refugees who requested asylum. In 1939, the German ship St. Louis, carrying over nine hundred Jewish refugees, could not find a country that would take them. Passengers were not granted visas under the U.S. quota system. The ship cabled Roosevelt for special permission, but the president said nothing and the St. Louis was forced to return to Europe. Hundreds of its passengers would perish in the Holocaust.

Anti-Semitism still permeated the United States. Even if Roosevelt wanted to do more, he decided the political price for increasing immigration quotas was too high. After *Kristallnacht*, in 1939, Congress debated a bill to allow twenty thousand German-Jewish children into the United States. First lady Eleanor Roosevelt endorsed the measure, but the president remained publicly silent. The bipartisan bill was introduced by a Democratic senator and a Republican representative and supported by religious and labor groups but was opposed by nationalist organizations. It never came to a vote in the Senate because it was blocked by a North Carolina Democrat whose support Roosevelt needed on military spending bills. The president, anxious to protect the New Deal and his rearmament programs, was unwilling to expend political capital to save foreign children that leaders of his own party had little interest in protecting.

The United Nations

Since the Atlantic Charter was signed, the Allies increasingly worked together to form what Roosevelt started calling the United Nations. In addition to distributing aid, the Allies began to create a series of agreements to resolve disputes, arbitrate war and to coordinate international finance and healthcare once the war was won. While both the U.S.A and U.S.S.R. were at polar opposites of the economic-political spectrum, and possessed the two largest armies ever assembled by humanity, they nevertheless worked together in building the foundations of the geo-political world order that remains the basis for life into the 21st Century. At home and abroad, the United States wanted a postwar order that would guarantee global peace and domestic prosperity. Although the alliance of convenience with Stalin’s Soviet Union would rapidly collapse, Americans nevertheless looked for the means to ensure postwar stability and economic security for returning veterans. The inability of the League of Nations to stop German, Italian, and Japanese aggressions caused many to question whether any global organization could effectively ensure world peace. Skeptics included Franklin Roosevelt, who, as Woodrow Wilson’s undersecretary of the navy, had witnessed the rejection by the American people.

In 1941, Roosevelt believed postwar security could best be maintained by an informal agreement between what he termed the Four Policemen: The United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. Others, including Roosevelt’s secretary of state Cordell Hull and British prime minister Winston Churchill, convinced the president to push for a new global organization. As the war ran its course, both Roosevelt and the American public came around to the idea of the United Nations. Pollster George Gallup noted a “profound change” in American attitudes. In 1937 30% of Americans polled supported the idea of an international organization, as war broke out in Europe that number increased to 50%. By the end of the war in 1945, 81 percent of Americans favored the idea. Franklin Roosevelt had always supported the idea of universal human rights. In January 1941, he described Four Freedoms that all of the world’s citizens should enjoy: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter with Churchill, reinforcing those ideas and adding the right of self-determination and promising some sort of economic and political cooperation to ensure a future peaceful world. At Tehran in 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill convinced Stalin to send a Soviet delegation to a conference in August 1944, where they agreed on the basic structure of the new organization. It would have a Security Council consisting of the original Four Policemen and France, who would consult on how best to keep the peace and when to deploy the military power of the assembled nations. In a shift from the unarmed diplomacy of the League of Nations, this new international body would have an armed force. The plan was a hybrid between Roosevelt’s policemen idea and a global organization of equal representation. The Soviets expressed concern over how this new United Nations would function, but the powers agreed to meet again in San Francisco between April and June 1945 for further negotiations that led to the creation of the UN Charter.

The G.I. Bill

Anticipating victory in World War II, American leaders not only planned the postwar global order, but also a national vision for the returning servicemen. American politicians and business leaders wanted to avoid another economic depression by gradually easing returning veterans back into the civilian economy. The brainchild of William Atherton, the head of the American Legion, the G.I. Bill won support from progressives and conservatives alike. Passed in 1944, the G.I. Bill was a multibillion-dollar entitlement program that rewarded honorably discharged veterans with a range of important benefits. Faced with the prospect of over fifteen million members of the armed services (including approximately 350,000 women) suddenly returning to civilian life, the G.I. Bill offered a variety of incentives to slow their return to the civilian workforce as well as reward their service with public benefits. The legislation offered a year's worth of unemployment income for veterans unable to secure work. About half of American veterans (eight million) received a total of $4 billion in unemployment benefits over the life of the bill. The G.I. Bill also made a college education a reality for many. The Veterans Administration (V.A.) paid educational expenses including tuition, fees, supplies, and even stipends for living expenses, sparking a boom in higher education. Enrollments at accredited colleges, universities, technical, and professional schools spiked from 1.5 million in 1940 to 3.6 million in 1960. The VA disbursed over $14 billion in educational aid in just over a decade.

Furthermore, the G.I. Bill encouraged home ownership. Roughly 40 percent of Americans owned homes in 1945, but that figure climbed to 60 percent a decade after the close of the war. Because the bill did away with down payment requirements, veterans could obtain home loans for as little as $1 down. Close to four million veterans purchased homes through the G.I. Bill, sparking a construction bonanza that propelled postwar growth. In addition, the V.A. helped nearly two hundred thousand veterans buy farms and offered thousands more guaranteed financing for small businesses. The effects of the G.I. Bill were significant and long-lasting, producing the prosperous image of the 1950s and furthering the ideal of the "American dream". It helped sustain the great postwar economic boom and established the hallmarks of American middle-class life.

A Tale of Two Centuries?

World War II refashioned every corner of the globe and drew an isolationist United States back to the international theater of political consequences in an increasingly interconnected network of geographical hubs…any of which can cause a butterfly-effect-like chain reaction that will change the "rules of the game" for the rest of the connected community. As America was unavoidably drawn into the most international and total of wars ever fought, the new nation in turn reinvented the rules for the rest of the global players. 1945 becomes THE YEAR of global revolution! There have been almost universally recognized "years of revolution prior and since 1945 (1630, 1789, 1848, 1919, 1969, 1989), but none have rivaled the end of the Second World War. Our current international financial, political, and business structures were put in place at the end of the war and direct our current markets/futures as of 2022. The world we still inherit in the 21st Century is the same one the Baby Boomers were born into. Americans born between the end of WWII (1943-1945) and the dawn of the New Age Revolution (1963 is the general cutoff), were educated in thoroughly Amero-centric understanding of a power-war-world order…where the "American Dream" becomes the international goal for the "standard of living". In the 21st Century it would require 5 Earths to support every global inhabitant to exist on the "American Standard of Living", even though the United States equates for only 4.5 % of the planet's population. What does that mean for OUR future as a global population? Perhaps, if America really was the only "superpower" at the end of WWII we would have had more amiable circumstances to pursue a Global New Deal, but by 1945 it was becoming clear that there would be no future world order that did not include the Soviet Union. The Cold War was beginning before the Second World War was even over, and the Americans positioned accordingly: with an aggressive, expansionist program determined to beat out the communist threat at every turn.

? Review Questions

- Describe the experiences of women and African Americans during the war.
- How did racism and prejudice affect the U.S. response to the Jewish refugee problem and Japanese internment?

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9.7: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

The global catastrophe known as World War II was really the second act of The Great War, the grand crescendo from the 20-year Great Armistice and the disastrous results of Versailles. What was begun in 1914, the unraveling of the “Modern Era” with all its empires and social structures, was completed in 1945 with the collapse of the Axis orders and the transformation of the Allied victors. While the following decade is remembered as the crowning achievement of this Western Modern Age, in reality it played out more as the nostalgic, American fever dream achieved largely through pills, booze, and an unprecedented level of consumerism. The 1950s are popularly remembered as a sort of golden age (as evidenced in the show *Happy Days*), but the intellectual dissonance presented to the people of earth from the horrors of the Second World War, coupled with the undiagnosed disease of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), created a cocktail of mental health disorders that were dealt with by extreme escapism. The fear of instant annihilation via nuclear attack (especially after the Soviets achieved their first successful atomic test in 1949) was met with pathetically laughable “duck-and-cover” drills, where school children hid under their desks to protect themselves from atomic bombs. The atrocities of the Holocaust and the blatantly flawed racism that drove the murderous actions of the Nazis and others were downplayed in a white-dominated American society that still supported racial segregation. The domestic order of patriarchy, which dominated Western societies since the dawn of agriculture, was presented its most compelling challenge by the social disruptions of industrial war…yet, most of the “Rosie the Riveters” were displaced from their jobs to make way for the returning (male) veterans after 1945. It will take another 20 years until America, and in turn the world, is forced to reckon with these discrepancies under the weight of the 1960’s protests against the irrational brutality of the Vietnam War, Civil Rights oppressions, and hypocritical treatment of women. Still, the end of World War II and the creation of the United Nations established the world order that has guided us into the 21st Century and successfully prevented another global war.

Key Terms

Blitzkrieg: A fast-moving ("lightning") warfare strategy used by German forces against Poland in 1939.

Fascism: a governmental system led by a dictator having complete power, forcibly suppressing opposition and criticism, regimenting all industry, commerce, etc., and emphasizing an aggressive nationalism and often racism.

Kamikaze: Japanese suicide pilots who loaded their planes with explosives and crashed them into American ships.

Operation Barbarossa: Codename for Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union during World War II. This led the USSR to join the Allies.

Pearl Harbor Attack: On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked US naval base Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.

Holocaust: Between 1993 and 1945, approximately six million Jews were systematically and brutally murdered in Europe by the Nazis and their collaborators. Millions of non-Jews, including Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), Serbs, political dissidents, people with disabilities, homosexuals, and Jehova's Witnesses, were also persecuted by the Nazis.

Battle of Stalingrad: A 1942-1943 battle of World War II, in which German forces were defeated in their attempt to capture the city of Stalingrad in the Soviet Union thanks to harsh winter; turning point of war in Eastern Europe.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

10: A World of New Nations - 1945 - 1970

Learning Objectives

- Explain the creation and development of the United Nations
- Explore how emergence of new nation-states across Asia, the Middle East, and Africa during the mid-20th century i.e. decolonization transformed the world

Focus Questions

- In the United Nations, what is the role of the General Assembly?
- After 1945, why was Europe no longer the center of world affairs?
- Brazil was considered as a candidate for the UN Security Council; for what reasons might have Brazil not been chosen?

Introduction

In early 1945 fifty nations met hoping to build a “world dedicated to the dignity of man and the fulfillment of his most cherished wish for freedom, tolerance, and justice.” Together these nations created the charter of a new international organization – the United Nations. Composed of two main bodies, the United Nations or UN has a General Assembly where all member nations hold equal representation ‘one state, one vote’ to create international law alongside a Security Council led by five world powers who enforce the law. Any action by the Security Council must be unanimous with the five permanent members – the United States, China, Russia (in 1945 the Soviet Union), France, and Britain – all in agreement. Its creators sought to build a lasting international order by balancing equal representation with great power status; a blend of idealism with post World War II realism. Such realists reasoned it the primary responsibility of great powers to protect weaker nations against aggression and for idealists the United Nations became a guiding light to a new global order of independent nation-states and guardian of human rights. Figure 10.1 is a 1947 photo of the children of some UN Secretariat members looking at the Preamble of the UN Charter. One child is holding the UN Charter Preamble and six other children are gathered around her and reading the document she is holding up. The UN charter Preamble begins with the words, "We the Peoples of the United Nations."

Figure 10.1: UN Charter, United Nations Photo Archive, is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0

10.1: The United Nations
10.2: The New Nations of Asia
10.3: The New Nations of the Middle East
10.4: International Crisis

10.5: War and Peace
10.6: The New Nations of Africa
10.7: Chapter Summary and Key Terms
10.8: Suggested Readings and Works Cited

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10.1: The United Nations

Building a New World

As diplomats strived to build world peace, the dismal reality after World War II was that much of the planet lay in rubble. Two world wars had turned much of Asia and Europe into a wasteland of ruined cities, hungry refugees, and bankrupt governments. Europe, home to the now defunct League of Nations, would no longer be the sole center of world politics with the new UN headquarters established in New York City. Having experienced the brutality of imperialism first-hand, many Europeans gave up on the idea of empire and some questioned civilization itself. Others clung to the old imperial ways while still others proposed a new Pan-European community or union. The post-war path forward for Europeans, in particular the futures of the British and French, was uncertain.

Across Asia, Africa, and the Middle East peoples increasingly looked to the new superpowers – the United States and the Soviet Union – as models for the future. Both vowed to bring an end to colonial empires and the United States, the UN's chief architect and funder, promoted the United Nations as the planet's cure-all. The Americans proclaimed the UN would not only prevent another world war and intervene to police smaller conflicts it would also support a peaceful end to empires – **decolonization**. The General Assembly supported decolonization through official statements like the Declaration on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and by the creation of the Secretariat or bureaucracy of the UN. Led by the Secretary-General, this body of UN agencies took an active role in promoting economic development, access to healthcare, environmental conservation, and gender equality in states across the world. Organizations such as the World Bank, IMF (International Monetary Fund), WHO (Worldwide Health Organization) and UNESCO (United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) all became organs of the United Nations. By design, newly independent states would find a helping hand from these organizations although skeptics have long argued UN efforts may do more harm than good. The Soviet Union in particular argued the UN should focus on keeping the peace and believed armed socialist revolution the only guarantor to end imperialism and inequalities.

But in the mid-20th century, more than United Nations ideals or superpower pressure, the strongest force in favor of a new world order lay in the hearts of millions across Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. These peoples wished to be citizens of independent nations, not subjects under an empire. The world population increasingly believed the right to rule or sovereignty lay with the will of a people rather than from a royal family, imperial power, or divine sanction. Republics, states in which the people are sovereign, were soon to become the global aspiration and norm with the creation of the United Nations offering peoples across the world, big or small, the opportunity to become recognized as a sovereign state.

? Primary Sources: United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination Excerpt, 1963.

Discussion Questions

- How does the United Nations define racial discrimination?
- What actions does the Declaration state countries should take to end racial discrimination?

Considering that the Charter of the United Nations is based on the principles of the dignity and equality of all human beings and seeks, among other basic objectives, to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Alarmed by the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas of the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative, or other measures, in the form, inter alia, of apartheid, segregation and separation, as well as by the promotion and dissemination of doctrines of racial superiority and expansionism in certain areas,

Considering that any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, and that there is no justification for racial discrimination either in theory or in practice,

Convinced also that racial discrimination harms not only those who are its objects but also those who practice it.

Convinced further that the building of a world society free from all forms of racial segregation and discrimination, factors which create hatred and division among men, is one of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations,

Proclaims this Declaration:

Article 2

No State, institution, group or individual shall make any discrimination whatsoever in matters of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the treatment of persons, groups of persons or institutions on the ground of race, color or ethnic origin.

Article 3

Particular efforts shall be made to prevent discrimination based on race, color or ethnic origin, especially in the fields of civil rights, access to citizenship, education, religion, employment, occupation and housing.

Everyone shall have equal access to any place or facility intended for use by the general public, without distinction as to race, color or ethnic origin.

Article 6

No discrimination by reason of race, color or ethnic origin shall be admitted in the enjoyment by any person of political and citizenship rights in his country, in particular the right to participate in elections through universal and equal suffrage and to take part in the government. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

Article 7

Everyone has the right to equality before the law and to equal justice under the law. Everyone, without distinction as to race, color or ethnic origin, has the right to security of person and protection by the State against violence or bodily harm, whether inflicted by government officials or by any individual, group or institution.

Article 8

All effective steps shall be taken immediately in the fields of teaching, education and information, with a view to eliminating racial discrimination and prejudice and promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial groups, as well as to propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

UN Documents: Gathering A Body of Global Agreements, in the Public Domain

? Review Questions

- After World War II, why was Europe no longer the center of world affairs?
- What forces across the world supported decolonization in the mid-20th century?

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10.2: The New Nations of Asia

The Philippines

The Republic of the Philippines was one of the first new nations to join the United Nations. The Philippine Islands had never been united into a single state yet a shared history under Spanish, American, and Japanese rule had by the twentieth century forged a sense of peoplehood across this Pacific archipelago. Representing the Philippines at the United Nations founding, future President of the UN General Assembly Carlos Romulo clashed fiercely with the colonial powers, contested issues such as the Security Council veto and became dubbed the “big voice of the small nations.” Despite differences of ethnicity, language, and religion across their islands, the Filipino representatives were unified behind Romulo as he argued for and won the inclusion of one word in the UN Charter: independence. At the time the Philippines was still a dependent of the United States and while even after independence American military bases and economic influence remained on the islands this “dependent” Philippines found the UN a means from which to browbeat great powers and shape world affairs. In time Romulo came to see the UN as a tool for the betterment of humanity and gained a respect for those he profoundly disagreed with. Yet foremost Romulo always believed the United Nations was a means to promote self-determination and the independence of nations across the world and by “speaking for the Philippines I was also speaking for all the other small nations that had been for so many centuries voiceless.”

Delegates of fifty nations met at San Francisco between April 25 and June 26, 1945 to work on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Yalta Agreement, and amendments proposed by various Governments, the Charter of the United Nations, and the Statute of the New International Court of Justice. Figure 10.2.1 shows Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, signing the Charter at a ceremony held at the Veterans' War Memorial Building on June 26, 1945. Brigadier General Romulo is seated and six delegates are standing behind him.

Figure 10.2.1: The San Francisco Conference, United Nations Photo Archive, is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 (The Philippines, represented by Carlos Romulo (center, seated) signs the UN Charter.)

? Primary Source: Audio Interview with Carlos P. Romulo by William Powell and Rebecca Akao

Interview with General Carlos P. Romulo/by William Powell and Rebecca Akao

Carlos Romulo (Philippines, 1901 - 1985) was Head of the Philippine delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945. He was President of the fourth session of the General Assembly (1949-50) and later served as President of the Security Council on four different occasions when the Philippines was elected to the Council. During the first interview, 30 October 1982, he discusses his role in the initial drafting of the Charter of the United Nations, including such issues as the veto and the role of the Secretary-General, the decision to locate the United Nations in New York and views of the first five Secretaries-General. The second interview, 20 November 1982, contains further discussions about the Charter of the United Nations and the "Uniting for Peace" resolution and other reminiscences of his time at the United Nations.

Discussion Questions

- In the first listed interview (0:45) why does Carlos Romulo believe small nations were genuinely included in creating the United Nations?
- In the same interview (11:50) why did the United Nation decide on the "one nation, one vote" approach?
- Why does Carlos Romulo insist (21:00) the United Nations can be of service to all nations?

1947 Partition: India and Pakistan

During World War II the All-India Congress wished for both an Allied victory and a new world of free peoples declaring “by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the people of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.” India had always been the pride and prize of the British Empire – an imperial treasure chest and model of colonial rule – yet by the early twentieth century Indians increasingly gained self-rule and dreamed of an independent India. For decades a grassroots movement led by Mohandas Gandhi and two political parties, the Indian National Congress and Muslim League, had petitioned, protested, and boycotted against colonial rule yet World War II proved the tipping point. By the end of the war in 1945, British rule in India seemed irreparably damaged. In addition to the continuing independence movement, the wartime Bengali famine had shown British officials woefully inept in managing the country. With Britain bankrupt and open unrest amongst British troops in India, few believed Britain had the strength or moral right to rule India anymore.

In 1946 British officials arrived in India ready to negotiate independence. After elections were held across the country, Indian politicians joined the British to write India’s first constitution. Yet the two major Indian political parties were unable to compromise on what a united independent India should be. Figure 10.2.2 shows Mohammad Ali Jinnah, dressed in a suit and holding a cigarette in his left hand, in discussion with Mahatma Gandhi, dressed in khadi clothing and holding a walking stick in his left hand. The Indian National Congress led by Jawaharal Nehru insisted India must stay united and have a strong central state. By contrast, the head of the Muslim League Mohammad Ali Jinnah would only agree to a loose federal state or **partition**. For centuries Hindus and Muslims had lived side by side across the subcontinent. Yet with the arrival of mass democracy and independence, Jinnah and the Muslim League feared Muslims, as the smaller population, would be perpetually sidelined in a Hindu-majority India. Partition or dividing India into separate Hindu and Muslim states would guarantee Muslims could determine their own future.

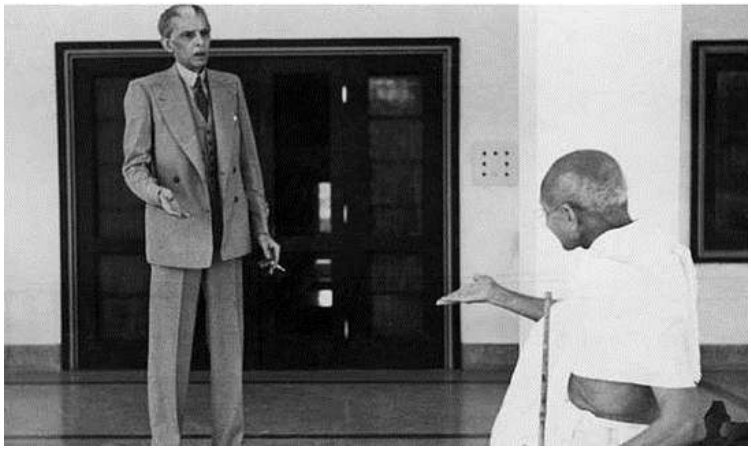

Figure 10.2.2: Jinnah and Gandhi, in the Public Domain (Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League (left) and Gandhi (right) having a difference of opinion. Note Jinnah’s cigarette in hand and attire. Despite Islamic discouragement of smoking, Jinnah embraced a modern Muslim identity.)

With no compromise found, the political tensions filtered down to the local level. Riots broke out between Hindus and Muslims in the northeast provinces and support for partition grew stronger. Gandhi’s pleas for unity and tolerance fell on deaf ears and he vowed to starve himself until the violence stopped. While Gandhi’s threat worked, as the bloodletting came to a pause, a sullen mood hung over the country. With law and order breaking down and colonial authority fading, the British took decisive action. They accelerated their withdrawal plan and brokered an end to the deadlock between Nehru and Jinnah, with Nehru and Indian National Congress agreeing to partition; a Hindu-majority India and a Muslim-majority Pakistan it would be. When independence arrived for two whole days, August 14-15, 1947, exuberant crowds and euphoria swept across the land as the old British Raj became two new countries: India and Pakistan. Figure 10.2.3 is an outline map of South Asia, and shows the territorial boundaries

of India and Pakistan after the bloody Partition in 1947. The arrows in the maps indicate the movement of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs across borders between India and Pakistan after the partition. When the borders were declared, a tidal wave of refugees took to dirt roads by foot or crammed onto overflowing railroad trains going in opposite directions; Hindus fleeing Pakistan to India and Muslims fleeing from India to Pakistan. Amid the chaos and violence of this population exchange a half-million would die, including Gandhi by political assassination, with some 15 million people abandoning their homes never to return.

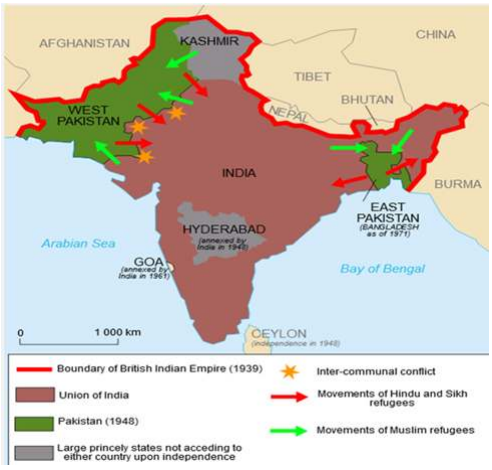

Figure 10.2.3: Partition of India, in the Public Domain (The Partition of British India created both India and Pakistan. Some Princely States (Hyderabad, center) sought independence but were forcefully annexed by India. Rival claims over Kashmir by Pakistan and India continue to this day.)

Independence proved bittersweet. Even before the celebrations began, communal violence exploded along the still unclear borders. Members of one faith attacked members of the other seeking to ensure their local region would join either Pakistan or India. After independence, India inherited both a skilled civil service and an impartial court system. More impressive is what India built for itself in the years to follow, a successful electoral process. Organizing free and fair elections in a country where most voters were poor, rural, and only 30% of the population literate proved a challenge India overcame in part by assigning each candidate or party a symbol and voters placing their paper ballots into boxes marked with the same symbol. Language too proved a tension India sought to alleviate by redrawing of state boundaries to better align with regional ethnic groups. Notably Prime Minister Nehru framed the public debate arguing the major political challenge India faced was not between political parties but national unity vs. sectarianism, whether ethnic, caste-based, or religious stating, “we stand till death for a secular State”. Hs message of state impartiality helped his Congress Party win steady majorities throughout the 1950’s and 60’s.

With a stable government in place Nehru sought to develop India into a modern nation through science and technology. India adopted a mixed-economy, with a free market tightly regulated by a large state bureaucracy with government-managed infrastructure projects. State-run dams, coal mines, steel mills, and electrical plants would industrialize the country to raise the standard of living and the introduction of GMO crops led to bumper crop yields. Across India infant mortality rates fell, life spans rose and access to modern medicine grew thanks to India’s top-tier pharmaceutical industry. These successes caused a population boom, yet the emerging Indian economy could not keep up with population growth. Landlords more than tenant farmers profited from better harvests by simply increasing rates, and rather than promoting efficiency state-run industries and the Indian bureaucracy became renowned for their cumbersome regulations and bloat. India found it easier to feed, educate, and medicate its burgeoning population than to clothe, employ, and enrich it.

Pakistan

Pakistan took a different path. War with India broke out in the months after independence in the disputed region of Kashmir. Stalemate and a United Nations brokered ceasefire did little to lessen Muslim fears of Hindu domination and the conflict stunted Pakistan’s young democracy which had been left leaderless since Jinnah’s premature death a year after independence. When the country fell under military rule, the new military government discovered that geography and language profoundly divided the people, and the state had few established institutions and little infrastructure to create a sense of unity. Despite or because of these challenges, devout faith and a sense of Islamic identity grew as Pakistan declared itself an Islamic Republic. In the 1960’s Pakistan attempted once more to seize Kashmir but the military invasion ended again in deadlock. In 1970 Pakistan held its first national

elections since independence and the result split the country. When a party from East Pakistan, today Bangladesh, won the most votes the military and West Pakistan politicians who had dominated the republic since inception refused to accept the result and instead launched a bloody crackdown which evolved into a civil war ending with an Indian intervention and an independent Bangladesh. The humiliation of defeat was salved somewhat by the restoration of democratic rule and a new constitution – which declared Islam the state religion, alignment of all laws with the faith, and that the President must be a Muslim – but this brief calm disappeared in 1974 when India detonated its first nuclear bomb. To many in the world, India's detonation made its advocacy of peaceful **nonalignment** and Nehru's proclamation that the bomb was "a symbol of evil" ring hollow. For Pakistan, a nuclear-armed archrival posed an existential threat and the country began a furious dash to build its own, eventually successful, nuclear weapons program.

? Primary Source: Prime Minister Nehru's Speech at the Bandung Conference in 1955

Excerpt from Jawaharlal Nehru's Speech at the Bandung Conference

My country [India] has made mistakes. Every country makes mistakes. I have no doubt we will make mistakes; we will stumble and fall and get up. The mistakes of my country and perhaps the mistakes of other countries here do not make a difference; but the mistakes the Great Powers make do make a difference to the world and may well bring about a terrible catastrophe. I speak with the greatest respect of these Great Powers because they are not only great in military might but in development, in culture, in civilization. But I do submit that greatness sometimes brings quite false values, false standards. When they begin to think in terms of military strength - whether it be the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, or the U.S.A. - then they are going away from the right track and the result of that will be that the overwhelming might of one country will conquer the world.

> So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what war takes place; we will not take part in it unless we have to defend ourselves. If I join any of these big groups, I lose my identity…. If all the world were to be divided up between these two big blocs what would be the result? The inevitable result would be war. Therefore, every step that takes place in reducing that area in the world which may be called the unaligned area is a dangerous step and leads to war. It reduces that objective, that balance, that outlook which other countries without military might can perhaps exercise.
>
> Honorable Members laid great stress on moral force. It is with military force that we are dealing now, but I submit that moral force counts and the moral force of Asia and Africa must, in spite of the atomic and hydrogen bombs of Russia, the U.S.A. or another country, count.
>
> I submit to you; every pact has brought insecurity and not security to the countries which have entered into them. They have brought the danger of atomic bombs and the rest of it nearer to them than would have been the case otherwise. They have not added to the strength of any country, I submit, which it had singly. It may have produced some idea of security, but it is a false security. It is a bad thing for any country thus to be lulled into security.
>
> Today in the world because of the coming of the atomic and hydrogen-bomb age, the whole concept of war, of peace, of politics, has changed. We are thinking and acting in terms of a past age. No matter what generals and soldiers learned in the past, it is useless in this atomic age. They do not understand its implications or its use. As an eminent military critic said: 'The whole conception of War is changed. There is no precedent.' It may be so. Now it does not matter if one country is more powerful than the other in the use of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. One is more powerful in its ruin than the other. Annihilation will result not only in the countries engaged in war but owing to the radioactive waves which go thousands and thousands of miles it will destroy everything. That is the position. It is not an academic position; it is not a position of discussing ideologies; nor is it a position of discussing history. It is looking at the world as it is today.

Source: Internet History Sourcebooks Project, in the Public Domain

Discussion Questions

- What reasons does Nehru give to encourage countries to remain nonaligned during the Cold War?
- What type of force does Nehru stress the countries of Asia and Africa should use to shape the world?
- Despite the danger of atomic bombs, why might have Nehru supported a secret atomic project for India?

The People's Republic of China

After World War II, the Nationalists and Communists restarted their civil war, which had been interrupted in 1937 by the Japanese invasion. Mao's armies were victorious over the corrupt and incompetent Nationalists led by Chiang Kai-Shek. By the end, entire divisions of the Nationalist army were going over to the Communists, and Chiang fled to the island of Taiwan, which had been relinquished to China after being a part of the Japanese Empire for fifty years. There, the Kuomintang continued the Republic of China, which was formally recognized as "China" by the United Nations and the U.S. until the 1970s. Cold War politics was the reason for this diplomatic decision, but even after its end Taiwan's autonomy from mainland China is still guaranteed by the U.S.

