

IMPERIALISM

I. DEFINITION.

"the rule or control, political or economic, direct or indirect, of one state, nation or people over other similar groups; or perhaps the disposition, urge or striving to establish such rule or control."

This kind of imperialism is as old as history. Nothing new about it in the 19th cent. *(Present meaning - rule of "inferior" peoples.)*

II. THE "AGE OF IMPERIALISM"

1. The 30 or 40 years before World War I -- the crucial epoch during which the nations of the Western world spread their political, economic and cultural influence over Africa and large parts of Asia.

Almost complete victory of Europe over the rest of the world.

Now the tide seems to be running the other way --
India, Indonesia,

III. MOTIVES FOR IMPERIALISM.

1. Why did France, Germany, Italy, Britain suddenly decide that they must seize all of Africa?? Africa had been there all the time, with relatively little attempt to control it.
2. Liberal-Bourgeois Explanations: Emphasize--
 - a. No necessary connection between Imperialism & capitalism.
 - b. National prestige, glory.
 - c. Desire for security.
 - d. National self-sufficiency.
 - e. Tendency toward ever larger social units.
 - f. Missionaries -- so many black souls.
 - g. "White man's Burden" -- responsibility to carry the products of Western enlightenment to backward peoples. (Cigarette in mouth of every Chinaman)

3. Marxian Interpretation.

- a. Practically all imperialism is economic. (Not Marx himself, who had no definite ideas on the subject, but adopted by Kautsky, Hilferding, Luxemburg, and Lenin)
- b. Imperialism as expression of need for new markets for surplus products.
- c. Need for sources of raw materials.
- d. Surplus Capital -- accumulation of ~~surplus~~ surplus capital, ~~unable~~ unable to find profits at home, so seeks outlets abroad.

IV. BRITAIN IN LATE-VICTORIAL PERIOD. EPITOME OF IMPERIALISM.

1. The No. 1 imperial nation at that time. The leader in the race for territory.

Not the only one, but take her as an example.

2. 19th Century -- the century of Britain. - *Pax Britannica*

V. LACK OF INTEREST IN IMPERIALISM (1840-70)

1. Very little interest in the colonies. Many people anti-imperialist.
2. Already had enormous empire, had accumulated it ever since the 16th century.

3. Why drop in interest?

- a. Industrial supremacy of the world, already. Near monopoly of continental market and the world market.
~~What~~ What more could she want?
- b. Since she dominated, favored free trade, peace. (Have nation)
- c. Didn't want to rule, but only to trade.
- d. Eng. the "Workshop of the World"
Sold to everybody.
- e. Expense - why spend a lot of ^{extra} money on armies, navies, colonies if Eng. already dominated world trade?

VI. RISE OF INTEREST IN THE EMPIRE. DISRAELI. (1870 -)

1. Change in ~~1870~~ British attitude around 1870.
2. Disraeli -- sounded the new note. He was concerned in his foreign policy chiefly with national prestige, power, security, ~~and~~ safety of India and Lifeline to India.

3. Changes on the Continent.-- (economic)

a. Rise of German Empire -- ~~German nationalism a spur to British nationalism.~~ Zollverein.

4. Loss of Continental Market -- England had sold them machinery making it possible for France, Germany to produce their own goods, exclude British goods.
5. German Goods -- An important industrial power by 1880's. Competition with British goods.

Germany had protective tariff to keep out British goods, but sold things to free trade Britain, and to colonies.

6. General Depression -- last 25 years of 19th cent.
Prices falling.
Unemployment.

7. Surplus Capital -- Accumulated, without outlets for profitable investment,, in England or on the Continent.

Foreign Investments: 1875 -- \$6 billion
1900 -- \$10 billion.

One-half to 2/3 of all new capital was going abroad.

Imperialism had to supply and defend these places of overseas investment.

"England could not remain the workshop of the world; so she became its creditor, its mortgage, its landlord."

8. France and Germany -- formerly had been outlets for a British investment capital. Now produced their own, ~~and~~ also had surplus capital to export.

France and Germany decided they must have Colonies.

Inspired by British example -- as source of wealth. Entered the colonial field, in Africa and Asia.

9. British Renewed Interest --

Partly due to the fact that France and Germany got interested, fought for colonies.

Before then, Britain had tended to consider them rather unimportant.

