

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Two movements about which many of you have heard, socialism and communism, emerged in the period between 1815 and 1848 and very much reflected conditions at that time. They were essentially a response to the industrial revolution, which both regarded as something that had to be managed if it were to benefit all mankind.

And we begin with socialism, or utopian socialism as it is sometimes called, because a lot of people thought it was socialism of people who just felt sorry for the workers.

Socialism had some common ideas. The first was that the economic system of free trade, manufacturing, capitalism, etc. was aimless, chaotic, and outrageously unjust. The Socialists declared that it was astoundingly unfair that one man could give another man work or take it away from him. It was unfair that one man could tell another what he could earn, that one man could tell another when he had to work.

To make the system much better, the socialists believed, the means of production should be owned by the people. Instead of competition ruling society, cooperation should be the rule, instead of supply and demand, equitable distribution of goods. In other words, economic development should benefit everyone and be fair to all; it should not be a means to bring great wealth to some and poverty to others. The Socialists declared that legal equality was a goal of the French Revolution; economic equality was now their goal.

Henri de Saint-Simon

These were the general ideas of the socialists, and now I want to talk about three of them just as examples. The first is a Frenchman by the name of Saint-Simon, who lived from 1760 to 1825.



Henri de Saint-Simon (1760 – 1825), the founder of French socialism, was born in Paris. Saint-Simon envisaged the reorganization of society with an elite of philosophers, engineers and scientists leading a peaceful process of industrialization tamed by their "rational" Christian-Humanism

Saint-Simon was a French nobleman who fought in the American Revolution and thought that the French Revolution had in the long run been good for society. He also believed that the Industrial Revolution was basically a good thing, but it had to be brought under control. And the way he proposed that should be done was to create a group of great thinkers, who would control the development of industry for the good of all. These people would be beyond national boundaries; they would be in charge of organizing all of Europe and even developing great projects like building the Suez Canal. Saint-Simon is considered the first clear exponent of a planned society.

Charles Fourier

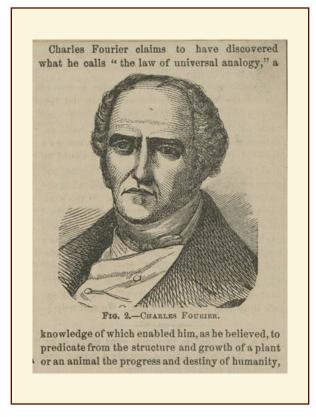
The second is another Frenchman by the name of Charles Fourier, who lived from 1772 to 1837. Fourier was not convinced that the Industrial Revolution was good and that, to live well, human beings needed to return to simpler Fourier said that the goal of society should be harmony, not progress, and he proposed the following to ensure that harmony. He believed that people should live in ideal communities of 1620 people each (he believed that humans were divided into 810 different species, and 1620 would allow one each of male and female). Labor would be organized so that everyone would enjoy it. For example, garbage collection would be performed by small boys dressed in clown costumes riding small ponies, because small boys like nothing better than to play in garbage. Labor would be so much fun, Fourier argued, that people would get out of bed at 3:00 a.m. to rush to work.

Fourier wanted to see if his ideal communities would work, and he set up a number of them in France. None of them worked. He also set up some in the United States, which was always a place where utopian socialists thought things would work best, including one at Brook Farm in Massachusetts, which was organized by famous literary people at the time including Nathaniel Hawthorn. It lasted about five years.

I should probably add, to be fair, that Fourier was an absolute flake. To say that there is much in Fourier's writing that is pure nonsense would be an understatement. His works are contradictory, confused, repetitive, chaotic and long-winded. For instance, Fourier's passion for numbers led him to predict that the ideal world he was helping to create would last 80,000 years, 8,000 of them in an era of Perfect Harmony in which:

- ★six moons would orbit the earth
- ★the North Pole would be milder than the Mediterranean

- ★the seas would lose their salt and become oceans of lemonade
- ★the world would contain 37 million poets equal to Homer, 37 million mathematicians equal to Newton and 37 million dramatists equal to Molière, although "these are approximate estimates"
- \star every woman would have four lovers or husbands simultaneously¹



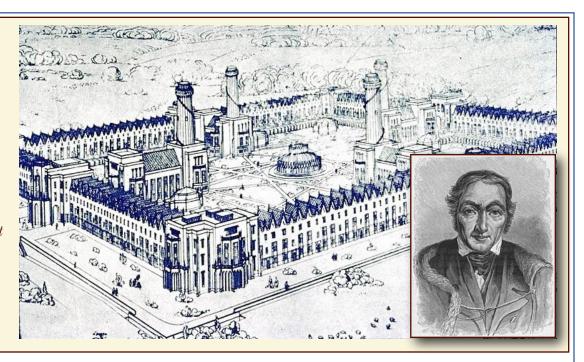
Robert Owen

The third of the utopian socialists was one that probably should not be called utopian since some of his ideas worked. This was an Welshman named Robert Owen, who lived from 1771 to 1858. Owen was himself an owner of many textile mills in Britain and had a lot of money. He was ashamed at the way he and his fellow factory owners treated the workers and so he created a model community that he hoped would set the example of how workers should be treated. He paid high wages, reduced working hours, built schools, corrected vice and drunkenness. And he proved his point because output went up, and he made even greater profits. He then set out to get other factory owners to do the same for their workers. As you can probably

I could not possibly make this stuff up.

New Harmony, Indiana...

...as envisioned by Robert Owen (far right). In never actually looked like that! The experiment was established in 1825 and dissolved in 1829 due to constant quarrels. The town banned money and other commodities. A big part of the problem was that the settlement was dominated by intellectuals instead of acting as a community for industrial workers.



Harmony in Indiana. It lasted about five years and is a state commemorative area today.

Karl Marx and Communism

Communism is based on the philosophy of a 19thcentury German philosopher named Karl Marx, who lived from 1818 to 1883. Karl Marx claimed that his ideas were not utopian at all — not at all based on his feeling sorry for anyone. Marx insisted that his ideas were science. They were not a matter of wishing some sort of future; they were predicting the future based on concrete evidence offered in the present. What we are going to do is talk about Marxism or Communism — by talking about the evidence Marx used to come up with his theories.

The first evidence for his theories was the industrial revolution. Marx observed the conditions of the factory workers in the 1830s and 1840s and concluded, quite rightly, that the factory workers were not at all well off. In fact, he observed, they were oppressed. They produced all of the stuff of the Industrial Revolution and enjoyed a tiny fraction of the value they created. Marx agreed with Adam Smith: the value of something was in the labor it took to create it, but for Marx the person who made that something of value — the worker — was being robbed by the person who created the conditions by which that product could be made — the capitalist.

