- Elite political discontent
- The role of the Intelligentsia (educated people who have time to think about society's flaws; they then criticize the state and spread ideas that are hostile to the government-- Russia, Mexico
  - Unifying Motivations: nationalism (can pull people from different walks of life into a common movement-- "we" are being betrayed by our leaders), common ideals
  - The concept of the nation (Vietnam, Cuba)
  - The Enlightenment: stressed rationalism, not just accepting tradition at face value, the belief that they could create a superior world by using their rational minds-- "revolutionary optimism." (France & the United States)
  - Crisis of the State: state is unable to carry out the basic functions it is expected to (England, China is a prime example)

## The Historical Setting of Revolutions

"The most indubitable feature of revolution is the direct interference of the masses in historical events." - Leon Trotsky

- The age of revolutions: 1642 20??
- Revolutions are a modern phenomenon
- The World as it was: Pre-1200
  - The primacy of birth (you are what you're born into, there is no choice)
  - Clans, tribes, and casts: power is usually in the hands of certain families, and connections within families and *to* other families is very important
  - Monarchies & Aristocracies
  - Feudalism and Tribute (how the state supports itself)
- The individual, the State and intermediaries: in the modern world, the individual largely has to deal with the government with no intermediaries—this was not the case in the pre-modern world. Gilds, the church/religious institutions, etc. would intercede for the individual.
- Religion and the Seamless Universe

- John Lilburne & Gerrad Winstanley (among the leaders of the radical movement)
- Levellers (largely artisans and day laborers, etc.) & diggers (largely people in the countryside)
- Take a lot of inspiration from religion (democratic practice/structure in religion)
- Class conflict AND moral conflict
- Some feel that there needs to be a "fair" sharing of wealth
- Army wants a more radical change; purges Parliament in December of 1648
- Charles I executed January 30, 1649
- Parliament creates a Commonwealth; leading this movement is Oliver Cromwell (in power from 1653 to 1658)
- The monarchy is restored in 1660 when Charles II takes the throne
- Levellers were suppressed by Parliament; Parliament had supremacy
- Charles II is king, but he is not absolute in power; he must rule in conjunction with Parliament
- Increasingly, the state is moving away from the creation of monopolies, and careers open to talent and skill are also increasing
- More educated people who are not aristocrats are being brought into the system
- More protection of private property
- More religious toleration (free to practice your own version of Christianity as long as you don't question/raise an issue with the state church-- the Church of England)

## In Summation: Causes of a Revolution

- The rise of capitalism in England; capitalist landowners and mercantile interlopers. Growing number of discontented peasants as some of their security is lost. Capitalism disrupts traditional practices and institutions.
- The centralizing state-- the state is trying to extend its authority.
- Puritanism and its effect on the popular classes; encouraged democratic practices.
- The proletarianization of the peasantry

- Peasant war in the Southwest, 1842-45-- peasants taking up arms against the government; increasing tensions in the countryside
- By the 1850s, the liberals had come to control the state
- Provincial elites: Juan Alvarez & the Rebellion of 1854
- The Ley Lerdo (1856)
- Mexican nationalism grows
- Benito Juarez & the French intervention (1862-67)
- Chavez Lopez (writer of anarchist texts, big promoter of anarchist thought) & the anarchists (1868-70)-- many people would find these ideas very attractive
- More and more people are becoming urban workers/artisans, working in the mines
- Tumultos
- 1850s: Factories and artisans
- 1860s: Sociedad Artistica Industrial
- 1876: The Mexican Labor Congress (central to these discussions is anarchy-- the idea that workers should come together in a democratic fashion and control their own fate)
- The emergence of the Pequena Burguesia (the middle class, consisting of professionals, merchants, and small landowners)-- these people feel that the system is too restrictive to those who are not wealthy
- Provincial elites: People who are the 'big-wigs' in the various states in Mexico-- usually landowners or having mining interests
- Sebastian Lerdo: A committed liberal who were intrigued by the potential power of the United States, but he was leery of opening the doors
- Porfirio Diaz (army general who saw Lerdo as too cautious) and the Revolution of Tuxtepec (1876)

## The Americans

- Stephen F. Austin (land speculator in Texas)
- The Galveston Bay & Texas Land Company: Agins Austin out of his influence in Mexico-- now desired Texan independence from Mexico
- War with Mexico, 1846-48
- In the aftermath of the war, the liberals rise up, and American investors see an opportunity to build a railway
- The Tehuantepec Railway Concessions

- The legal code of 1649: Gave political and legal legitimacy to serfdom (a peasant belongs to the estate on which he or she works-- treated like a slave, and they can be bought and sold with an estate)
- Nearly half of all peasants in Russia became serfs
- The state economy: Estates, mines, workshops, and licenses
- The government has enormous control over the economy
- Europeanization: Tsars, in an attempt to 'catch up' attempt to adopt European ways. Peter I (1682-1725), Catherine II (1762-1796)
- This 'europeanization' turned Russia into a police state
- Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825): Europe's most powerful monarch
- Despite its apparent size and might, Russia was having serious problems; serfdom was starting to effect the economy in negative ways-- it prevented education and innovation
- Tsars become aware that serfdom is a sort of "backwardness" for their society-- not only this, but serfdom had also created huge inequalities in the countryside
- The Pugachev Rebellion (1773-74): Warning shot to the tsars that there was deep discontent among the peasants
- The Crimean War (1854-56): Conflict between France, England and Russia-- Russia was being defeated militarily on its own territory
- Alexander II as tsar (1855-1881) launched a modernization program in Russia in order to compete more effectively with the West
- Abolition of serfdom in 1861, in the hopes it would create an agricultural revolution (but the peasants were required to pay for the land, which they resented)
- Factories and cities often relied on seasonal labor
- Between the 1880s & the outbreak of WWI, this small scattered workforce would turn into the Russian proletariat of industrial workers (3 million)
- Workers came to this industrialization process by the thousands as new factories were being built (bad conditions, 12-14hr workdays)
- The intelligentsia; 'middle class' educated people who are concerned with the course of events in Russia-- they see this as a top-down change being enacted by an oppressive police state as a mere attempt to enhance the power of Russian rule
- Mikhail Bakunin-- one of the foremost proponents of anarchism

