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① Conservatism

- Modern conservatism appears as a reaction to the forces unleashed by the French Revolution and Napoleon. Conservative thinkers such as the British writer Edmund Burke (1729-1797) viewed the Revolution, and its principles of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" as an awful mistake, a historical aberration that must be removed and destroyed from Western thought. Such ideas motivated politicians ~~such as~~ like Klemens von Metternich, Prime Minister of Austria, and Tsar Alexander I, who at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 attempted to undo the territorial and legal legacy of the Napoleonic Empire. Conservatives favored a restoration of older values and social structures, arguing that stability and social harmony required order and deference to superiors. Tradition ~~and~~ thus was necessary and essential to ensure social stability. Conservatism would dominate Western politics from 1815 to 1848, but would find itself besieged by the rising popularity of other ideologies, particularly liberalism.

Liberalism → see other sheet

New Political Movements

Socialism - The French Revolution heralded, for really the first time in world history, the possibilities for ordinary people as political actors. Industrialization's hardships sharpened and catalyzed this perception, and a host of political thinkers proposed new forms of social and political organization as responses to the new industrial economy. These thinkers described themselves as socialists, a word first coined in the 1820s.* Socialists attacked the system of laissez-faire capitalism as unplanned and unjust. They condemned the increasing concentration of capital and called for a redistribution of wealth through public or worker ownership of business. They also called for an end to the worker-owner divide created by industrialization, and insisted that harmony and cooperation, rather than competition, should prevail. This outlook was soon derided by both sympathizers and critics as "hopelessly Utopian". One of the most scathing critics was Karl Marx, a German philosopher who advocated a more radical form of political organization and economic change. We might call this ideology scientific socialism - it is better known by the name Marx gave it - Communism.

* Socialists argued that liberal reforms such as franchise extensions and workplace regulations failed to address the root problem of industrial society - the exploitative nature of laissez-faire industrial capitalism.

New Political Movements

Liberalism

- emerges out of the rise of the individual in events such as the American and French Revolutions
- * argues that society is composed of and thus must be responsive to individual needs & desires.
- they largely represented the interests of the middle classes - sought to elevate propertied people into
- Their efforts focused on limiting state ^{government} interference in individual life, and protecting individual rights against government power through the creation of representative political structures and institutions such as parliaments and constitutions
- Promoted protection for freedom of the press, religion, assembly. Also sought economic reforms - believed in principle of laissez-faire ("leave it alone") in regards to the economy - in other words, the government had no role in the economy
- also promoted education, which they believed would generate further industrial growth.
- * However, did not generally support democracy - believed that wealthy, educated classes should rule & control society.

New political movements - Nationalism

⊕ Consider U.S. nationalism

→ * Nationalism emerged out of the French Revolution, with the Jacobin call for "patrie" (patriotism) encouraging a fundamentally new, abstract notion of loyalty to the nation rather than individuals such as kings. The success of Napoleon's armies encouraged a nationalist reaction in conquered territories, as local groups, galvanized against a common enemy, recognized their similarities for the first time. Nationalists argued that the state should be linked to a single basic culture - a "national culture", which should override minority differences and should clearly delineate each nation in relation to others. Nation-states emerged out of this process, which involved the coalescence of language, culture ^{ethnicity} and "shared history". * What we must understand is that this is an invention - one ⊕ historian describes nations as "imagined communities". This proved to be a powerful mix, and over the last 150 years nationalism has been a crucial ingredient in regional and international conflict. Nationalists could either call for allegiance to existing territorial states, as in Revolutionary France, or, as in Germany, they could claim ethnic cultural unity and urge its political expression. In Europe, nationalism fed the long-standing military and economic competition among states and ultimately encouraged a growth in state power. These circumstances highlight nationalism as principally an exclusionary ideology.

→ and the results have been disastrous, particularly over the last 100 years. Nationalism was increasingly co-opted by conservatives during the 19th Century as a means of detaching the growing working classes from another political viewpoint, socialism

- Socialists called for a fundamental redistribution of wealth through an attack on private property

- They also called for an end to exploitative capitalism and its replacement by a cooperative political and economic structure. Although many 19th century socialists advocated radical solutions to problems of economic & social inequality - Chief among them, Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, whose

Communist Manifesto (1848) encouraged workers to engage in revolutionary revolt - by the 1870s most socialist movements in the West saw their interests best served through parliamentary representation.

* a stance known as ^{evolutionary} socialism

→ The most aggressive political disputes now took place within socialism itself, as revolutionary ^{socialist} supporters argued with evolutionary socialists.

This ideological split would weaken the political left in Europe for the next century.

→ more to
divide

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

Marx was born in what is now Western Germany.