And Marx did not stop there. He declared that the capitalists owned the means of production, and, since they

guess, he did not have much success, but he also created a did so, they created political and social conditions that model community in the United States called New would enable them not only to keep those means of production but enhance them even more. Government, in other words, was in the hands of capitalists, and they used government to maintain their control over the workers. But that was not all. The value system — work hard, do your duty, don't make trouble - was designed to keep the worker under control. Religion — accept your lot in this life and think about your reward in heaven — was simply a device to keep the worker from demanding his true share of In fact, Marx's favorite words were that production. religion was the opiate of the masses; it kept the people drugged so capitalists could make enormous profits.

> Given these conditions, Marx argued, a worker has only one true friend — his fellow worker. He has but one thing he should be loyal to — the working class, because only he and his fellow workers share the same oppression and have A workingman owes no loyalty to a the same hopes. government, because the government is owned by the people who are oppressing him; a working man has no loyalty to a nation, because the so-called national interests are determined by the very class that is oppressing him. And a workingman certainly should owe no loyalty to a church, because the churches are in cahoots with the ruling classes to oppress the workers.

Marx and Hegel

The second foundation for Marx's theories was the philosophy of a German philosopher named G. W. F. Hegel, who lived from 1770 to 1831.

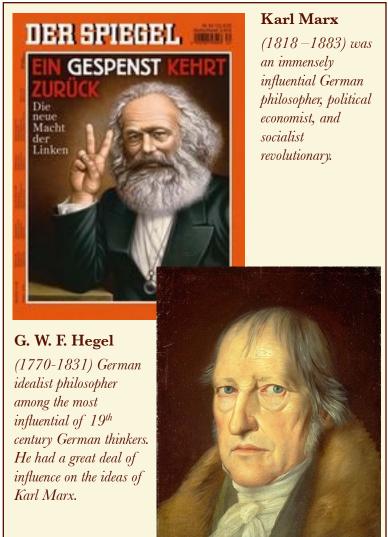
Hegel argued that history evolved from the clash of opposites, a pattern he called the dialectic. There is a certain state of affairs, which he called the thesis; that state of affairs creates its own opposite or antagonistic force called the antithesis; then the thesis and antithesis struggle and finally create a new state of affairs, which he called the synthesis. And then it starts over. Hegel's dialectic was most often characterized as a three-step process of "Thesis, antithesis, synthesis", namely, that a "thesis" (e.g. the French Revolution) would cause the creation of its "antithesis" (e.g. the Reign of Terror that followed), and would eventually result in a "synthesis" (e.g. the Constitutional state of free citizens). However, Hegel used this classification only once, and he attributed the terminology to Immanuel Kant.

It is possible that Marx misunderstood the importance of the thesis-antithesis-synthesis idea to Hegel. Marx certainly misunderstood Hegels application of he idea. Hegel was an idealist and believed that ideas influenced change. Marx was a materialist. Marx liked Hegel's ideas but argued that the momentum of history was not ideas but materialism. Human beings are motivated by their needs, their pocketbooks, if you will, and that is what causes historical change.

Marx's Dialectic of History

First, I should probably mention that Marx was, in spite of being a materialist, also a Romantic. He believed that one of the best times in human history was the Early Middle Ages. According to Marx's rather jaundiced view, after the fall of Rome, European peasants held small farms and shops and controlled the means of production (thesis). Then the Northern German knights came and took the land and created feudalism (antithesis). the knights controlled the land and the peasants became serfs. Knights became wealthy on their ill-gotten profits and wanted to own stuff which prompted a rise in trade and manufacturing and created a new post-feudal society in Europe complete with a new class — the bourgeoisie (synthesis).

The new thesis was the Late Middle Ages with trade and farming — the Renaissance. Now there was a capitalist class that sold stuff to the wealthy landowners. But the capitalist class, as it grew in wealth, began to wonder why the landlord class had power when they were doing the work. So, they rose up and overthrew the landlord class and created a political and social system that would benefit themselves. But in doing so, they created another antithesis, the working class, which they needed to do the work so that the members of the middle class could become rich.



But over time the working class would get bigger and bigger and would wonder why the capitalist class had power when they were doing the work. So, the working class would rise up against the middle class and destroy it. And then there would be happiness ever after, because, with the working class now the ruling class civilization would return to a time when everyone was equal, the workers would create a new paradise where workers would control the means of production and everyone would receive what they needed from those who produced it, the process of thesis-antithesis-synthesis would end in this perfect society and everything would be the same forever.

The French Revolution

The third influence on Marx's thought was the French Revolution. Marx believed that the French Revolution was evidence that, whenever one of these classes overturned the power of another, it came violently, in revolution. He was convinced that the capitalists had overthrown the Germany erupted. In other words, Marx seemed to be a landlord class in England in 1688, in France in 1789, and it prophet; he had predicted everything. And Marx insisted, would soon in Germany. enormous popularity was that the book in which he set all of It was going to happen whether people liked it or not. these ideas forth, The Communist Manifesto, appeared in print in February, 1848. In March 1848 the revolutions in

And what gave his thesis none of what he said was wishful thinking; it was all science.

Conclusion

Marx was undoubtedly the most important philosopher of the last two centuries. In fact, in a recent on-line poll, Marx won the most votes as the most important person of the 20th century although a lot of those votes apparently came from Cuba. Nevertheless, he certainly was important. He was the prophet of Communism but that was not all. He also provided the philosophical underpinnings of Social Democratic political parties throughout Europe,, and it is the Social Democrats who now rule most European countries, although they gave up their Marxism long ago.

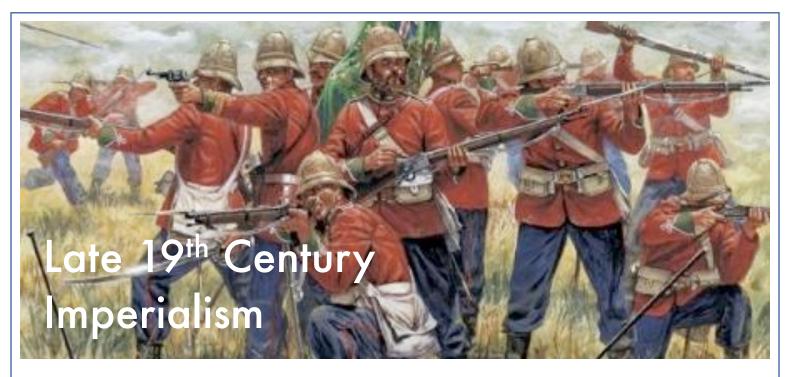
But for now let's finish up by looking at the strengths and weaknesses of Marxism: what made his philosophy so attractive and why it did not work. Without doubt the most important strength was Marx's claim that his ideas were scientific. Marx who labeled the socialists we talked about earlier utopian because their ideas were not based on science like his was.

