THE END OF EMPIRE IN WORLD HISTORY

1. India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Syria, the Philippines, Iraq, Jordan, and Israel won independence in the late 1940s.


3. Imperial breakup wasn’t new; the novelty was mobilization of the masses around a nationalist ideology and creation of a large number of new nation-states.
   a. Some comparison to the first decolonization of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
   b. But in the Americas, most colonized people were of European origin, holding a common culture with their colonial rulers.
GLOBAL EVENTS INFLUENTIAL IN DECOLONIZATION

- Imperialism
- Growing Nationalism
- World War I
- World War II
- Cold War
World War I

- Promises of self-determination
- Use of colonial soldiers in trenches
- Locals filled posts left by colonial powers during war
- Colonies provided materials for the war
- Financial strain on empire
- Treaty of Versailles – Wilson
WORLD WAR II

- Increased nationalist uprisings following WWI and as a result of the global depression
- Costs of empire – To have an empire it was expensive and all colonial powers were hurting because of the world wide depression
- US support of anti-colonial liberation movements
- Atlantic Charter (1941) “right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live”
- Soviets condemned colonialism
COLD WAR

- Provided inspiration a blend of capitalist and socialist economies and agendas.
- Provided arms to those who sided with one or the other (proxy wars and arms races).
- Encouraged violent recourse for some as a result of the power politics of cold war competition.
PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION AND NATION-BUILDING

- Surge of anti-colonial nationalism after 1945. Leaders used lessons in mass politicization and mass mobilization of 1920’s and 1930’s.

- Three patterns:
  1. Civil war (China)
  2. Negotiated independence (India and much of Africa)
  3. Incomplete de-colonization (Palestine, Algeria and Southern Africa, Vietnam)
CHINA CASE STUDY

- Japanese invasion interrupted the 1920’s and 1930’s conflict between the Communists (Mao Zedong) and the Nationalists in China (Chiang Kai-shek)
CHINA CASE STUDY

- During the war, Communists expanded peasant base, using appeals for women (health care, divorce rights, education access, graduated taxes, cooperative farming).
- Growth of party during the war in part through use of anti-Japanese propaganda.
- Resumption of civil war after Japanese surrender.
- 1949 Great People’s Revolution- Mao
- Nationalist leaders fled to Taiwan.
NEGOTIATED INDEPENDENCE IN INDIA AND AFRICA

- Independence with little bloodshed in India and much of colonial Africa in decades following World War II.
- Why? At what cost?
India and other Asian colonies were the first to establish independence movements.

Western-educated minorities organized politically to bring about the end of modification of colonial regimes.
India: History of the Movement

- Indian National Congress party founded in 1885. (Elite group not mass movement)
- Growth of Indian national identity - presented grievances to the British.
- Congress party attracted mass following which opposed shift from the production of food to commercial crops.
- Gandhi and Congress leadership tried to prevent mass peasant uprising (as was happening in China) by keeping power centered on middle class leaders.
PEACEFUL PROTESTS

- Mohandas Gandhi and other western educated lawyers led peaceful alternative.
- Nation-wide protest against colonialism through boycotts and campaigns of civil resistance.
- His efforts were not well received by the Muslims who formed a separate organization in 1906, The Muslim League.
- Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Muslim League) insisted on partitioned state (Hindu and Muslim).
INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

- August 1947 Pakistan and India gained independence.
- Mass killings of Muslims and Hindus (1 million) followed by mass migrations (12 million). (Gandhi fasted to prevent war- > assassination)
- Jawaharlal Nehru, first Prime Minister, began modernization campaign.
AFRICA FOR AFRICANS

- Nationalists composed of ex-servicemen, urban unemployed & under-employed, and the educated (usually from western education).
- Pan-Africanism and Negritude
- Senghor (Senegal) and Dubois (African-American)
DE-COLONIZATION IN AFRICA

- 1957, Gold Coast (renamed Ghana) independence, led by western-educated, Kwame Nkrumah.
- By 1963, all of British ruled Africa, except Southern Rhodesia, was independent.
VIOLENT AND INCOMPLETE DECOLONIZATIONS

- Presence of European immigrant groups impeded negotiations, leading to violence. For example, Kenya, Palestine, Algeria, and southern Africa.