- Put emphasis on industrialization for a modern economy (but there was no place for consumerism at this time-- no middle income group to make consumer products significant-- focused on uniformity instead)
- Revolution in the countryside: massive turnover of land to the individual peasant
  - There were significant limitations with this; all their products had to be sold to the government
  - The West (USA) was isolating China; boycott of sorts-- banned imports/exports from China. Therefore, China had to come up with capital somehow, and had to take it from within their own country (the peasantry)
- In China at the turn of the century, there was a severe opium problem; widespread prostitution, gambling, etc. Associated with foreignism by the Chinese. Communists want to clean all of this "foreign corruption" up
- Crackdown on drug use, prostitution, etc.-- campaign against sin and the new Puritanism
- Mao was increasingly discontent because he saw hierarchies forming between those in charge and those being commanded-- he had envisioned a truly egalitarian society, modernity without hierarchy
- He therefore instituted The Great Leap Forward (1958-59)
- Mao required urban workers to go out and work in the countryside to learn the importance of communal action. He wanted a society where people thought first of the needs of the community instead of the needs of the individual
- Backyard blast furnaces
- In the countryside, peoples' communes would form to become militias
- The Great Leap Forward was a disaster
- Not giving up, Mao launched a new program with a far more negative approach to punish those in the system who he thought were undermining his egalitarian vision; The Cultural Revolution (1966-68)
- Huge wave of criticism and punishment that was extremely disturbing to the system-- red guards, intellectuals, and bureaucrats
- Mao died in 1976
- Deng Xiaoping: veteran of the Long March, promoted a more pragmatic approach to China's development
- Under Xiaoping, a radical change takes place in China

- Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, quoting Thomas Jefferson in an attempt to appeal the US government to support Vietnamese independence (doesn't end up working)
- War without end, 1946-1954-- fighting breaks out between communists and the French
- Dienbienphu, March May 1954: confrontation between communist revolutionaries and the French
- The Geneva Conference: compromise is reached to cut Vietnam in half temporarily (17th parallel) into North and South Vietnam
- Reform and class warfare
- Rebellion in the North
- Semi-socialist collectives
- Reform in the South after the Geneva conference
- Cao Dai and Hoa Hao
- Evacuation of the South
- Ngo Dinh Diem and Catholicism (filled many top posts in his government with Catholics)
- Diem ordered an end of village elections
- Diem canceled the national elections
- Diem held 50,000 people as prisoners
- 1958-- The National Liberation Front: drew together many different groups (not just communists) to create a broad coalition opposed to the government
- Tensions between the North and South
- 1960: The North and Ho Chi Minh gave the green light for the National Liberation Front, and violence erupts
- The US was deeply committed to the survival of the government of the South-- many Americans were sent to train government and military
- The NLF and functional organizations
- The use of terror
- From agrovilles to strategic hamlets
- The US marines march, 1965-- CIA was providing intelligence assistance to the Vietnamese gov't, and were assassinating communist leaders
- US troop levels: 450,000, 1969
- Operation Phoenix: designed to identify and destroy the Viet Cong via infiltration, torture, interrogation, assassination, etc.

- Soviet failures: Consumerism (hindered by a command economy--highly inefficient system) and political freedom (the totalitarian state did not allow for political dissent-- no intellectual freedom to propose change)
- Mikhail Gorbachev: Child of the revolution-- grew up in the Russian countryside, was able to receive a university education. Becomes a member of the Communist Party, and in 1985 becomes the "premier" of the Soviet Union. Wants to meet the Soviet Union's many issues with reform.
- Glasnost (political reform): instead of a totally dominant single party system, there was now an opportunity for political competition
- Perestroika (economic liberalization): the state was going to surrender some of its totalitarian controls over the economy
- Congress of People's Deputies (first freely elected body of representatives), 1988
- Law of Cooperatives, 1988: law that allowed people to own private businesses
- War in Afghanistan, 1979-89: Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1989-- disaster for Soviet Union
- 1989-1991: Collapse of the Warsaw Pact (pact that bound the Soviet Union together with other communist countries in Eastern Europe)
- Attempted coup against Gorbachev, August 1991
- Mayor of Moscow (Boris Yeltsin) rallies the people of the capital against the plot, and Gorbachev is saved, but his power is clearly slipping away from him
- Boris Yeltsin replaces Gorbachev, and dissolves the Soviet Union, and a radically reduced Russia emerges
- Highly centralized democracy is formed under a dominant president ("authoritarian democracy")
- Yeltsin is replaced by Vladimir Putin in 1999
- Liberalization, Russia style: Apparatchiks and monopoly capitalism, 25% of population poverty

## - Latin America

- Mexico in the 1990s embraced the ideas of neoliberalism
- NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement: designed to reduce most of the barriers to trade between Canada, the US, and Mexico