As part of the science, Marx appealed greatly to people who wanted to change things. Many people felt that things must change, that too many people were oppressed, that the ruling classes were unfeeling, and that wealth was distributed very badly indeed. Marx assured them not only that things would change but that the agencies that seemed so powerful government, church, schools, value systems — were really only tools of the ruling classes. But they were also just temporary.

Soon the working classes would overthrow those institutions and the ruling capitalists, and peace, equality, and justice would rule again. Powerful appeal. And again, it was going to happen because the dialectic said it would.

But there were weaknesses in Marx's thought as well that eventually became pretty clear.

- ★One was the idea that the working class was a unified group with common goals. It was not. Many members of the working class were religious and did not believe their religion was simply a device to keep them oppressed. Many members were loyal to their countries and did not identify particularly with the workers of other countries.
- ★And one circumstance that Marx never imagined would happen did happen. Workers sat down with capitalists and worked out ways in which capitalism would give more to the workers. It took a long time, and there was at least one step backward for every two steps forward, but over time it did happen. And, when that happened, the working classes acquired a vested interest in the survival of the economic system as it existed, not as they dreamed it might be. No more obvious than today with everyone owning stocks. At that point the differences between worker and capitalist become blurred. Most of the capital for manufacturing today comes from investors in corporations. Investors are often workers as well, but their investments make them owners, or Capitalists. This is a synthesis that Karl Marx hadn't worked into his Dialectic.



From the mid 18th century, the British were the only nation in Europe with a significant empire. Then, in the late 19th century, countries throughout Europe embarked on a race for colonies.

At the bottom of Europeans' motivations to colonize were many of the factors and ideas that we have discussed recently, particularly industrialism on and nationalism. You may remember by the early 19th century industrialization had spread to the Continent, nations like France and the German states, though they were not as industrially advanced as Britain, nevertheless, become industrialized.

So these are the factors that encouraged imperialism among Europeans in the late 19th century:

- 1. The desire for products and raw materials, such as cotton, coffee, rubber, to be used in European industries.
- 2. Europeans wanted markets for their manufactured goods.
- 3. Colonies were a good place for entrepreneurial investment money invested in colonial ventures brought a very high return.
- 4. Nationalism: Building an empire became a matter of national pride. The world was an arena for international economic competition. This especially motivated countries that had only recently achieved unification, like Germany and Italy. Also the achievement of military victories was a motivation because military victory, even one achieved against technologically outclassed natives, could bring prestige and nationalistic pride.
- 5. "Gospelling." This was the idea that Western Europeans had two obligations to the rest of the world, one was to convert it to Christianity and the other was to take to it the blessings of modern civilization to it. And often these two were combined. Not all of this was bad. Western Europeans did bring to many parts of the world a better sense of justice. They did do a lot to diminish the slave trade; they did bring improved medical care; and they did do away with some barbaric practices in some parts of the world. But they also brought to parts of the world a level of arrogance and condescension that the local peoples resented for generations to come. One of the best examples was a park in Shanghai, China that had a sign at the entrance, "No dogs and Chinese allowed." And another example is a poem written by the famous British poet of imperialism, Rudyard Kipling, that goes like this:

Take up the White Man's burden-Send forth the best ye breed-Go bind your sons to exile To serve your captives' need; To wait in heavy harness, On fluttered folk and wild-Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden-The savage wars of peace-Fill full the mouth of Famine And bid the sickness cease; And when your goal is nearest The end for others sought, Watch sloth and heathen Folly Bring all your hopes to nought. Take up the White Man's burden-And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard-The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:"Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Early Phase

The early phase of European imperialism took place in Europe itself, as the great powers tried to spread their influence and authority into the Balkans. The Balkans had been ruled for centuries by the Ottoman Turks. But the Ottoman Empire was in decline. Europeans considered the Turkish Empire as "The sick man of Europe." It was considered only a matter of time until the Empire collapsed. So European powers decided they might as well go ahead and relieve the Turks of the Balkans.

Now this is where the Russians start playing a role in European politics again after the Crimean War. The reason for this is that the Balkans were largely Slavic, like the Russians. Part of Russian nationalism was the belief in a "Pan-Slavic Brotherhood." Russian efforts to exert control in the Balkans increased tensions in that area. Russian motivation was not simply based on unselfish support for their Slavic brothers. The Russians wanted to use the Balkans as a way to get to the Mediterranean Sea.

The British were against this because they wanted to keep Russia out of the Mediterranean.

The reason for this is because in 1869, the British completed the Suez Canal which gave them a much shorter route to their colony in India. After the completion of the canal the British made its defense a critical part of their foreign policy. The British did not want competitors in the eastern Mediterranean. As the Russians tried to take control of the Balkans, tensions between Russia and Great Britain escalated. War fever grew in England which gave way to a new term, a new "ism," if you will — "jingoism." The word itself came from a popular music hall song played in London during the crisis. "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do,/ we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too!"

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, on the borders of the Balkans was also afraid of Russian meddling in the area. And this led to further tensions in the Balkans. Austria-Hungary had already taken some of the Balkan territories, and hoped to take more. The British didn't



Oueen Victoria

The British were not too excited about their rivals, the Russians, getting access to the Eastern Mediterranean from the Black Sea. this put a Russian war fleet uncomfortably close to the Suez in Egypt, and easy British access to India.



Tsar Alexander III

The Russians wanted a means of getting the Black sea fleet into the Mediterranean Sea, not only to compete with Britain, but because the Russian fleet in the Baltic was frozen in port during the winter.



particularly want to colonize the Balkans, they just didn't want Russian expansion into the area.

Congress of Berlin (1878)

In 1878, Otto von Bismarck of Germany acted as a moderator. He assembled all of the concerned countries in Berlin, and eventually convinced them to work out a settlement. The Congress was attended by the British Empire, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Turkey. Delegates from Greece, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro attended the sessions in which their states were concerned, but were not members of the congress.

The congress was demanded by the rivals of the Russian Empire, particularly by Austria-Hungary and Britain, and hosted in 1878 by Otto von Bismarck. The Congress of Berlin proposed and ratified the Treaty of Berlin.