- Vietnam's de-colonization complicated by France's colonial ties and cold war politics.
DE-COLONIZATION IN FRENCH-RULED AFRICA

- Initially more resistant than the British.
- Encouraged closer French ties-assimilation, not autonomy.
- Not willing to go far enough in granting rights.
- With exception of Algeria, by 1960 had granted independence.
KENYA

- Presence of settlers prevented smooth transition of power.
- Kenya (20,000 Europeans only) led to violent revolt.
- Mau-Mau Revolt, 1952, led by Kikuyus suppressed by British.
- 1963 independence granted to black majority, led by Kenyatta.
Vietnam

- French rule since 1880’s – rice, mining, and rubber exports
- Rise of foreign educated intelligentsia (Ho Chi Minh)
- Formation of Viet Minh in 1941
- Guerrilla War with France (1946-1954)
- Divided country in 1954 led to gradual US entry to contain communism.
ALGERIA

- Appeal of Arab nationalism
- Large French settler population
- 1954-1962 war between FLN (nationalist party) and French troops
- “part of France”
- 300,000 lives
EGYPT

- 1906 Dinshawai incident aroused nationalist passions.
- Actions post- Indep (1936) not sufficient.
- Coup d’etat in 1952 Gamal Abdel Nasser
- Nationalization of Suez 1956 protested by Israelis, British and French but diplomacy won over eventually.
- Nasser= symbol of pan-Arab nationalism.
Toward Freedom:
Struggles for Independence
DISCUSSION STARTER: WHAT FACTOR DO YOU CONSIDER MOST IMPORTANT IN EXPLAINING THE SLOW AND DIFFICULT DEVELOPMENT OF MANY AFRICAN NATIONS FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE?

a. The economic legacy of colonialism

b. Difficulties in creating a sense of national unity

c. The paternalistic rule of colonial powers which left Africans not ready for self-rule

d. Corruption among political leaders accompanied by the failure of democratic systems
THE END OF EMPIRE IN WORLD HISTORY

Major Factor – the fall of many empires in the twentieth century

a. Austrian and Ottoman empires collapsed in the wake of World War I
b. Russian Empire collapsed but was soon recreated as the USSR
c. German and Japanese empires ended with World War II
d. African and Asian independence movements shared with other “end of empire” stories the ideal of national self-determination
e. nonterritorial empires (e.g., where United States wielded powerful influence) came under attack
f. disintegration of the USSR (1991) was propelled by national self-determination (creation of 15 new states)
EXPLAINING AFRICAN AND ASIAN INDEPENDENCE

1. few people would have predicted imperial collapse in 1900

2. several explanations for decolonization have emerged:
   1. emphasis on the fundamental contradictions in the colonial enterprise
   2. some scholars emphasize the role of specific groups and individuals—the issue of “agency”

3. independence was contested everywhere
   1. independence efforts usually were not cohesive movements of uniformly oppressed people
   2. fragile coalitions of conflicting groups and parties
Comparing Freedom Struggles
COMPARISON: IN WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS WERE DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA AND CHINA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY SIMILAR?

a. Both were able to avoid even partial occupation by Western powers during the opening half of the century.

b. Both became communist after World War II, although India would from 1970 return to a capitalist system.

c. Both experienced rapid economic growth in the final decades of the century to become important economic powers.

d. Both partook in nonviolent freedom movements that ultimately secured their independence.
1. before 1900, few people of the Indian subcontinent thought of themselves as “Indians”
   a. cultural identity was primarily local
   b. diversity was enormous

2. British rule promoted a growing sense of Indian identity
   a. unlike earlier foreign rulers, the British didn’t assimilate; Indians shared more similarities to each other than to the rulers
   b. British communications and administrative networks, schools, and use of English bound India together

3. 1885: establishment of the Indian National Congress (INC)
   a. almost exclusively an association of English-educated, high-caste Hindus
   b. made moderate demands; at first asked for a greater role in the life of British India
   c. British mocked them and rejected their claim to speak for all Indians
   d. the INC only began to gain a wide following after World War I
THE CASE OF INDIA: ENDING BRITISH RULE

4. the role of Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948)
   a. had studied law in England but wasn’t a very successful lawyer
   b. in 1893, took a job in South Africa, where he joined the fight against racial segregation
   c. developed the political philosophy of satyagraha (truth force), a nonviolent approach to political action
   d. back in India, Gandhi became a leader of the INC
   e. attacked not just colonial rule but also mistreatment of India’s untouchables and the evils of modernization

5. not everyone agreed with Gandhi
   a. especially important was a growing Muslim/Hindu divide
   b. 1906: creation of an All-India Muslim League
   c. some Hindu politicians defined the nationalist struggle in religious terms
   d. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, head of the Muslim League, argued that regions of India with a Muslim majority should be a separate state (Pakistan, the land of the pure)
THE CASE OF INDIA: ENDING BRITISH RULE