His intellectual skills gained him entry to the University of Berlin, then the finest university in the world.

→ He studied philosophy under Georg Friedrich Hegel, arguably the ~~the~~ greatest modern philosopher. Marx ^(X) ^{show on board} would adopt Hegel's idea of dialectical argument in formulating his own writings. He became disenchanted with philosophy, and instead decided to apply his knowledge to explain and transform reality.

→ Marx argued that socialism represented the final phase of an inevitable historical progression, which could be understood dispassionately and scientifically. For Marx, history was shaped by class conflict between those that controlled the means of production and those who did not:

Ancient Greece - master vs. slave

Rome - patrician vs. plebian

Medieval - lord vs. serf

Early Modern - noble vs. bourgeois

Contemporary - bourgeois vs. proletariat

- Marx saw this as the final stage of history

→ Marx urged industrial workers to recognize their common circumstances and join together across borders and cultures to usher in the new "Socialist Utopia" - As the last line of his most

ous work, The Communist Manifesto (1848) makes clear: "Workers of the world, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains." Despite Marx's efforts, however, Western workers would fail to initiate a Communist revolution, and after his death in 1883 ~~most~~ socialism would be split between ~~radicals~~ ^{revolutionary socialists} who supported Marx's agenda of violent overthrow of the present system, and moderates known as evolutionary socialists who called for incremental change by working within existing constitutional and parliamentary structures.

* This split would fundamentally weaken socialism as a social and political force for decades: during the 20th Century, it would allow opponents of socialism ~~the~~ the leverage they would need to marginalize it as a viable political alternative until 1945, with disastrous consequences.

→ ~~Despite its lack of political success at the national level, socialist ideals and agendas forced Western governments to ~~begin~~ generate new legislation that addressed important social questions: child labor was outlawed, and working hours were gradually reduced.~~ * This leads to the development of popular leisure industries, and travel industries we take for granted today.

* These developments indicate the emergence of a new type of political system in the West by 1870: A representative structure, based on wide voting rights that served as the ~~basis~~ ~~of~~ source of most legislation and →

The Modern Political System

acted as a check on executive authority. These developments had encouraged the development of modern political parties, which appear as a way of organizing members of parliament and also as vehicles ~~to~~ designed to raise money and capture popular support. These new parties embraced a wide variety of political opinions, and often co-existed uneasily, but it is ~~it~~ important to recognize that most groups accepted the possibility of working within the system to achieve change rather than seeking to overthrow it by force. This recognition, along with ① increased state security powers and ③ guaranteed food supplies helps explain why there has been no major revolution in the West since 1848. These circumstances allowed ^{states to increase their power and influence largely unhindered} → The growth and extension of state power between 1848 and 1914 manifested itself in a number of ways.

① Expansion of state budgets and staffs through more efficient tax collection and revenue-raising systems.

② Increased involvement in national economies primarily as an encourager of growth, ^{* & builder of infrastructure} and also as a protector of indigenous industry through the application of tariffs.

Modern Political System (cont.)

③ Acceptance of state's involvement in education, particularly state-mandated mass education systems. All western governments by the 1870s not only operated primary & secondary schools but also required attendance to at least age 12. Public education served 2 primary purposes:

① The teaching of useful economic skills to promote agricultural & manufacturing productivity, &

② The inculcation of national loyalty through the distribution of textbooks, maps and instruction that emphasized national history and prowess above other rivals.

✦ These developments were not universally popular, and different political groups disagreed about the state's proper role. This tension over ~~the~~ state power and its limits would continue - in fact, it continues today (consider Patriot Act, 2001)

→ As ~~the~~ Western states grew in political and economic strength, they began to turn their attention to the global economy - in particular, they began seeking ways of enlarging the global marketplace for their manufactured goods and services. At the same time, population pressures encouraged the promotion and advancement of Western settler societies, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Outside these communities, essentially geographical extensions of

Modern Political Systems (cont.)

- Western civilization, both advanced and relatively underdeveloped parts of the world, from Africa to China, and the Ottoman Empire, recognized that in order to ^{both} compete with the West economically and resist it militarily, some features of industrialization would need to be copied and emulated. The question was, which features, and under what circumstances. The global response to Western economic and military power underpins the last 120 years of World Civilization.

Industrial Imperialism = A New Era

- Industrialization fundamentally changed the nature and impact of Western overseas expansion. In earlier periods, Europeans ventured overseas in search of goods & materials they could not produce themselves, & because they felt threatened by powerful external enemies, such as the Ottomans.

After 1800, in the industrial era, the things that drove Europeans across the globe, as well as the sources of insecurities that drove them, changed dramatically.