Two Ottoman provinces in the Balkans, Bosnia and Herzegovina, were to remain formally Turkish, but actually were to be occupied and administered by the Austrians. Although this worked in the short term to alleviate tensions in the area, problems in the Balkans still remained, and eventually, as we shall see, led to World War I. Many of the problems created in the Balkans through the meddling of other European powers are causes for the troubles that we have there now.

Imperialism in Africa and Asia

Another arena for imperialism and colonization was North Africa. In the 1880's, the British created a protectorate in Egypt because they were afraid that the Egyptians would not be capable of maintaining or defending the Suez Canal. The French became alarmed by the British move into Egypt and moved into North Africa themselves, annexing Algeria and Morocco. When one European country created a colony in Africa, all of the others felt the need to do the same thing. It was a matter of national pride. Ultimately all of Africa was carved up by the European powers. Portugal grabbed a large chunk of the western coast; Germany created colonies and East Africa; Italy grabbed Libya, Belgium colonized the Congo in Central Africa, and so forth, and so on.

Often European powers were so close together, and the borders of their colonies were so difficult to determine, that crises and little skirmishes often erupted between them. One skirmish that escalated was the Boer War in South Africa (1899-1902). South Africa had originally been settled by the Dutch. When the British

moved into the Cape of Good Hope in 1815, many Dutch settlers, called Boers, were unwilling to live under British rule. They decided to move inland. In 1870, Boers in inland South Africa discovered enormous mineral wealth. They found gold, copper, and diamonds. The area quickly became the largest diamond producer in the world. So the British decided to move in order to exploit these minerals. The Boers resisted — men, women and children fought tooth and nail against the British. The Boers used guerrilla tactics to defend their lands. The British began to use concentration camps to contain and control the Boers. The conditions in these camps were horrible, and this exacerbated Boer hatred of the British. Eventually the British defeated the Boers and wisely accepted moderate Boers as allies rather than subjugating them. Britain created a new nation, the Union of South Africa, in 1910. It was a semi-independent commonwealth within the British Empire, and many Boers participated in South African government. course, white South Africans still oppressed a huge population of native black Africans who had no political power at all in the new nation.

Other areas of the world were colonized as well. The French colonized Indo-China; the Russians, China; several countries colonized the Pacific Rim. The British acquired Hong Kong, the French colonized Tahiti, the Japanese, Korea; the United States acquired Hawaii, and so forth.

Critics

European imperialism was not completely without its critics, even in Europe. There was a great deal of very bitter criticism of European colonization and of the treatment by Europeans of other countries and native peoples. This criticism was perhaps best expressed by an English writer named J. A. Hobson. Hobson and other critics argued that:

- ✓ European nations should focus on problems at home. They should invest their surplus capital at home rather than across the globe, and help the poor, the sick, the unemployed.
- ✓ "The white man's burden" was not working out. Critics of European Imperialism noted that Europeans were cruel and exploitive toward native populations. They were not working for the betterment of their "Brown Brothers," but rather for the benefit of Europeans alone. Europeans exploited the resources of their colonies, but didn't use any of the profits to help the indigenous peoples. They took tribal lands for farming and grazing, and didn't care about the plight of the people that were displaced. When the native peoples rebelled against their oppressors, European technology was used ruthlessly to crush native uprisings machine guns against spears and arrows.

Imperialism and Nationalism

Imperialism was an arena for playing out frictions and competition between the great European powers. Unfortunately, imperialism did not relieve tensions in Europe. In fact, it escalated them. Conflicts broke out between European nations over colonies, and over areas of the influence within Europe itself. As nations rushed to achieve ever larger colonial ambitions, and ever greater power on the European continent, tensions grew. Nations manufactured increasingly larger stockpiles of weapons, and competed to increase the size of their armed forces. For instance, Germany wanted a worldwide empire liked the British had, so she started building up a Navy for This scared the British, and defense and expansion. increasing German militarism prompted other European nations into making secret alliances for their mutual defense. Eventually, all it would take was a minor incident to trigger a conflict that brought almost all of Europe into war.

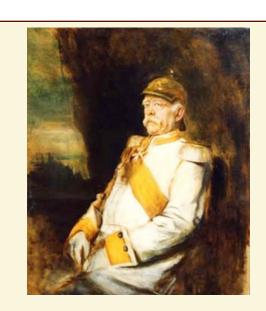
Ironically, even though minor scraps had taken place between European powers and colonial areas, the period from 1871 to 1914 was peaceful in Europe. In fact, it was the longest uninterrupted peace in Western Europe since the Roman Empire. There were occasional minor conflicts, though. These minor conflicts were primarily in the Balkans. There were also a number of war scares, but they never broke out into a war. The main reason that war didn't break out was the restraint of Germany. Germany was unified in the 1870's, the balance of power in Europe changed for the first time since 1815. But after 1871, the new Germany began to dominate the European scene. Compared to other European countries it was a huge geographically, demographically, and economically. It was the new 400 lb. gorilla on the European block.

Bismarck and European Diplomacy

Bismarck recognized and understood the fear of the other European powers. But he also knew that another great European conflict might tear his young new German Empire apart. So, in spite of the fact that he had aggressively and hawkishly built his new Germany, Bismarck wanted peace in Europe. He worked strenuously to preserve European peace for the rest of his career. His main method of obtaining peace was through a series of alliances between the various states of Europe. Unfortunately, the ultimate result of his diplomacy was that he created a web of alliances that were stretched so tightly, that were so complex, that his successors could not maintain them, and ultimately all it took was a relatively minor incident in the Balkans to destroy all of his work. I

don't actually have time to go through all of the alliance's, and diplomatic finagling that took place in Europe from about 1871 to 1914. There is a long discussion of them in your textbook. What I would like to do is mention highlights.

- ✓In 1879, Bismarck concluded a defense of agreement with Austria because he feared Russian intervention in the Balkans. This "Dual Alliance" was a secret agreement between the two states, Germany and Austria. It was a secret because Russia would have felt threatened by the alliance. Now this alliance was meant to assure Austria that Germany would come to its aid if Austria-Hungary was attacked.
- ✓In 1882, Bismarck created yet another treaty, when he roped the Italians into a "Triple Alliance." This alliance was between Germany, Austria and Italy. The biggest winner in this alliance was Italy. Since its unification in 1861, Italy had been a third rate power with delusions of grandeur. The treaty assured the Austrians that Italy would not try to take over Austria's Italian speaking territories if Austria-Hungary was attacked by the Russian empire. In return, Germany and Austria-Hungary agreed to support Italy if that nation was attacked by the French.
- ✓ Bismarck knew that the combination of these treaties entailed a certain amount of risk. He certainly did not want to face a two front war if Russia should attack Austria and France should take advantage of a Russian attack and also attack Germany. So in 1887, Bismarck concluded yet another secret treaty, this time with Russia. It was called the "Reinsurance Treaty." It was basically a mutual pledge of neutrality if war should come, and West Germany should attack France, or Russia should attack Austria. Now this treaty had to be secret, because if Austria found out about it, the Austrian government would be outraged.