6. independence in 1947 created two countries
   a. Pakistan (Muslim, divided into two wings 1,000 miles apart)
   b. India (secular but mostly Hindu)
   c. process was accompanied by massive violence; some 1 million died, 12 million refugees relocated

7. 1948: a Hindu extremist assassinated Gandhi
DISCUSSION STARTER: WHAT FOR YOU IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT TO EMERGE FROM THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS THAT ACCOMPANIED DECOLONIZATION?

a. Nonviolence as an approach to political action
b. A large number of new sovereign states
c. Cultural experimentation in the Islamic world
d. The decline of the empire as a legitimate political structure
THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA: ENDING APARTHEID

1. South Africa won freedom from Great Britain in 1910
2. but its government was controlled by a white settler minority
3. white population was split between British descendants (had economic superiority) and Afrikaners (Boers) of Dutch descent (had political dominance)
   a. Afrikaners had failed to win independence from the British in the Boer War (1899–1902)
   b. both white groups felt threatened by any move toward black majority rule
4. by the early 1900s, South Africa had a mature industrial economy
   a. by the 1960s, had major foreign investments and loans
   b. black South Africans were extremely dependent on the white-controlled economy
5. the issue of race was overwhelmingly prominent
   a. policy of apartheid tried to keep blacks and white completely separate, while retaining black labor power
   b. enormous repressive powers enforced social segregation
6. African National Congress (ANC) founded in 1912
   a. like India’s INC, it consisted of elite Africans who wanted a voice in society
   b. for 40 years, the ANC was peaceful and moderate
   c. 1950s: moved to nonviolent civil disobedience
   d. the government’s response was overwhelming repression
   e. ANC was banned and its leadership imprisoned
7. underground nationalist leaders turned to sabotage and assassination
   a. opposition came to focus on student groups
   b. Soweto uprising (1976) was the start of spreading violence
   c. organization of strikes
8. growing international pressure
   a. exclusion from international sporting events
   b. economic boycotts
   c. withdrawal of private investment funds
9. negotiations began in the late 1980s
   a. key apartheid policies were abandoned
   b. Mandela was freed and the ANC legalized
10. 1994: national elections brought the ANC to power
    a. apartheid was ended without major bloodshed
    b. most important threat was a number of separatist and “Africans only” groups
COMPARISON: IN COMPARISON TO THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN INDIA, IN SOUTH AFRICA

a. race was a more prominent issue.
b. the white government received little international pressure to reform.
c. the movement was a struggle against a European colonial power, rather than against a sizeable and threatened settler community of European origin.
d. independence took a much shorter period of time to secure.
A. New nations emerging from colonial rule confronted the problem of how to parlay independence into economic development and industrial growth, unification, and political participation.

1. already independent but non-industrialized countries faced the same quest for a better life

2. all together = the third world (developing countries, the Global South)

3. 1950–2000: developing nations contained 75 percent of world population

4. independence created euphoria, but optimism soon faded in light of difficulties
EXPERIMENTS IN POLITICAL ORDER: COMPARING AFRICAN NATIONS AND INDIA

1. common conditions confronted all efforts to establish political order:
   a. explosive population growth
   b. overly high expectations for independence
   c. cultural diversity, with little loyalty to a central state

2. in the 1950s, British, French, and Belgians set up democratic institutions in their
   African colonies
   a. few still survived by the early 1970s
   b. many were swept away by military coups
   c. some evolved into one-party systems
EXPERIMENTS IN POLITICAL ORDER: COMPARING AFRICAN NATIONS AND INDIA

3. in India, Western-style democracy succeeded
   a. the independence movement was more extended, and power was handed over gradually
   b. many more Indians than Africans had administrative and technical skills at the time of independence
   c. the Indian Congress Party embodied the whole nationalist movement, without too much internal discord

4. various arguments as to why Africans initially rejected democracy
   a. some argue that the Africans were not ready for democracy or lacked some necessary element
   b. some argue that African traditional culture (communal, based on consensus) was not compatible with party politics
   c. some argue that Western-style democracy was inadequate to the task of development
EXPERIMENTS IN POLITICAL ORDER: COMPARING AFRICAN NATIONS AND INDIA

5. widespread economic disappointment discredited early African democracies
   a. African economic performance since independence has been poor
   b. widespread economic hardship
   c. modern governments staked their popularity on economic success

6. the well-educated elite benefited most, obtaining high-paying bureaucratic jobs that caused resentment