Internally, Mao's own totalitarian style had disastrous consequences for the Chinese. The communists had already begun land reform around 1946 in the parts of China they controlled, well before their final victory; the policy had gained them widespread support among the vast peasant population. With the nationalists out of the way, Mao's policy became more aggressive. He called for the elimination of the landlord class of peasants and redistribution of the land more evenly. Unfortunately, when Mao said elimination, he meant it. Class-motivated mass killings of landlords continued for the next 30 years and estimates of the death tolls range from 14 million to 28 million.

The purge of landlords was followed by the Great Leap Forward, an economic and social plan from 1958 to 1962 that collectivized agriculture and promoted industry. Mao set up 25,000 "people's communes" of 5,000 families each, which would be responsible for not only feeding themselves and their fellow Chinese citizens, but for providing surpluses to export. Mao insisted on keeping grain exports high in spite of poor harvests. The famine that resulted, known as the Great Chinese Famine, killed 55 million people, although a few million were apparently beaten to death and millions more committed suicide. In some regions of China, people resorted to cannibalism.

This disaster caused some prominent communist party members to question Mao's leadership, but he maintained support in the army and blamed the famine on a lack of socialist commitment among the Chinese. Mao initiated his Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, leading the military to recruit young people to reinforce Maoist ideology and purge remnants of capitalist and traditional elements from Chinese society. Schools and universities were closed, and Red Guard troops were encouraged to harass and even murder intellectuals. Educated people were beaten, terrorized, and banished to the countryside to be "reeducated" by the peasants. The death toll of the cultural revolution is debated, but estimates range from 3 to 10 million.

? Review Questions

- Upon independence why did British India split into Pakistan, India, and later Bangladesh?
- How did India organize early elections across its large and often illiterate population?
- Why did Pakistan struggle to establish a democratic form of government?

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10.3: The New Nations of the Middle East

Egypt

Independence came gradually to the Arab countries of the Middle East. Kingdoms like Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Jordan had solidified between the two world wars and Arab republics were declared in Syria and Lebanon yet in the 1950's Egypt came to embody the hopes of the whole Arab world. Egypt was a land of barefoot poverty beside well-heeled wealth with a vibrant political scene beneath an antiquated monarchy. Most Egyptians lived as landless farmers or fellaheen under pasha landlords. In the growing cities, the urban masses toiled while a cosmopolitan business class leisured in the European-themed cafes and casinos of downtown Cairo. The playboy lifestyle and increasingly inept rule of King Farouk estranged the monarch from his people, his government, and his military. In 1952 a group of Egyptian revolutionary officers, the Free Officers Movement, ousted the king in a coup d'etat. The officers declared Egypt a one-party republic, suppressed all other political groups, and in time a young officer named **Gamal Nasser** rose as president.

Figure 10.3.1: Nasser and Officers, in the Public Domain (Gamal Nasser (center) greets the Egyptian people. Charismatic and young, Nasser would win the adoration of the whole Arab world and promote Pan-Arabism.)

Nasser and his fellow military officers soon set about transforming Egypt. Land reform meant the vast cotton estates were broken up and redistributed to the landless farmers. Large commercial businesses, factories and banks underwent **nationalization** or became government-owned to reorient Egypt away from global exports to a self-sufficient national economy. Millions of rural Egyptians became landowners for the first time while aristocrats, industrialists, and foreign investors found their wealth and influence curtailed. Islamic courts were disbanded and religion deemed a private affair by the new secular state although Nasser still presented himself as a devout Muslim. State-run steelworks, cotton-weaving factories, and car-assembly plants promised factory councils, profit-sharing, and set work hours. To the urban poor Nasser gave subsidies and set price controls to keep bread and fuel costs low while expanding government social services to provide greater healthcare and education for all Egyptian citizens.

These policies won Nasser the devotion of the Egyptian people as he set his nation upon a grand mega-project, the Aswan Dam. Built on the Nile River, Aswan would serve Egypt as a national reservoir, provide flood control, and give electricity to millions of Egyptians for the first time. Initially the United States offered to help fund construction but, in the summer of 1956, distrustful of Nasser, the Americans withdrew their aid offer. Figure 10.3.1 is a photograph of Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser along with a few members of the RCC in Alexandria, Egypt, after the signing of the British withdrawal order. They are surrounded by cheering crowds. The timing could not have been more ideal for Nasser, who would turn this diplomatic drama into a geopolitical opportunity. The Suez Canal had long been under British control serving as the main artery of the British Empire. For Egyptians, foreign control over this waterway was flagrant imperialism and yet in the summer of 1956 only a few French and British Suez Canal Company employees operated the canal - the British military garrison having left only weeks before the United States

reneged on their aid offer. Declaring its shipping tolls would fund the Aswan Dam, Nasser ordered the Suez Canal nationalized and Egyptian forces seized the canal. A jubilant Egyptian public celebrated while the British and French governments were livid. With memories of World War II still fresh, the British and French had no intention of appeasing Nasser who they viewed as a dangerous dictator, and they looked to remove him. Publicly, Britain and France turned to the United Nations to resolve the crisis, but even as the UN debated the two powers secretly planned to seize the Suez Canal back with the help of Egypt's new neighbor, Israel.

Israel

Figure 10.3.2: A Group of Former Buchenwald Inmates arriving in the Holy Land, Government Press Office - Israel, is licensed under CC-BY-NC-SA 2.0

With the end of World War II, the Holocaust convinced many European Jews that Europe could no longer be home. **Zionism** – the belief Jews should return to their ancestral homeland to establish a state for the Jewish people – grew, and many European Jews, their lives already uprooted, headed to the British Mandate of Palestine. For decades Britain had struggled to keep the peace between the local Palestinian Arabs and arriving Zionist Jews. Figure 10.3.2 is a photograph taken in 1945 of a Zionist men who were former inmates of the Buchenwald concentration camp. The photograph shows 7 men on board the refugee ship Mataroa in Haifa Port. They are all facing forward and one of them is carrying the flag of Israel. By 1947, as ever larger waves of Jewish refugees came ashore, tensions between the two peoples reached a breaking point. With violence spiraling out of control across the territory, Britain passed the Palestine Question over to the United Nations. The United Nations proposed partitioning the territory into two states, one Jewish and the other Arab. For the Jewish community, partition meant an independent Israel and they agreed; however, the Palestinians refused, as partition meant an imposed division of their homeland, and they took up arms. Figure 10.3.3 consists of 2 maps: one map shows the plan proposed by the UN General Assembly (UNGA) in 1947 to divide Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish state, with Jerusalem internationalized. The proposed territory for the Arab state comprised mostly the highlands, with the exception of Jerusalem, and a third of the coastline. The proposed Jewish state comprised of the fertile lowlands, the Sharon Plain on the coast, Jezreel Valley, the Upper Jordan Valley, and access to the Red Sea. When Israel declared its independence, it began fighting a year-long war on all fronts, against the Palestinians and against the armies of the seven surrounding Arab countries. Against the odds, Israel won. The second map in Figure 10.3.3 shows the territorial boundaries according to the 1949 Armistice Agreements between Israel and the Arab states after the 1948 war. Since Israel emerged victorious in the 1948 war, the Jewish state now included all the territory proposed by the UNGA in 1947 plus West Jerusalem, the Ramle area, and Upper Galilee.

The conflict left over half the population of Palestinians as refugees. These exiles found little welcome in neighboring Arab states and were left to settle in refugee camps on the borders surrounding Israel. In 1948 hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were ethnically cleansed from their homes by Zionist militias. This mass exodus came to be known as the *Nakba* or catastrophe. Figure 10.3.4 is a photograph of the Jaramana refugee camp near Damascus, Syria. Figure 10.3.4 shows rows of tents very close to each other. At the same time, the Arab countries refused to recognize Israel and vented their fury over their defeat by launching a series of pogroms against local Jewish populations, creating another wave of refugees. These Middle Eastern or Mizrahi Jews would flee to Israel by the hundreds of thousands and in the years after the creation of Israel would become the majority population of the new state. Thus, by the 1950's Israel found itself surrounded by hostile Arab neighbors, the largest being Nasser's Egypt, with porous

borders from which Palestinian insurgents or fedayeen often launched raids into Israel and who vowed to one day liberate Palestine.

Figure 10.3.3: Map of the Proposed UN Partition of Israel and Palestine, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, in World History Commons

Figure 10.3.4: Jaramana Refugee Camp, in the Public Domain (A Palestinian Refugee Camp. Called the Nakba or Catastrophe by Arabs, the Arab Israeli War of 1948-49 scattered the Palestinian people. Over time, some found their homes become part of Israel or transformed into the territories of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Others became refugees and in the 21st century most Palestinians live outside of their historic homeland.)

? Review Questions

- How did the United Nations seek to maintain peace between Jews and Arabs as the British Mandate of Palestine ended?
- Why did Jews migrate to Israel both before and after independence?
- Both the Israelis and Palestinians hoped to establish independent states; why were the Israelis successful and the Palestinians not?

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10.4: International Crisis

The Suez Crisis

It was across the contested Egypt-Israeli border in 1956 Israeli troops and tanks charged invading Egypt as the UN debated Egypt's seizure of the canal sparking the **Suez Crisis.** If UN delegates were surprised by the invasion, they were shocked when the crisis escalated as Britain and France began landing troops in Egypt declaring they would reoccupy the Suez Canal to guarantee its safety from the newly-started war between Israel and Egypt. In secret, France had convinced both Israel and Britain to participate in a joint attack on Egypt using the Israeli invasion as diplomatic cover to justify British and French military intervention to seize back the canal.

The ruse fooled no one and the global response was dramatic. In the days following the invasion, the Soviet Union threatened London and Paris with nuclear attack and the United States turned off the flow of financial aid to Britain and France. The Americans were especially angry; Anglo-French collusion made a mockery of the new UN international order and alliances the United States sought to build. Under pressure from both superpowers, Britain and France withdrew their troops from Egypt. The Suez Crisis made clear to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East that the British and French were no longer the great powers of the world nor could they stand up to the military or economic might of the superpowers. With the Suez Canal in Egyptian hands, Egyptians were now more united than ever behind Nasser who ordered the expulsion of thousands of foreign nationals stripping Cairo of its once-cosmopolitan aura. As United Nations troops landed in Egypt to secure both the canal and the Egypt-Israel border, the arrival of blue-helmeted UN peacekeepers seemed to make visual a retreating imperial world and a rising new international one.

Pan-Arabism

After the Suez Crisis, adoration for Nasser and a sense of optimism swept across the Arab world. With Nasser's seeming success at modernizing Egypt and defying the West, many Arabs came to believe in **Pan-Arabism** – the unification of all Arab countries into a single state – and saw Egypt the natural regional leader. In Egypt, rapid economic growth seemed only to confirm an industrial, secular, socialist-oriented future awaited the Arab people. Little thought was given to the thousands of political prisoners Nasser jailed who resisted his one-party rule, most notably members of the Muslim Brotherhood like Sayyid Qutb whose writing would later inspire a generation of Islamic radicals. From Cairo, Voice of the Arabs Radio urged anti-imperialism and Pan-Arabist revolution to the illiterate poor in cities and villages across the Arabic speaking world listening in on cheap transistor radios. Such rhetoric helped inspire Pan-Arabist military coups in Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen throughout the 1950's and 1960's, some of which were successful.

? Primary Sources: Pan-Arabist Speech by President Nasser of Egypt to the Officers' Club Excerpt (1959)

Discussion Questions

- How does Nasser use the history of the Middle East to advocate for Arab unity?
- What forces, according to Nasser, are working against Arab unity?

We men of the [Egyptian] Armed Forces… have a great responsibility, as our country has always been the target of the ambitions of the big powers, those big powers that always seek power and think they can have it through dominating our land.

However, we have resolved to follow an independent policy and to maintain the independence of our country. We made that known when we declared that our policy is based on positive neutrality and nonalignment, for this means that we shall not submit to power politics, and shall not, under any circumstances, accept the role of a satellite or allow our fate to be decided in a foreign country or our policy to be planned in a foreign capital.

As soon as Cairo achieved its independence through freeing the country from British occupation and domination the banner of Arab nationalism and Arab solidarity was raised in Cairo and we felt that we could not really feel free or enjoy our independence until each and every Arab country became independent. The independence of all Arab countries is a closely knit entity and we consider that there is a serious threat to our independence if any Arab country remains under foreign domination.

> The call for Arab nationalism is not a racial call, it is not the call of any one person, neither is it a new call; the call of Arab nationalism rang throughout the centuries and showed its strength whenever the Arab countries were independent or whenever they felt the threat of danger. The banner of Arab nationalism was raised in the 11th Century, when the Arab countries were threatened with invasion and outside pressures they realized that their very existence depended on their strong belief in and adherence to Arab nationalism, to protect the Arab world and its civilization. The united Arab army was then able to defeat the Crusaders who occupied the Arab world for over 80 years.
>
> During the First World War, when the Arabs wanted to rid themselves of the Ottoman occupation which lasted for over 500 years they resorted again to Arab nationalism and unity. The Arab revolution rallied round the banner of Arab nationalism but committed the error of allying itself with Britain instead of depending only on the Arab people to reach its goal of independence and freedom. After the First World War Britain did not fulfill its promises to the Arab people—instead the Arab world was divided under British and French rule.
>
> But the people of the Arab nations rebelled against this foreign rule and fought for their independence until the Palestine War broke out. The Arab countries entered the Palestine War, not under the unified flag of Arab nationalism, but torn by internal feuds, jealousies and rancor. We were seven armies fighting in Palestine under 6 or 7 different and separate commands. We know that the Arabs, the Palestinians, were kicked out of Palestine and became refugees after the victory of international Zionism.
>
> And with this started a new phase in our Arab Nationalism battle.
>
> The first phase was the struggle of Arab Nationalism with Zionism coupled with the struggle against the imperialist powers and their efforts to bring the Arab countries into spheres of influence.
>
> We have a long struggle ahead of us before we can complete our independence. We are determined, rulers and people, to pursue a policy aiming at complete independence, non-alignment to either East or West and non-subjection to any foreign nation.
>
> You men of the armed forces are the guardians of this country as you carry a great responsibility for a noble cause on which depends the destiny of every individual in the Arab nation, as well as the destiny of the Arab nation at large. It is the mission of Arab nationalism.
>
> Khalil, Muhammad, ed. The Arab States and the Arab League: A Documentary Record. Vol. II. Rue Bliss, Beirut, Lebanon: Khayats, 1962.

Saudi Arabia

In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia the royal police raided cafés arresting anyone caught tuning in to Voice of the Arabs Radio. By the 1960's King Faisal had spent a lifetime eliminating any challenge his family – the House of Saud – faced to their rule over Arabia. Rival royal families, Western oil companies, pro-democracy princes; each had been brought to heel by King Faisal with even his brother King Saud – the previous monarch – ousted when his incompetency threatened the country. Perhaps unsurprisingly King Faisal thwarted a planned Pan-Arabist coup and with the oil industry as the fountain of Saudi wealth, implemented a series of reforms to both modernize the desert kingdom and to keep the monarchy intact. Starting in the 1960's, hundreds of thousands of foreign workers arrived in Saudi Arabia. Kept in segregated enclaves some were Western expatriates – skilled technicians and teachers to train and educate the Saudi populace into a middle class of engineers, government administrators and businessmen. Most were migrant workers from across the Islamic world – manual labor and domestic help used to build asphalt highways, steel skyscrapers and to staff state-of-the-art hospitals and plush shopping malls. In time these reforms reduced poverty, became the economic model across the Gulf states, and were all implemented "in accordance with the Quran and the sharia."

In contrast to Nasser's secular pan-Arabism, King Faisal advocated Islamic solidarity. With Saudi Arabia home to the two holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, Faisal made the promotion of Islam and a unified Muslim world the center of Saudi foreign policy. Preaching a shared Muslim identity meant Saudi Arabia could find common cause with the countries of Africa and Asia as well as the Middle East and simultaneously strengthen the king's authority at home. The Saud family had always shared their rule with the Ulema – religious scholars – and while deeply religious Faisal sought to limit the role this religious body played in actual governance. As the king had cleverly positioned himself as patron of the Islamic world, the Ulema had little choice but to adhere to Faisal and his modernization plans yet remained a notable force in the Saudi kingdom.

Figure 10.4.1: Arab Federation - Modified Art, Matthew Hacholski, in the Public Domain (In the 1960's the Arab world was divided into two camps. Egypt under Nasser urged Pan-Arab revolution across the region and the unification of all Arab republics (Egypt, Syria, Iraq, North Yemen, South Yemen, and Libya), then under military rule, into a single state. Egypt and Syria even briefly united to form a United Arab Republic. In contrast, Saudi Arabia and the other Arab monarchies (Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Trucial States, Maskat, and Oman) allied together and preached Islamic solidarity.)

Figure 10.4.1 is map of SW Asia, and shows Arab republics and monarchies. The Arab republics shown are Egypt, Libya, Syria, Iraq, North and South Yemen. The monarchies shown are Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Trucial States, Muscat, and Oman. The rival visions offered by Saudi Arabia and Egypt came to a head in Yemen. In 1962 a Pan-Arabist coup overthrew the North Yemeni monarchy and the new military government pledged its loyalty to Nasser. Egypt rushed to support a revolution it saw as the first step to toppling the monarchies across the Arabian Peninsula while King Faisal in turn supported the Yemeni royalists who still held much of the country. As Egyptian troops occupied Yemen's ports and cities, Saudi-backed royalists held the countryside and mountains. The conflict quickly evolved into a protracted insurgency – "Egypt's Vietnam" – and after years of fighting Egyptian troops withdrew, the conflict unresolved.

? Review Questions

- During the Suez Crisis, why were France and Britain forced to withdraw from the canal?
- How did King Faisal modernize the kingdom of Saudi Arabia?
- What differing ideologies did Egypt and Saudi Arabia promote in the 1960's?

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10.5: War and Peace

The Six Day War

Almost inexorability, Egypt would be drawn to the issue which united the Arab countries in aversion, Israel. Throughout the 1960's skirmishes flared between Israel and its Arab neighbors of Syria and Jordan while the Palestinian fedayeen – who had formed the Palestinian Liberation Organization or PLO – continued to launch raids on Israeli settlements. With a UN peacekeeping force still stationed on the Egypt-Israel border, the two countries enjoyed relative peace, yet Nasser came under increasing pressure from the Arab press and people to challenge Israel. To modernize the Egyptian military, Egypt had turned to the Soviet Union for equipment, training, and intelligence. In the summer of 1967 the Soviets informed Nasser, incorrectly, that Israel was preparing for an invasion of Syria. In response Nasser ordered the Egyptian army to the border with Israel and demanded UN peacekeeping forces withdraw. Whatever Nasser's intentions, as the UN forces withdrew war fever swept across the Arab world. Sensing the popular mood Arab leaders, kings and revolutionaries alike, flocked behind Nasser pledging their armies and calling for the elimination of Israel. In Israel a sense of doom filled the small nation as citizens tuned in to hear Voice of the Arabs Radio boast of their imminent destruction and rabbis consecrated public parks to serve as mass graveyards.

With hostile armies massing on its borders, Israel struck first. In a surprise air attack the Israeli Defense Force or IDF totally destroyed the airforces of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan on the ground in a matter of hours. With air superiority achieved, for six days the IDF sliced through Arab armies capturing Sinai, the West Bank and the Golan Heights with the Egyptian army routed and thrown into disarray. For Israel the sudden victory established the IDF as a military power, placed Jerusalem under complete Jewish rule for the first time in two millennia, and gave Israel the chance to exchange occupied territory in return for official recognition from the Arab countries: land for peace.

Figure 10.5.1: Yom Kippur War, in the Public Domain (Israel seized the Sinai, West Bank, and the Golan Heights during the Six Day War. Eventually Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt and annexed the Golan Heights while in the West Bank Palestinians hold limited self-government as Israel retains military control over much of the territory.)

Across the Arab world propaganda had proclaimed Arab victories and triumphs in the war up until the ceasefire. With stunned disbelief, millions of Arabs heard an exhausted King Hussein of Jordan reveal the defeat and holding back tears say "If we don't make it, we will die with honor." The Egyptian army shattered, Nasser gave an emotional speech admitting defeat yet blamed American and British support for the Israeli victory, a lie that would sour Arab-American relations for a generation. Then Nasser shocked listeners by announcing his resignation as president and hours later a crowd of hundreds of thousands appeared chanting outside his home, not to condemn him but to beg him to return to office. Nasser still held the unwavering affection of the Egyptian people, but the Six Day War ended dreams of Pan-Arabism and the hope of a united Arab world in the Middle East. Nasser would die of a heart attack soon after in 1970; yet his most devoted supporters said it was of a broken heart. Figure 10.5.1 is a map of Israel and the Sinai Peninsula. It shows Israel's territorial gains in every war since its establishment in 1948. Israel seized the Sinai, West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Syrian Golan Heights during the Six Day War in 1967. In other words, the territorial size of Israel tripled. Eventually Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt and annexed the Golan Heights.

Peace

In the aftermath of defeat, Egypt and the other Arab states put aside their past differences and responded to Israel's offer of land for peace with the Three No's: no peace with Israel, no recognition, and no negotiations. Minor battles along the borders continued, but

behind the frontlines the once heralded leader of Arab progress, Egypt, was in crisis. Even before the Six Day War the Egyptian economy had been in decline. Nationalized industries under appointed military officers were mismanaged and corrupt and the state's tinkering with price controls only stifled Egypt's ability to compete in the global market. In the years to come this state corruption would firmly embed the Egyptian military class into Egypt's economic sector. Heavy military expenditure meant rationing of basic foodstuffs. In the face of economic collapse and military humiliation, an Islamic revival swept across the region. As one Egyptian woman noted before the Six Day War she had believed Nasser

"would lead us all to progress. Then the war showed we had been lied to; nothing was the way it had been represented. I started to question everything we were told. I wanted to do something and to find my own way. I prayed more and I tried to see what was expected of me as a Muslim woman. Then I put on the sharia dress."

With Nasser gone, his successor President Anwar Sadat relied increasingly on foreign aid from Saudi Arabia to keep Egypt's economy afloat. Despite the poor economy, Sadat believed that war with Israel was necessary. In 1973, hoping to win back territory lost to Israel during the 1967 war, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel on Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. Israel counterattacked and recaptured the Golan Heights (see Figure 10.5.1). The Yom Kippur war proved a 2½ week slugging match ending in an Israeli victory on the battlefield; strategically, however, Sadat achieved his goal. Egyptian forces fought bravely and restored a sense of Arab pride while renewing in Israel a commitment to the policy of peace for land. Figure 10.5.2 is a cartoon depicting Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Both leaders are examining a huge knot, labeled "Gordian Knot." Begin plucks at strands labeled "Israel's Security," while Sadat holds the strands labeled "Palestinian Self-Determination." According to legend, the Gordian knot was an intricate knot in a chariot thong that could only be untied by the person destined to be the master of Asia. It is said that Alexander the Great untied the Gordian knot simply by cutting it with one stroke of his sword. In 1972, Sadat and Begin took steps for the first time to try to reach a solution to the problems of the hostility of the Arab states to Israel and the settlement of the Palestinian refugee problem. In November 1977, Sadat visited Israel, and both Begin and Sadat pledged to settle their differences without resort to arms. Hence the caption at the bottom of the cartoon: "Agreed--not to use the sword." From this renewed confidence Sadat achieved what had before been unthinkable, for as Israel returned the Sinai, Egypt in turn became the first Arab country to make peace with and recognize Israel. Peace promoted economic growth and opened a military-ruled Egypt once more to world travelers – tourism became a booming industry of modern Egypt – yet the treaty infuriated the growing Islamic radicals who assassinated Sadat in 1981.

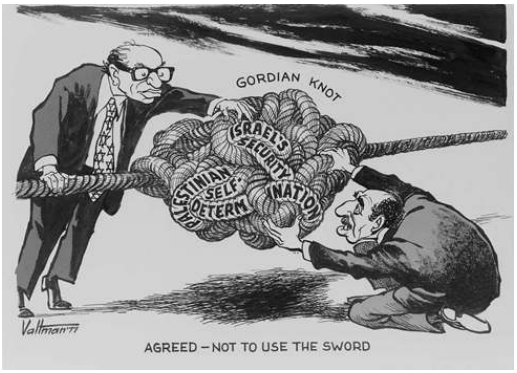

Figure 10.5.2: Agreed -- not to use the sword, by Edmund Valtman, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain (Cartoon of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin trying to find peace. Their efforts are complicated by Israel's pursuit of security and the Palestinian wish for self-determination. This issue remains an unsolved tangle of modern Middle Eastern politics.)

? Review Questions

- How did the Six Day War change the Middle East?
- Why did belief in Pan-Arabism decline after the Six Day War?
- Under Sadat, how did Egypt and Israel negotiate peace?

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10.6: The New Nations of Africa

Ghana

In Sub-Saharan Africa, independence came first to Ghana. After World War II all levels of society of this small African country – then called the Gold Coast – pressed for independence. British colonial schools produced high school and college students from all ethnic groups who now shared a common English language. Upon graduation they also shared a common hardship, finding few opportunities for advancement yet found hope advocating for self-rule. Farmers who had organized mass protests against British trade monopolies earlier in the 1930's now believed independence would allow them to sell their crops directly on the global market. Prosperous colonial towns had swelled into slum cities and the shanty towns of newly arrived rural migrants, seeking the amenities of the modern life, became centers of urban discontent. Veterans also protested for better pensions but it was a political leader, Kwame Nkrumah, who unified these various groups into a national party – the Convention People's Party. Festive rallies, strikes, and even riots drew public attention and popular support for Nkrumah along with imprisonment by the colonial authorities, yet these same protests convinced the British that local elections and steps towards independence must begin. In 1951, when his party won over 90% of the popular vote, Nkrumah was released from prison to head a transitional government. Over the next six years Nkrumah carefully prepared Ghana for independence by building public utilities, negotiating with traditional rulers, and blueprinting a national economy and government. When Ghana declared independence in 1957 and joined the United Nations it seemed the future of Africa, should it follow the example of Ghana, would be bright.

Kwame Nkrumah represented a new type of African leader emerging by the 1950's and 60's. Eager and determined, these spokesmen for modern African nationalism were equally adept at mobilizing local support as at charming Western publics. They formed a tiny elite tier of Africans, being educated in the United States or Europe – Nkrumah went to school in both – and were often inspired by the Pan-Africanist movement. These African nationalists pragmatically used old colonial institutions, languages, and practices in nation building efforts while embracing new ideas like socialism that they hoped would transform their countries into modern states. Yet this new type of African leader would also often find resisting authoritarian rule easier as a revolutionary than when in power. In 1960, three years after independence the "Redeemer of Ghana" Nkrumah would declare Ghana a one-party state and himself president for life.

? Primary Sources: Pan-Africanist Speech to the African Union by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana Excerpt (1963)

Discussion Questions

- What challenges does Africa face after independence according to Nkrumah?
- How does Nkrumah hope Africa will use its riches and resources?
- What countries or regions does Nkrumah compare Africa to?

On this continent [Africa] it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs; to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

From the start we have been threatened with frustration where rapid change is imperative and with instability where sustained effort and ordered rule are indispensable. No sporadic act nor pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into that condition which had made Latin-America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence.

The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom from that kind of rule was not only a revolt against the conditions which it imposed. Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could cure the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent, we allow the same conditions to exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilized against us.

When the colonies of the American Continent sought to free themselves from imperialism in the 18th century there was no threat of neo-colonialism in the sense in which we know it today. The American States were therefore free to form and fashion the unity which was best suited to their needs and to frame a constitution to hold their unity together without any form of interference from external sources. We, however, are having to grapple with outside interventions. How much more, then do we need to come together in the African unity that alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism.

We have the resources…With capital controlled by our own banks, harnessed to our own true industrial and agricultural development, we shall make our advance. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communications; we shall astound the world with our hydroelectric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the undernourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy. A decade ago, these would have been visionary words, the fantasies of an idle dreamer. But this is the age in which science has transcended the limits of the material world, and technology has invaded the silences of nature. Time and space have been reduced to unimportant abstractions. Giant machines make roads, clear forests, dig dams, lay out aerodromes; monster trucks and planes distribute goods; huge laboratories manufacture drugs; complicated geological surveys are made; mighty power stations are built; colossal factories erected – all at an incredible speed.

The world is no longer moving through bush paths or on camels and donkeys. We cannot afford to pace our needs, our development, our security, to the gait of camels and donkeys. We cannot afford not to cut down the overgrown bush of outmoded attitudes that obstruct our path to the modern open road of the widest and earliest achievement of economic independence and the raising up of the lives of our people to the highest level.

Your Excellencies, the remedy for these ills is ready to our hand. It stares us in the face at every customs barrier, it shouts to us from every African heart. By creating a true political union of all the independent states of Africa, we can tackle hopefully every emergency, every enemy, and every complexity. This is not because we are a race of supermen, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the masters, but the retreating foes of mankind. We have emerged in the age of socialized planning, when production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs. Together with the rest of mankind, we have awakened from Utopian dreams to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice.

When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago at Philadelphia one of the delegates sounded the first chord of unity by declaring that they had met in “a state of nature”. In other words, they were not in Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pennsylvanians, but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. May I dare to assert equally on this occasion, Your Excellencies that we meet here today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans. Africans united in our resolve to remain here until we have agreed on the basic principles of a new compact of unity among ourselves which guarantees for us and future a new arrangement of continental government.

Nkrumah, K. (1997). ‘Conference of African heads of state and Government’, S. Obeng (ed.) Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah Vol. 5, 30-46, Accra: Afram Publications.

Nigeria

In 1960 Nigeria celebrated independence from British colonial rule. With the largest population on the continent, many people both inside and outside of the country believed Nigeria would inevitably rise to claim a leading position in African and world affairs. The borders of this “Giant of Africa” brought together hundreds of communities and three major ethnic groups. In the north lived the Muslim Hausa/Fulani. Their feudal order and Islamic practices the British had left intact and their martial prowess meant they had to come fill in the ranks of the Nigerian military. In the west resided the Yoruba, often animists whose wealth from palm oil plantations and entrepreneurial merchants had transformed the ancient city of Lagos into a vast commercial center. In the east, where influence from missions and colonial education was strongest, lived the Igbos, who embraced Christianity and became the state’s administrative class serving as civil servants, engineers, and teachers across the country. By the time of independence, ethnic

political parties had hardened a sense of regional identity in Nigeria; a Yoruba-dominated Western Region, an Igbo-dominated Eastern Region, and a Hausa/Fulani-dominated Northern Region.