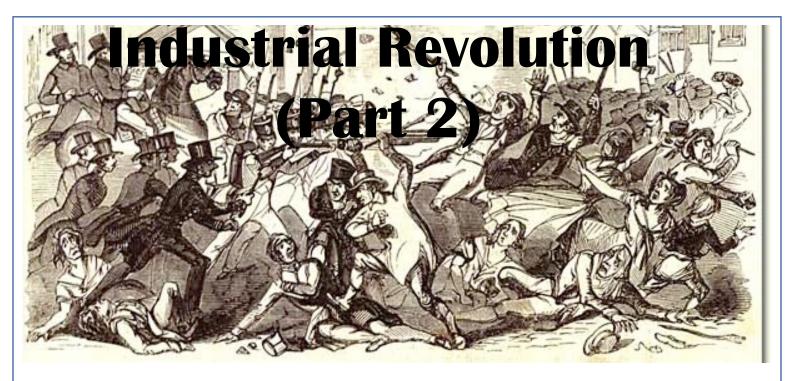
Otto von Bismarck

After Bismarck

So far, Otto von Bismarck had been calling the shots in Germany and manipulating the European powers like a master, but times change. In 1888, a new German ruler, Kaiser William II, came to the throne. Unlike his grandfather, William I, the new ruler of Germany was brilliant but unstable, and he refused to be dominated by Bismarck. William II personified a curious blend of manic self-confidence and inner self-doubt — of aggression and fear. Soon after he came to the throne, he quarreled with Bismarck over domestic policy and dismissed Bismarck from the office of Chancellor of Germany. William tried to rule as an absolute king. William bullied his own government, and tried to do the same thing in his diplomacy with other European powers. Germany under William began to appear incredibly aggressive, which worried Germany's European neighbors. During William's reign other European nations began to make treaties of mutual defense among themselves. Here are few examples:

- ✓ In 1894, France approached Russia and proposed an alliance. France pledged to attack Germany if Germany attacked Russia, and vice versa. Additionally, if Austria-Hungary mobilized against Russia, France pledged to mobilize as well. Paris agreed to this addition to the treaty because the French desperately wanted support against Germany, and didn't really expect that Austria-Hungary would ever act alone.
- ✓ Because Great Britain feared the growth of the German navy, the British also sought allies against Germany. In 1904, Britain made overtures of friendship to her traditional enemy France. The result of this was called the Entente Cordiale. It was a friendly agreement with no explicit military connotation, but both nations knew that it was the beginning of a pact of mutual alliance against Germany.
- ✓ In 1905, Britain, France and Russia created the Triple Entente. The key to the creation of this alliance was a crushing defeat suffered by Russia at the hands of the Japanese. Russia needed friends, and although this was not essentially a military alliance, nevertheless, it would become one.
- ✓ As part of the "Pan Slavic" movement, Russia had become deeply involved with both Serbia and Bulgaria by about 1912. While Russia had no formal treaty of alliance with Serbia, she had pledged her friendship to that nation. This friendship was troublesome to the Austrians, who had definite interests in controlling the Balkans.

Other nations also had secret defense treaties—Belgium and Britain, was another, for instance. So, at the beginning of 1914, the great powers of Europe had embroiled themselves in a series of interlocking secret treaties, primarily because each worried about the possibility that the other might start a war. As we will see next time, it was these very treaties that began World War I.



Today's lecture is the second on the industrial revolution and will cover the period 1870-1914. This was when the industrial revolution really took off.

It took off in terms of products. Textiles may have been the main product prior to 1850, but after 1870 that product was iron and steel. Iron and steel was used for all of the heavy things such as railroads and their equipment, construction (the Eiffel Tower and the Stature of Liberty), heavy machinery, refineries, all kinds of things, most of them big.

But steel was not the only metal that was being produced at this time. New metal alloys like aluminum were being made more and more, and growing chemical industries produced a whole variety of synthetic materials not to mention medicines and dyes.

And inventions were picking up. Without a doubt the two most important inventions in this period that transformed the face of the world down to our own age were the automobile and the airplane, which in their turn produced whole new industries like the refineries we just mentioned, gasoline stations, repair shops, better roads, and all sorts of other things. By 1914 the steam engine was still the most important means to generate power, but the internal combustion engine was well on its way to taking over.

And the industrial revolution took off in terms of territorial expansion. The Industrial Revolution began in Britain, and Britain was able to remain in the forefront of industrial development for quite some time. In 1871, when Germany was united, Britain was producing 43% of all the steel produced in the world, and Germany was manufacturing about 25%. By 1900 Britain was producing 18% of the world's steel and Germany 23%, and by 1914 Britain was producing 10% and Germany still 23%. But in those same years the United States was producing 8% of the steel in 1870, 37% in 1900 and 42% in 1914.



The Eiffel Tower

At the time of its construction in 1889, the tower was the tallest structure in the world, a title it retained until 1930. Three hundred workers joined together 18,038 pieces of puddled iron (a very pure form of structural iron), using two and a half million rivets, in a structural design by Maurice Koechlin.

Workers' Choices

The important thing to get down with those few statistics is that the industrial revolution was really rolling at this time and the world as we know it—cities, cars, travel— was well on its way to being created. But we are going to spend the rest of the time talking about how the working people of Europe reacted to this ongoing industrial revolution.

The basic choice facing the workers was either to make the best bargain that they could with the owners of factories or influence the government in such a way that the industrial revolution might be manipulated for the benefit of the workers. The first choice was that made by workers who joined trade unions, and the second by workers who joined Socialist (Marxist) political parties.

Unions

The trade union movement—workers who wanted to make the best bargain they could with their employers — rose and remained predominant in britain and the united states. The first, famous workingman's association in Britain appeared in 1842 in the so-called Chartist movement, which actually had a political goal of getting working-class men elected to Parliament.