"There is nothing which causes men to put so high a value on their possessions as the observing that they are coveted by their neighbors."

VII. BRITISH DESIRE TO CONTROL MARKETS.

1. Danger that British goods would be crowded out by Germans, etc.

Necessary to gain political control of foreign areas, put protective tariff walls around them.

Economic control no longer possible without political control

Outlet for exports.

2. Arguments Against this:

a. Trade does not necessarily ~~follow~~ follow the flag.

b. Trade with colonies was only 1/3 of total British trade.

c. France, Germany, U.S. (all protectionist) were still Britain's ~~best~~ best customers.

IX. CHANGE IN BRITISH ECONOMIC THEORY.

1. In 1880's began to doubt the wisdom of old policies of free trade, laissez-faire.

2. Old free-traders had assumed that the world would gradually adopt free trade, but the opposite true.

3. Liberal Party -- Gladstone and many others kept old theory. "Little Englanders".

X. IMPERIALIST LEADERS.

1. Joseph Chamberlain -- probably the most influential imperialist among British statesmen.

2. ~~Lord Rosebery~~
"It is said"

3. Cecil Rhodes -- empire builder.

Personally responsible for large part of the
3½ million square miles of territory added to Britain
1884-1900.

Used the tremendous fortune he had earned to build
up power and glory of the British Empire.

Whipped up enthusiasm for imperialist expansion!

"Carrying culture fine, but culture plus 10% better."

XI. SUCCESS OF THE IMPERIALISTS.

1. Increased the size of the Empire by 1/3 in 15 years.
2. By 1900 British Empire covered 1/5 of the globe.

XII. POPULARITY OF IMPERIALISM WITH MASSES.

1. Were told by leaders that colonies would bring end to depressions, unemployment.
2. Popular Pressure for Imperialism -- often more in favor of it than the govt.
3. Democratization of suffrage -- masses had more influence.
4. Turned attention from reform at home, to glory overseas.
(Foreign policy -- like Bismarck)

XIII. LITERATURE OF IMPERIALISM.

1. Popular interest in literary accounts of colonial heroes, "sporting wars".
2. Kipling -- most popular writer of his time. Great influence.
 - a. Appealed to fighting instincts.
 - b. Wrote from point of view that natives were born to be fought over, conquered and ruled.
 - c. Soldier glorified.
 - d. Roused enthusiasm for imperialism.

3. Cheap Popular Newspaper Press -- Daily Mail.

startling success, Imperialistic. (100% American)

a. Jingoism -- sentiment for war.

b. Popular opinion got involved in diplomacy.

c. "Our modern journalism is the most potent weapon yet invented ~~by~~ by the devil for ~~banishing~~ banishing peace and goodwill from the earth."

XIV. SOCIAL DARWINISM. — *theoretical justification.*

1. Struggle for existence, Survival of the fittest.
Applied ~~from~~ from biological species, to states, foreign affairs, races.

2. Walter Bagehot --

"...Those nations which are strongest tend to prevail over ~~the~~ the others; and in certain marked peculiarities the strongest tend to be the best."

"The strongest nation ~~is~~ has always been conquering the weaker."

"The majority of groups which win and conquer are better than the majority of those which fail and perish, and thus the first world grew better and was improved."

~~3. J. Novicov (sociologist)~~

X 4. British Biologist (Mithhell?, 1896) -- Races

"The foreign policies of the nations...are anticipations of, and provision for, struggles for existence between incipient species.... Feeble races are being wiped off the earth and the few great, incipient species are themselves against each other. England, as the greatest of these -- greatest in race-pride -- will have to fight to the death against successive rivals."

5. Prof. Karl Pearson (1900)

"History shows me ~~only~~ one way, and one way only, in which a state of civilization has been produced, namely, the struggle of race with race, and the survival of the physically and mentally fitter race."

"This dependence of progress on the survival of the fitter race, gives the struggle for existence its redeeming features; it is the fiery crucible out of which comes the finer metal."...The path of progress is strewn with the wreck of nations....Yet these dead peoples are, in very truth, the stepping stones on which mankind has arisen to the higher intellectual and deeper emotional life of today."

(Like Nazir)

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6. These ideas of struggle of existence, survival of fittest applied to foreign affairs, ~~international~~ and to race, gave justification for wars, for extermination of "inferior" races.

(American Indian)

7. "O Evolution, what crimes are committed in they name."