Proponents of national unity remained but as the initial joy over independence began to fade, fear and dysfunction slowly seeped into the national government. Southerners from both the Eastern and Western regions feared politicians would divert national wealth to the impoverished Muslim north at the expense of the south and gradually Islamize the whole country. Northerners feared that southern economic and educational advantages would lead to the perpetual subordination of the north and resented the Igbos who staffed the civil service and government institutions. In 1966 when a failed military coup killed several northern politicians, a wave of pogroms against the Igbos swept across the north, killing thousands and sending tens of thousands more fleeing the region. With Nigeria's government unable or unwilling to protect its own citizens and fearful when a second successful coup placed northern military leaders in government, followed by more pogroms, the Igbos of the Eastern Region declared their secession as the Republic of Biafra.

A three-year civil war followed exemplifying a challenge newly independent states of the mid-20th century faced, **secession.** Like Nigeria, the large and populous countries of Indonesia, Pakistan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo all faced secessionist movements. For secessionists like the Igbos of Biafra, whatever the merit of their claim to self-determination, they faced severe obstacles to obtaining independence. Beyond having to fend off a well-equipped national army and establishing a functional state, secessionists sought but often failed to gain international recognition. When the Republic of Biafra declared independence, almost all African countries and the United Nations refused to recognize the nation. By the 1960's most African states had tacitly accepted colonial boundaries in part to stymie secessionist movements and while the United Nations supported decolonization it also reasoned that self-determination alone could not justify redrawing borders should a people already have representation. That newly independent states could be as oppressive to a people as the empires before them or even more so seemed an uncomfortable possibility which much of the world did not wish to consider. Without a modern army or serious international support, the Republic of Biafra collapsed. In victory the national government wisely pursued reconciliation declaring "no victor, no vanquished" to the conflict, yet military rule governed Nigeria for the next 30 years.

? Discussion Questions

What groups did Kwame Nkrumah organize as part of Ghana's independence movement?

In Nigeria, why did a civil war happen soon after independence?

French Africa

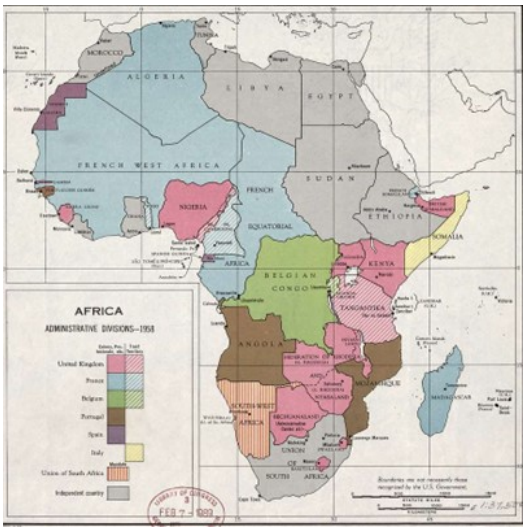

Figure 10.6.1: Africa in the middle of decolonization, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain (Map shows newly independent African states beside African territories which remain European colonies.)

Africa became the refuge of French sovereignty during World War II thanks to the actions of "a great French African." Felix Eboue, the black governor-general of Chad, had been the first colonial official to raise the Free French banner against Nazism. To some,

men like Eboue stood as living proof of the universal spirit of the French Empire; where the French language, republican values and civilizing mission opened the highest honors and posts of France to all. When Eboue was buried in the Pantheon in Paris upon his death, General de Gaulle declared that he had “entered into the spirit of France.” Such symbolism led not just many French but also French Africans to imagine France able to see beyond color, yet such ideals belied a hard numeric reality: in 1945 only 1 out of every 10,000 French West Africans held French citizenship. Figure 10.6.1 is a political map of the African continent that shows European colonies, protectorates, territories, mandates and independent countries in 1958. European countries that still ruled or controlled large areas of Africa were the UK, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Ghana declared independence in 1957. Egypt became a republic in 1953. Morocco became independent in 1955, Libya in 1951, and Sudan and Tunisia in 1956. From 1958 to 1960, 25 more new nations gained independence.

As Marshall Plan funds flooded the French government coffers after World War II this financial aid came with a cost: the Americans expected France to dismantle her colonial empire. In principle the French agreed, but determined to remain a world power, France planned to end the empire on her own terms. In 1946 the founders of the Fourth French Republic sought to reform and rebrand the empire into a new structure, the French Union. Rather than shrink her borders, France would expand them as the French formally designated several overseas possessions, most in the Caribbean, as integral parts of France. Even today overseas possessions like French Guiana in South America form an equal part of France, much as Hawaii is a state of the United States. With polls showing the French public willing to offer the vote and citizenship to colonial subjects, France at first treated decolonization in Africa as assimilation and seemed to proclaim that anyone, anywhere could be French.

Yet as Africans began to serve as delegates in the French National Assembly, the French Union became an unworkable project. Many metropolitan French while advocates of equality were reluctant to place themselves under the rule of growing overseas populations nor did many Africans wish to assimilate entirely and become simple provinces of a Greater France. Contradictory laws and ever-changing French governments – 20 from 1945 to 1955 – gave little clarity to the fundamental question of French identity and did even less to forestall the rise of independent movements across French Africa.

Algeria

One of the most violent struggles for independence of the period of decolonization in Africa occurred in the French territory of Algeria. The struggles surrounding Algerian independence, which began in 1952, were among the bloodiest wars of decolonization. Hundreds of thousands of Algerians died, along with tens of thousands of French and pieds-noires ("black feet," the pejorative term invented by the French for the white residents of Algeria). The heart of the conflict had to do with a concept of French identity: particularly on the political right, many French citizens felt that France’s remaining colonies were vital to its status as an important geopolitical power. Likewise, many in France were ashamed of the French defeat and occupation in World War II and refused to simply give up France’s empire without a struggle. This sentiment was felt particularly acutely by the French officer corps, with many French officers having only ever been on the losing side of wars (World War II and Indochina). They were thus determined to hold on to Algeria at all costs.

On the other hand, many French citizens realized all too well that the values the Fourth French Republic supposedly stood for – liberty, equality, and fraternity - were precisely what had been denied the native people of Algeria since it was first conquered by France during the restored monarchy under the Bourbons in the early nineteenth century. In fact, “native” Algerians were divided legally along racial and religious lines: Muslim Arab and Berber Algerians were denied access to political power and usually worked in lower-paying jobs, while white, Catholic Algerians (descendants of both French and Italian settlers) were fully enfranchised French citizens. In 1954, a National Liberation Front (FLN) composed of Arab and Berber Algerians demanded independence from France and launched a campaign of attacks on both French officials and soon, pieds-noires civilians.

The French response was brutal. French troops, many fresh from the defeat in Indochina, responded to the National Liberation Front with complete disregard for human rights, the legal conduct of soldiers in relation to civilians, or concern for the guilt or innocence of those suspected of supporting the rebellion. Infamously, the army resorted almost immediately to a systematic campaign of torture against captured rebels and those suspected of having information that could aid the French. Algerian civilians were often caught in the middle of the fighting, with the French army targeting the civilian populace when it saw fit. While the torture campaign was kept out of the press, rumors of its prevalence soon spread to metropolitan France, inspiring an enormous debate as to the necessity and value of holding on to Algeria. The war grew in Algeria even as France itself was increasingly torn apart by the conflict. Figure 10.6.2 is a photograph showing a French soldier interviewing Algerian men standing in a line, as part

of their search for insurgents. During the Algerian War of Independence Algerian FLN fighters, who were unable to match the French in open battle, often hid amongst the general populace. For the French, determining who was an insurgent was a difficult and painstaking game of cat and mouse.

Figure 10.6.2: A soldier interviewing men in Algeria, in the Public Domain

Within a few years, as the anti-war protest campaign grew in France itself, many soldiers both in Algeria and in other parts of France and French territories grew disgusted with what they regarded as the weak-kneed vacillation on the part of republican politicians. Those soldiers created ultra-rightist terrorist groups, launching attacks on prominent intellectuals who spoke out against the war (the most prominent French philosopher at the time, Jean-Paul Sartre, had his apartment in Paris destroyed in a bomb attack). Troops launched an attempted coup in Algeria in 1958 and briefly succeeded in seizing control of the French-held island of Corsica as well. It was in this context of near-civil war, with the government of the Fourth Republic paralyzed, that the leader of the Free French forces in World War II, Charles de Gaulle, volunteered to "rescue" France from its predicament, with the support of the army.

De Gaulle placated the army temporarily, but when it became clear he intended to pull France out of Algeria, a paramilitary terrorist group twice tried to assassinate him. He narrowly survived the assassination attempts and forced through a new constitution that vested considerable new powers in the office of the president. De Gaulle opened negotiations with the FLN in 1960, leading to the ratification of Algerian independence in 1962 by a large majority of French voters. Despite being an ardent believer in the French need for "greatness," De Gaulle was perceptive enough to know that the battle for Algeria was lost before it had begun. In the aftermath of the Algerian War, millions of white Algerians moved to France, many of them feeling betrayed and embittered.

? Review Questions

- How did the plan to replace the French Empire with the French Union fail?
- Why was the French military so determined keep Algeria as part of France?
- At the end of the Algerian war, why did the pieds-noires leave?

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10.7: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

After World War II, the peoples of the world created the United Nations. An international organization built to keep global peace and promote prosperity, the UN drew support from powerful nations like the United States and newly independent states across Asia, the Middle East, and Africa like the Philippines. As a tide of nationalism swept across the world, European empires decolonized and in Asia for India and Pakistan the struggles of partition and border disputes slowed but did not stop the rise of democracy and economic development. In the Middle East, Egypt and Saudi Arabia championed rival ideologies of Pan-Arabism and Islamic Solidarity, the Suez Crisis showed the decline of British and French power and as Israel became a state and clashed with its Arab neighbors the Palestinians dreamed of establishing their own. Across Africa, states like Ghana and Nigeria achieved independence peacefully yet struggled later in the face of authoritarianism and military rule. France stubbornly sought to maintain its influence across the African continent especially in Algeria where the French to sought hold the country by military force leading to guerilla war that ended in Algeria's independence. Regardless of how it was achieved, for all African, Middle Eastern, and Asian nations independence presented both the challenges and opportunities of rapid population growth and governance in a new international world order.

Key Terms

United Nations:

An international organization to promote peace and cooperation between nations. Established in 1945, all member states are represented in the General Assembly while a Security Council with 5 permanent members mediates conflict. Headed by the Secretary-General, the UN provides development and humanitarian aid to the benefit of all humanity.

Decolonization:

The process by which colonies become independent or when a power relinquishes control of a territory. This term is used to describe the mid-20th century withdrawal of European empires from Asia, the Middle East and Africa and the creation of new self-governing or independent states.

Partition:

The separation or physical division of a territory into distinct parts. In global affairs partition may refer to the dividing of a country by great powers yet also describes the division of a region on along ethnic or religious lines. Ex: Partition of India, UN Israel-Palestine Partition.

Nonalignment:

To be not part of or unaligned with any power bloc. During the Cold War, many new nations formed the Non-aligned Movement abstaining from alliances with either the United States or the Soviet Union. While this often meant neutrality, in practice nonaligned countries could also collaborate with the superpowers through ways like economic development and military aid. Notable members include India, Egypt, and Indonesia.

Nasser:

President of Egypt. During the 1950’s and 60’s Nasser would seek to modernize Egypt promoting secularism and socialism. He became a champion of the Arab world and supported Arab unity and nonalignment. He came to power from a military coup and came to be widely admired by many Egyptians.

Nationalization:

To transfer property, often a big business such as a factory, bank, or company from private to government ownership. This policy was adopted by many newly independent nations in the mid-20th century to assert sovereignty and promote greater profit-sharing. In practice such state-run companies often struggled with efficiency and corruption.

Zionism:

A nationalist movement encouraging Jews to return to their ancestral homeland to establish statehood for the Jewish people. By the mid-20th century this led to the creation of the nation of Israel, a new Israeli nationality, and the revival of the Hebrew language.

Suez Crisis:

An international crisis which began when Egypt seized the Suez Canal in 1956. In response France, Britain and Israel launched a joint invasion of Egypt and were forced to withdraw due to international pressure. The Suez Crisis represented a shift in world power away from France and Britain and emboldened independence movements.

Pan-Arabism:

A nationalist movement seeking to unite the Arab people into a single super state. In the 1950's and 1960's Pan-Arabist or Ba'ath parties formed across the Middle East yet failed to unite the Arab states. Pan-Arabism stresses kinship and the Arabic language bind together Arabs and while secular sees Islam as an expression of Arab genius.

Secession:

When a people seek to withdraw or secede from a state and form their own nation-state. Numerous secessionist movements were active across the world in the mid-20th century yet few succeeded in achieving independence and United Nations membership. Ex: Bangladesh

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

11: Cold War and the Politics of Race - 1950 - 2000

? Learning Objectives

- Objective 1: Explore how questions about social justice, racial equality, and citizenship became international issues in the postwar era.
- Objective 2: Examine how the intersection of the Cold War and anti-colonial/imperialist struggles in Latin America, Africa, and Asia led to sustained international engagement

? Focus Questions

- What was the connection between racism and anti-communism in the US?
- How did the USSR articulate the relationship between socialism and decolonization?

Sidestepping Sanitized Narratives

Traditional textbooks depict the Cold War simply as an ideological struggle between freedom/democracy and authoritarian control/communism that started in 1945 and ended in 1989 with the victory of the United States. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 demonstrated the decimating effects of nuclear warfare. That was terrifying. Although nuclear weapons still pose a serious threat to humanity, our fears have faded. Terms and phrases such as “proxy wars" and “collateral damage” that are commonly used in history textbooks sanitize the bloody conflicts and human rights violations of the Cold War era. African and Asian anti-colonial movements were an important component in the war for global ideological supremacy. The photos of Indian and African troops, seen in Figures 11.1 and 11.2, serve as a reminder that colonial troops fought in every theater of World War II and contributed to the success of the Allied powers. Figure 11.1 is a black and white photograph of Indian Army recruits wearing turbans at a training center during World War II. Over 2.5 million troops from India fought for Britain in all theaters of war. This is certainly one of the lesser-known facts about World War II: India provided the largest number of volunteer troops in World War II. Indian Armed Forces received over fifteen percent of the Victoria Crosses. In addition massive quantities of weapons, timber, steel, and food were sent from India to Europe. India's contribution to British success was huge. Africans and Arabs also fought and died for the freedom of Allied Powers during World War II. Figure 11.2 is a black and white photograph of armed African troops who fought for the Allied Powers in Burma (Myanmar) against the Japanese during World War II. They were highly skilled jungle fighters who fought bravely during the heavy monsoons in Burma. Even though most global history textbooks don’t acknowledge the important contributions and sacrifices of these troops, their service in the imperial armies raised important questions about social justice and human equality in the postwar period. Anti-colonial movements in the postwar period challenged racial supremacy and colonial rule. Decolonization in Africa expedited the American civil rights movement. In Latin America the Cold War played out in the form of military dictatorships, widespread human rights violations, and the emergence of a variety of resistance movements. This chapter focuses on the intersection of anti-colonial/imperialist struggles, military dictatorship, and the Cold War that led to sustained engagement with the superpowers, who, in general, tended to support anti-democratic forces in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to advance their own geopolitical interests.

Figure 11.1: Indian Army recruits during World War II, Imperial War Museums, in the Public Domain.

Figure 11.2: African troops in Burma (Myanmar) during World War II, Imperial War Museums, in the Public Domain.

The Soviet Union and the United States had fought as allies against Nazi Germany during World War II. But the alliance began to crumble as soon as the war in Europe ended in May 1945. The Soviet Union was determined to have a buffer zone between its borders and Western Europe. It set up pro-communist regimes in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Albania, and eventually in East Germany. Fears of Soviet expansion and aggression led the United States to launch a fervent anti-communism crusade until the collapse of the USSR in December 1991. Between 1945 and 1989 both superpowers pursued an ambitious **grand strategy** for international hegemony. The Cold War ended over three decades ago. We now have access to a vast body of historical scholarship that helps us better understand important global implications of the superpower struggle. Countries like Vietnam became bloody battlegrounds in the conflict between capitalism and communism. The case studies in this chapter are designed to show how the superpowers intervened in the internal affairs of several nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia under the banner of promoting social justice, peace, or improving living conditions, and to emphasize that the US provided strong leadership for a global multiracial coalition against communism while simultaneously upholding white supremacy.

11.1: Geopolitical Strategies- USSR and US
11.2: Korean War- 1950-53
11.3: Vietnam Conflict- 1955-75

11.4: Afghan-Soviet War- 1979-89
11.5: Civil War in El Salvador- 1979-92
11.6: Cuban Revolution- 1959
11.7: From Democracy to Dictatorship in Chile, 1948-1988
11.8: Angolan Civil War- 1975-2002
11.9: Chapter Summary and Key Terms
11.10: Suggested Readings and Works Cited

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11.1: Geopolitical Strategies- USSR and US

Soviet Geopolitical Strategy

Geography has shaped Soviet history. After World War II, the USSR sought to create buffers against external threats. Given the lack of natural barriers and loss of territories after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918), Soviets went to great lengths to enhance their national security beyond national borders. The main goal of Soviet foreign policy was to launch a proletarian revolution worldwide. The Soviets claimed that the only path to an egalitarian society was through the unification of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Marxist-Leninism legitimized Soviet expansion to “liberate” oppressed peoples. Communist parties were specifically instructed to support revolutionary movements to subvert capitalism and provoke racial conflicts in the US. The Cold War was not only a contest between the Soviet Union and the US to establish a new world order but also of articulating racism. Between 1945 and 1989 over 90 new countries came into existence. Both the Soviet Union and the US tried to integrate newly decolonized nations into their spheres of influence and economic development through diplomatic missions, cultural initiatives, covert activities as well as outright military interventions in Asia and Africa. Soviet geopolitical doctrine was designed to impede American influence through several tactics that included massive disinformation campaigns in the US. Russia’s anti-capitalist and anti-colonial propaganda campaigns were designed to portray the Soviet Union as a haven for multiethnic coexistence. Figure 11.1.1 shows a Soviet propaganda poster printed in 1930 in the Soviet *Bezbozhnik u Stanka* magazine. The poster mocks religion and racism in the United States by showing an African American hanging from the Statue of Liberty. In the background there are images of Jesus as well as the US flag held by angels at both ends. Soviet propagandists repeatedly used the race card to emphasize overt racism in the US. Communist parties worldwide advanced Soviet supremacy by proclaiming the universality of communist ideology.

Figure 11.1.1: A Soviet poster shows an African American being lynched from the Statue of Liberty, in the Public Domain.

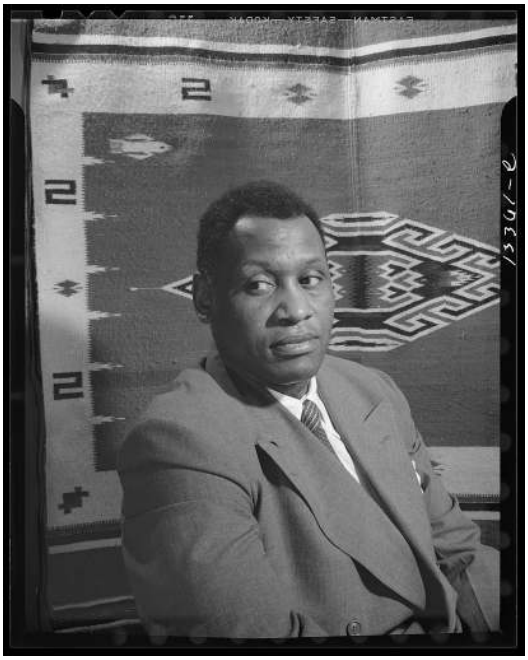

Figure 11.1.2: Paul Robeson, Gordon Parks, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

Soviet propaganda showcased racial tensions in the US to highlight American hypocrisy: How could the United States protect the rights of people in the non-western world when it cannot guarantee freedoms for its own citizenry? The Soviet Union attracted a small but powerful cadre of African American intellectuals and activists, including W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, and Paul Robeson, who traveled to the USSR in the 1930s, before the Cold War. Figure 11.1.2 portrait photo of Paul Robeson, who was a famous African American athlete, film actor, concert singer, and activist. He first visited Russia in 1934, and he felt that he received more respect in Russia than in the US. Robeson performed in many countries, and used his musical talent to promote peace and justice. He often gave speeches that condemned fascism and racism, and performed at labor festivals. He was one of the top American performers during the 1930s and 1940s and internationally famous. He was blacklisted for his political activism during the McCarthyist era, and eventually he was marginalized from mainstream US culture and history. The experiences and life stories of African Americans who traveled to the USSR during the 1930s give us an opportunity to understand pre-war Soviet history from a unique perspective. Most African Americans viewed the Soviet Union, despite the atrocities carried out against its own people, as a more egalitarian society. Before World War II Comintern used racism as a tool to create social tensions in the US. Soviet

propaganda projected an aura of racial equality that was clearly attractive to African Americans, but it did not turn them *en masse* into communists. Before World War II, most African Americans traveled to the USSR because their opportunities to travel, work, and study in the US were limited, and not because they were fascinated by Marxist ideology. Soviet anti-racist campaigns were designed to claim a spot “on the right side of history.” As European colonial empires crumbled in Africa and Asia, the USSR actively intervened in the struggles for independence and claimed that Marxism-Leninism was the only path to national liberation against imperialist colonial oppression. Anti-imperialist struggles during the Cold War made racism an important international issue. During the 1950s and 1960s, at the height of decolonization and against the background of the growing Civil Rights Movement in the US, the Soviets weaponized race and connected the US civil rights struggle with the Cold War. However, simplistic Marxist-Leninist prescriptions rarely worked for addressing racism. The Soviets tried to subvert capitalism by using wedge politics, fomenting revolutions, and staging riots.

The US military that had fought in World War II was segregated. Despite racism and segregation in the U.S. military, more than two and a half million African American men registered in the military draft, and more than a million served in the armed forces during World War II. Most African Americans served in segregated, non-combat units led by white officers. Marxist-Leninist critiques of racial segregation in the US emphasized that the oppression of black people has been an integral part of capitalism since its inception. Influenced by this idea, Malcolm X said, "you can't have capitalism without racism." This quote, along with a headshot of Malcom X dressed in a suit and tie and wearing eyeglasses on the right side of the image, are shown in Figure 11.1.3. Malcom X's quote about capitalism and racism should not be read as a shallow reaction to racism. Malcolm X was a civil rights leader who pinpointed the root causes of the oppression and discrimination of African Americans. He was a critic of capitalism and white supremacy, and believed that racism was an integral part of the capitalist system.

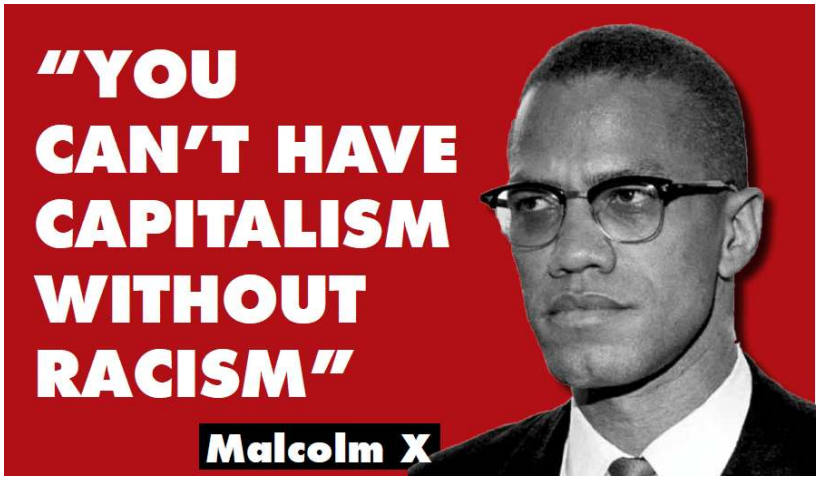

Figure 11.1.3: Malcolm X’s quote, International Socialist Alternative, is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA.

For the Soviets, the struggle against racism had to be a fight for socialism. This was a very seductive argument that became increasingly popular with workers and the poor who sought better living conditions and social justice. After the 1957 Youth Festival in Moscow, Premier Nikita Khrushchev extended generous educational scholarships to African students. During the Cold War Soviet special agencies became the conduit for Kremlin’s geopolitical doctrine, which was designed to systematically destabilize enemy nations (US and other NATO member nations). The special agencies implemented “active measures,” overtly or covertly, to drive wedges in communities, meddle in elections, infiltrate media, promote disinformation, sabotage, etc. The KGB, for example, consistently organized youth congresses, festivals, campaigns for women’s and workers’ rights to spread disinformation and gather compromising information about political candidates. The USSR established front organizations, aka “transmission belts” to meddle in US presidential elections, defame candidates (specifically Barry Goldwater in 1964, Richard Nixon in 1968, and Ronald Reagan in 1984), bribe pro-Soviet journalists, etc. The Soviets severely criticized the US for its failure to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. Soviet propaganda flaunted Valentina Tereshkova’s famous flight into space in 1963 and used it to highlight the Soviet Union’s commitment to gender equality. The Soviet Constitution expressly guaranteed equality before the law without distinction based on sex. It took 20 more years for the first American woman, Sally Ride, to enter space in 1983.

American Grand Strategy

The US portrayed the USSR as a cruel totalitarian state that was incapable of peaceful coexistence with capitalist nations. Figure 11.1.4 shows an American anti-communism poster from the 1950s. The propaganda poster shows a skull behind a mask of Stalin. The skull symbolizes death. The caption on the poster reads "Look Behind the Mask! Communism is Death." The goal was was demonize the enemy, in this case, the Soviet leader Stalin. To contain the spread of Soviet communism, the US designed and constructed a liberal international system to sustain its hegemony. This international order, which includes the UN, IMF, NATO, is so complex and multifaceted that it is impossible to reduce it to a single category of analysis or explanation. The US has deployed its military to promote globalization and democracy, and actively contained threats, as part of its grand strategy. Figure 11.1.5 is a map that shows European military alliances during the Cold War. The NATO founding member nations shown in the map are Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal, and the United Kingdom. The map also shows the founding members of the Warsaw Pact, namely, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania, and the Soviet Union. Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968. During the Cold War, US foreign policies focused on containing communist expansion. However, it is important to note that, as stated in NSC-68, the US would probably have pursued its grand strategy even in the absence of a Soviet threat. Although the purpose and organizational structure of NATO evolved in the context of the Cold War, NATO was not dissolved after the collapse of the USSR in 1991. NATO’s membership increased from 16 at its peak during the Cold War to 30 nations in 2020.

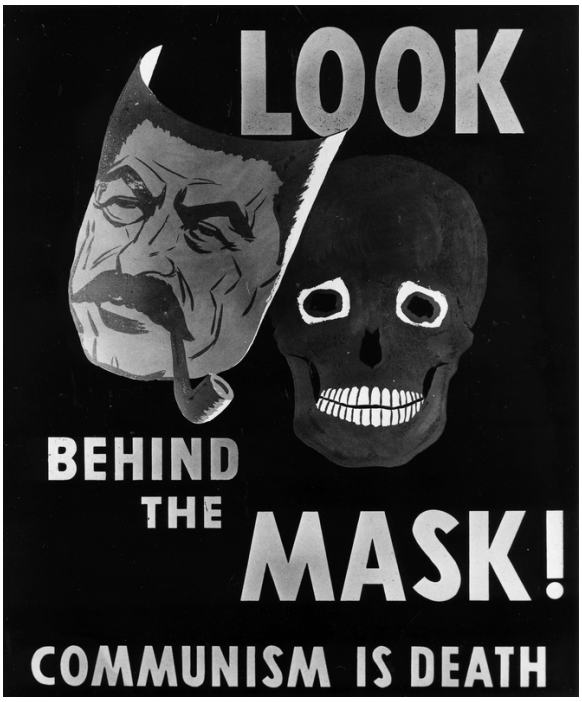

Figure 11.1.4: An anti-communism poster from the 1950s. Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

Figure 11.1.5: European Military Alliances during the Cold War, San Jose, is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0.

Figure 11.1.6: Little Rock State Capitol Rally, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

Racism guided and sustained the liberal international order. The struggle for civil rights had few victories before World War II. The **"Double V Campaign"** as well as the postwar economic boom led to rising expectations for many African Americans. Southern racists used red-baiting to label the demand for civil rights as a communist plot. They used anti-communism to promote white supremacy and framed the civil rights movement as a threat to national security. Racism and anti-communism were closely connected. Anti-communism during the Cold War solidified the role of the Jim Crow South within American nationalism. That explains why Southern racists were among the most ardent anti-communists who discredited the civil rights struggle as a communist conspiracy. Some African American liberal intellectuals were implicated in this collusion and their ideologies became hegemonic in the production and articulation of Black liberation. Figure 11.1.6 is a photograph showing several people protesting at a 1959 rally in Little Rock, Arkansas. The protestors are carrying US flags and signs that read "race mixing is communism" and "stop the race mixing." Even though the US Supreme Court had declared in 1954 that segregation in schools was unconstitutional, many segregationists in Little Rock, Arkansas, protested against the admission of nine African American students, now known as the "Little Rock Nine," in the previously all-white Little Rock Central High School.

The Cold War highlighted the stark contradictions in American democracy and set the terms for a new racial liberalism. US elites created a discourse that insisted that racism was being eradicated, but it never was. The US also engaged in massive “soft diplomacy” by sending Black artists and musicians abroad to serve as goodwill ambassadors to show that racism was an artifact of the past. The Cold War brought some measure of civil rights: overt racism in the US became a liability in the fight against the Soviets. Although *de jure* segregation ended, *de facto* segregation exists. President Truman established the state as the arbiter of anti-racism and federalized civil rights. However, the civil rights state did not redistribute resources because that would have resembled the policies of the rival communist state. Instead, liberal anti-racism called for short-term action that resulted in an ideology of color-blindness which made racism and white supremacy invisible. The US never dismantled the economic or sociopolitical frameworks that privileged whites. Instead, political parties have pursued policies that racialize welfare to avoid implementing meaningful socioeconomic reform. Racialized welfare measures separate economic issues from the concerns of race and gender. Americans increasingly embraced racial diversity as a positive value but most often approached the issue through an individualistic—not a systemic—framework. American capitalism has always been at the heart of US domestic and foreign policies, yet most African American intellectuals did not completely reject liberal democracy or challenge their exclusion from the state based on economic dispossession and maldistribution of resources. Instead, African Americans mobilized around cultural specifications for civil rights. In the postwar period, Blackness came to be understood in cultural terms of exclusion. African Americans sought an end to Jim Crow by making cultural claims to equality. Unfortunately, that validated a European civilizing discourse in which culture became a marker of human development and failed to question the root causes of exploitation. This practice of disconnecting racial disparities from financial inequality is part of liberalism’s history.