But by 1850 the British workers had given up on political goals and focused on creating craft unions, unions of skilled workers in the same trade—like weavers, plumbers, carpenters, etc. It was the policy of these unions to avoid politics and stick to bargaining with employers. The leaders of these unions advocated being reasonable with employers, avoiding strikes whenever possible, building up membership, and accumulating funds. These unions really took hold in Britain and remained strong until the 1980s.

In the 1880s other kinds of unions began to form in Britain. These were industrial unions, in which all of the people who worked in the same industry belonged to the same union no matter what skill they possessed. A good example of this union in the United States was the United Auto Workers—anyone who worked in the auto industry was supposed to belong to that union. Another union that emerged in the 1880s was the union of unskilled workers, who were what we would call common laborers.

Workers' Political Parties

But while British and American workers were going the trade union route, workers on the Continent were organizing political parties, and these political parties were founded on the philosophy of Karl Marx.

The first socialist political organization was founded in London in 1864 and was called the *International Workingmen's Association*. Oddly enough the founders' meeting was

attended by almost no workers. Those who attended the meeting were mostly intellectuals and the most important of them was Karl Marx himself. The first real Marxist party of consequence was founded in 1875 and was called the *German Social Democratic Party*. Soon every country in Europe had a Social Democratic Party that was steadily growing in numbers.

One of the reasons for this steady growth of the Social Democratic political parties was the changes going on in European governments at this time. As you may or may not remember—and if you don't you need to put it down now—one of the results of the Revolutions of 1848 was the establishment of parliaments in places like Prussia and Austria. Well, by 1870 every country in Europe with the exception of Russia had a parliamentary system of government.

And slowly but surely in this period the suffrage—the vote—was extended to more and more people. For example Prussia started off with what is called Universal Manhood Suffrage (all adult males can vote) in 1850. But it was not one man, one vote. The voting was proportional to the paying of taxes (curial system), but nonetheless all males had the right to vote. In 1875 the French put universal manhood suffrage into the constitution of the Third Republic. In 1884 Britain extended the right to vote to all men except domestic servants and adult males who lived with their parents. Austria gave all men the right to vote in the western half of the Monarchy in 1907.

What this meant was that now political parties could run candidates who could get elected and voice the concerns of the people they represented in parliaments. And the Social Democratic parties had no trouble realizing the potential number of votes if they could get the workers to vote. So, these European Social Democratic parties had two goals—get more and more workers to vote and, by doing so, get more and more Social Democrats elected to parliament. And that way legislation could be passed that would favor the workers.

Well, that is what happened. These Social Democratic parties grew rapidly and before long every European parliament had a large number of representatives of the workers in them, and these representatives wanted to pass laws that would benefit workers—like safety regulations in factories, state-sponsored old-age insurance, disability insurance, minimum wage laws, maximum hour laws, and all those kinds of things. They got laws like that passed and began to participate in the progress of the Industrial Revolution. In fact, between 1870 and 1900 the "real wages" of workers—what workers could actually buy—increased 50%.

Evolutionary Socialism

But, as I hope you remember, that is not the way marx said it was supposed to work. What was supposed to happen was that the workers were supposed to become increasingly discontented with their conditions while the capitalists sought to exploit them more and more. Then would come the revolution in which the workers would overthrow the capitalists and create a much more equitable society.

But that was not the way things were going. First of all workers' representative were now sitting in parliaments and passing legislation favoring the workers. But Marx said that parliaments were supposed to be institutions of the capitalists to keep the workers in their place; they were not supposed to help alleviate the conditions of the workers. Well, after a while some Marxist philosophers—those who followed him — ealized that Marxism had to be modified to fit what was going on.

In 1898 a German who was a Marxist and a member of German parliament named Edward Bernstein published a book entitled *Evolutionary Socialism*. Notice the title, not revolutionary but evolutionary. And that was Bernstein wanted to say. He declared that class warfare was not inevitable. Rather, democracy made it possible to turn the capitalist system into something that could benefit both the workers and the capitalists. Since workers now had the right to vote and had political parties to protect their interests, they did not have to plan for revolution. They could achieve what they wanted to achieve through democracy.

Another blow to Marxist theory had come eight years earlier in 1891, when Pope Leo XIII issued a famous Papal statement called *Rerum Novarum* (The New Order) in which he said that the possessing classes have a moral responsibility to improve conditions of the working classes. This, according to Marx, definitely was not supposed to happen. The church was supposed to be the ally of the ruling classes and help to keep the working classes oppressed. After Leo XIII issued this statement, new political parties emerged called Christian Socialist parties, which were parties that voted for social reform but were loyal to the Catholic Church. They attracted a good number of workers themselves, although they were mainly parties of small shopkeepers and others who felt threatened by big business.

Anyway, what all of this meant was that by 1914, when World War I erupted, traditional Marxist philosophy had given way throughout most of continental Europe. The Social Democratic political parties were now strong both in voting strength and in seats in parliament; they were loyal to the countries where they existed, including the monarchs who were the rulers. The workers were not loyal only to their class

but had loyalties like the rest of the population—to the country, to the government, and to the church. And there was good reason; they were better off in 1914 than they had ever been before.

The British Labour Party

To finish the lecture we are going to have what might seem like an appendix. We are going to talk about the British Labour Party, which is the party that currently rules in Britain. I stressed earlier that Britain did not have Marxist political parties but trade unions that tried to stay out of politics, but now the labor party is leading the government. What I want to do is explain to you how the labor party came into existence.

First of all, the British Labour Party was never Marxist; it did not have the same origins as the social democratic parties in Europe. It arose precisely to protect the interests of the British trade unions.

And that was related to a very specific ruling by the British courts in 1901 called the *Taff Vale Decision*. In that decision the judges ruled that a union that struck was financially responsible for all losses incurred by the business during the strike. Think about the consequences of such a ruling: (1) a union that struck would be financially ruined in a short time, and (2) a business would have no incentive to bargain because it knew from the start the union would be ruined.