7. economic resentment found expression in ethnic conflict

8. repeatedly, the military took power in a crisis

9. starting in the 1980s, Western-style democracy has resurfaced
   a. series of grassroots movements arose after authoritarian governments failed to improve economic situation
EXPERIMENTS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
CHANGING PRIORITIES, VARYING OUTCOMES

1. the belief that poverty isn’t inevitable won out
   a. however, in many states, colonial rule had not provided much infrastructure for modern development
   b. most developing countries didn’t have leverage in negotiation with wealthy nations and corporations
   c. African leaders got contradictory advice on how to develop successfully

2. general expectation in the developing world that the state would spur economic development
   a. most private economies were weakly developed
   b. Chinese and Soviet industrialization provided models
   c. but for several decades, there has been growing dependence on market forces for economic development
EXPERIMENTS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: CHANGING PRIORITIES, VARYING OUTCOMES

3. urban vs. rural development has been an important issue
   a. in some areas, the “urban bias” has been partly corrected
   b. women’s access to employment, education, and birth control provided incentives to limit family size
4. debate over whether foreign aid, investment, and trade are good or bad
5. the degree of economic development has varied widely by region
   a. East Asia has been the most successful
   b. 1990s: India opened itself more fully to the world market
   c. several Latin American states developed industrially
   d. most of Africa, much of the Arab world, and parts of Asia didn’t catch up, and standards of living often declined
   e. there is no general agreement about why such great variations developed
**CHANGE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN IRAN AND TURKEY DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

a. reflects the declining influence of Islam in public life and especially government within the Islamic world.

b. reflects the universal trend toward a greater role for Islam in public life and government within the Islamic world.

c. reflects the diversity of traditions within the Islamic world toward the role of Islam in public life and government.

d. reflects the growing role of communism in shaping the role of Islam in public life and government within the Islamic world.
EXPERIMENTS WITH CULTURE: THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN TURKEY AND IRAN

1. the relationship between Western-style modernity and tradition has been an issue across the developing world

2. the case of Islam: Turkey and Iran approached the issue of how Islam and modernity should relate to each other very differently
3. Turkey: emerged in the wake of World War I, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938)
   a. major cultural revolution in the 1920s and 1930s
   b. effort to create a thoroughly modern, Western society
   c. much of the Islamic underpinning of society was abolished or put under firm
government control as part of effort to relegate Islam to private realm
   d. men were ordered not to wear the fez; many elite women gave up the veil
   e. women gained legal rights, polygamy was abolished, and women got the vote (1930s)
   f. state-organized enterprises were set up
   g. government remained authoritarian, although a parliamentary system emerged after
1938
   h. some of Atatürk’s reforms were rescinded after his death, and various political groups
urged a greater role for Islam in the public
   i. in 2008 the Turkish parliament voted to end earlier prohibition on women wearing
headscarves in universities
EXPERIMENTS WITH CULTURE: THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN TURKEY AND IRAN

4. Iran: became the center of Islamic revival (1970s)
   a. growing opposition to Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi’s modernizing, secularizing, U.S.-supported government
   b. many of the shah’s reforms offended traditional Islamic practices
   c. the mosque became the main center of opposition to the government
   d. the shah was forced to abdicate in 1979, and the Ayatollah Khomeini assumed control of the state
   e. the Islamic revolution moved Iran towards Islamization of public life
DISCUSSION STARTER: DO YOU BELIEVE THAT DEMOCRACY IS THE IDEAL MODEL OF GOVERNMENT AND THAT IT SHOULD BE IN PLACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD?

- a. Democracy is the ideal model of government and it should be in place throughout the world.
- b. Democracy is not the ideal model of government and it should not be in place throughout the world.
FALL OF EMPIRE: FALL OUT AND LEGACY

- Colonial footprint
- Problems of Transition
- Problems of Identity
CHALLENGES OF INDEPENDENCE

- Ethnic disputes
- Dependent economies
- Growing debt
- Cultural dependence on west- > religious revivalism as backlash
- Widespread social unrest
- Military responses to restore order
- Population growth
- Resource depletion
- Lack of middle class in some locales
- Education deficit and later, brain drain.
- Neo-colonialism through economic debt.
CONCLUSIONS

- Decolonization was sometimes a violent process-dependent in large part on how many settlers had come to the colony.

- In many parts of the world, decolonization was not revolutionary. Power passed from one class of elites to another. Little economic and social reform occurred.

- Significant challenges faced independent nations.

- Western economic dominance of the global trade system continued unabated. WHY?