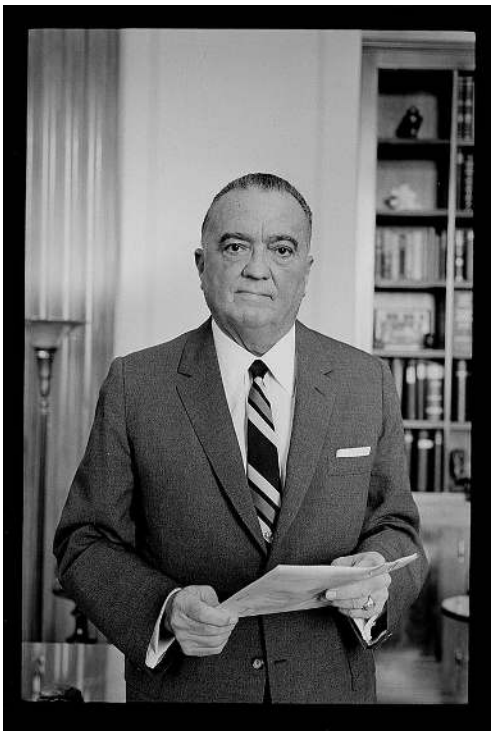

Figure 11.1.7: FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

Anti-radical and anti-Black statist narratives became entangled with anti-communism as an instrument of surveillance and racism. Only two years after World War II, President Truman issued Executive Order 9835, which required loyalty reviews for federal employees. The FBI assessed potential "security risks" among Foreign Service officers. Figure 11.1.7 is a portrait photo of long-serving FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wearing a suit and holding documents in his hand. Under Hoover's management, the FBI began a counterintelligence program, COINTELPRO, in 1956 to disrupt the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA). The scope of Hoover's suspicions and COINTELPRO's targets grew to include civil rights groups, black activists, feminists, environmentalists, Native American activists, and anti-war protestors before the program's dissolution in 1971. The program's domestic espionage and psychological warfare tactics were widely criticized, and many believed the FBI had greatly overstepped its authority. In Congress, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations held over a hundred investigations and hearings on communist influence in American society between 1949 and 1954. The Internal Security Act, passed by Congress in September 1950, required all "communist organizations" to register with the government, gave the government greater powers to investigate sedition, and made it possible to prevent suspected individuals from gaining or keeping their citizenship.

The Korean War was a watershed moment in US military history because it was the first overseas conflict that put President Truman's Executive Order 9981, which desegregated the US military, into action. An estimated 600,000 African Americans served in the armed forces during the Korean War; roughly 9.3% of Americans killed in Korea were African American.

? Primary Source: Civil Rights or Freedom, 1962

In this activity, students will analyze a letter written by baseball player Jackie Robinson to President Johnson. The goal is to examine the intersectionality of the Civil Rights Movement and the escalating conflict in Vietnam. The activity is intended to help students to better understand US race relations in the context of overlapping international events during the 1960s.

Discussion Questions

- What was Robinson concerned about?
- The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964, almost 2 years before this letter was written. What continuing issues did Robinson bring up to the President?

- What does Robinson allude to as a result or consequence for the United States if President Johnson does not continue to hold firm on civil rights?
- How do you think President Johnson felt when he received Jackie Robinson's letter? What thoughts were going through his head regarding civil rights and the conflict in Vietnam?

Review Questions

- What strategies did the Soviet Union use to subvert American democracy?
- Why did some Americans frame the Civil Rights movement as a threat to national security?

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11.2: Korean War- 1950-53

What Led to the Partition of Korea?

Japan had occupied Korea since 1910. Korea was one of the first countries Japan conquered during its efforts to create an East Asian and Pacific empire that culminated in the Pacific theater of World War II. After Japan's defeat in World War II, the Korean Peninsula had been divided along the 38th parallel at the end of the war. Figure 11.2.2 is a map of the Korean peninsular and shows this demarcation line between North and South Korea. The USSR administered the North while the United States controlled the south. Although the U.S.S.R. had helped end the Pacific War by invading Manchuria in August 1945, the subsequent reconstruction of Japan was strictly a U.S. affair. By the time the military occupation ended in 1955, Japan had returned to rule by a democratically elected parliamentary monarchy under the same emperor, Hirohito. The U.S. guaranteed Japan's security through a treaty and a military base in Okinawa and provided financial assistance and preferential access to U.S. markets to rebuild the Japanese economy. This was partly an attempt to counter the perceived communist threat in Asia.

Figure 11.2.1: Map showing the area of South Korea captured by communists in 1950, CPI Tino Grandio, is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA.

The Soviets helped establish a communist regime under Kim Il-sung, while the Americans supported an authoritarian "nationalist", Syngman Rhee. In June 1950, Kim Il-sung ordered the invasion of the south to unite the peninsula. Figure 11.2.1 is a map of the Korean peninsula. The arrows in the map show movement of North Korean troops from the north over the 38th parallel towards the south. The map also shows the areas of South Korea captured by the North Korean communists. The communists crossed the Imjin River and entered Seoul. Kim's forces did not succeed in overthrowing the Rhee government in Seoul, but quickly took most of the south, and that prompted the United Nations Security Council to order a military response, led by the United States. The US never formally declared war on North Korea. Instead, President Truman referred to US involvement as a "police action" to pushback against the forces of international communism. The North Korean Army's offensive was stopped at Pusan in August-September 1950.

As shown in Figure 11.2.1, by October 1950, US-led U.N. forces had pushed the communist North Korean forces out of the south and had taken the northern capital, Pyongyang. U.N. armies continued to advance northward toward the Chinese border at the Yalu River, which brought China into the war on the North Korean side. U.N. troops were surprised by a Chinese counterattack. General Douglas MacArthur made an audacious move and launched an invasion of North Korea across the 38th parallel without consulting with Washington. Consequently, President Truman relieved General MacArthur of his duties for insubordination.

After three years of bloody fighting, including the invasion of a full-scale Chinese army in support of the northern forces, the Korean War ended in a stalemate. The Korean War armistice signed on July 27, 1953. As seen in Figure 11.2.2, a new border between North and South Korea was drawn at the 38th parallel, which granted South Korea some additional territory and demilitarized the zone between the two nations. The demilitarized zone (DMZ) incorporates land on both sides of the 38th parallel. It is designed to serve as a buffer zone between North and South Korea, but both sides maintain troops and it is a fortified region.

The border between North and South Korea is probably the most heavily militarized zone in the world. Technically, however, the war has never officially ended: both sides have simply remained in a tense state of truce since 1953. The war itself tore apart the country, with three million casualties (including 140,000 American casualties), and a stark ideological and economic divide between north and south that only grew stronger in the ensuing decades. As South Korea developed into a modern, technologically advanced, and politically democratic society, North Korea became a totalitarian closed society, largely isolated after the fall of the Soviet Union and China's embrace of capitalism in the 1980s. The Kim family has remained in power despite famine and mismanagement while defending their regime by developing nuclear weapons. South Korea was ruled by Rhee and the military until a transition to democracy in the 1990s when it became a successful industrial power following the Japanese development model. The US continues to maintain a military presence in South Korea, and currently there are 28,500 troops stationed near the capital of Seoul.

Figure 11.2.2: Partition of Korea along the 38th Parallel, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

The Korean War energized the American obsession with preventing the spread of communism. As French forces suffered defeats in Indochina, the US ramped up its commitment to prevent another Asian nation from becoming a communist state. The American theory of the "domino effect" of the spread of communism from country to country seemed entirely plausible at the time, and across the American political spectrum there was a strong consensus that communism could only be held in check by the application of military force. That obsession led directly to the Vietnam War (known in Vietnam as the American War). The United States entered the 1960s unaccustomed to stark foreign policy failures. By the end of the decade, Unsuccessful conflicts in Cuba and Vietnam led to embarrassment, fear, and tragedy, stunning a nation that expected triumph and altering the way many thought of America's role in international affairs.

Korea and Vietnam: Similarities and Differences

The USA used South Korea as its model for propping up a viable government in South Vietnam. However, there were some key advantages that were present in South Korea which South Vietnam did not have. For one, its colonial context was very different from Vietnam. The Japanese were every bit as harsh and authoritarian as the French. However, their rule resembled the British in India more than the French in Vietnam. Overall, Japan built a good system of infrastructure and an industrial base in Korea. Most of the cities and ports in Korea were linked by rail. The Japanese also built a vast road system. However, Vietnam had one rail line

that connected Hanoi to Saigon. Overall, Korea had a much better-developed transport and communications infrastructure than any other East Asian country except for Japan.

The Japanese also promoted industrial development in Korea. A small class of Korean modern entrepreneurs, fluent in Japanese and accustomed to working closely with their Japanese counterparts, formed the South Korean industrialist class after independence. Major giants such as Samsung and Lucky-Goldstar got their start during the colonial period. Finally, the South Korean army would be much more effective than ARVN, because the Japanese trained the officer class of the future South Korean army. During World War II, these Koreans got vital experience serving in the army.

These advantages played a major role in establishing a viable South Korean state. At first, the situation in Korea resembled Vietnam. It is divided into a Communist north and a pro-American south. The south had an anti-Communist anti-Democratic dictator just like South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem named Syngman Rhee. However, Rhee's nationalist anti-colonial credentials were impeccable, because he fought his entire life for Korean independence. Therefore, he was not seen by Koreans as a part of the elite that collaborated with the colonizers. The Rhee administration was staffed by qualified people in areas of economics, education, and finance. Additionally, the government utilized South Koreans who studied in the United States.

For the most part, the Korean Communist Party lacked the cohesion and support that the Vietnamese Communists had. The Communists did not have a strong nationalist leader with the stature of Ho Chi Minh. Korea also lacked dense jungles that would have provided guerrilla strongholds. Additionally, there was little evidence of Soviet or North Korean support for the southern Communist guerrillas. The Soviet Union only provided loans to North Korea at high interest rates. They did not get substantial aid like in North Vietnam.

The policies of the Rhee government were successful when compared to Diem. To build loyalty to the government, a top-notch education system was established. The framers of the 1948 constitution made primary education a right. By 1960, primary schooling was almost universal. Also, Rhee promoted industrialization and Korea had strong human resources and an industrial base to develop light industries for export. Perhaps most importantly, Rhee won over peasant support with land redistribution. Most peasants owned land and farmers became firm anti-communist supporters of the government. The farmers receiving this redistributed property had to pay 150 percent of the annual value of the land received over a ten-year period. The elite landlords lost their lands but invested their payments in business and in education institutions.

Like Diem, Rhee was overthrown in the early 1960s, but he was replaced by a stable capable military dictator, General Park Chung Hee. This government put Korea on the path to economic modernization. The South Korean government in 1961 drew up the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan which prompted massive industrialization with an emphasis on exporting light industry. In addition to directing low-interest loans to businesses fulfilling the plan, the government also created several centers to promote research and the dissemination of technical knowledge to business enterprises. For the most part, South Korea experienced prosperity rather than growing poverty. As a result, the working classes did not become radical socialists. The two major labor unions were moderate Christian-based organizations that had bread and butter demands like higher wages and better working conditions.

? Review Questions

- How does the Korean War demonstrate both the rising importance of the US as a global power, as well as the limits of that power?
- Why did China send troops? What interest did China have in the Korean War?
- How was South Korea different from South Vietnam?

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11.3: Vietnam Conflict- 1955-75

Why Did the USA Fail in Vietnam but Succeed in Korea?

After World War II, the USA was by far the most powerful nation in the world and could not stamp out a communist uprising in Vietnam, a tiny, impoverished country. Why not? For the most part, the whole US strategy was premised upon the notion that the South Vietnamese government could become a viable nation like South Korea. The American government gave both countries billions of dollars in economic and military aid. However, this support did nothing to stem the tide of communism in South Vietnam. In contrast, South Korea was stable and had some popular support by the 1960s. What accounts for the failure of the USA in Vietnam but its success in Korea?

Figure 11.3.1: Ho Chi Minh Trail as well as major battlegrounds in southern Vietnam, AH, is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA.

The French colonization of Vietnam did not provide a good foundation for a healthy economy and a stable democracy. Like most colonial powers, France sought to extract wealth from Vietnam and gave it very little in return. To promote the export of minerals, rice, and rubber, vast tracts of land were given to French companies and their local Vietnamese collaborators while millions were left landless. Vietnam had massive rubber plantations controlled by the French where workers were paid little and treated like slave laborers. For the most part, Vietnam remained an impoverished colony that produced low value primary products. Railways and port facilities were built to serve the export economy rather than promote economic development. Additionally, the French provided few educational opportunities for the population. The French ran Vietnam like a police state with a secret police force. The Vietnamese had no civil liberties or political participation under French rule.

In the first decades of the 1900s a small western educated Vietnamese middle class had been created. Many went to France and were attracted to nationalist ideas. Initially, there were moderate democratic parties like the Indian National Congress. However, through a campaign of repression, execution, and imprisonment the moderate nationalists were wiped out. Their rival was the Communist Party. For the most part, radicalism emerged in Vietnam because the French refused to encourage the growth of moderate political parties and would not tolerate even peaceful mass agitation. By the 1930s, the Communist Party of Vietnam began to emphasize a peasant revolution. It attracted peasant support with its program of independence from French rule, land redistribution, higher wages for laborers, mass education, and health care. Their leader, Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969), was a capable leader with impeccable nationalist credentials. Consequently, it would be the Communists who led the country for national liberation. The Ho Chi Minh Trail, named after Ho Chi Minh, refers to a massive network of waterways, roads, and mountain paths used by the North Vietnamese guerrillas to move troops and supplies from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. Figure 11.3.1 is an outline map of the Indochinese peninsula. A long blue arrow in the map shows the Ho Chi Minh Trail that ran from North Vietnam

through Laos and Cambodia to South Vietnam. The Ho Chi Minh Trail contributed to the success of the communists in the Vietnam War.

For the most part, World War II created an opportunity for the nationalists in southeast Asia and the movement for Vietnamese independence took place within the context of decolonization that was occurring immediately after war ended. The Philippines was loyal to the US during World War II and launched guerilla movements against the Japanese. So, The US almost immediately granted independence to the Philippines. From 1945 until 1949, the Dutch fought a losing war against Indonesian nationalists who captured political power when the Japanese were defeated. After World War II, Ho repeatedly petitioned President Harry S. Truman to recognize Vietnam, but Truman never responded. After being rejected, Ho declared independence and war with France followed until 1954. Almost all French leaders believed that their country could only recover its power and prestige by reclaiming its empire.

France sought US support by framing the conflict in Vietnam not as a colonial war but a war against communism. The US feared communism in Vietnam and France was an essential ally. For the most part, the US saw Ho as a tool of Moscow rather than a nationalist looking for independence from France. With US support the French had retaken all the major cities but could not control the countryside, because communists were very successful at gaining peasant support by instituting land redistribution. Overall, the French were just too unpopular in Vietnam to defeat the Communists who successfully used guerrilla tactics which brought the French to negotiate a ceasefire. By 1954, the French decided to abandon their colony of Indochina. Instead, they then sought to focus their efforts on maintaining their empire closer to home in Algeria. At the Geneva Conference of 1954, Vietnam was divided in two with popular elections within two years to elect a new government. The communists would control only the northern half of the country and a pro-Western government would control the southern half.

However, the vote would never take place. The United States began sending military advisers to South Vietnam almost as soon as the French withdrew. President Dwight Eisenhower, elected in 1952, invoked the “domino theory” to help the unpopular regime in South Vietnam prevent elections which would have made the extremely popular Ho Chi Minh leader of a unified nation. In 1954, the communists were in a strong position. They communists had popular support, because they stood for opposition to the hated French rule and for independence. Overall, there was political stability and unity in the North. This new government received substantial aid from China and the USSR. Additionally, in the south the communists controlled about half of the rural villages. The Communists also had strong support among the urban working classes in the south.

The South Vietnamese government was controlled by a pro-US anti-communist president named Ngo Ninh Diem. Diem was not the ideal person to serve as president. He was a member of the urban French-speaking Catholic elite who ruled over a population that was made up largely of Buddhist peasants. The US pressured the South Vietnamese government for land redistribution, but Diem refused. Therefore, a small elite continued to control much of the land in the south and rural poverty only strengthened Communist support there. The central problem was that the South Vietnamese government was unviable because it lacked popular support and legitimacy. There were no democratic elections to legitimize the government and the majority remained impoverished. Civil rights were not respected, and the government would arrest and torture anyone who criticized it.

Beginning in 1955, the USA began to advise, train, and equip the South Vietnamese Army (ARVN). However, US aid and assistance did not matter. Diem was seen more and more as a puppet of the USA and not a true nationalist like Ho Chi Minh. On December 20, 1960, various groups in South Vietnam who were hostile to Diem established the National Liberation Front or the Viet Cong. This coalition was dominated by the Communists but sought popular support by emphasizing nationalist goals and land redistribution rather than radical socialism. By 1963, Diem’s government was in crisis. Buddhist protests mounted because the government favored Catholics. This discrimination angered the top echelons of the military because many of the higher officers were Buddhist. Also, the government failed to stamp out the Viet Cong. By the end of 1963 the communist rebels had killed or kidnapped 13,000 government officials. The Communists controlled areas ruled over about half of the population of the south by 1963. Diem became so unpopular that the military assassinated him. Then, South Vietnam would be under a military dictatorship until 1975.

Nevertheless, the government of South Vietnam became even less stable after the assassination of Diem. It was basically controlled by a council of generals who were constantly in conflict with another. One general would serve as president but oftentimes he would be overthrown by another general in a coup. In an effort to bring all of Vietnam under Communist rule, the government of North Vietnam agreed to send troops into the south. By 1964, the Communists took over most of the countryside, and ARVN appeared completely unable to do anything about this. Sensing the threat of a united communist Vietnam, the US sought to prop up the South Vietnamese government through bombings of North Vietnam. During 1964–72, the US dropped a total of one million

tons of bombs. As a result, many of the major northern cities were destroyed or damaged. However, the North Vietnamese government simply relocated its factories to the countryside. In general, North Vietnamese morale appeared to have remained reasonably strong during the years of sustained American bombing. The South Vietnamese government became so weak that it was on the verge of collapse by the end of 1964. The USA had to either send troops in to fight the Communists or face a united Communist Vietnam. When North Vietnamese patrol boats clashed in the Tonkin Gulf with US warships, the US committed itself to major military commitments in Vietnam with full congressional support. Almost all Democrats and Republicans in Congress supported the Vietnam War.

When US military forces arrived in South Vietnam, the government only controlled the cities. American troop levels peaked at 543,000 in April 1969. Additionally, there were also 50,000 South Korean combat troops, 7,500 Australian troops, 11,000 Thai troops, and 2,000 Filipino soldiers. However, both the USSR and China provided even more assistance to the Communist government in the north because they competed for influence in Vietnam. US troops did very little to alter the ground game in South Vietnam. Rather than winning over the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese, the USA was seen more and more as an occupying army. The US occupation of Vietnam only strengthened the power of the communists while the South Vietnamese government remained unviable. Most South Vietnamese were either indifferent towards the government or supported the Communists.

By 1967, public opinion globally and in the USA was turning against US involvement in South Vietnam (see Figure 11.3.2). From Sweden to India to Japan, large chunks of public opinion lauded North Vietnam as a heroic nation fighting for its independence. The North sought to overrun the South in early 1968 with the Tet Offensive. Although this attack failed, it was a major public relations nightmare for the US government. The communists overran the US embassy in Saigon and most Americans doubted that victory was possible in Vietnam. Most Americans viewed the South Vietnamese government as a puppet of US imperialism. Figure 11.3.2 captures this popular sentiment in a photo of two male protesters in Wichita, Kansas, taken in 1967. One man is wearing a sign that reads "Saigon Puppet" and another man is wearing a sign that reads "US Imperialism." The "Saigon Puppet's" hands are stretched out and the strings tied to his hands are controlled by by US imperialists. The Democrats lost the presidential election in 1968, but the new Republican government under Richard Nixon ran into the same problems. Communist morale was high, and the South Vietnamese government remained unpopular. The American public and Congress wanted to end the conflict. Consequently, the US government started to shift more of the combat responsibilities to the ARVN in a policy known as Vietnamization. The Nixon administration provided more than a million M-16 rifles as well as vehicles, planes, and helicopters. American aid also enabled South Vietnam to increase the ARVN from eight hundred fifty thousand soldiers to more than one million by 1971.

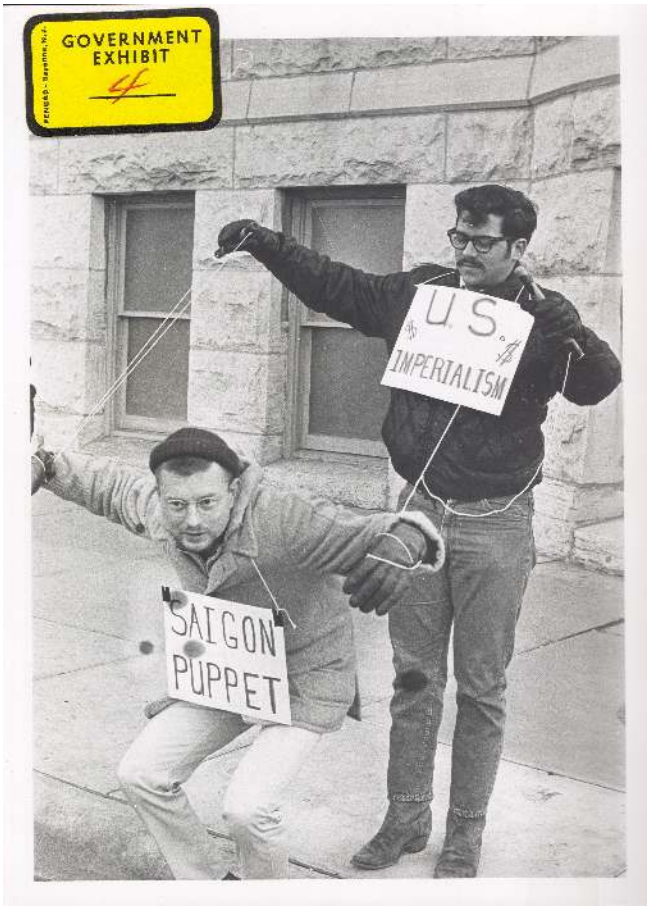

Figure 11.3.2: Vietnam War protesters in Wichita, Kansas, National Archives, in the Public Domain.

Figure 11.3.3: Why would US President Nixon support a dictatorship in South Vietnam? National Archives, in the Public Domain.

Nixon finally signed a peace accord in early 1973 which preserved the independence of South Vietnam. Figure 11.3.3 shows President Nixon and South Vietnamese dictator Nguyễn Văn Thiệu making a joint statement in June 1969,at Midway Island, about the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam. They are dressed in formal suits and standing outdoors in front of a microphone stand. Both presidents emphasized that Vietnamese troops would replace US troops, and this process became known as "Vietnamization."

US combat troops were out of Vietnam shortly afterwards. However, Nixon did not demand that the one hundred fifty thousand North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam withdraw. The US president knew that Vietnam would probably be unified under Communist rule, but he wanted time lag between the removal of U.S. troops and a communist takeover until he was out of office. Nixon did not want to go down in history as the president who lost Vietnam. Within less than a month after the ceasefire went into effect, conflict erupted throughout South Vietnam. Communists maintained and expanded their hold in the south as the ARVN continued to suffer from corruption, desertion, and poor leadership.

Overall, ARVN soldiers either surrendered or defected. The South Vietnamese faltered once the USA pulled out of Vietnam. Its economy had been on life support during the 1950s and 1960s. It had no real industrial base, poor infrastructure, and urban as well as rural poverty. The US kept the economy afloat with massive aid and the consumer spending of US military forces stationed in Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese worked directly or indirectly for the US military. As a result, unemployment and inflation soared when the US withdrew its forces.

Meanwhile, the US Congress began to cut funding for South Vietnam. It approved just $750 million in military and economic assistance. However, this amount was only half of the $1.5 billion which the president wanted and less than a third of the $2.3 billion Washington had spent on military aid alone in 1973. In 1975 the north took control of Saigon. Upon taking over, some historians have estimated that the communists executed as many as sixty-five thousand Southerners. The communists also sent at least two hundred thousand more to reeducation camps.

? Primary Source: The Pentagon Papers, 1971

The *Report of the Office of the Secretary of Defense Vietnam Task Force*, popularly known. As the *Pentagon Papers*, was released by Daniel Ellsberg who had worked on the report. This report documents US involvement in Vietnam, from 1945 to 1968. The *Pentagon Papers* revealed the secret working of the US government. It showed that the US government had consistently lied to the American people. Daniel Ellsberg was initially charged with conspiracy, espionage, and theft of government property for disclosing historical secrets. The charges were later dismissed. June 13, 2021, marks the 50th anniversary of the publication of this report in the *New York Times*.

Discussion Questions:

- Who was Daniel Ellsberg?
- What was the impact of the Pentagon Papers on public opinion?
- What was so shocking about the content in the Pentagon Papers? What did the documents reveal?
- What is the historical significance of the Pentagon Papers?

? Review Questions

- What factors account for the popular support for the Communists in Vietnam?
- How was the South Vietnamese government unviable?
- Why did the US seek to prop up the government the government of South Vietnam?

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11.4: Afghan-Soviet War- 1979-89

What Led to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan?

Afghanistan is a landlocked nation that is ethnically diverse, and strategically located at the crossroads of Asia and the Middle East. As seen in the map in Figure 11.4.1, Afghanistan shares a border with Pakistan in the south and east; in the west it shares a border with Iran; in the north it shares borders with Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan; in the northeast, it shares a border with China. Kabul is the capital and largest city in Afghanistan. The population of Afghanistan is multiethnic and multilingual. The map in Figure 11.4.2 shows the Afghan ethnic groups, which include Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek as well as smaller groups such as Aimak, Turkmen, and Baluchi. After the defeat of the British in the Anglo-Afghan Wars, Afghanistan became an independent nation, and a constitutional monarchy was established in 1926. During World War II, the Kingdom of Afghanistan, ruled by Zahir Shah, remained neutral and pursued a diplomatic policy of nonalignment. In 1964, King Zahir Shah permitted the growth of political parties that included the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). In 1967, the PDPA, which had close ties to the Soviet Union, split into two rival factions: the Khalq (Masses), headed by Nur Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin; and the Parcham, headed by Babrak Karmal.

Figure 11.4.1: Map of Afghanistan, CIA World Factbook, in the Public Domain.

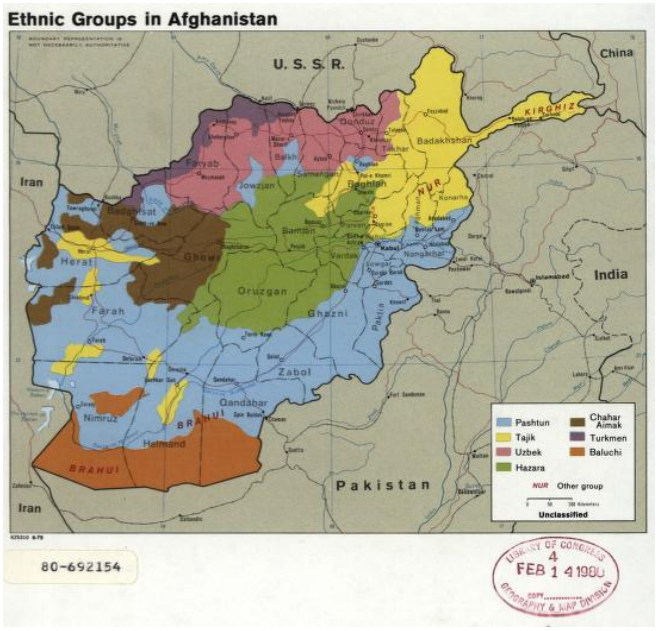

Figure 11.4.2: Ethnic Groups in Afghanistan, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

In 1973, while King Zahir Shah was receiving medical treatment in Italy, his cousin Mohammad Daoud Khan seized power through a nonviolent coup, abolished the monarchy and declared Afghanistan a republic. Mohammad Daoud Khan declared himself as the first president and prime minister of the new Republic of Afghanistan. Daoud Khan failed to carry out the badly needed social and economic reforms. In 1978, the government killed a prominent member of the PDPA and arrested several leaders of the PDPA. In response, Hafizullah Amin, Babrak Karmal, Nur Mohammad Taraki and other leaders of the PDPA who managed to remain at large organized a coup, assassinated Daoud Khan along with his family, and overthrew the government in April 1978. This bloody coup became known as the Saur Revolution. Taraki became the head of government and General Secretary of the PDPA and controlled the army. Hafizullah Amin took over as the prime minister. The country was renamed as the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Although the Afghan people revolted against the PDPA government and their socialist land reforms, the PDPA lasted in power in some form until 1992. In March 1979, Taraki was overthrown and killed. Hafizullah Amin named himself the chairman of the Revolutionary Council (head of state) and General Secretary of the PDPA (supreme leader). The Soviets were

not in favor of seeing Hafizullah Amin as the leader of the PDPA because he sought to reduce Afghan dependence on the Soviet Union. The Politburo had also opposed the removal of Taraki. In December 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan with the help of the Parcham faction and took complete political and military control of Afghanistan. Hafizullah Amin was killed along with his family and the Soviets installed Babrak Karmal as the new General Secretary of Afghanistan in 1980.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 triggered a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Soviet invasion was also met with widespread opposition from the Afghan people, who viewed it as an unwarranted act of aggression by a foreign power. Afghan resistance to Soviet occupation was fueled by a strong sense of nationalism, desire for self-determination, and anti-communism. The Soviets used brutal tactics, such as bombing and killing civilians, and never won the support of the Afghan people. The **Mujahideen** were a loosely organized coalition of Afghan rebels, mostly Pashtun, who fought against Soviet forces. They gained popular support by positioning themselves as defenders of anti-communist Afghan national sovereignty. In addition to their military activities, the Mujahideen also provided several social services, such as food distribution and healthcare, to poor people to gain loyalty and frame their struggle as a holy war against the cruel invaders. Figure 11.4.3 is a photo of a White House meeting of Mujahideen leaders with President Reagan in 1983. The Reagan Administration extended support to the Mujahideen because it was an anti-communist resistance group. President Reagan is dressed in a suit. There are five male leaders are wearing turbans and the traditional *peraahan tunbaan* and seated on either side of the US president. One female Afghan is seen wearing a head scarf and long dark coat.