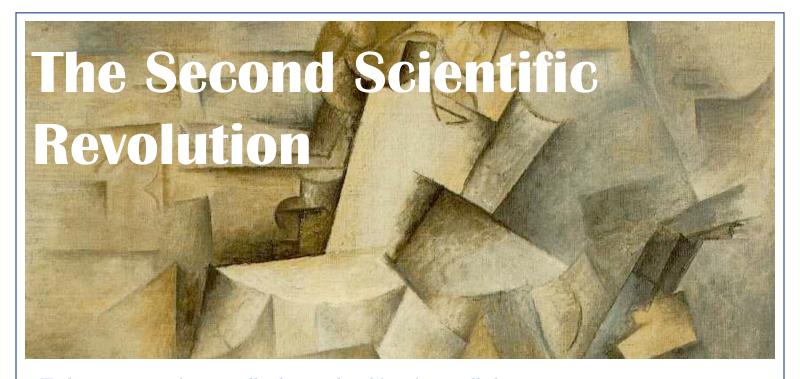
By this time you know how to change a court ruling in Britain if you do not like it—pass a bill in Parliament. So, the unions got together to from the British Labour Party precisely to overturn *Taff Vale*. In 1906 they finally elected just 29 members to Parliament but it was enough to give them the swing vote between the two traditional parties — the Conservatives and Liberals—and the Labour Party joined with the Liberals to form a government called the *Lib-Lab Alliance*.

Lib-Lab overturned *Taff Vale*, but it did not stop there. Between 1906 and 1914 this Alliance passed a number of social welfare measures. They passed sickness, accident, oldage, and unemployment insurance, created a minimum wage law, established state-run unemployment offices all over the country, and removed restrictions on trade union activities. To pay for all of this, Lib-Lab introduced a progressive income tax and an inheritance tax, both of which were to tax the well-to-do.

Conclusion

The point of all this is that by 1914 one could easily argue that the system of class rivalry that Marx had predicted was no longer as recognizable as it had been in 1848.

One of the claims that the Socialists made was the working men of one country would never sho of another. That turned out to be utterly wrong in World War I. But, just for the record, I want you not mean people were content. There were in fact a great number of strikes. But it was almost as it because of rising expectations rather than true antagonism toward the system, and these rising expectations workers being more than happy to defend their state and their system when the war broke out in 19	to not that this does if these strikes were ations translated into



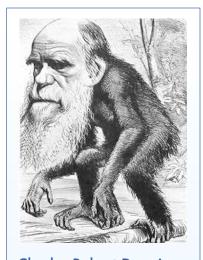
Today we are going to talk about what historians call the second scientific revolution, and the dates are between 1859 and 1914. It is called the second scientific revolution because, like the first, it changed our way of thinking about a lot of things. But, there was one important difference between the first and second scientific revolutions: the first one was reassuring, it gave human beings confidence that they could deal with their world and their universe; the second one was disturbing, it raised doubts that human beings could deal with their world and their universe.

Although that was true, in the first one there were doubts about the importance of science; in the second there were no doubts about the importance of science. By the late 19th century people had enormous confidence in science. Science and technology had brought all of those wonderful things of life: electric lights, railroads, x-rays, motion pictures, automobiles, telephones, all kinds of good stuff. It seemed that science could provide answers to just about anything.

There were hree areas of science where innovations had the greatest impact and the men most closely associated with those innovations. These three areas are biology with Charles Darwin, psychology with Sigmund Freud, and physics with Albert Einstein.

Biology - Charles Darwin

We start with biology. And the great event in biology is the publication of the book Origin of Species in 1859 by Charles Darwin. In this work, Darwin presented the theory of biological evolution, which had not only an impact on the study of biology but the understanding of human beings.



Charles Robert Darwin
British naturalist who
achieved lasting fame by
producing considerable
evidence that species originated through evolutionary
change, at the same time
proposing the scientific theory that natural selection is
the mechanism by which
such change occurs. This
theory is now considered a
cornerstone of biology.

What Darwin meant by evolution was that species All kinds of living organisms, plant or animal, evolve by progressive small changes over time. They do not change by any conscious effort but by a kind of chance. Certain organisms inherit certain qualities from their ancestors and pass down certain qualities to their descendants, and by that process the species changes. Those organisms that inherited improved certain characteristics like food-gathering, mating, or fighting also improved their chance of surviving. Those that failed to improve those characteristics risked disappearance. Darwin argued that all of this amounted to a struggle by each species to survive. And, according to Darwin, those species that were "fit" survived; those that were "unfit" perished. And this was called, of course, the survival of the fittest, and the principle as a whole was called natural selection, because it was nature that decided which species would survive and which ones would perish.

Darwin's ideas caused a sensation. As we know so well, the Church rushed to criticize him not only because his theories did not accord with theological teachings such as the first chapter of Genesis, but also because he did not take into consideration such elements as morality. The difference between "good" and "evil" no longer seemed to matter; the only thing that mattered now was the difference between "fit" and "unfit," and one could easily argue that what we would consider evil might actually make a being more fit than it had previously been. One could argue that whatever made something improve its chances of survival was naturally good and whatever threatened it was bad.

Another problem that Darwin raised was that nature — the natural world — was not a harmonious place. The first scientific revolution seemed to say that the world was governed by unchanging laws that created a well-ordered, harmonious existence. When one walked through the woods, for example, one could appreciate the birds singing, squirrels chirping, and all of the wonders that nature offered. All in harmony, all in order. Darwin seemed to say that, if one walked through the woods, one was surrounded by organisms in unending life and death struggles to survive. Nature was not a harmony at all but a scene of endless struggle and violence.

Social Darwinism

It was not long after Darwin published his ideas that some thinkers began to wonder if his ideas could not be applied directly to human beings as well. These thinkers fall under the name of Social Darwinists, people who thought that Darwin's ideas of struggle and natural selection could apply to human society. I want you to write

down that Darwin himself was not one of these people; he never subscribed to the ideas of the Social Darwinists.

Social Darwinists argued that, just as in nature, certain kinds of human beings were fit and certain kinds of human beings were unfit. And it was easy, they said, to figure out the fit and the unfit because the fit dominate and the unfit are subordinate. Some argued that white Europeans were obviously fit and non-whites were unfit because white Europeans were the colonizers and non-whites the colonized.

Some argued that, within Europe, the British were the fit, and the Italians the unfit because the British had colonies and the Italians did not. Some argued that big business was fit and small business was unfit, because big business was big and small business was not. And, be sure to write this down, some argued that certain people were clearly unfit, in fact, dangerous to the fit — and therefore might be in need of elimination — , and the most obvious example that many Social Darwinists brought up, playing on very old European prejudices, was the Jews.