New Beatitude: "Blessed are the strong, for they shall ~~press~~ *oppress* the weak."

Dog eat dog. Law of the jungle.

VII
 XV. GROWTH OF MILITARISM. -- part of struggle for existence.

1. War not opposed -- Not much horror of war. Little concern for establishing universal peace. *War a sport, game.*

2. Prestige of Militarism -- success of Bismark.

3. Lord Wolseley (British C-in-C)

"All other pleasures pale before the intense, the maddening delight of leading men into the midst of an enemy.."

"A sound, healthy, military spirit gives strength to a people. It is the guardian of the honour and interests of a nation, the safeguard of its freedom and liberties, the purifier of its civilization...." (Like Hitler)

4. Every nation proud of the wars in its history.

British
 XVI. IDEAS OF RACE SUPERIORITY, DIVINE MISSION.

1. British chosen by God to rule the world.

2. Bernard Shaw in "Man of Destiny"

"Every Englishman is born with ~~him~~ a certain miraculous power that makes him master of the world. ~~When~~ When he wants a thing he never tells himself that he wants it. He waits patiently until there comes into his head, no one knows how, the burning conviction that it is his moral ~~and~~ religious duty to conquer those who have the thing he wants. Then he becomes irresistible.... He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude. As the great champion of freedom and independence, he conquers half the world and calls it Colonization. When he wants a new market ..., he sends a missionary to teach the natives the gospel of peace. The natives kill the missionary; he flies in arms to the defense of Christianity; fights for it, conquers for it, and takes the market as the reward of heaven.... ~~When~~ An Englishman always does everything on principle ----- he robs you on business principles, he enslaves you on imperialistic principles, he bullies you on manly principles."

....

3. "British the best Rulers" -- therefore good for them to rule.
4. Joe Chamberlain --
 "I believe that the British race is the greatest of governing races that the world has ever seen."
5. British the Patricians of the human race, called upon by God as their duty to bear the White Man's Burden.
 Imperialists not because they wanted to be, but because it was their duty.

XVII. DIVINE MISSION OF BRITISH.

1. We see, "as we study ~~the~~ history, the sense of an unseen superintending Providence controlling the development of the Anglo-Saxon race. Through the vistas of the ages the voice is heard: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth.'" (p. 94)
2. If this the divine will of God, then, "Any interference with the Englishman in the execution of this commission may be justly resented as a perverse attempt to obstruct the manifest designs of Providence."

XVIII. SUMMARY. CAUSES OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM. (late 19th c.)

1. Economic --
 - a. Rise of industrialism on the Continent.
 - b. Loss of British monopoly position. New competitors.
 - c. Need for new markets, new fields of investment.
 - d. Entry of France and Germany into the struggle for empire.
2. Psychological --
 - a. Evolutionary teaching. Excused ruthlessness & immorality.
 - b. Rise of mass electorate.
 - c. Cheap sensational Press. Literature of action.
 - d. People find expression for their combative instincts thru watching the aggressive foreign policy abroad.
 - e. Religion.
 - f. Race superiority.
 - g. Divine mission to civilize the world.

(1950)

XIX. NOT ONLY ENGLAND. OTHER COUNTRIES TOO.

1. British were only the most ^{successful} ~~imperial~~ imperial at this time.

~~Spain -- 16th century.
France -- 17th century
18th century under Napoleon~~

16th Cent --- Spain, Portugal, France, Ottomans.

17th cent -- France, Holland, England.

18th cent -- France, Britain.

19th cent -- Britain

later Germany, France, U.S.A., Russia, Japan.

USA - Cuba, Philippines, Panama.

2. Others convinced of their mission:

"In every nation of Europe from England and France to Russia and Turkey, in almost every nation in the world from the Americans to the Chinese and the Finns, the same whisper from below the threshold sounds incessantly in men's ears. 'We are the pick and flower of nations; the only nation that is really generous and brave and just. We are above all things qualified for governing others; we know how to ~~we~~ keep them exactly in their place without weakness and without cruelty....The excellence of our rule abroad is proved in black and white by the books of our explorers, our missionaries, our administrators and our soldiers, ~~we~~ who all agree that our yoke is a pure ~~we~~ blessing to those who bear it."

(Nazis -- mission to rule, civilize the world.)

Russians - messianism. World Revol.
Liberate prolet from capitalists.

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