Figure 11.4.3: White House meeting between President Reagan and Afghan Mujahideen, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum, in the Public Domain.

What Led to Soviet Withdrawal in 1989?

President Carter wrote a sharply worded letter to Premier Brezhnev denouncing Soviet aggression. In response to the Soviet invasion, the Carter administration began arming the Afghan resistance movement. The Carter administration also enacted economic sanctions and trade embargoes against the Soviet Union, called for a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, and stepped up its aid to the Afghan insurgents. The Reagan Administration inherited an active program that supplied covert military aid to the Mujahideen, which included the support of intelligence services of the UK, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, and China. This coordinated effort eventually led to Gorbachev's decision to end the war and withdraw from Afghanistan in 1989. The huge financial burden coupled with the massive loss of lives made the war unsustainable for the Soviets and eventually contributed to the collapse of the USSR itself in 1991. Overall, the war in Afghanistan contributed to a sense of disillusionment and weakness within the USSR, which undermined the government's ability to maintain control and ultimately contributed to the collapse of the USSR. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 was one of the biggest historic events of the twentieth century. The breakdown of the USSR was due to an aggregate of factors, some internal, and some foreign. However, among the many reasons for the fall of the Union, the invasion of Afghanistan was a contributing factor. The war in Afghanistan was the longest war in which Soviet troops

were involved. The Soviets were also not familiar with Afghan culture and society, both of which proved very difficult for the Soviets to deal with.

During the last four years of the war in Afghanistan, there was a profound break in Soviet establishments. The gap between the government and society was the main conflict. The non-Russian population of the Soviet Empire feared from the Soviet government and didn't trust them when their livelihoods were in jeopardy. The financial crisis of the USSR, the debilitated separation of the Soviet Union into independent republics, and a debilitating of its military security demonstrated that the Soviet could no longer afford to keep pace with the military expenditure of the United States. The withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan sent a message to other Soviet regions that Moscow would not be a solid accomplice in other Soviet-impacted nations. During the Cold War the Soviets constantly preached that they were supporting the developing countries to maintain their freedom. However, when the USSR invaded Afghanistan, people found that Russia was not a reliable ally. If the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, they could invade any other country as well. The occupation of Afghanistan caused irreversible internal conflicts between the Soviet republics and the Soviet government. By 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev took the position of general secretary in the Community Party, Soviet economic and military resources had been heavily drained.

In Afghanistan, a civil war broke out after the Soviets withdrew. The Taliban, an Islamic fundamentalist group supported by Pakistan, seized control of Afghanistan, and later provided Osama bin Laden with a training base from which to launch terrorist operations worldwide during the 1990s, the US took a back seat in Afghanistan. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 the US invaded Afghanistan and remained there for two decades. The US invasion ended the reign of the Taliban. In November 2001 the United States and representatives of regional powers, most notably Iran and Russia, selected Hamid Karzai as President of the Transitional Administration of Afghanistan. Subsequently, the traditional Afghan procedure of *Loya Jirga* was employed to choose the President, and a US-style constitution was promulgated. This was followed by a presidential election in 2004, and the election of the Parliament. In 2022, during the presidency of Joe Biden, the US finally pulled American troops out of Afghanistan.

? Review Questions

- Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan?
- Why were most Afghans opposed to communist rule in their country?

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11.5: Civil War in El Salvador- 1979-92

US Involvement in Latin America

As the largest investor in Latin America, US involvement in Latin American affairs during the twentieth century was extraordinarily deep, especially after Cuba's alignment with the Soviet Union in the 1960s. The politics of the Cold War left no place for neutrality. American policymakers tied economic development to the National Security Doctrine because they feared that communism would thrive in poor Latin American nations. No Latin American nation is a member of NATO. During the 1950s and 1960s, many Latin American nations witnessed political mobilizations, anti-government protests, emergence of guerrilla and social movements led by peasants, unionists, students, and women. US diplomats worried that anti-government uprisings would eventually close markets. Efforts to maintain its hegemony over resources and markets led the US support to overt and covert operations that suppressed demands for reform, labor rights, or better wages and living conditions. Although the goal of US policies was to contain communism, there were many countries where U.S intervention was not based on a threat from the Soviet Union and was against the will of citizens of those countries (for example, Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala).

The US considered Latin America as part of its sphere of influence and supported pro-American governments to counter the spread of communism in the region. US intervention was based on three main considerations: counterinsurgency, geopolitics, and economic development. Counterinsurgency blurred the lines between internal and external enemies. Rather than addressing the concerns of citizens and demands for socioeconomic reforms, Latin American elites, with US support, became fearful of poor people. Consequently, poor citizens became victims of state violence because they were seen as hostile and dangerous to the social order. In 1946 the US established the School of the Americas (SOA) for the formal training of Latin American military officers; the training school was renamed the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation in 2001. The founding of the SOA was consistent with a US Cold War policy that favored the installation of military governments as a way of maintaining order.

Although the United States boasted that it had replaced blatant military intervention and "dollar diplomacy" with a "Good Neighbor Policy," nations like Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras were still thoroughly dominated by the United Fruit Company (UFC). After World War II, the Dulles brothers became leaders in developing U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. John Foster Dulles (seen in Figure 11.5.1) was a corporate lawyer who had helped negotiate huge land giveaways to UFC by the governments of Guatemala and Honduras. After serving as a Senator from New York, Dulles was appointed secretary of State by Dwight Eisenhower in 1953. His brother Allen Dulles was on UFC's board of directors before he served as President Eisenhower's CIA Director. Figure 11.5.1 is a photograph of President Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles seated at a table. They seem to be discussing the documents on the table. The UFC had close ties to the Eisenhower Administration, and the New York law firm of John Foster Dulles, namely Sullivan and Cromwell, represented UFC, and Allen Dulles was a shareholder. In 1954 the democratically elected government of Guatemala contemplated seizing some of the vast tracts of land the United Fruit Company had acquired but was not using. The government planned to buy back the land from UFC and implement land reform that would benefit poor peasants. The Guatemalan government offered UFC a price for the lands it took back based on the values claimed in the corporation's tax filings. The Dulles brothers accused the Guatemalan government of having close ties with the Soviets and sent in the CIA to overthrow it in a military coup. This was the first successful US overthrow of a Latin American government during the Cold War. Guatemalans resisted the new regime and the country fell into a civil war that lasted from 1960 to 1996 and killed up to 200,000 people. Overall, US support for Guatemalan dictators was part of its broader Cold War strategy, driven by concerns about strategic, economic, and ideological interests.

Figure 11.5.1: President Dwight Eisenhower with John Foster Dulles, National Archives, in the Public Domain.

Leaders such as Getúlio Vargas in Brazil, Juan Peron in Argentina, or Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico, who nationalized the Mexican oil industry, were not marxist, or even particularly socialist in their orientation or policies. Import Substitution Industrialization was a *capitalist approach* to reducing dependency, and even when nations like Mexico nationalized natural resource extraction, they usually compensated foreign companies for the assets they were expropriating and then they ran the extractive industries as businesses in the world economy. Starting in the 1960s, the influence of the Cuban Revolution, Che Guevara, Liberation Theology, dependency theory, and guerrilla warfare intensified US scrutiny. US efforts shifted to focus on counterrevolutionary movements and development programs. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy launched the Alliance for Progress for economic development. It was the biggest US aid program toward the developing world until then. Although the charter had impressive goals and called for substantial reform of Latin American institutions, meaningful political and socioeconomic reforms remained illusory. Because Alliance funds were also used to create counterinsurgency programs and to train paramilitary forces to counter the spread of communist influence in Latin America, many Latin Americans remained deeply skeptical of American motives. The 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco and the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, undermined much of the credibility of Kennedy's claim that the US was acting without self-interest in Latin America. Despite spending more than a billion dollars in its first year, not a single Latin American nation committed itself to a comprehensive development program. By the end of the 1960s, thirteen constitutional governments were replaced by military dictatorships. The Alliance for Progress was dissolved in 1973 by the Organization of American States (OAS). The sections on Argentina and El Salvador explain this regional shift to authoritarianism and state repression and shed light on human rights abuses committed by governments against large parts of their populations.

Soviet Influence in Latin America

During the Cold War, the USSR had largely accepted US dominance in Latin America, but the USSR did not hesitate to develop ties with leftist parties and capitalize on two issues in the region: capitalist exploitation and foreign domination. Unlike the US, the USSR was not able to develop a consistently favorable trade balance with Latin American nations. Soviet trade in Latin America consisted mostly of Soviet purchases, especially from Cuba. The Cuban Revolution of 1959 was a watershed on Soviet relations with Latin America. Its biggest victory was the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba, which was unexpectedly achieved through Fidel Castro. However, that victory was maintained at a huge cost to the Soviet economy. The USSR developed an expansive network of communist parties throughout the Western Hemisphere. Although that was a big achievement for the Soviets, no communist party seized control of government by force in Latin America. The revolutionary parties that took power were radical nationalist, not Marxist-Leninist in their origins.

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Civil War in El Salvador: 1979 to 1992

Figure 11.5.2: Map of El Salvador, Pressenza, is licensed under CC BY.

El Salvador is the smallest, but most densely populated Central American country. Figure 11.5.2 is an outline map of Central America that shows the location of El Salvador, and its capital city San Salvador is marked with a large star in the map. It is the only Central American nation that does not have a Caribbean coast. There are several volcanoes, some are still active, in Salvador, and that explains why it is also called the "Land of Volcanoes." The volcanic ash has made the soil fertile for agricultural production. Salvadoran coffee beans are of the highest quality and considered to be one of the most flavorful. Coffee production started in the late nineteenth century and became the nation’s primary export crop by 1920. Coffee production was controlled by a small elite (aka *Las Catorce*, translated as fourteen families) that owned the best agricultural land. Gradually this powerful group expanded its control over banking, industry, construction, media services, etc. By 1970, El Salvador became the fourth largest coffee exporter in the world, but by then six families owned as much land as 80% of the rural population combined. The privatization of communal lands owned by indigenous peoples led to the concentration of land in the hands of a few wealthy families. This small but powerful propertied elite group, in cahoots with the military, did not implement socioeconomic reforms

and became increasingly repressive. ORDEN (Democratic Nationalist Organization) was created in the early 1960s as a rural vigilante/paramilitary force to suppress opposition to the government. As income disparity increased, many peasants, urban workers, teachers, and community leaders began to organize and demand reforms and better living conditions. Figure 11.5.3 is a photo that shows several Salvadoran women standing on both sides of a long narrow table sorting and processing coffee beans. Although coffee became one of the major export crops and generated a lot of wealth to the landed elite, the majority of plantation workers did not benefit from the exports.

Figure 11.5.3: Salvadoran women processing green coffee beans in Ahuachapan, The Cockroach via Flickr, in the Public Domain.

As public discontent grew, popular support for leftist guerilla groups increased. In 1972, in the face of 60 percent inflation and 30 percent unemployment, a coalition of opposition parties (UNO), spanning the ideological spectrum from moderate-right Christian Democrats to more moderate-left, to the Communist left supported a centrist businessman named José Napoleon Duarte to run against the oligarchy's candidate Colonel Arturo Armando Molina. Although Duarte won the election by some 72,000 votes, the electoral commission declared Colonel Arturo Molina as the winner. To prevent Duarte from contesting the results, the military arrested, tortured, and exiled Duarte to Venezuela, where he remained until his return to El Salvador in the late 1970s. To defuse domestic discontent, Col. Molina hosted the Miss Universe pageant in 1975, which cost $30 million. There were widespread protests, but the military responded by firing on protestors, and killed 37 people in the days leading up to the pageant.

Tensions increased after another fraudulent election in 1977 that established General Carlos Romero in power. On February 15, 1977, the police and military opened fire on a peaceful protest in San Salvador and killed over 200 people as they scrambled for shelter inside the cathedral on the central plaza. This horrific event was captured on film by the international press and was shown on the nightly news throughout the world. This event was pivotal in the life of El Salvador's leading Catholic cleric, Archbishop Oscar Romero (seen in Figure 11.5.4). Oscar Romero was a Salvadoran Catholic priest who ws ordained in Rome in 1942. Figure 11.5.4 is a photo of Oscar Romero taken in 1942. He is wearing a long coat and holding a hat in his right hand while standing in a balcony overlooking St. Peter's Square in Vatican City. After Romero returned to El Salvador, he steadily climbed the clerical ladder and was appointed archbishop in 1977.

Figure 11.5.4: Archbishop Oscar Romero, Arzobispado de San Salvador, in the Public Domain.

In 1979, President Carlos Romero was overthrown by a military coup and the Revolutionary Government Junta (JRG), took power. The Carter administration supported the JRG, despite the confirmed human rights abuses committed by the Salvadoran military in the name of preventing the spread of communism in El Salvador. In 1980 Archbishop Oscar Romero called for an end to US military aid to his government which was using foreign aid to murder innocent civilians. He also appealed to individual Salvadoran soldiers to disobey their superior officers and to stop the killing. Soon after that, on March 24, 1980, Romero was assassinated by a death squad during mass in church. Since the order to kill such a prominent figure in Salvadoran society would have had to be cleared at the very top of the military chain of command, it has been assumed that it came come from Roberto D'Aubuisso, the head of the far-right-wing ARENA party (National Republican Alliance).

By the mid-1980s support for the Salvadoran government and military, estimated at over $200 million, was highly unpopular among US citizens. Not only the expense, but the reports of human rights abuses, news footage of atrocities committed in broad daylight, and the deaths of Catholic workers and priests, as well as two USAID technicians who were shot execution-style while sitting in a downtown hotel café. Within a 12-month period in 1980–81, death squads reportedly killed 30,000 civilians. Death squad violence, growing malnutrition and misery from failed land policies, the battle between the government and opposition forces, and extremely high rates of unemployment spurred more than 500,000 Salvadorans to migrate to the US. Most entered illegally, settling in Los Angeles and other California cities.

In 1980 several guerilla groups came together and formed a coalition named after a martyr from the 1930s, Farabundo Martí. They organized under the banner of the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front), with an above-ground wing, the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) based in Costa Rica. The rebels demanded land reform, nationalization of key industries, and an end to US influence in the country. The FMLN struggled against enormous odds for over a decade and fought the Salvadoran army which was trained and funded by the US, which feared that the Marxist-oriented rebels would establish a communist government. The FMLN guerrillas fought with weapons and uniforms taken from fallen soldiers. Although the guerrillas received support from Cuba, Nicaragua, and the USSR, and enjoyed the support of Salvadoran civilians, the FMLN never had the resources to launch a full-scale assault to take control of the government.

The Salvadoran civil war was one of the bloodiest wars of the twentieth century. It is estimated that over 75,000 people were killed in the war and over a million were displaced from a nation with a total population of approximately 5 million. The civil war ended in a stalemate. Finally in 1992, a UN negotiated settlement, Chapultepec Peace Accords signed in Mexico City, ended the war and paved the way for elections. In 1992 the FMLN disarmed and emerged in 1994 as a legal left-wing party, the second largest, in the national assembly. As part of the settlement, the Salvadoran government and the FMLN agreed to the establishment of a U.N.-appointed Truth Commission to investigate the abuses committed during the war. The Truth Commission's report attributed the overwhelming majority of the human rights abuses to the Salvadoran armed forces and the paramilitaries. The UN played an unprecedented and key role in El Salvador's peace process.

Review Questions

- What caused the civil war in El Salvador?
- Why did the United States support a repressive government during the civil war?
- Who was Oscar Romero? Why was he assassinated?

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11.6: Cuban Revolution- 1959

How Did Fidel Castro Gain Power?

During the 1950s, Cuba had one of the highest standards of living in Latin America. Women gained suffrage in the 1930s and Havana had hosted more than one Pan-American conference promoting women's rights. Cuban universities were among the oldest and most prestigious in the Americas. Havana was a major cosmopolitan center that attracted mainstream tourists, intellectuals, and artists, as well as those seeking disreputable entertainment. What made Cuba ripe for revolution was a combination of grievances: uneven income distribution, political corruption, and privileges for foreigners and their companies. Fidel Castro's famous speech at the UN noted that 85 percent of Cuba's small farmers paid rent to foreign-owned corporations, including the infamous United Fruit Company and the West India Company. Most of the land remained uncultivated, and the small number of factories engaged in processing food, tobacco, textiles, lumber, and sugar sent those goods abroad, forcing Cuba to import even many basic foodstuffs. Cuba did not control fishing rights off its shores and Cubans were hungry because seafood was controlled by foreign-owned companies. The people who contributed to Cuba's wealth lacked basic human services. Infant mortality, due to many preventable maladies such as tapeworms, parasites, influenza, and dysentery, was high. It is important to note that the Afro-Cuban population was disproportionately poor and marginalized because they did not have sufficient access to medical care, social services, or education.

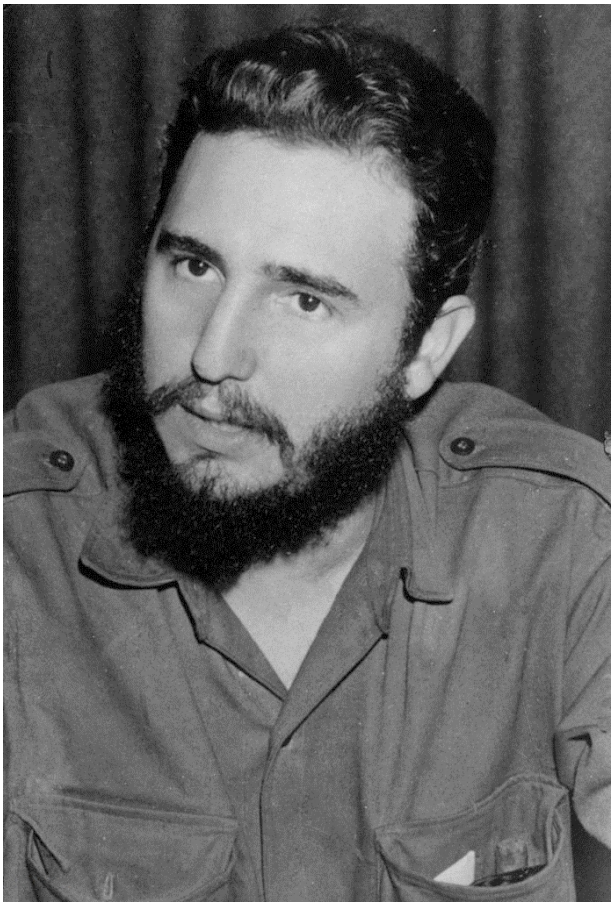

Figure 11.6.1: Fidel Castro, Mondadori Publishers, in the Public Domain.

Figure 11.6.1 is a headshot of Fidel Castro taken in the 1950s. He has a moustache and beard, and is wearing a military uniform. Fidel Castro is one of the most controversial political leaders of the twentieth century. His fans admire him for leading a successful revolution that overthrew a brutal dictator and remember him an advocate for social justice, but his critics remember him as a liar and repressive dictator. Fidel Castro's political career in Cuba spans over 60 years.

On January 8, 1959, revolutionaries, led by Fidel Castro, ousted the corrupt president Fulgencio Batista. Fidel Castro, Che Guevarra, and the guerilla fighters triumphantly drove through the streets of Havana. The United States, which had long supported

Batista, immediately expressed sympathy for Castro's new government and granted diplomatic recognition. But President Dwight Eisenhower and members of his administration were wary. The revolutionary government soon instituted leftist economic policies centered on agrarian reform, land redistribution, and the nationalization of private enterprises. The majority of Cubans who fled were white and wealthy and many settled in Miami, Florida, and other American cities.

The relationship between Cuba and the United States deteriorated rapidly after Fidel Castro became Marxist-Leninism's poster boy. On October 19, 1960, the United States instituted a near-total trade embargo to economically isolate the Cuban regime, and in January 1961, the two nations broke off formal diplomatic relations. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), wrongly assumed that the Castro government lacked popular support and that Cuban citizens would revolt if given the opportunity, began to recruit members of the exile community to participate in an invasion of the island. On April 16, 1961, an amateur invasion force consisting primarily of Cuban émigrés landed on Giron Beach at the Bay of Pigs. Cuban soldiers and civilians quickly overwhelmed the exiles, many of whom were taken prisoner. The Cuban government's success at thwarting the Bay of Pigs invasion legitimized the new regime and was a tremendous embarrassment for the Kennedy administration.

As the political relationship between Cuba and the United States disintegrated, the Castro government became more closely aligned with the Soviet Union. Cuba and the Soviet Union signed a secret agreement in July 1962 to place Soviet missiles in Cuba, only 90 miles from US shores. This strengthening of ties set the stage for the Cuban Missile Crisis, perhaps the most dramatic foreign policy crisis in the history of the United States. Figure 11.6.2 is a CIA map of Cuba with stars, dots, and circles drawn to show the locations of both confirmed and possible sites for Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAM) that were detected by US Intelligence. The Soviets decided to place missiles in Cuba partly in response to the United States' longtime maintenance of a nuclear arsenal in Turkey and at the invitation of the Cuban government, the Soviet Union deployed nuclear missiles in Cuba. As shown in Figure 11.6.2, American spy planes detected the construction of missile launch sites. The US Senate authorized military exercises in the Caribbean, and on October 22, President Kennedy addressed the American people to alert them to this threat. Over the course of the next several days, the world watched in horror as the United States and the Soviet Union hovered on the brink of nuclear war. Finally, on October 28, the Soviet Union agreed to remove its missiles from Cuba in exchange for a U.S. agreement to remove its missiles from Turkey and a formal pledge that the United States would not invade Cuba, and the crisis was resolved peacefully.

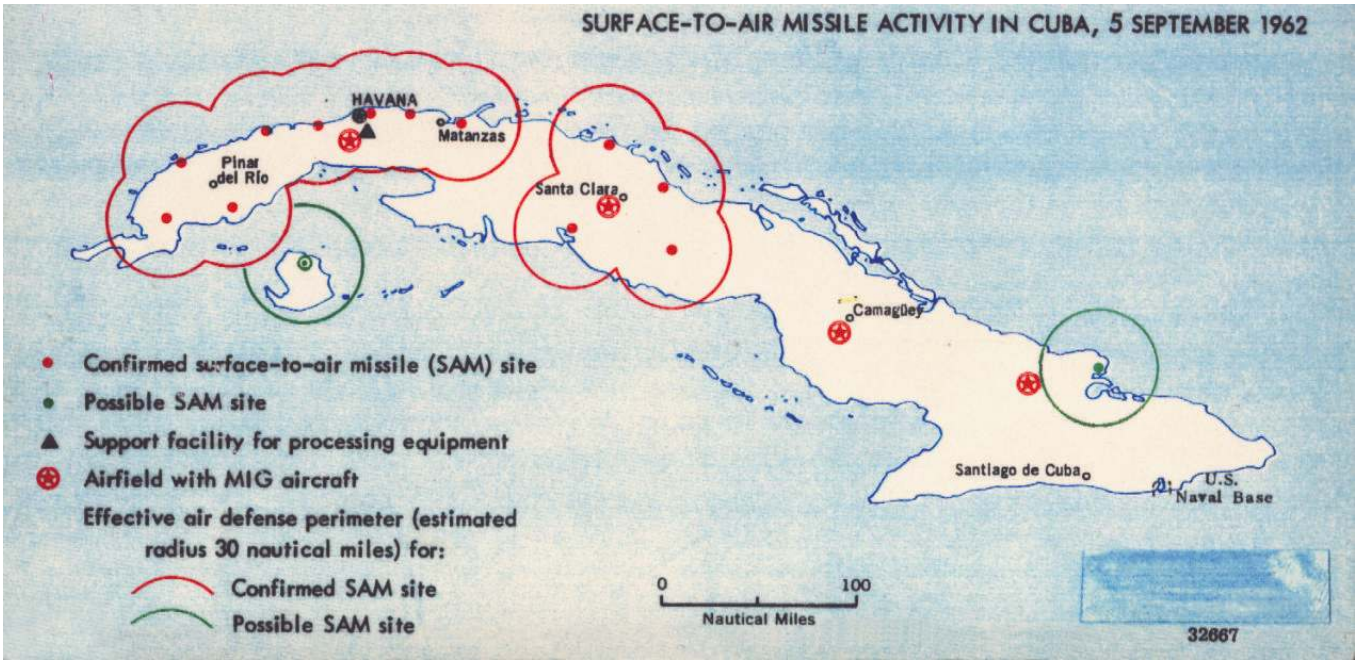

Figure 11.6.2: Surface to Air Missile Activity in Cuba in 1962, The CIA via Flickr, in the Public Domain.

Cuba joined COMECON in 1972 and implemented its first five-year plan in 1975. The US maintained its economic blockade, but Cuba joined the International Sugar Organization and the Latin American & Caribbean Sugar Exporters' Association and sold about 41% of its sugar to western capitalist nations. Towards the end of the 1970s, the Cuban government encouraged foreign investment from capitalist nations.

Revolutionary Reforms

Cuban revolutionaries enacted anti-discriminatory legislation and redistributive reforms that especially benefited women and Afro-Cubans. The government provided free healthcare, education up to university level, complete freedom of choice in abortion and birth control, social security, childcare, maternity leave, rent, parity in pay scales, etc. Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolutionaries championed social and racial justice at a time when Jim Crow segregationist laws were just starting to be dismantled in the US. The abolition of racial inequalities was a central goal of the revolution and institutionalized racism was banned in Cuba. By 1980 Cuba was able to offer world-class healthcare and Afro-Cubans were among the longest living and healthiest. This was a remarkable achievement considering that Cuba was the last country in Latin America to abolish slavery (1886) and a society so hung up on whiteness that even President Batista was denied membership in the Havana Yacht Club because he was a mulatto. After World War II, South Africa and the US were the only independent countries with *de jure* racial segregation. The Cuban revolutionary government consistently criticized the US for failing to address institutionalized racism. Cuba famously provided refuge to several high-profile African Americans sought by the FBI. Women were mobilized from the earliest days of the Revolution and obtained rights, such as the 1975 Cuban Family Code, which outlawed discrimination against women and girls, even within the family structure. These are remarkable achievements considering that Fidel Castro and the revolutionary government endured great obstacles, such as the US blockade and demise of the USSR, which was Cuba's lifeline to fuel and resources.

Although the revolutionary government implemented several reforms to alleviate institutionalized racism, the socioeconomic reforms had their shortcomings. Fidel Castro and the Cuban leadership were never without flaws or free from mistakes. Fidel and the revolutionaries inherited widespread racism and sexism. The revolutionary government strongly condemned, and outlawed both racism and sexism, but did not fully eliminate discrimination. Their analyses of social issues focused on either race or gender rather than intersectionality. Fidel Castro also prematurely declared that institutional racism had been eliminated during the 1960s and prohibited discussions about race. In 2000, Fidel Castro acknowledged the mistakes of the revolutionary government and officially reopened the issue of race as a subject for public discussion and improvement. More recently the Cuban government acknowledged the prevailing legacies of racism and has launched programs to combat discrimination.

During the "**Special Period**," Cubans, especially Afro-Cubans, struggled due to regular power outages that shut down factories and supply shortages became part of daily living. Remittances primarily benefited white Cubans because the majority who emigrated were white. Castro's internationalism and contributions to anti-colonialist movements significantly impacted the lives of millions of people throughout the world. He focused largely on medical and educational collaborations in the fight against imperialism. While many white Americans associate Fidel Castro with communism and dictatorship, many African Americans associate Castro with liberation citing Castro's meeting with Malcolm X and granting political asylum to Assata Shakur as examples. Afro-Cubans are among the healthiest and longest living Blacks. Within the Black community globally, Castro's contributions to anti-imperialist struggles are praised. In this context, it is important to acknowledge that American heroes don't exactly match the superstars of the non-European world or marginalized peoples in the US.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, Castro is regarded as a reliable friend and partner. Since the early 1960s, Cuba has offered thousands of educational scholarships to students from Angola and the Caribbean. Cuba's educational internationalism was extended to American students as well. Nearly 2,400 American students, mostly non-white and from low-income households, were enrolled in Cuban universities during the 2014–2015 academic year. Castro was especially known for his responses to international crises: the Henry Reeve Brigade, which included more than 1,200 Cuban doctors and nurses, were among the first responders during the earthquake Haiti (2010) and West African Ebola outbreak (2014). The US turned down Cuba's offer of medical assistance following Hurricane Katrina's devastation of the Gulf Coast (2005). One of the biggest flaws of the revolutionary government was that Cuba had only one head of state, Fidel Castro, from 1959 until 2006, when his brother Raul Castro assumed power after Fidel fell ill. In February 2008 Fidel Castro surrendered his position and Raul was elected president the following week. Fidel Castro died in November 2016 at the age of 90.

? Review Questions

- What were the principal achievements of the Cuban Revolution?
- Why was the failed Bay of Pigs invasion an important turning point in US-Cuban relations?
- How was the Cuban Missile Crisis resolved?
- What impact did the revolution have on social issues such as racism and sexism in Cuba

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11.7: From Democracy to Dictatorship in Chile, 1948-1988

The End of the Popular Front (1948-1952)

After World War II, there was a democratic wave and most of South America became somewhat democratic. However, as the Cold War heated up, the South American democracies fell one by one. For the most part, South American elites and the US government supported anti-Communist dictators who they believed would better protect their interests.