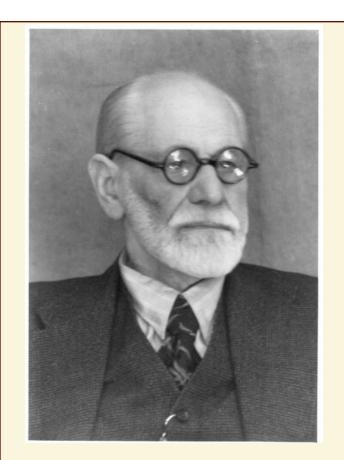
Finally, thinkers began to debate how one could prove these Social Darwinist theories. How could one prove that the white Europeans were better than non-whites, Germans better than French, British better than Russians, or whatever? The answer was obviously — war. War, some argued, was the ultimate test of a people. If a people could win a war, it would prove that it was superior to whichever people it defeated. That would be the ultimate test. So, war became to many Social Darwinists, not only "natural" but "good."

Psychology - Sigmund Freud

The second area where disturbing theories came forth was in psychology, and the person responsible in this field was a Viennese physician named Sigmund Freud, who lived from 1856 to 1939.

Freud was a doctor who specialized in mental illness. One of the techniques of the time to treat mental illness and one that he used was hypnosis. And it seemed to him that under hypnosis his patients would tell him lots of things about themselves that they did not seem to remember when they were fully conscious. And he also discovered that, after telling him all of these things under hypnosis, the patients seemed to feel a lot better. Based on his observations and his study of dreams, Freud put forth a theory of how the mind (not the brain) worked.

Freud suggested that the mind is divided into three parts, which he called the *Id*, the *Ego* and the *Superego*. The most important for Freud was the Id.



Sigmund Freud (1856 - 1939) was an Austrian neurologist and the founder of the psychoanalytic school of psychology.

The Id was the unconscious part of a human being's mind, the part that a human being is not really aware of. In the Id exists all of those vicious, evil, anti-social urges that all of us have — the urge to commit murder, the urge to rape, the urge to commit acts of violence of various kinds. And central to the Id is sexual lust, which Freud called the Libido. At first he argued that this was purely sexual lust, but he later modified that to mean anything that encourages violence — including, for example, eating, which amounts to grinding things to pieces. He argued that sexual desire might be vicious but it is also the strongest human drive and the one that allows human beings to survive.

The Superego was the part of the mind where all of life's inhibitions are. This is the part of the mind that society, your family, and friends depend upon to keep your Id in check. The Superego houses all of those things that your parents and society have taught you about proper behavior, getting along, being nice to people, saying "yes, ma'am" and "no, ma'am" to your teachers.

The ego is the part of the mind that creates a compromise between the Id and the Superego so that a

human being can function properly. The ego has to find an outlet for the Id acceptable to society — work out in the gym, play sports, run — but at the same time not make the Superego so strong that it inhibits to such a degree that you begin to get complexes that basically tie you up in knots. In fact, Freud argued that mental illness actually comes when the Superego is too strong, when it does not allow the Id to have enough outlets. That is what drives people crazy.

Just as Darwin's theory caused a sensation, so did Freud's. People were especially distressed by Freud's stress on sex, which was not a taboo subject at this time but certainly one that respectable people did not talk about. And to suggest that all of us are trying to find ways to satisfy our sexual desires again seemed to say that we are more like animals than we would like to be. After all, what about morality and reason?

Physics - Albert Einstein

The third area that caused a revolution in science was in physics, and the great man here was a German by the name of Albert Einstein, who lived from 1879 to 1955.

To appreciate Einstein's work, it is necessary to take a quick look at physics around 1900. The physics of 1900 was still based on the theories of Isaac Newton, which basically argued that all physical phenomena are interactions between energy and matter that take place within space and time (matter can neither be created nor destroyed, energy can neither be created nor destroyed).

But in the last half of the 19th century there were some experiments by scientists that seemed to call into question that basic system. *Marie Curie* experimented with the rare element called radium and discovered that it seemed to lose weight as it gave off radiant energy. In other words, it did seem indeed that matter was actually being turned into energy; matter was being destroyed and energy was being created.

Likewise, there were experiments with light that seemed to be causing problems. A man named *Albert Michelson* was trying to figure out the speed of the earth by using rays of light from which he planned to subtract the speed of the earth. The problem was that light seemed to always go at the same speed no matter which way it went. Other experiments indicated that light was made up of waves, but still others showed it was pulses. In other words, there were all kinds of unknowns in the physical world.

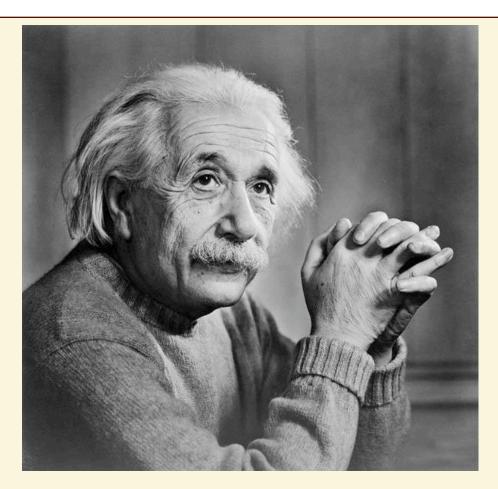
In 1905 albert einstein published his first paper in which he put forth his theory of relativity to try to explain all of this. He declared that space and time were not separate phenomena but could all be collapsed into spacetime continuum.

In other words, the faster one moved, time slowed down. And, he argued, theoretically when one reached the speed of light — 186,000 miles per second — time stopped. Moreover, Einstein proposed, matter and energy were not separate either, but could be combined in a formula which he put forward as E=MC2. That was the first of his theories, and by no means the last. Einstein suggested that gravity was not a force attracting two objects through space as Newton said it was, but a field of forces through which objects moved.

Just as the theories of Darwin and Freud had a profound impact on thought, so did Einstein's theory. The First Scientific Revolution had been positive because it seemed to show that normally educated human beings could understand the universe — they could cope with theories like Newton's Law of Gravity. But Einstein's theories were totally incomprehensible except to the most distinguished mathematicians and physicists. Einstein seemed to show that the universe was no longer comprehensible to the common person. In fact, reality, even scientific reality, had now become relative. The theory even had an impact on art because it was in response to Einstein that the first abstract paintings appeared — those paintings with no recognizable subject matter — because reality had become relative.

Conclusion

Well, what is the message? Einstein argued that, contrary to what we used to think, the average human being cannot understand the universe in which we live. But Freud said, that's okay, because human beings cannot really understand what is in their own minds anyway. And Darwin added, that's okay because this old world is a pretty dangerous place to live in. Well, no one totally accepted there disturbing ideas until world war one, when western civilization seemed to try its best to commit suicide for no really good reason.



Albert Einstein (1879 - 1955) was a theoretical physicist widely regarded as the most important scientist of the 20th century.