The stability of the Chilean political system during 1932-1964 stemmed from the ability of the *hacienda* owners to control their *inquilinos* in countryside at election time. There was no secret ballot, and *inquilinos* were forced to vote for the candidates chosen by the *hacienda* owners. Chilean elites also had a tremendous amount of power, because they controlled the military. The officers came from the ranks of the wealthy. Beginning in 1938, elites allowed the Popular Front, which included Socialists and Communists, to govern if these elites were allowed to maintain their dominance in the countryside. This gave elites power in the legislature the power to veto any laws that threatened their interests.

By 1946 the Chilean economy was in a slump, and the Popular Front government focused more economic growth rather than reducing poverty. For the working class, serious problems with health, nutrition, housing, and infant mortality remained. Industrialization failed to diminish dependence on foreign technology or to provide substantial employment. Like more Latin American countries, Chile continued to rely on low value primary product exports which consisted mostly of copper. The Popular Front government sought closer ties with the US and access to loans to further industrialization. For this reason, the government yielded to US pressure by banning the Communist Party and repressing blue-collar workers.

Economic Stagnation and the Presidency of Eduardo Frei (1952-1970)

Chile could not overcome economic underdevelopment, because there was too much poverty. US companies controlled the copper mines and sent profits back. They did not reinvest, and production had been stagnant. Agriculture was another major problem. 1.5% of the farmers controlled 70% of the land, and much of the land was not cultivated. In fact, Chile imported over $100 million in food annually by the 1960s. The governments of 1952-1964 were unable to stimulate growth, because they did not address copper or agriculture.

Overall, the poor economic performance of agriculture delegitimized the *hacienda* owners who symbolized inefficiency and exploitation. In 1958, the reformist Christian Democratic Party united with the Socialists and passed a law which introduced the secret ballot and legalized the Communist Party. Now *inquilinos* could vote for any candidate that they wanted. The Socialists selected Salvador Allende as their candidate for the presidential election that year. With promise for peasant unionization and land redistribution, Allende did extremely well with the *inquilinos* and came within 33,000 to winning the presidency. Chile was not on the radar of the US government in its effort to contain communism. By 1961, the elites lost failed to gain one third of the seats in the legislature and their veto power.

Allende ran and lost for president to the Christian Democratic candidate Eduard Frei in 1964. Expectations for Frei were high, because he promised to redistribute land to 100,000 families and double copper production. However, many of the investments made by Frei were long term investments which would not materialize until after 1970. Copper production did not increase, and the majority of Chileans supported nationalization. Agriculture production declined by 16.3 % and less than 30,000 families received land. However, Frei gave peasants the right to form unions and go strike. During 1964-1967, there was massive mobilization of the peasants by Marxist and Catholic labor organizations.

The Rise and Fall of Salvador Allende

In 1970, Salvador Allende finally won the presidency by only 40,000 votes. Additionally, his coalition of Socialists and Communists did not have control over legislature once Christian Democrats and elites united against him. Similar to Frei, Allende wanted to address copper and agriculture. The government, with unanimous support, nationalized the copper mines without any compensation to the US companies. However, copper production plummeted, because foreign technicians left and the US would not supply machinery or spare parts. Allende sought to once and for all destroy *haciendas*. The problem was that land was seized by peasants which disrupted production. The amount of land cultivated fell by one fifth and wheat production shrunk by one-third.

For the most part, Allende's government brought a great deal of instability. Land was expropriated and factories were taken over without the approval of congress. Allende supported policies that would not create a unified block against his government and he did not want to antagonize the factory owners. Nevertheless, many Socialists wanted a complete government takeover of the economy and encouraged workers and peasants to seize property. Only rarely were troops sent in to remove occupying peasants or factory workers. By 1973, prices had gone up despite government efforts to keep them low, because wholesalers and retailers horded goods, truck owners refused to deliver products, and business-led strikes paralyzed the economy. The USA provided $8 million in covert operations to finance this economic breakdown. Congress then called on the military to restore the constitution.

On September 11, 1973 the Allende government was overthrown in a military coup which resulted in the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. This new regime closed down the legislature, banned political parties, and suspended civil rights. The new government called itself a ruling military junta or council but Pinochet headed this junta which had a member of each branch of the military as a representative. Figure 11.7.1 shows this junta members all wearing military uniforms. Pictured in this photo from 1985 from left to right: Rodolfo Stange Oecklers (Head of the national police), Jose Toribio Merino Castro (Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Navy) Agusto Pinochet (President of the Republic of Chile) Fernando Matthei Aubel (Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Air Force), and Cesar Benavides Escobar (Representative of the Army).

It is estimated that over 2,000 people were killed. Pinochet announced that the military rule would last no less than five years. A secret police force, known as the National Directorate of Intelligence, engaged in torture and had a network of informants throughout society. Under Pinochet, exports became more diversified, and there was high economic growth but lower real wages and declining social services. Pinochet slashed public spending on education and healthcare by 27%. The government focused on exports and removed protections on industry. As factories closed down, unemployment and poverty increased dramatically.

Figure 11.7.1: Military Junta of Chile in 1985, Photographer Unknown, Ministry of Foreign Relations, CC BY

In 1988, an election was scheduled for the voters to determine if they wanted Pinochet to serve as president for an eight-year term. A united opposition to Pinochet formed. After 1973, most Chilean Socialists became more moderate democratic socialists. Many had fled to Eastern Europe but were unimpressed after they saw how undemocratic these communist societies were. This change allowed for a strong alliance to be formed between the socialists and the Christian Democrats. Additionally, many elites pushed for

congressional elections and the legalization of parties. However, the economy was doing well, and Pinochet was confident he could win in a clean election. On election night, 54% of Chileans voted “NO” for eight more years of Pinochet as president. Chile then became a democracy.

? Review Questions

- How was there instability in Chile before 1973?
- What were the key features of the Pinochet dictatorship?

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11.8: Angolan Civil War- 1975-2002

Anti-Colonial Movements in Africa

While the resistance movements in Latin America challenged US dominance, the anti-colonial movements in Africa were primarily focused on achieving independence from European colonial powers. Africa had been the main target of the European imperialism of the late nineteenth century. The Scramble for Africa was both rapid (within two decades, between the 1880s and 1902) and total, with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia. After World War II, almost every African country gained independence just as quickly; the European empires in Africa collapsed just as rapidly as they emerged. Independence from European colonialism in Africa and Asia improved living conditions for most people. However, the anti-colonial struggles were bloody and did not lead to economic freedom. Instead, the new world order transformed the elites of the newly independent nations into partners to create markets for goods and supply cheap labor and resources.

In West Africa, Kwame Nkrumah not only successfully led Ghana to independence in 1957 after a peaceful independence movement and negotiations with the British but also founded a movement called Pan-Africanism in which, he hoped, the nations of Africa might join in a “United States of Africa” that would achieve parity with the other great powers of the world to the betterment of Africans everywhere. His vision was of a united African league, possibly even a single nation, whose collective power, wealth, and influence would ensure that outside powers would never again dominate Africans. While that vision did not come to pass, the concept of pan-Africanism was still vitally important as an inspiration for other African independence movements at the time.

In Kenya, in contrast, hundreds of thousands of white colonists were not interested in independence from Britain. By 1952, a complex web of nationalist rebels, impoverished villagers and farmers, and counter-insurgent fighters plunged the country into a civil war. The British and native white Kenyans reacted to the uprising by creating concentration camps, imprisoning rebels, and slowly starving them to death in the hills. The rebels, disparagingly referred to as “Mau Maus” (meaning something like "hill savages"), in turn, attacked white civilians, in many cases murdering them outright. Finally, after 11 years of war, Kenya was granted its independence and elected a former insurgent leader as its first president. Ironically, while British forces were in a dominant position militarily, the British state was financially over-extended. Thus, Britain granted Kenyan independence in 1963.

Civil War in Angola: 1975–2002

Angola is a large resource-rich African nation. Unfortunately, Angola’s natural resources (oil, iron, copper, bauxite, diamonds, and uranium) also sustained Africa’s longest and bloodiest war since World War II, from 1975 to 2002. Angola was a Portuguese colony. Figure 11.8.1 is a map of Angola and shows the location of its capital city Luanda on the Atlantic coast. On April 25, 1974, the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (AFM) overthrew Portugal’s Prime Minister Marcello Caetano in a mostly bloodless coup and ended Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. In 1974, Angola’s three main political parties, the **Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)** led by Agostinho Neto, **National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA)** led by Holden Roberto, and **National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)** led by Jonas Savimbi met with Portuguese representatives and signed the Alvor Agreement, which created a transitional government. Although a power-sharing arrangement was agreed upon, power struggles ensued almost immediately after the withdrawal of the Portuguese. The Angola crisis of 1974–1975 ultimately developed into a Cold War battleground as the superpowers and their allies delivered military assistance to their preferred clients. The map in Figure 11.8.1 also shows the location of the city of Huambo in central Angola, which became the headquarters of UNITA during the civil war.

Figure 11.8.1: Map of Angola, Pressenza, is licensed under CC BY.

Angola attained official independence on 11 November 1975, but over five hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule resulted in the politicization of ethnicity by combining and placing vastly differing ethnicities under one centrally administered colonial territory The Portuguese left Angola without supervising elections and did not hand over power to any one party. Consequently, the common anti-colonial goal was abandoned. Starting in 1975, the three dominant liberation movements engaged in a struggle for power. This was the beginning of a bloody civil war that lasted until 2002.

The United States supplied aid and training for both the FNLA and UNITA while troops from Zaire assisted Holden Roberto and his fighters. China, also, sent military instructors to train the FNLA. The Soviet Union provided military training and equipment for the MPLA. The MPLA also had long-established relations with Fidel Castro's Cuba. UNITA, which enjoyed U.S. support, approached the Apartheid government in South Africa for military reinforcement. The U.S. Government had encouraged the South African intervention but downplayed its connection with the Apartheid regime. The initial stages of the war saw victories for the MPLA, which took over the capital and established a de facto government. But fighting intensified in the mid-to-late 1980s, culminating in the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

As the Cold War wound down, a series of international talks, including the Lusaka Accords signed in 1994, paved the way for a ceasefire in Angola along with conditions for the departure of South African and Cuban forces from Angola and a political transition to multi-party elections under UN supervision. The Lusaka Accords were signed in November 1994. In December 1998, after a tenuous four-year ceasefire, the accords collapsed, and the country plunged back into full-scale war. In 2002, government forces killed Jonas Savimbi. The assassination of Savimbi led to negotiations between UNITA and the MPLA, resulting in a peace agreement in April 2002 and ended the bloody 27-year civil war.

The MPLA remains a ruling party in Angolan politics. Although most of the infrastructure damaged by the war has been rebuilt, the scars of the conflict are still present. Today Angola ranks as one of the lowest in world ratings in terms of human development, as less than 40% of the population has access to clean water and sanitation. The generation born in 1975 has known nothing but war for 27 years, while almost one million people died, and hundreds of thousands have been physically and psychologically maimed. Four million people have been displaced, and 27 years of war have meant that almost every single Angola victim of disrupted family life.

? Review Questions

- Why didn't the sudden collapse of the Portuguese empire in Angola lead to democracy in Angola?
- Who was Agostinho Neto?
- In what ways did South Africa and Cuba act as proxies of the superpowers in Angola?
- How decisive was the Cuban intervention for the ultimate success of the MPLA in Angola?

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11.9: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

End of the Cold War

By 1970, the United States began to run massive trade deficits. The value of American exports dropped, and the prices of its imports skyrocketed. Coupled with the huge cost of the Vietnam War and the rise of oil-producing states in the Middle East, growing trade deficits sapped the United States' dominant position in the global economy. President Ronald Reagan entered office as a committed Cold Warrior. He believed it was the duty of the United States to speed up the inevitable demise of the Soviet Union. The Reagan Doctrine expanded the defense budget and provided support to anticommunist forces everywhere in the world. Yet, ironically, the Cold War came to an end as a result of diplomatic negotiations, a strategy Reagan had once scorned.

The economic shocks of the 1970s and 1980s made promises untenable for both sides: energy and financial markets placed immense pressure on governments. Rather than make promises, political leaders were forced to break them. US President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher shut down industries, imposed austerities and favored the interests of capital over labor. They managed to promote austerity in the West as an antidote to the excesses of ideological opponents and set the stage for a neoliberal global economy. Within the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev's proposed reforms unraveled the decaying Soviet system rather than bringing stability (see next chapter, chapter 12, for details). By 1991 the Soviet Union itself had vanished, dissolving into a Commonwealth of Independent States. The Cold War as a system of states ended in December 1991, when Gorbachev signed the USSR out of existence. Communism ceased to exist as a practical idea to organize society. As the socialist state fell apart, a new oligarchy emerged and assumed ownership of Russia's riches. The economic transition to capitalism was a catastrophe for most Russians.

The collapse of the Soviet Union left the US as the world's most powerful, secure, and prosperous nation. The US gained unparalleled freedom to reshape the world without significant risks. Neoliberalism became the dominant political ideology of the world. Francis Fukuyama described the Soviet Union's collapse as "the end of history" because the alternatives to liberal capitalism and democracy had failed. Most liberals hoped that American hegemony would lead to world peace. The collapse of the Soviet Union did not lead to global peace or stability. In fact, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, plunged the United States into protracted conflicts around the world. At home, economic recession, a slow recovery, stagnant wage growth, and general pessimism infected American life as contentious politics and cultural divisions poisoned social harmony, leading directly to the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol.

Racism is ingrained in modernity and remains a clear category of power structuring. The development of global neoliberalism has played a major role in silencing and making racism invisible. Apart from the decay of the nation state as a provider of welfare, the neoliberal reforms and restructuring have led to a shift of the national wealth to the elites. This in turn has led to the paradox of the loss of public control over capital flow, while racialization is ongoing. The lack of explicit discussion of race and racism makes it difficult to challenge discrimination and enables white supremacy groups to ignore how racism is entangled with unequal power relations. During the slave trade and colonial period, the enemy could be clearly identified. Today the enemy is invisible.

During the Cold War both superpowers provisioned, supported, and sometimes even orchestrated and participated directly to advance their political and economic ideologies in smaller nations such as South Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Angola. In countries such as Chile and El Salvador, dictators or military juntas replaced democratically elected governments. Both the Soviet Union and the United States used their resources and agencies to advance their interests in several nations across the world and shaped their political and economic trajectories in the postwar period. While the US played a significant role in putting pressure on the Soviet Union through military buildups, economic sanctions, and conflicts in Africa and Asia, it is important to emphasize that the collapse of the Soviet Union was a complex and multifaceted event that was influenced by many factors beyond the control of the US.

Key Terms

- **Grand Strategy**: This term refers to a government's calculated use of resources to defend and achieve its desired international and domestic goals. During the Cold War both superpowers adopted aggressive strategies to shape the global order.
- **Double V Campaign**: The goal of the Double V campaign to promote democracy for African Americans in the US and overseas during World War II. The "V for victory" sign was prominently displayed by countries fighting "for victory over

aggression, slavery, and tyranny," but the second "V" referred to the double victory for African Americans fighting for freedom in the US as well as overseas.

- **Special Period in Cuba**: The "Special Period" was a euphemism for the harsh austerity measures and hardships of Cubans during the 1990s, after the collapse of the USSR.
- **Afghan Mujahideen**: The Afghan Mujahideen (aka Afghan Resistance) comprised several groups that united to fight the Soviets and pro-communist forces during the Afghan-Soviet War.
- **UNITA**: The Ovimbundu people formed the base of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which was established in 1966 and founded by a prominent former leader of the FNLA, Jonas Savimbi. During the 1980s, UNITA received training, weapons, medicines, food, and financial aid from several countries, including South Africa, US, Senegal, Israel, and Tanzania.
- **MPLA**: The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), formed in December of 1956 as an offshoot of the Angolan Communist Party, had as its support base the Ambundu people. The MPLA received the bulk of its funding from the USSR, Cuba, and the People's Republic of Congo. The sale of Angolan oil and diamonds (not already secured by UNTA) also financed the MPLA.
- **FNLA**: The National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), founded in 1962, was rooted among the Bakongo people. The FNLA received support from several countries including the PRC, France, Israel, and the US.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

12: Optimism and Unease - 1970 - 2000

? Learning Objectives

- Examine how democratization and religious reaction shaped the globe by 2000
- Analyze the impact of anti-racist movements during the late twentieth-century

? Focus Questions

- What factors brought about the rise of right-wing religious movements?
- How were the movements for democratization accompanied by calls for racial justice?

Significant political and social changes occurred during the 1970s as a major economic crisis set in. This was the largest economic downturn since the Great Depression. Although there were a number of causes for this major recession, the crisis was triggered by an oil shock after an oil cartel, known as the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), cut production and raised prices. By 1970, this cartel controlled most of the production of oil. When Israel went to war with Syria and Egypt in 1973, the US and Western Europe supported Israel. OPEC then put an oil embargo on these nations and quadrupled the price of oil. This sent shockwaves globally because the USA and Western Europe were the largest economies in the world. Western Europe was entirely dependent on OPEC oil. As a consequence, inflation and unemployment both went up. At the same time, cultural values and norms were changing. Women were gaining rights, sexual norms were loosening, and pop culture promoted newer more modern secular values.

It is within this context that two major trends were apparent. On one hand, there was a massive wave of democratization as the authoritarian governments lost legitimacy for their failure to resolve the economic crisis. This democratic wave began in southern Europe but then spread to Latin America, Eastern Europe, and then to parts of Africa and East Asia. In many instances calls for democracy were accompanied by movements in Latin America and Africa for racial equality. In Mexico and Guatemala, indigenous movements such as the Zapatista Rebellion put pressure on the ruling party to have freer and fairer elections. Similarly, Africans and Diasporic Africans demanded voting and civil rights. By the 1990s, the majority of Afro-Brazilians and South African Blacks were able to vote for the first time when democratic elections were held. Figure 12.1 shows protesters in Brazil in 1977 and the sign shown says "Down with the dictatorship." What would these protesters be demanding? There was much optimism by 2000 as there were more democracies globally than at any other time in world history.

Figure 12.1: Brazilian protestors in 1977 by Kenji Honda, Photos de Estadao, in the Public Domain

On the other hand, many people turned to cultural explanations for economic stagnation and decline. Many in the USA and the Middle East sought to rejuvenate their societies through new governments that promoted traditional patriarchic religious ideas. These religious movements were often accompanied by racial and ethnic intolerance. Conservative Christians in the USA backed politicians who supported anti-feminist and anti-civil rights platforms. These Christians were part of an **Evangelical Protestant** movement that was uneasy with many of the cultural changes taking place in the USA since the 1960s. In the Middle East conservative Muslims sought to curtail women's rights and impose authoritarian governments. These Muslims wanted a **theocracy** where religious leaders ruled and people were governed under religious laws. At the same time, in Israel, the Orthodox Jewish-backed Likud Party made increasingly Biblical claims on areas that had historically been inhabited by Muslim Palestinians. These **Orthodox Jews** likewise embraced traditional patriarchic values. In the 1970s, these countries had secular reformist governments. However, Muslims in the Middle East, Jews in Israel, and Christians in the USA were becoming more religious and wanted governments that promoted their values. The new regimes that emerged did not bring about stability in the Middle East in the 1980s but caused more conflict.

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12.1: Democracy Thwarted in the Middle East - Iran in the 1970s

Iran before the Revolution

The volatile price of oil in the 1970s hit Iran hard and ushered in a theocratic revolution. However, Iran was caught up in both the democratic wave and the conservative religious wave simultaneously. One of the reasons that the democratic wave receded had to do with the fact that Iran was the site of a major Cold War hotspot. For the most part, Iran was an authoritarian state with an underdeveloped and vulnerable economy that depended on oil exports. Iran emerged from World War II at best a semi-democracy. The 1905 Constitution created a constitutional monarchy with universal male suffrage. However, the landowning notables controlled the national legislature and the cabinet because they controlled elections. Shiism was declared the official religion. Iran was headed by a monarchy known as a Shah who was from the Pahlavi dynasty. This government was unresponsive to the vast majority of impoverished Iranians. The proximity of Iran to Russia facilitated the growth of radical socialist political parties. In the 1940s, many Iranian intellectuals aligned themselves with the Iranian Communist Party, known as the Tudeh Party. Overall, Tudeh drew support from large numbers of workers in the new state-sponsored industries especially in oil production.

The rhetoric of the Allies during World War II spread and popularized democracy. The younger Iranian-educated middle class supported democracy and challenged the power of the Shah. They did not, however, attack religion and sought a broad anti-oligarchic front. These middle-class reformers also supported greater women's rights including the right to vote. At this time, more Iranians were becoming nationalistic and wanted national control of the British oil wells. Their leader became Mohammed Mosaddegh who led the **National Front** which was socialistic and nationalist but was not communist. Instead, the National Front promoted a mixed economy and democratization.

Mosaddegh became prime minister in 1952 and decided to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (now British Petroleum (BP)). Then, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill convinced the US government that Mosaddegh had to go to ensure a steady flow of oil out of Iran. The US also feared that the Communist Party was gaining too much popularity in Iran and the Iranian government did nothing to combat this. In 1953 Britain's MI-6 and the CIA organized a coup against the elected government of Iran and installed the Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, as an absolute monarch although puppet democratic institutions remained in place.

For the most part, the 1953 coup undermined the legitimacy of the monarchy because it identified the Shah with the British and the US. The coup also destroyed all real secular democratic opposition to the USA and the Shah. The new opposition would not support liberalism, nationalism, and socialism. Rather, it would support Islamic fundamentalism and theocracy. The government closed down pro-democracy newspapers and over 2,000 people were arrested by the end of the year. All elections for the national legislature were fixed so that pro-Shah candidates won. The Shah's secret police force, SAVAK, terrorized the population and assassinated critics of the Shah.

However, Iran was vulnerable both economically and politically. The government was dependent upon one product, oil. The Shah upset fundamentalist Muslims when he began a policy of embracing western culture. Women gained the right to vote, run for office, and serve as judges. The use of the veil was never banned but it was discouraged. The government also expanded birth control clinics and legalized abortion. Wives had the right to petition for divorce and they could work outside the home without permission from their husbands. However, much of the modern middle class rejected the Shah as they continued to support nationalism, liberalism, and socialism. In figure 12.1.1, President John F. Kennedy and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy attend a dinner in their honor, given by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Emperor of Iran, and his wife, Empress Farah Pahlavi. The Shah and his wife are dressed in the same clothing style as the US president and first lady. Why would more religious Iranians be upset by this picture?

Figure 12.1.1: Dinner in Honor of John F. Kennedy in Iran by Cecil W. Stroughton, JFK Library, in the Public Domain

Poverty remained a major problem in Iran and the Shah never overcame Iran's dependence on oil. By 1976, the price of oil plummeted when OPEC increased oil production. Since Iran was heavily dependent on imports, shortages and high inflation resulted. The government then sought to reduce inflation by cutting spending which resulted in massive layoffs and higher unemployment. This policy harmed the middle class because many of them depended on government employment. So, not only were peasants and urban workers upset, but the middle class increasingly opposed the Shah as well.

The new leader of the opposition to the Shah was Ruhollah Khomeini (known as Ayatollah Khomeini). He denounced corruption, the rigging of elections, the violations of civil liberties, and neglect of the poor. Khomeini argued that the Shah was just a puppet of the West. According to Khomeini, the Shah misruled the country with policies that only favored the rich. Although he was not a Communist, Khomeini denounced capitalism and sought to improve the lives of the poor. Khomeini was critical of the Shah for hampering democratic government, but he wanted a theocracy where clerics had the ultimate authority to rule the government. However, he did not emphasize this at first. Khomeini was living in exile in Paris but thousands if not millions of Iranians were listening to his message. Khomeini recorded his speeches on cassette tapes. His supporters would then make copies and distribute these recordings throughout the country.

The Overthrow of the Shah

Beginning in 1977, the US pressured the Shah to respect human rights. So, he relaxed some of his most stringent controls, because the Iranian government really believed that it had popular support. Another National Front was then formed demanding the abdication of the Shah. This front consisted of middle-class liberals, clerics, and communists. The civil servants and oil workers then joined the protestors and went on strike. They all wanted civil rights, free and fair elections, and the return of Khomeini. The clerics were the most powerful group in this front, because the liberals and communists had been badly weakened by the Shah's oppressive policies. While in exile in Paris, Khomeini assured liberal nationalists that he supported a democratic government with only a supervisory role for the clergy. Therefore, the secular liberals believed that once the Shah was overthrown, Khomeini would step back from politics. By November 1978, most of the country was on strike. Airports, railways, banks, some newspapers, and the oil industry were all shut down. This brought the economy to a standstill. The Shah was also ill with cancer. In 1979, the Shah abandoned Iran, eventually arriving for treatment in the United States, while Khomeini proclaimed a new Islamic Republic.

It was unclear at first, what was going to occur in Iran. The Shah abdicated but he put Shapur Bakhtiar, who was a liberal, in charge as prime minister. By 1979, a group of clerics had formed the **Council of the Islamic Revolution** (CIR) which directed how a new government would be established. This council set up a provisional government to supplant that of Shapur Bakhtiar. Khomeini would not recognize Bakhitar, because he was appointed by the Shah. Liberals allied with Khomeini also refused to recognize him.

Nevertheless, Bakhtiar allowed Khomeini to return. Iran was in chaos in January 1979. Police were absent, students were directing traffic, and mosques were distributing food.

Khomeini had the upper hand as the CIR set up local revolutionary committees (*komiteh*) and revolutionary courts all over the country to fill the power vacuum. When Khomeini returned on 1 February 1979, he appointed Mehdi Bazargan as his prime minister. Bazargan, like Bakhtiar, was a secular liberal who supported democracy in Iran. So, there were two governments in Iran. One headed by Bakhtiar and one headed by Bazargan. Khomeini did not work with left-wing radicals and communists but sought an alliance with secular liberals. Most Iranians expected some form of democratic secular government. The big question was where did the Iranian military stand? For the most part, the armed forces were divided. Once the Shah left, the army began to disintegrate. There were 1300 desertions a day by the second week of February. Many officers resigned after the Shah abdicated while others supported Khomeini. When the generals met, they decided not to support Bakhtiar. This decision gave control of the military over to Khomeini and his supporters.

The Shah had been overthrown but the national government had broken down. There was a provisional government headed by a liberal. However, in reality, the local *komitehs* had taken control, like the Soviets in Russia in 1917–18. Khomeini set up these committees all over the country which enforced the laws and ran the local government. The first major task was to draw up a new constitution. So, elections were held on 3 August to choose delegates to draft a new constitution and these delegates first convened on 18 August. Fifty-five out of seventy-three of the elected members of the assembly were clerics.

Theocracy in Iran

A new constitution was drafted which handed power over to the clerics and then a referendum was held to approve of this draft. Secular liberals who had been marginalized, boycotted this election. The referendum to establish an Islamic Republic was most likely rigged and this constitution was approved with 99% of the vote. Khomeini was made Supreme Leader for life. He determined candidates for the presidency, controlled the army, and could dismiss presidents. The cleric-controlled Guardian Council could veto bills passed by the legislature and determined who could run for office. All adults, including women, could vote in secret and there were direct elections. Basic civil liberties were guaranteed such as freedom of the press and freedom from arbitrary arrest. In reality, anything which the government felt was contrary to Islam could be censored.

This new regime was an authoritarian theocracy, but steps were taken to address the needs of the impoverished. The government could rely on wealth from oil which it used to reduce poverty. The new constitution provided for decent housing, pensions, medical care, and free primary and secondary education. Working conditions improved for the urban working classes. They had minimum wages and maximum hours. In the countryside, schools were built, land was redistributed, and the government extended electricity, roads, healthcare, and indoor plumbing. Farmers for the first time could purchase consumer goods like TVs. Also, life expectancy increased from 56 in 1980 to 70 by 2000. For the most part, the elites fled Iran, and their businesses were nationalized. The government then controlled more than 2000 factories. However, the government was not communist and sought to protect private property.

Life improved for most Iranians, but this new regime was every bit as autocratic as the Shah. The government instilled fear in the population as it arbitrarily arrested and killed thousands of people. Many were liberals and socialists who had participated in the overthrow of the Shah. In addition to censoring the press, the elections were rigged because they had results where the government-approved candidate would win over 90 percent of the vote. The regime allowed for females to marry at 13 and removed women from the courts and the education system. Women were encouraged to wear the full chadour but at the very least they had to wear scarves and long coats.

Many of those who participated in the overthrow of the Shah hated the U.S. Government because it supported his absolute rule. In November 1979, radical students stormed the American Embassy in Tehran and took the staff as hostages. These Americans were held for 444 days and were not released until Ronald Reagan took office as president in January 1981. Ronald Reagan's election campaign negotiated secretly with the Iranians, because they wanted to delay the hostages' release until after Reagan had won the election. In return, Reagan would provide Iranians essential supplies. The early release of these hostages would have increased the popularity of Jimmy Carter in the USA and harmed Reagan's chances of winning the presidency.

Review Questions

- What factors led to the overthrow of the Shah?
- How did Iran become a theocracy?

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12.2: The Spread of Extremist Religious Movements in the Middle East

Secularism and Theocracy in Saudi Arabia and Egypt

This religious upheaval in Iran did not occur in a vacuum. Religious leaders throughout the Middle East sought to exert greater authority as they saw their societies becoming more secular and less patriarchic. The two strongest monarchies —the Pahlavis of Iran and the Sauds of Saudi Arabia — both engaged in modernization and faced severe backlash. During the 1970s, Saudi Arabia's oil revenues skyrocketed and the government invested in infrastructure, bringing new technology, commerce, and Western culture to the kingdom. American hotels such as Hyatt, Intercontinental, Marriott, Sheraton, Holiday Inn, and Hilton were built, and 30,000 Americans moved to Saudi Arabia to provide technical assistance. The Saudi government brought in television and education for females. Increasingly in Saudi Arabian cities, foreign women were eating by themselves in public, Christians were wearing crosses, and pop music blared in the streets. Foreign movies promoting secular and western values were shown in the urban cinemas. Side by side with these changes, poverty remained rampant and the government appeared unresponsive to the needs of the poor.

Shortly after the Shah left Iran, Islamic radicals seized the holiest site in Saudi Arabia, the Masjid al-Haram Mosque of Mecca, in an attempt to overthrow the Saudi monarchy. They sought to cut ties with the West and deport all foreigners. While the rebellion was crushed by the Saudi military, the threat of Islamic revolution convinced the Saudi monarchy to give more power to the *Ulema*; religious scholars. The *Ulema* then formed the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice which closed the cinemas, restricted women's rights, and censored the media.

Figure 12.2.1: Mohammad Reza Shah and Anwar Sadat, author unknown, in the Public Domain

As with Iran and Saudi Arabia, Egypt experienced economic growth in the 1970s accompanied by sharp inequalities and high levels of poverty. Women were granted the right to divorce and were rising in the workforce with some even holding senior positions in government. The president, Anwar Sadat banned the niqab which is the face veil with a slit for the eyes. However, he encountered rage from the religious in his efforts secularize society as well as his pro-Israel policies. To the world's astonishment, Sadat embraced the prime minister of Israel and established diplomatic relations. Sadat then reaffirmed that religious leaders did not have the authority to interfere in his government. A religious fanatic assassinated Sadat in the hope of spurring an Iranian style revolution which never materialized. The Egyptian clerics did not call for a revolution. For the most part, the Egyptian government was not seen as a threat to religious leaders because it never sought to forcefully secularize society the way that Shah had in Iran. In figure 8.2.1, the Shah of Iran is meeting with Egyptian president Sadat. How are Mohammad Reza Shah and Anwar Sadat similar? How are they different?

The Rise of the Likud Party in Israel

The more religious Orthodox Jews exerted more authority in Israel, a predominantly Jewish Middle Eastern country. The economic crisis of the 1970s had a major effect on Israel where a secular liberal Labor Party government that had been in power since the 1940s was replaced by the Likud Party which was supported by more religious Orthodox Jews. The leaders of the Likud stood for an enlarged Israeli state. The Likud had no intention of any type of compromise or negotiation toward ceding land to the Palestinians. In fact, its leaders referred to the Palestinian occupied West Bank by its Biblical names Judea and Samaria and considered it part of Israel. The Labor Party was divided on supporting Jewish settlement in the West Bank but the Likud Party made settlement a policy. By 1981, the number of Jewish settlers on the West Bank had quadrupled since Likud had come to power. The resettlement of the West Bank symbolized the desire of religious Zionists to settle in Biblical Judea and Samaria. It marked an escalation of the religious settler movement and the colonization of the West Bank and Gaza. As a result of these policies, tensions between Israelis and Palestinians intensified. Palestinian radicals formed Hamas in 1988. This organization did not support a two-state solution and vowed a holy war against Israel.

? Review Questions

- What factors brought about a resurgence in right-wing religious movements in the Arab Middle East and Israel?
- How was the Middle East different by 1980?

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12.3: Religious Resurgence in the USA - Evangelical Protestantism

Economic Decline and Cultural Changes

In the USA, a conservative Evangelical Protestant movement began to grow as women were gaining rights and society was becoming more secular. Overall, the US economic golden age ended in the 1970s. The spike in oil prices triggered the largest economic downturn since the Great Depression, but there were other problems as well. By the 1970s, the USA and Western Europe also had to compete with Japan more and more in automobiles and electronics. Factories in Western Europe and the USA cut back production or closed down. Unemployment shot up and some faced permanent joblessness.

For the most part, a large number of Americans experimented with different types of spiritual religious movements as the US economy was in decline. Some embraced Hinduism and Buddhism, but the right-wing evangelical Christian movement has been the most enduring. More people gravitated toward evangelical, fundamentalist Christianity and there has been a substantial decline in established religions like the Methodist church. By 1976 34% of all Americans identified as Evangelical Christians. Many of the new evangelical churches fused with popular culture like rock and roll. Also, the evangelical church has given people in the growing center-less cities a sense of community that was lacking. Oftentimes, there were charismatic pastors, and going to church was an emotional and spiritual experience. The right-wing Evangelical Christians used new technologies and methods like television and mass mailings to gain followers. By the late 1970s hundreds of radio stations in the USA were Christian owned. Many right-wing evangelicals were critical of the changes that had taken place since the 1960s. They did not like that abortion was legal and that homosexuals now had rights. By the mid 1970s premarital sex was not seen as negative to half of all Americans. The drug use from colleges filtered down into suburban high schools. They wanted schools to emphasize Christian ideas such as creationism.

Divorces in the USA 1950-1980

Year	Divorces per 1000 People
1950	2.6
1955	2.3
1960	2.2
1965	2.5
1970	3.5
1975	4.9
1980	5.2

Table 12.3.1: Divorces in the USA (1950-1980) by Jordan Stanton is licensed CC BY and is modified from National Vital Statistics System by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in thie Public Domain

? Discussion Question

What accounts for this increasing divorce rate according to Evangelical Protestants?

These evangelicals argued that there was really a moral crisis in America which was the result of newer secular values. In particular, they argued that the family was in crisis as the divorce rate skyrocketed. Divorces were going up at this time, but the number one cause of divorce is financial difficulties. In most families the wife worked outside of the home out of economic necessity. However, the right-wing evangelical media argued that the two-parent family was breaking down, because wives wanted to work. They claimed that more teenagers did drugs, because the mothers were working and could not supervise their children properly. These Evangelical conservatives argued that it was more important for the wife to stay home and raise the children than to work. For the most part, feminists were blamed for the decline of the USA. According to this Evangelical Christians, feminists were waging a “war on the families.” The right-wing Evangelical Christians also believed that parents should teach their children abstinence and called for the government to censor TV, movies, and the radio.

This evangelical movement was also anti-government. The national government was seen in a negative light by conservatives when the Supreme Court banned prayers in public schools and legalized abortion with Roe versus Wade. Many conservatives also wanted to make sure the government did not provide economic assistance to families, because they believed that this assistance only made the working poor lazy. They also worried that a larger government would diminish the power of the parents. An issue that galvanized the Evangelical right in the 1970s was education. There has been substantial growth in evangelical schools throughout the 1900s. In this country, private schools get various tax exemptions, but the government has the power to deny these exemptions for private schools that discriminate against non-whites. Many Christian schools were formed in the south after prayers were banned in public schools and many of these schools were also set up because the public schools were becoming racially integrated. These schools stressed fundamentalism and right-wing ideologies. In the late 1970s, President Jimmy Carter began a government investigation of all Christian schools that had few or no racial minorities. Many Evangelical Christians then became livid with the Democrats after this.

Figure 12.3.1: Evil Empire Speech, Reagan Library, in the Public Domain

The Rise of Ronald Reagan and De-Industrialization

The conservative Republicans courted these evangelicals in the 1970s. These Republicans, who wanted lower taxes and less government spending, could tap into the anti-government mentality of the evangelicals. The evangelical political movement, known as the Religious Right, organized to support political candidates that shared their views. Evangelical Republicans started to run and get elected to local, state and national office. These Christians then rallied behind Ronald Reagan who was not an Evangelical Christian but he was against abortion rights and supported prayer in schools. Reagan also promised to maintain tax exemptions for religious schools that racially discriminated. Finally, he appealed to these Evangelical Christians, by questioning whether evolution was valid. Since 1980, The Republicans would use social issues like family values to get votes from people who are actually harmed by government cuts in things like public education and healthcare. Reagan is in figure 12.3.1 addressing the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida. Why did Evangelical Christians find Ronald Reagan so appealing?

Ronald Reagan's policies only weakened the US industrial base. The wealthy received large tax breaks, but there were no incentives to invest in manufacturing. De-Industrialization accelerated even further under Democrat Bill Clinton who signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. This agreement between the USA, Mexico, and Canada eliminated trade barriers between the three countries. US manufacturers could now easily close down their factories in the USA and reopen their factories in Mexico where workers had few rights and wages remained low. The jobs that were being created in the USA tended to by lower paying service sector employment in fast food or retailers such as Walmart.

Primary Sources: Bill Clinton, Speech on Signing NAFTA (1993)

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was supported by both Republican President George W H Bush (1989-1993) and by Democratic President Bill Clinton (1993-2000). NAFTA is an agreement between the USA, Mexico, and Canada to radically reduce economic trade barriers between the three countries.

Discussion Questions

- According to President Clinton, what brought prosperity to the USA?
- How did President Clinton think NAFTA would benefit Americans?

As President, it is my duty to speak frankly to the American people about the world in which we now live. Fifty years ago, at the end of World War II, an unchallenged America was protected by the oceans and by our technological superiority and, very frankly, by the economic devastation of the people who could otherwise have been our competitors. We chose then to try to help rebuild our former enemies and to create a world of free trade supported by institutions which would facilitate it. ... As a result, jobs were created, and opportunity thrived all across the world.

But make no mistake about it: Our decision at the end of World War II to create a system of global, expanded, freer trade and the supporting institutions played a major role in creating the prosperity of the American middle class. Ours is now an era in which commerce is global and in which money, management, and technology are highly mobile.

For the last 20 years, in all the wealthy countries of the world because of changes in the global environment, because of the growth of technology, because of increasing competition-the middle class that was created and enlarged by the wise policies of expanding trade at the end of World War II has been under severe stress. Most Americans are working harder for less. They are vulnerable to the fear tactics and the averseness to change that are behind much of the opposition to NAFTA. But I want to say to my fellow Americans: When you live in a time of change, the only way to recover your security and to broaden your horizons is to adapt to the change-to embrace, to move forward .... The only way we can recover the fortunes of the middle class in this country so that people who work harder and smarter can, at least, prosper more, the only way we can pass on the American dream of the last 40 years to our children and their children for the next 40, is to adapt to the changes which are occurring.

In a fundamental sense, this debate about NAFTA is a debate about whether we will embrace these changes and create the jobs of tomorrow or try to resist these changes, hoping we can preserve the economic structures of yesterday .... I believe that NAFTA will create one million jobs in the first five years of its impact. ... NAFTA will generate these jobs by fostering an export boom to Mexico by tearing down tariff walls .... There will be no job loss.

The White House, in the Public Domain

Review Questions

- What brought about the rise of the Evangelical movement in the USA?
- What policies did the Christian Evangelicals support?

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12.4: Religious Conflict Erupts in the Middle East

The Rise of Saddam Hussein

The rise of religious leaders to political prominence created a crisis in the Middle East during the 1980s. In particular, a major war was fought between the Sunni government in Iraq and the Shiite government in Iran. During the era of the Ottoman Empire, Sunni Arabs governed Iraq. They were the top officials in government and in the military. However, the majority of Iraqis were Shiite Arabs. The Pan-Arabist Ba'th Party was established in Iraq in 1949 which represented this Sunni Arab minority. The Ba'th Sunni nationalist Saddam Hussein became dictator in July 1979. However, the Da'wa Party supported the Shiites and aimed at the eventual establishment of an Islamic state. Similar to Iran, Iraq was dependent upon oil exports. By 1979, oil production constituted almost 63 percent of Iraq's gross domestic product.

Tensions between Iran and Iraq deteriorated with Hussein as the dictator of Iraq and the rise of Khomeini in Iran. Iraq accused Iran of supporting Shi'a opposition movements in the region, including in Iraq. The border between the two countries had been stable since the Zohab Treaty was made between the Safavids and the Ottomans in 1639. However, there was disagreement over the precise position of the border at its southernmost point, where the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates flowed into the Persian Gulf along the waterway known as the Shatt al-Arab. The area was important because of its proximity to both countries' oilfields. Also, Iran and Iraq used the waterway for the passage of oil tankers carrying oil away for export. Saddam Hussein had claimed the whole waterway up to the Iranian shore.

The Iran-Iraq War

The Iran-Iraq War began when Iraq attacked Iran in 1980. Saddam Hussein saw an opportunity to shore up his power in Iraq by taking over the Shatt al-Arab and possibly Iran's Arab-majority province of Khuzestan rich with oil fields. He also believed he could score an easy victory while Iran was unstable after the abdication of the Shah. Additionally, Hussein was looking to position himself as the new Pan-Arabist champion of all Arabs in the Middle East. For the most part, Iran's Shiite theocracy was seen as a threat by its Arab neighbors, especially by the conservative Sunni regime in Saudi Arabia.

However, Hussein did not score a quick victory. The Iranian air force maintained air superiority because it was better trained and equipped. The Iranian pilots were from the Shah era and were well-trained by the US military. In fact, the Iraqi attack only strengthened Khomeini's rule in Iran and the Iranians rallied around their government. The Iran–Iraq War dragged on as a stalemate for about eight years because each country could rely on its oil supplies to fund its militaries. Hussein also received large loans from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman, because he was seen as a defender of all Sunni Arabs against the Iranian Revolution. The Saudis in particular were concerned about Iranian influence on the Shi'a minority in the eastern part of their country, and Khomeini regularly attacked the Saudi monarchy in his speeches. The death toll has been estimated as 800,000 Iranians and up to 500,000 Iraqis. A ceasefire was agreed upon in 1988, but the boundary along the Shatt remained unresolved.

For the most part, Hussein had gained nothing in the war but debt and demands for autonomy by non-Arab ethnic Kurds in northern Iraq. He responded with chemical attacks on civilian Kurdish populations. In 1990, the Iraqi dictator then decided to incorporate Kuwait into his nation, claiming that it had historically been part of Mesopotamia (which was plausible, given the absurd way the British had drawn national boundaries after World War I). The United Nations, led by the U.S., pushed Hussein out of Kuwait. Not even the Saudis wanted the Iraqi dictator to take the tiny kingdom, which despite its size had as much oil as Iraq. Although it decimated Hussein's retreating army on the infamous "Highway of Death", the coalition stopped short of toppling Hussein himself, which would have consequences over the next two decades.

The Iran-Contra Scandal

Overall, the West aided Iraq during this war, but the USA in a secret deal provided aid to Iran. In this agreement, Israel was to provide weapons and spare parts to Iran. Israel would then be paid by Iran and be resupplied by the US. Israel was then to forward the proceeds of the sales to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua who were fighting a socialist government there. Iran for its part was to use its influence to bring about the release of American hostages being held by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon. Robert McFarlane, the national security advisor, took the lead in this deal. Reagan approved the first shipment of arms, 100 TOW anti-tank missiles to

Israel. After the second shipment, the first American hostage was released. There were then more arms shipments including powerful HAWK ground-to-air missiles.

This deal was made public when an Iranian named Mehdi Hashemi leaked information about this deal to a Lebanese newspaper, Al-Shiraa, which published the details on 3 November 1986. This deal was a major scandal for the Reagan administration for many reasons. It was illegal, because the US Congress had forbidden the Reagan administration to fund the Contras. Additionally, President Reagan stated that no ransom should be paid for hostages and that the US government should not even negotiate with hostage-takers. Finally, the Reagan administration had a firm policy that no arms should be sent to Iran and applied pressure to prevent other countries from selling arms to Iran. This deal was also an embarrassment for the Iranian government. Not only were they dealing with the USA but also with Israel. In contrast, Israel claimed that this deal was good because it improved their relations with Iran. For the most part, both the USA and Israel wanted to have better relations with Iran, because they believed more moderate forces would take over once Khomeini had died.

? Review Questions

- What were the causes of the Iran-Iraq War?
- Why did most countries support Iraq?

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12.5: The Soviet Union on the Brink of Collapse

The Rise of Mikhail Gorbachev

The advent of the 1980s saw significant changes, including the end of the Iranian hostage crisis, the election of Republican President Ronald Reagan in the United States, and the rising power of conservative leaders such as Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain. The death of Leonid Brezhnev in 1982 was not a surprise but did lead to a series of unexpected changes. Following Brezhnev's death, the question of who would succeed him became paramount. The problem was that virtually everyone in the Politburo was Brezhnev's age or just slightly younger, meaning that almost everyone was either in their late 60s or older and that the majority of them had been lower-level officials during Stalin’s regime. Eventually, the former KGB director, Yuri Andropov, was chosen. Andropov was an interesting choice; he was slightly younger (68 in 1982) than the average Politburo member, had been linked with the brutal suppression of the revolt in Hungary that had occurred in 1956, and was generally regarded as extraordinarily intelligent. It also became rapidly apparent that he was suffering from kidney disease, and his term of service ended up being only 15 months. During that time, he began reforms within the government that would lay the groundwork for his protégé, Mikhail Gorbachev. The party was hesitant to choose Gorbachev in 1984, fearing that he was too young (he was 53 at that time) and too radical. They instead chose Konstantin Chernenko, whom Brezhnev had named as his choice to succeed him prior to his death. Chernenko's tenure last barely a year, and his illness through most of his regime made him essentially a footnote in history and largely nonexistent when it came to leadership. When he died, in March 1985, Gorbachev was chosen as the new leader of the party.

Gorbachev is, in some ways, the most important of the Communist leaders other than Lenin, as it was he who was responsible for overseeing the destruction of the Soviet Union and the death of communism as the political system in that country. When Gorbachev came to power in March of 1985, it was clear that changes would have to be made and that there were issues that needed to be dealt with immediately. In April of that same year, the Warsaw Pact treaty was renewed for another 20 years; given the recency of Gorbachev’s elevation to power, it is unlikely that this involved any discussion. Reagan, who had been elected to a second term in November 1984, and Margaret Thatcher, the prime minister of Britain, felt that Gorbachev was someone they could work with, but also feared the continued attempts at expansion in Europe and the continuation of the Cold War. In figure 12.5.1 Ronald Reagan and his wife are together smiling with and Gorbachev and his wife prior to a state dinner at the Soviet Embassy in 1987.

Figure 12.5.1: Regan and Gorbachev, Reagan White House Photographs, in the Public Domain

? Discussion Question

What impression does the picture leave you with regarding the relationships between the four people?

For Gorbachev, however, the major immediate issues were domestic ones. Alcoholism, which had been a major issue in the Soviet Union for years, was addressed in one of Gorbachev's speeches later that year, as was absenteeism, which was one of the most obvious manifestations of alcoholism. Over the next 18 months, Gorbachev also began to look at the domestic economy and political structures. While he initially believed that these could be fairly easily fixed, he came to realize by 1987 that there were significant issues within the structure of the Soviet Union and that in order for the state to survive, major changes would need to occur. To this end, he introduced his two most important policies, the bookends of ***glasnost*** (openness) and ***perestroika*** (restructuring). Both of these ideas were radical in their context. G*lasnost*, as Gorbachev defined it, meant the opening of society, which he believed would ultimately strengthen communism. To this end, political dissidents were freed (the *gulags* had been closed by 1960 but there were still many political prisoners held in regular jails), religious protesters were allowed to emigrate, and a new openness reigned over the USSR. *Perestroika* was designed to correct some of the worst abuses of the Brezhnev era. It was a restructuring of the economic and production life of the USSR and was in many ways almost a return to the days of the early Soviet Union, with far greater freedoms offered to those who chose to take them.

The Soviet Union and the World under Gorbachev

While the changes in domestic policy were significant, Gorbachev did not neglect foreign affairs. One of the first steps that he took was to open communication with the West regarding the weaponry that both sides had accumulated during the Cold War. The debacle of the decade-long Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, combined with the awareness of the mutually assured destruction capabilities of both sides of the Cold War (essentially, that both sides had more than enough weapons to destroy each

other), led Gorbachev to seek solutions to ending the arms race. He was not the first president to do so, although he was the first on the Soviet side; Brezhnev had primarily desired a build-up of arms, and neither of Gorbachev's immediate predecessors had reigned long enough to make any significant inroads. All of these were intended to keep the communists firmly in power; Gorbachev himself was a dedicated communist and wanted to maintain the party's control while raising its prestige. Gorbachev also continued the process of de-Stalinization, which had largely been ended under the Brezhnev era, although Lenin continued to be glorified.

Unfortunately for Gorbachev, very few of his plans worked. The war in Afghanistan, which had begun when the USSR invaded in 1979, continued to drain resources, and as a result the Soviet economy, rather than recovering, continued to plunge. In April 1986, one of the nuclear reactors at Chernobyl, in Ukraine, exploded. Initially, the Soviets did not want to ask for assistance, but when it became clear that they could not deal with the catastrophe and that the toxic air was spreading to Western Europe, Gorbachev finally asked for help from the West. The explosion, and the subsequent problems, glaringly illustrated many of the problems in the Soviet Union; it also exposed those problems in detail to the West for the first time, and the ramification for this continues to plague Ukraine and much of central Europe. In addition, *glasnost* had led to increased questioning of what the government was doing, not only within the Russian Socialist Republic but also in the other Soviet republics and the satellite nations in the Warsaw Pact.

In response, independence and anti-communist movements became increasingly powerful throughout Central and Eastern Europe. *Solidarity*, in Poland, led by Lech Walesa and supported by Pope John Paul II, himself Polish, is probably the most famous of these movements, although there were also significant movements in Czechoslovakia, Romania, and East Germany. Gorbachev realized that he had a series of revolutions brewing, but rather than ordering troops into those countries, he publicly broke from the traditions of the past 80 years and refused to suppress the revolts. Additionally, the United States and other NATO powers supported these countries; Ronald Reagan famously demanded that Gorbachev, "Tear down this wall" during a visit to Berlin, and the European countries welcomed those fleeing the Soviet Union but also urged for changes.

? Primary Sources: Ronald Reagan, Berlin Wall Speech (1987)

In 1987, the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, traveled to Berlin for the anniversary of the city's founding. Berlin had been divided at the end of World War II and had been further split with the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Reagan used the opportunity to give the following speech directed at Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union, exhorting him to "tear down this wall" and unite the city. The speech was initially derided by the USSR leadership, with Gorbachev reminding people that Reagan had been an actor before entering politics, as well as many of Reagan's own administration, who worried that it would undo many of the gains that had been accomplished since Gorbachev had come to power in 1985. It is now recognized as one of the most consequential public speeches of Reagan's career.

Discussion Questions

- What reasons does President Reagan give in the speech for bringing the two Berlins together and tearing down the wall?
- How does this speech reflect the United States' view of communism at the time?

Thank you very much. Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the city hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer, Paul Lincke, understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: "Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the good will of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guardtowers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same--still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsacker has said: "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed." Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State--as you've been told-George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium--virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the Wirtschaftswunder. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty--that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany-busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of park land. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there's abundance--food, clothing, automobiles-the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm. From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on Berliner herz, Berliner humor, ja, und Berliner schnauze. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner schnauze.] [Laughter]

In the 1950's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind-too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control. Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace.

There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent--and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides. Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS- 20 nuclear missiles, capable of-striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counterdeployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution; namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counterdeployment, there were difficult days--days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city--and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then--I invite those who protest today--to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. And because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth. As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative-research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place--a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete. Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world.

And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world. To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation. There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten

young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you many have noted that the Republic of Korea--South Korea-has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats--the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life-- not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love--love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the Sun strikes that sphere--that sphere that towers over all Berlin-- the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner, "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all.

The Reagan Foundation, in the Public Domain

? Review Questions

- What were the major pressures on the Soviet Union in the late 1970s and into the 1980s?
- Why would Ronald Reagan's speech be considered controversial at the time he gave it?

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12.6: The Collapse of the Soviet Union

The End of Communism in Eastern Europe

While the end of Soviet domination was not a complete surprise, when it occurred it did so in spectacular fashion. Figure 12.6.1 shows the Berlin Wall, which had been erected during Khrushchev's regime, being torn down by Germans on both sides of the wall in November and December 1989. Spontaneous celebrations broke out on both sides, as people freely walked into West Germany from the East and vice versa for the first time in nearly 40 years, and families reunited. Communist political systems and governments collapsed in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Within the Soviet Union itself, many of the republics (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, for example) had a long tradition and history that had nothing to do with the Soviets, and as *glasnost* spread, they began to demand greater freedoms and recognition. In March 1990, Lithuania declared itself independent from the Soviet Union, following six months of changes which had included allowing the use of the Lithuanian language. These reforms and changes were followed by the rest of the Soviet Union with great interest. Later that year, Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which he viewed as a somewhat dubious honor, given that the Soviet Union's power was diminishing at an increasingly fast rate. By March 1991, all three of the Baltic republics – Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania -- had voted for independence, with Georgia following suit in April that same year. Natural disasters, including a devastating earthquake in Armenia, coupled with the discovery of several mass graves of Stalin's victims, including nearly a million bodies that were discovered buried outside of Minsk, Kyiv, and Sverdlovsk, increased dissatisfaction with the Communist party and specifically with the Gorbachev government.

Figure 12.6.1: Fall of the Berlin Wall, Lear 21, is licensed under CC BY-SA

? Discussion Question

Why was the fall so significant?

In August 1991, a group of hard-line communists attempted a coup while Gorbachev was on vacation. While the coup was eventually put down, due in large part to the actions of Boris Yeltsin, it was a clear sign that change was going to happen. The actions of Yeltsin were particularly interesting. In the years leading up to *glasnost* and *perestroika*, he had been a hard-line communist leader in Ekaterinburg, where he had ordered the house where former Tsar Nicholas II and his family had been shot to be torn down to prevent it from becoming a shrine. Disenchanted with Gorbachev's ideas in the late 1980s, in 1990 he broke with the Party and declared the Russian Republic to be independent of the rest of the USSR. Yeltsin was seen as a powerful figure within the Party despite this, and his opposition to the 1991 coup was sufficient to ensure that the coup was thwarted. By the end of the summer, it was clear that Gorbachev's days in power were numbered, and on December 25, 1991, he resigned. With his

resignation, all of the republics declared their independence, if they had not already, and the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist. Most of them declared an interest in the formation of a commonwealth of some form, which would initially be called the NIS (Newly Independent States) and then the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States). Gorbachev retired to a lucrative career of speaking engagements and consulting, a very different fate than most of his predecessors who had been forced out of office.

Crisis and the Rise of Vladimir Putin

Those living in the former Soviet Union were largely in favor of these changes. Globalization, which had already influenced many in the USSR, expanded, and goods and services that had not previously been available in the Soviet Union became readily so. Unfortunately, life was not all sunshine and roses. Many of the states that had declared themselves independent (Ukraine is a great example) quickly found that they were not economically able to be completely free of their previous overlords. Much of the industry of the former states had been done in the Russian Republic, and as a result, the economies of these states were tied to Russia which, despite the creation of a commonwealth, was still clearly the leader of the state. Unemployment skyrocketed as states turned to a more Western, capitalistic model and therefore eliminated jobs that had been created simply because communism promised everyone a job. The lack of development within some of these states, most notably Albania, where a significant portion of the population did not have running water by 2000, prevented many Europeans and Americans from wanting to visit, meaning that tourism was not an option. Other cities, such as Prague, Budapest in Hungary, and Kyiv in Ukraine cashed in on the low exchange rates and welcomed tourists into what became the vacation destinations in Central Europe through the 1990s.

The Russian state also continued to struggle with problems such as alcoholism and chronic work absenteeism and saw the added burdens of social problems including the alienation of those diagnosed with AIDS or as HIV positive. The AIDS crisis was exacerbated by the fact that the Soviet leadership had outlawed homosexuality and had declared publicly that there were no gay people in the USSR, which obviously prevented people from seeking help or treatment. Yeltsin, who was a known alcoholic, also struggled; his finest moment seemed to have been on top of a tank during the 1991 coup, and he surrounded himself with enablers such as his own children, who plundered the state treasury and promoted themselves and their cronies to positions of power. Russia teetered along under his leadership until 1999, when he resigned in favor of Vladimir Putin, a former KGB chief. Putin's model for reigning seems to be more along the lines of Stalin than of the more recent leaders – his regime has been marked by increased repression of dissent, accusations of spying, and assassinations of those who oppose him. Within months of coming to power, Putin was confronted with the sinking of a Russian nuclear submarine, the *Kursk*, and he not only refused to come home from vacation to deal with it, he also refused to ask for assistance from the West in time to save the crew that had survived the initial blast on board the sub.

Perhaps most notably in the last years of the 2010s and first years of the 2020s has been Putin's friendship with hard-line conservatives, including Viktor Orban in Hungary and Donald Trump in the United States, as well as increasingly tough positions against many of the former republics, most notably Ukraine. When Russia seized Crimea in 2014, following the ouster of Ukraine's pro-Putin president, it was just the first in a series of subsequent encroachments on lands that the Russian leadership has proclaimed have historically been part of Russia. Additional "hybrid" wars continued through the rest of the 2010s, most notably in Donbas, with Russian separatist groups there declaring those areas independent of Ukraine. While most of these actions were heavily protested, there was little armed fighting until 2022, when war broke out between Russia and Ukraine.

For some of the successor states to the former Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, there have been other crises. In addition to economic problems, including a lack of modernization or infrastructure, many of the states found themselves ripped apart by nationalist conflicts. Some, such as Czechoslovakia, separated into two distinct nations (the Czech and the Slovak Republics) without difficulty, but others, such as Yugoslavia, were nearly destroyed by years of civil war. The Bosnian-Serbian conflict, for example, killed nearly a quarter of a million people and displaced 3 million more. Conflicts over religion, regional differences, and long-time rivalries all came to the front and threatened to once again engulf the Balkans in flames. In recent years, war crime trials have resulted in some of the most egregious of these dictators and ethnic cleansers being punished, but the area continues to struggle economically, due not only to the warfare in the region but also to the lack of basic foundations in terms of government and infrastructure.

Review Questions

- Why were the former republics in the Soviet Union ill-prepared for the collapse?
- How did *glasnost* and *perestroika* help lead to the end of the USSR?

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12.7: Third Wave Democratization - Latin America

Global Democratization: The Third Wave

In the 1900s there have been three democratic waves. The first two occurred in the aftermath of each world war. In the 1970s, most of the world's governments were dictatorships of some sort. However, by the 1990s democratization took root in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and parts of East Asia and Africa. Additionally, more and more governments promoted racial equality. Africans and the African Diaspora were at the center of this democratic wave.

There are six factors that account for this wave of democratization and equal rights. First, the global movement for racial equality gained momentum after World War II. The Allies repeatedly stressed that the Axis powers needed to be defeated because the Nazis and the Japanese fascists promoted racism. This Allied propaganda spread the idea that a new world order needed to be established based on the principles of racial equality. The US civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s achieved major gains including civil rights and enfranchisement of African Americans in the South. Additionally, more and more African countries gained independence from European rule. Black pride was embraced in both Africa and the African Diaspora in the Americas. Second, there were also religious movements that pushed for democratization beginning in the 1960s. The Catholic Church and some of the Protestant churches more and more stressed social justice and became critical of authoritarian rule. Third, there was substantial economic growth globally in the aftermath of World War II. This growth generated a larger non-white middle class who would serve as the leaders for democratization and racial equality. Fourth, there was an increase in education and mass media. By the 1970s, there was a large literate public that joined the calls for democratization and racial equality. Fifth, a major economic recession occurred in the 1970s. Economic recessions in and of themselves do not bring about democratization, but they do de-legitimize the governments that are in power. At this time, the autocratic governments faced more protests and calls for political change as unemployment levels increased and wages dropped. Sixth, the end of the Cold War brought in more democratic governments. Most of the autocracies claimed legitimacy by stating that they were fighting communism and received US support for this. Opponents of the autocracies often worked with communists and received aid from the Soviet Union. They were typically labeled communists by the USA and the autocratic governments in power. In figure 12.7.1, US President Richard Nixon is meeting with a US ally, Brazilian dictator General Emilio G. Medici in 1971. Why would the US government support a military dictator like Medici? With the communist threat gone by the late 1980s, opponents to autocracy were seen as less dangerous and the USA supported the transition to democracy. All of these factors brought democracy and greater racial equality to Brazil and South Africa.

Figure 12.7.1: Richard Nixon and Emilio G. Medici by Byron E. Schumaker, US National Archives, in the Public Domain

Racism and Civil Rights Activism in Brazil

During the 1900s, a small white minority in Brazil controlled the government and the economy. This white political, economic, and social domination prevented a full national debate regarding racism in Brazil. The myth was perpetuated that racism did not exist in Brazil and that Brazil, in contrast to the USA, was a "racial democracy." In fact, Blacks who criticized racial discrimination were accused of being racist. For more than one hundred years since the abolition of slavery, there were few known nationally influential black activists, politicians, scholars, and government officials. Furthermore, the education system minimized the Afro-Brazilian contribution to Brazilian history, culture, and society. Brazilian schools promoted European superiority. Until recently, the majority

of the elite continued to believe that dark skinned Brazilians could not rise on the socio-economic scale because of barriers to class not race. Since these barriers also existed for whites, the government did not recognize racism in Brazil.

Nevertheless, during the 1950s the idea that Brazil was a racial democracy had been undermined. Racism in Brazil received international exposure when a US Black dancer, Katherine Dunham, complained about being refused accommodation in a Sao Paulo hotel in 1951. The government passed a law prohibiting racial discrimination in public accommodations, but there was no effort to enforce this. Beginning in the 1950s, the United Nations supported research that sought to show how a racial democracy such as Brazil functioned but concluded otherwise. Afro-Brazilians were found at the bottom of the socio-economic scale by every indicator including income, occupation, and education. Social scientists began to examine the conditions and consequences of racial prejudice in Brazil. This has been driven by the discrepancy between claims of racial democracy and the chronic poverty and discrimination of Afro-Brazilians. However, at this time Brazil had a semi-democratic political system where illiterates could not vote and millions of Afro-Brazilians were illiterate. The government did not address racial inequality in any meaningful way.

There were two phases of the Afro-Brazilian equality movement. The first began in the early 1930s and promoted social whitening as well as an appreciation for African cultural forms. At this time, white elites claimed that the Portuguese component was dominant in Brazilian national culture. After World War II racist doctrines had been discredited and movements for national independence began in Asia and Africa. Whitening in Brazil ceased to be a respectable goal. By the 1960s, the emphasis had shifted to the notion that racism rather than some form of cultural defect among Afro-Brazilians was to blame for a social structure in which the vast majority of blacks occupied the lowest rung. African and Afro-Brazilian culture was no longer perceived as something that was exotic and worthy of preservation but as a cultural form equal to European culture as well as a source of pride.

The semi-democratic Brazilian government was overthrown in a US-supported military coup in 1964. The Brazilian military and the US believed that the government was not sufficiently anti-communist. So, an anti-Communist military dictatorship was established. This new government repealed civil rights and dissolved all political parties. Then, the military established an official party and a legal opposition party whose ranks were carefully screened to exclude “subversives.” The opposition party had no real power. The government used systematic torture on anyone who posed a threat and hundreds were executed. The economic policies were aimed at making Brazil an industrial nation. However, Brazil did not overcome economic development. Brazilian factories produced low-quality goods that were not competitive globally. So, Brazil remained an exporter of low-value agricultural goods but imported expensive machinery, equipment, and technology. As a result, government debt went up substantially.

Democratization and Civil Rights in Brazil

A number of factors brought down the military dictatorship in Brazil. Beginning in the 1970s, several Afro-Brazilian activist groups were formed which championed racial equality and democratization. Overall, US Black activist movements have served as a model for more radical Afro-Brazilian movements. There was also a global Black Pride movement, and Blacks in Brazil increasingly took pride in being Afro-Brazilian. In 1978, black activists created the Unified Black Movement to protest racism and discrimination. It fought against the dictatorship and the myth of racial democracy. The Unified Black Movement sought to rewrite Brazilian history from the black perspective. There were other smaller black equal rights organizations founded in the 1970s and 1980s as well. Middle-class Afro-Brazilians experienced a high level of frustration because they were denied access to high society because of their race. For example, they faced exclusion from all-white social clubs. These middle-class Afro-Brazilians were the first to acquire a strong sense of black consciousness. Also, the leaders of the Catholic Church met at this time and agreed that the Catholic Church needed to work to improve the lives of Catholics. By the 1970s, the Catholic Church in Brazil increasingly embraced a doctrine known as Liberation Theology which called for social justice for the poor and an end to the anti-communist dictatorships in Latin America.

In 1980 the Brazilian economy slowed and inflation increased. A global depression created problems as the prices of Brazilian agricultural products declined. Industry came to a halt, because Brazil could not import the necessary machinery and equipment to keep factories going. Unemployment, inflation, and poverty increased substantially. More and more Afro-Brazilians left the countryside, but there were few economic opportunities in the cities. By 1982, the government defaulted on its debt, and there was a major economic crisis in Brazil. The government was forced to cut back on social spending geared toward the poor such as education, housing, and healthcare. As a consequence, massive demonstrations pressured for democratic elections and generals who supported a democratic transition took control of the government. Communism did not loom as a major threat, because most urban workers supported a non-Communist political party, the Workers’ Party (PT). This new government lifted censorship of the

press, restored civil rights, and allowed the opposition to organize. There were then direct elections for state governors, federal deputies, a third of all senators and other local offices. The opposition party candidate, Tancredo Neves, defeated the pro-government Social Democratic Party and won the presidency in 1985. Then, the national congress in 1988 wrote a new democratic constitution that provided for universal suffrage and popular elections of the president. Those who were illiterate were granted the right to vote which enfranchised millions of Afro-Brazilians for the first time. Civil rights were also guaranteed.

Since the 1980s, black activists in Brazil convinced leaders in the national and local governments that that racism needed to be addressed. Afro-Brazilian groups advocate affirmative action, quotas, and other public policies to break the white monopoly on power. Some whites are joining blacks, and political parties for the first time have pledged to fight racial discrimination in their platforms. For the most part, the major political parties have Black caucuses and publicly criticized racism in Brazil. However, there has only been incremental successes. In 2003 the national government passed a law requiring the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture. For the first time, a significant number of Afro-Brazilians are now attending public universities, but levels of poverty among Afro-Brazilians are higher than for other races. For the most part, parties and new governments in general have resisted most black demands to fight racism.

? Review Questions

- What factors brought democracy to Brazil?
- How was democratization accompanied by a push for civil rights?

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12.8: Third Wave Democratization - Africa

Apartheid in South Africa

In the early 1900s, South Africa was established as an independent country from Britain. However, the white minority population had control over the government and the economy. The Black majority made up eighty percent of the population but lacked basic rights. When the white supremacist National Party won control of the legislature in 1948, they pledged to put in place a system known as **apartheid** which mandated racial segregation in all spheres of society. This system completely separated the Black majority from the white rulers and deprived them of political and civil rights. Africans were forced to live in small reservations and were prohibited from owning land outside of these reservations. An estimated 3.5 million Africans were forced to leave the 'white' areas. These reservations lacked basic services and were extremely overcrowded. Since there was a need for cheap labor, a small number of Africans worked for extremely low wages for the white minority and lived in the urban slums.

The African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912 and fought for racial equality and universal suffrage. South Africa also had a communist party that worked with the ANC to further the demands of the Black majority. The government sought to legitimize its oppression to protests by labeling any group that sought racial equality as communist. A major leader for racial equality and democratization was Nelson Mandela (1918-2013). He was a member of a royal native family of the Xhosa people who became a lawyer in Johannesburg and was active in politics after the white government began instituting apartheid policies in the 1940s. Mandela became president of the African National Congress. After a major demonstration in Sharpeville was violently crushed by the government in 1960, Mandela and other ANC leaders began leading acts of sabotage against government properties. Mandela was then convicted in 1962 and sentenced to life in prison. The ANC was banned and operated underground but received support from the USSR and many Western countries. However, the USA and Great Britain viewed the ANC as a Soviet puppet.

The End of the Cold War and Democracy in South Africa

Nevertheless, apartheid increasingly lost legitimacy within South Africa and on the world stage beginning in the late 1960s as a global movement for racial equality intensified. The impetus for this movement was the US Civil Rights movement and the anti-imperialist wars being waged in Asia and Africa. Furthermore, economic growth in South Africa created a significant educated Black middle class, and school enrollment among Blacks grew dramatically. From 1970 to 1975, African high school enrollment jumped by 160 percent. An increasing number of Blacks were reading about Black liberation and calls for racial equality. Additionally, South Africans became more united, because they also embraced Black Pride. More and more Black South Africans saw themselves as members of a common race with other Africans that transcended ethnicity and tribal loyalties.

Beginning in the 1970s, white supremacy in South Africa was undermined. More and more countries turned against South Africa as human rights was seen as an important issue. The UN General Assembly denounced apartheid in 1973 and the UN Security Council unanimously approved of an arms embargo on South Africa. By the late 1970s, South Africa appeared as an anomaly, because most of Africa had Black rule and independence. The ANC had its own army and operated in the newly independent African nations that bordered South Africa. Although the South African economy experienced substantial growth until the 1950s and 1960s, there were serious problems by the late 1970s. South Africa remained dependent on exporting minerals such as gold. Similar to Brazil and much of Latin America, its manufactured goods were not competitive globally. In the 1980, the price of gold dropped, and this sent the economy into a downward dive. Unemployment and poverty soared. Eighty percent of the population in the African reservations were living in poverty by 1983.

The ANC sensed an opportunity to push for democratization and declared a "People's War" in the early 1980s. A civil war erupted as black opponents of apartheid fought successfully to make apartheid unworkable and South Africa ungovernable. This "People's War" entailed labor strikes and boycotts as well as the bombing of municipal buildings, post offices, police stations, courthouses, and other government offices. The ANC was actively working out from its bases in Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Zambia. The ANC used its paramilitary wing, known as the Spear of the Nation, to paralyze South Africa. The number of strikes increased by 200% between 1982 and 1983. Students refused to attend school. In 1984, thirty-nine thousand South African soldiers were used to put down the protesters. The government basically collapsed at the local level in African neighborhoods. By early 1986, opponents of the government claimed that the ANC was in command in twenty-seven cities throughout South Africa. There was an estimated 228 guerilla attacks that year as well. As a result, a national state of emergency was declared and eight thousand people were detained.

As the South African government violently repressed the protests of Africans, it was perceived more and more in a negative light by the mid 1980s. American public opinion turned against apartheid and the US Congress passed Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which banned new investments and loans to South Africa. American companies could no longer sell computers or oil to South Africa. American investment fell by fifty percent between 1984 and 1988. Figure 12.8.1 shows Duke college students demanding an end to apartheid in Africa. Why would they be morally opposed to this system in Africa? Other governments took similar actions. For the most part, foreign bankers and investors became concerned that their investments were at risk. As a result, over ninety foreign companies pulled out of South Africa. These sanctions crippled an already weak economy in South Africa. As a consequence, many in the South African government started to advocate major structural reforms including democratization. Additionally, in the 1980s religious leaders globally denounced apartheid. The two main denominations in South Africa, the Anglicans, and Dutch Reformed Church, rejected apartheid. The South African Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu became a vocal critic and argued that opposition to apartheid was a moral duty.

Figure 12.8.1: Apartheid Demonstration, May 4, 1985, Duke University Archives, is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA.

By 1989, the whole system in South Africa was experiencing a crisis. The government was broke due to massive debts. Foreign governments would not provide loans or purchase South African goods. Furthermore, the military budget increased substantially to fight off the protests against apartheid. For this reason, taxes increased dramatically for the white population and more and more whites wanted reforms and negotiations. South African businessmen put pressure on the government to implement reforms, because they were losing money and were unable to hire African workers. Also, communism was collapsing in Europe in the early 1990s. Therefore, the government could no longer claim to justify oppression as a means to ward off a communist revolution. The Spear of the Nation had been trained and armed by the USSR. However, the ANC appeared less threatening with the withdrawal of Soviet funds that had supported it. South Africans began to see the ANC as a more democratic force. In fact, the leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, supported a pluralistic democracy, not communism. Additionally, the white population was confident that it could share power with the black majority because they controlled the army, the civil service, and most of the businesses.

As a result, in early 1990, South African President F.W. De Klerk began the process of democratization. De Klerk visited Nelson Mandela in prison a few months after becoming president and spoke with him for three hours. De Klerk then called for a new constitution, freed Mandela after twenty-seven years as a political prisoner, and lifted the ban on the ANC. South Africa's first election with universal suffrage was held in 1994 and the ANC won almost two-thirds of the vote. Nelson Mandela was then sworn in as president. After losing the presidential election to him in 1994, De Klerk had power as one of Mandela's Deputy Presidents from 1994-6. Mandela served as president for a single term and then stepped down. He focused on reconciliation while in office and in his retirement devoted himself to combating poverty and AIDS.

Primary Sources: Nelson Mandela's Address to a Rally in Cape Town on His Release from Prison (February 11, 1990)

In this speech, Nelson Mandela is stating his fundamental aims after just being released from prison. He is seeking a broad front of supporters to create a new democratic South Africa.

Discussion Questions

- What kind of country does Nelson Mandela hope to see in South Africa?
- How is Mandela's intended audience?

Friends, comrades, and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy, and freedom for all. I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people…Today, the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass campaigns of defiance, and other actions of our organizations and people, can only culminate in the establishment of democracy.

The apartheid destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of my people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed. Our economy, our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife…

It is our task as leaders to place our views before our organization and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward. On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is the person who has been democratically elected at a national conference. This is the principle which must be upheld without any exception…Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial, and unitary South Africa.

There must be an end to white monopoly on political power, and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratized.

It must be added that Mr. De Klerk himself is a man of integrity, who is acutely aware of the dangers of a public figure not honoring his undertakings.

Nelson Mandela Foundation, in the Public Domain

Review Questions

- What factors ended apartheid in South Africa?
- How was Nelson Mandela not seen as a threat to the Western world?

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12.9: Chapter Summary and Key Terms

Chapter Summary

By the end of the 1990s there was a great deal of optimism around the world. Most of the countries had moved decidedly toward democracy and economic growth was everywhere. World peace seemed to be at hand and the threat of another world war appeared to be a distant memory. Anti-racist movements brought voting rights to historically disenfranchised minorities. However, below the surface, major problems were looming. Anti-democratic and anti-feminist religious movements had significant power and many people were negatively affected by globalization. The internet offered a new form of communication that could be used to further democracy but could also be used to promote xenophobia, sexism, religious intolerance, and racism. Many of the problems that became very apparent after 2000 had their roots in the 1970s and 1980s.

Key Terms

Evangelical Protestants: American Protestants who held traditional values and were uneasy with many of the social changes taking place in the USA since the 1960s.

Theocracy: A political system where religious leaders ruled and people were governed under religious laws

Orthodox Jews: Religious Jews who embraced traditional and often patriarchic values

National Front: A broad alliance in Iran of socialists, communists, liberals, and clerics who supported nationalist and often times democratic goals.

Council of the Islamic Revolution: Group of Iranian clerics who sought to overthrow the Shah and set up a theocracy.

Glasnost: A policy of openness promoted by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union; it led to the opening of many prisons and *gulags* as well as demands for greater transparency within the government.

Perestroika: The restructuring of Soviet business and production during Mikhail Gorbachev's tenure as the leader of the Soviet Union.

Apartheid: A government policy in South Africa which mandated racial segregation in all spheres of society and deprived Blacks of political and civil rights.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

13: Epilogue - Charting A Course towards Equity

Decolonizing History Education

We applaud the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges (ASCCC) in spearheading efforts to create quality open educational resources (OER) and to promote anti-racist curriculum in California's community colleges, the largest system of higher education in the United States that serves nearly 1.8 million students. In 2020, several educational institutions made a commitment to denounce racism and make equity a strategic goal. Last year, a small group of historians across eight districts began work on a collaborative project to revise content in an existing OER textbook, *History of the Modern World*, by Dan Allosso and Tom Williford, to promote anti-racism and open pedagogy in History education. This revised textbook is not an edited volume. Each chapter has separate authors and the writers have approached the topics of social justice, equity, and anti-racism from their own perspectives. We hope that the revised content will provide a deeper understanding of important topics in modern World History.

13.1: The Limitations of Western Civ. Courses

13.2: Expanding Horizons- Methods in World History

13.3: Decentering Historical Narratives

13.4: A Commitment to Anti-Racism

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13.1: The Limitations of Western Civ. Courses

Why Do We Need to Make Our Courses More Inclusive?

Today almost every community college offers Western Civilizations and World Civilizations courses. Western Civ. courses were first introduced in American colleges and universities during the 1920s as part of the general education curriculum. Starting in the 1950s, several American universities began to offer history courses that enhanced the study of non-western cultures. By the mid-1970s many institutions offered "world studies" courses mostly based on cultural geography. During the 1980s, in response to increased immigration from Asia and Latin America, some Humanities programs offered a World History course to provide a broader experience than the conventional Western Civ. course. Although the focus continued to be on Western political history, it included a few regional histories that were shaped to fit into the timeline of Western civilizations. By the mid-1980s both faculty and students across the nation criticized the Eurocentric focus of Western Civ. courses and advocated for the inclusion of histories of women, non-white, non-Christian, and non-European cultures. On January 15, 1987, Jesse Jackson joined nearly 500 protestors at Stanford University, and their chant "*Hey hey, ho ho, Western Civ has got to go*" drew national attention. Students and faculty rallied to express their concerns about Eurocentric courses in the core curriculum. By 1990 Stanford University replaced its Western Culture course with a CIV (Culture, Identities, and Values) course that was more inclusive in terms of race, class, and gender.

Let's briefly review the fundamental limitations of Western Civ. courses and understand why students and faculty demand alternative perspectives and interpretations that are more inclusive and representative of the diversity of human civilizations. Many Western Civ. courses focus solely on European history, art, literature, and ideas, European Enlightenment, while ignoring similar intellectual movements in other parts of the world, and present European colonialism as a necessary stage in a constructed ideology of human progress, and omitting the violence, exploitation, and oppression that took place in the colonies. Essentially, this approach overlooks the complex interchanges and mutual influences that have shaped human history. For example, conventional Western Civ. textbooks present British colonialism as a beneficial development for people in its colonies in Africa and Asia, and suggest that British colonialism led to modernization, economic development, democracy, establishment of legal systems and administrative structures that promoted stability in the colonies. Figure 13.1.1, titled "*From the Cape to Cairo*," published in 1902 in *Puck*, at the end of the Second Boer War, beautifully captures the Eurocentric mentality of nineteenth-century European colonizers towards Africans: it shows Britannia carrying a large white flag labeled "Civilization" with British soldiers and colonists behind her, advancing towards a group of Africans, one carrying a flag labeled "Barbarism." The message is that Britain leads non-Christian, non-Europeans out of ignorance through progress in the form of Western civilization. The problem with Eurocentric narratives is that they present a one-sided and distorted view of historical events, marginalize the contributions and experiences of non-Christian non-Europeans, erase the atrocities of the colonizers, and limit students' understanding of the richness and diversity of human civilizations. This is precisely why it is important to be critical of these perspectives in world history textbooks, and to include alternative perspectives and interpretations that are more inclusive and representative of the diversity of human civilizations.

Figure 13.1.1: From the Cape to Cairo, Udo J. Keppler, Library of Congress, in the Public Domain.

Figure 13.1.2: "The White Man's Burden (Apologies to Rudyard Kipling)," Frederick Victor Gillam, The Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum, in the Public Domain.

British novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling, a white supremacist, published *"The White Man's Burden"* in *McClure's Magazine* in February 1899. The publication date is important for the following reasons: The Philippine-American War began in February 1899;

In February 1899 the US Senate ratified the *Treaty of Paris* that officially ended the Spanish-American War, ceded Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States, and placed Cuba under U.S. control; and the concept of "white man's burden" provided moral justification for imperialism. Euro-American discourses perpetuate the myth that their “civilizing” mission led to progress, science, technology, and growth in the colonies. The cartoon shown in Figure 13.1.2 takes its title from Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden.” Figure 13.1.2 shows Uncle Sam (US) and John Bull (Britain) rescuing Asians and Africans from the depths of barbarism to the heights of civilization. It is important to point out that this image reflects dominant ideologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This textbook includes the cartoons of several anti-imperialists to explain how Eurocentric stereotypes reinforce systemic racism. Anti-racist history education is important to promote a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the past.

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13.2: Expanding Horizons- Methods in World History

New Frameworks to Better Understand Our Past

The discipline of world history has evolved over time, with different approaches and schools of thought emerging in response to changing social and political contexts. For example, the Annales School, which emerged in France in the early twentieth century, emphasized the importance of long-term structural factors in shaping historical development, while the world-systems theory, which emerged in the United States in the 1970s, focused on the ways in which global economic systems have shaped world history. Today, world history continues to evolve and adapt to changing contexts, with a growing emphasis on global interconnectedness and the need to engage with diverse perspectives and voices. This includes a recognition of the ways in which historical narratives have been shaped by power and privilege, and a commitment to promoting a more inclusive and equitable understanding of the past.

At its core, world history aims to understand how political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental factors have influenced the development of human societies and how these societies have interacted with one another. To achieve this, world historians use a range of sources, including primary and secondary sources, artifacts, and other evidence to reconstruct the past and make sense of it. World history also seeks to address questions of causality and contingency. Historians examine how specific events or actions have had broader historical implications, and how different outcomes could have resulted from different choices or circumstances. This involves analyzing the role of individual actors, such as leaders or innovators, as well as broader social, economic, and environmental factors.

During the Cold War, several area studies programs were established in universities across the nation to better understand non-western states and cultures. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the focus of historical studies has shifted from the nation-state to the study of migrations and global interactions and trade. While there is no national consensus about how a World/Global History course should be taught, some textbooks continue to highlight debunked ideologies, such as “American exceptionalism.”

Currently Global History is one of the most influential fields in the discipline. It draws on a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches, but it is not defined by a single theoretical or ideological position. Rather, global history is characterized by its interdisciplinary approach and its commitment to understanding the complex and dynamic relationships between different regions and peoples and seeks to incorporate diverse perspectives and voices into its analysis of global developments. By promoting a broader and more nuanced understanding of historical developments, global history promotes equity and social justice by challenging traditional Eurocentric narratives of history, highlighting the impacts of oppression and inequality, and recognizing the contributions of diverse societies and cultures to human civilization. In this way, global history challenges the notion that one group or civilization has a monopoly on knowledge or progress. One of the key ways in which this textbook promotes anti-racism, equity, and social justice is by highlighting the historical and ongoing impacts of colonialism, imperialism, and other forms of oppression. By examining the ways in which power has been distributed and contested throughout history, global history provides a framework for understanding contemporary issues of inequality and social justice.

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13.3: Decentering Historical Narratives

Emphasizing the Experiences of Marginalized Peoples

Many textbooks continue to perpetuate Eurocentric biases by ignoring, downplaying, or blurring the experiences and contributions of peoples from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Demographically, the West represents approximately ten percent of the world's population. Yet, western dominance in historical writing is overwhelming. What is astonishing is that non-western writers have successfully been marginalized even in the production of their own histories. English is the dominant language of historiography and most of the analytical frameworks are European. Thus, drawing inspiration from Gayatri Spivak, we ask "can the subaltern speak in world history?" How can we move beyond simply integrating the "other" into a predominantly western paradigm?

Textbooks are important sources of information for students. The problem is that history textbooks present simplified, sanitized linear summaries, especially about race relations and colonialism. The concepts of race and racism are not static: they are evolving social constructs! Contrary to popular belief, discrimination did not emerge simply from ignorance or hatred. In fact, racist practices have been consciously designed by some of the most influential minds of each period. For example, many textbooks suggest that racism in the United States was an outcome of Southern slavery. This is inaccurate: the concept of "white supremacy" preceded the origins of the United States. The first few chapters in this textbook shed light on these issues.

History, or more accurately 'histories,' refers to the narratives that human beings construct to make meaning of past events. Over time, societies have permitted certain narratives to be articulated, and others to be silenced. Thus, the belief that narratives can accurately approximate all past events is problematic, especially when selected themes are politicized and blurred by anachronistic approaches. If our goal is to better understand the human past, we need to critically examine the narrative forms of history as well.

One of the main goals of our project is to de-center Euro-American discourses about the non-western world. The task of creating inclusive and accurate academic content is critical. World History textbooks often present sanitized versions of conflicts that either minimize or omit violence, exploitation, and oppression that were integral to empire building and European colonialism. Thus, incorporating anti-racist content into World History textbooks involves exposing violence and exploitation by examining the brutalities of slavery, the exploitation of colonial subjects, and the ongoing violence against women and minorities. While these topics may be difficult to confront, they are essential to understanding the reality of human experience and the ways in which racism has shaped our world.

In addition to including anti-racist content, it is also important to problematize conventional terminology and pedagogy. When African American historical figures are included in textbooks, they are often portrayed as deviants in Euro-American society. Malcolm X, for example, is often represented as a militant and divisive figure, rather than as an influential leader who advocated for the rights of African Americans. These narratives often ignore the range of political and social issues that he addressed, and instead focus on his most controversial statements and actions. Such narratives are designed to marginalize the historical legacies of systemic racism. These omissions are not accidental. This revised version showcases some of the historical events and figures that have long been absent in traditional World History textbooks. The content, primary sources, and discussion questions in each chapter are designed to:

- **Identify historical structures of power, privilege, and inequality that are rooted in discrimination**. The first couple of chapters focus on the history of slavery and its impact on the world, including the transatlantic trade of enslaved peoples and the ways in which slavery shaped the economies and cultures of different societies. The following chapters explore the histories of colonialism and imperialism, and the ways in which colonial powers exploited and oppressed people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We bring particular attention to the ways in which colonial discourses have influenced and distorted our understanding of historical events and experiences of colonized peoples to disrupt discourses of white supremacy.
- **Examine resistance movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America**. Throughout history, people have fought against oppression, discrimination, and injustice in various ways: civil rights movements, anti-colonial struggles, and other forms of resistance. For example, indigenous people in the Americas have consistently resisted white supremacy since sustained contact with the Europeans began in the sixteenth century. Focus on these resistance movements demonstrates the power of collective action and the importance of fighting for justice and equality. This approach allows students to understand why dissent is difficult to exercise when racism is an integral part of governance. Chapters 9 to 12 illustrate the interconnections among struggles for justice worldwide; for example, the struggle for civil rights in the US was connected to African independence,

women's rights, labor, and the Free South Africa movements. Anti-racist histories place a greater emphasis on the experiences and perspectives of historically marginalized groups to ensure that their stories and contributions are valued and recognized.

- **Incorporate diverse voices and perspectives**. We included a wide range of primary sources that provide alternative perspectives and experiences from across the world. This includes the perspectives of people of color, indigenous peoples, and other marginalized communities who have been traditionally excluded from mainstream historical narratives. Colonial perspectives and Eurocentrism dominate the way World History is taught. Teaching an anti-racist and non-Eurocentric history of the modern world requires a multi-faceted approach, starting with the recognition that these biases exist and that they have been perpetuated in our educational curriculum. **Our goal is not to simply add a few random examples to traditional narrative but to consciously make the histories of marginalized events and historical actors central to historical education.** We have decentered historical narratives by drawing attention to the contributions of historical figures and events that are seldom celebrated in conventional textbooks, such as the Madres de la Plaza in Argentina and the Angolan Civil War.
- **Re-examine the role of the West in Global History**. Chapters 10 to 12 highlight the experiences of colonized peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and examine the devastating impact of colonial and imperialist exploitation in those regions. In addition, the primary sources and discussion questions focus on the role of race and racism in shaping political and economic systems, including the formation of apartheid regimes in South Africa and other countries, and the impact of segregation in the United States.
- **Decolonize terminology and critically analyze primary sources**. The development of Global History as a pedagogical field requires us to critically reanalyze the educational and cultural legacies of European colonialism from a subaltern perspective. The language and terminology used in this book recognize the agency and perspectives of non-Western peoples. Every chapter includes primary sources and discussion questions that encourage students to question assumptions, explore alternative perspectives, and analyze the ways in which historical narratives are constructed and manipulated.

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13.4: A Commitment to Anti-Racism

Creating Inclusive Content

As we reach the end of this World History textbook, it is important to reflect on the progress that has been made and the challenges that remain in the quest for social justice, equity, and anti-racism in the twenty-first century. Over the course of human history, people have struggled against various forms of oppression and discrimination, including racism, sexism, imperialism, and colonialism. Despite some hard-won victories and advances, these issues persist in various forms to this day. In recent years, the world has witnessed growing demands for social justice and equity in the form of popular uprisings and mass protests.

At the heart of this project is a deep commitment to anti-racism. Racism has been a persistent and insidious problem throughout human history, and its effects can still be seen today in the unequal treatment of people based on their race, ethnicity, or national origin. This includes disparities in access to education, employment, housing, healthcare, and other basic needs, as well as ongoing incidents of racial profiling and police brutality. As historians, it is important that we acknowledge and confront the role of colonialism, imperialism, and other forms of historical oppression in shaping the world today. Many countries around the world are still grappling with the legacies of colonialism, which has often led to unequal distribution of resources, ongoing exploitation, and ongoing violence and conflict. As we move forward into the twenty-first century, it is crucial that we continue to reflect on the progress that has been made and the challenges that remain in our quest for social justice and equity. We hope that you will find this revised textbook to be a useful resource, and that it will inspire you to continue learning and engaging with important topics in World History.

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