

# The Universalization of the Nation-State and the historical crisis of its institutive order

## Origin and Legitimizing Function of the Founding Fathers in the Modern Sociopolitical Itinerary of Nations (1808-1989)

by Joaquín E. Meabe, Jorge G. Paredes M., Eduardo R. Saguier  
and the collaboration of Maximiliano Korstanje (translation by Estela Herrera)

### Abstract

*This work takes a new search for intelligibility of the past, consistent with the recovery of the political history and the reaffirmation of an important set of theoretical and philosophical devices which, undoubtedly, belong to the classic tradition inherited from ancient Greece. The hard core dimension, of this research is the specific review of the different periods in which the evolutionary sequence falls into disorder, paying attention in each case to the detailed disaggregation of the disciplinary task of the institutive social imaginary that has played a clear legitimating function. In that process of socio-political reformulation and territorial segregations, the first methanastasic wave was given by the collapse of the French colonial empire (Haiti, Louisiana); the second wave will be the fall of the Spanish Founding (institutive) Order. The third wave took place in Europe at the end of the 1848 Revolution, which gave rise to Germany, Belgium and Italy as nation-states, and their later European expansionism (Alsace-Lorraine) with similar aftermaths in Africa and Asia, and during the same period in North-America, with the emergence of modern United States; in South-America, with modern Argentina, Brazil and Chile; in Eastern Asia, with the emergence of modern Japan, and also the dismemberment of the old African empires of Ethiopia, Ghana (Ashanti), Congo, Mali, Benin and Zimbabwe among the modern and annexationist European imperial metropolis (France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy). The fourth wave, complementary with the previous one, happened during World War I with the break-up of the last absolutist empires (Chinese, Ottoman, Habsburg and Tzarist). The fifth took place during the inter-war period (1922-1945) in Europe (Germany, Italy) and Far East Asia (Japan). The sixth took place during the slightly peaceful decolonizing process of the modern European empires in South Asia (India) and the Levant (Arab Countries) after the 2nd World War. The seventh during the bloody decolonization process of the French, Belgian, Dutch and Portuguese Africa (Algeria, Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau) and South-East Asia (Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, New Guinea, East Timor) in the 60's, and the eighth and last wave during the decomposition of the Soviet Union, China and Yugoslavia in the 90's. All these waves, although interconnected, distinguished themselves by different combinations of their historical legacies and cultural moments.*

### Key Words

Balance of forces. Armed-Peace. Intelligibility of history. Institutive order. **Symmakhia. Methanastasis.** Staatfragmente. Great institutive tale. Official history. Exceptionalism. Founding heroes. Legitimizing function. Institutive social imaginary. Buffer-state. Dual monarchy. Narco-state. Client-state. Satellite-state, Failed state. Balkanization. Tribal-state. Colonial expansionism. Annexationism. Courses of action. Territorial partition. Multi-ethnic identity. Identity change. Irredentism. Sea neutralization.

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## I.- Introduction

The historic agenda of Africa, Asia, Europe, Iberoamerica and the Levant (or South-West Asia) is facing in this new century a growing urge for intelligibility.<sup>1</sup> In spite of numerous efforts, (Braudel, Hobsbawm, Wallerstein, Mann, Gellner, Balandier, Young, Bayly, Subrahmanyam) – all of them very valuable and clarifying – it is difficult to overcome over a century and a half of disorderly uncertainties and uneven attention to subjects and matters which, given their accessory nature, cannot be satisfied by academic rhetoric under the cover of scientific neutrality or by the vested discourses that use ideology as an emblem, excuse or banner to get legitimation by means of invocations of the past and occasional manipulations of the present.<sup>2</sup>

Once the period of collection of past events is over (that of the establishing the Great Tale) in the frame of a collective narrative, the intelligentsias (the learned class) of the new nation-states – with only a few exceptions (Ferrero, 1943; C. Young, 1997; Bayly, 2004; Spruyt, 2005; Subrahmanyam, 2005; Esherick, Kayali, Van Young, 2006; and Kaufman, Little, and Wohlforth, 2007) – have not bothered to stop and recapitulate their own journeys to make a global balance of the successive courses of events that today place the founding (institutive) order and the balance of forces or power of such societies at a place of uncertainty and crisis around the eventual fate that even today presents itself as an unfulfilled promise.

It is even possible that the founding (institutive) order and the balance of forces are not even part of the intellectual agenda of those who, in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, Maghreb, the Levant (or South-West Asia) and the former Soviet Union, deal with the past as a mere chronicle or collection of events, with the addition over the last fifty years of the quantitativism of the compilers of statistics and other data—such as number of troops, land distribution, migrants displacement, exportable balances, and all the different singularities—whose historic value, accessory by nature, only make sense in the context of their crucial impact. Of course, we are aware that the very notions of the founding (institutive) order and the balance of forces, to which we pay very special attention, are in their intrinsic combination novel philosophic problems and complex devices of historic reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> But even so, it should not escape our attention that it is already present as a reconstructive view of certain chunks of the past in works such as Thucydides' *History* or Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and, no doubt, in many more recent studies like *Reconstrucción. Talleyrand en Viena. (1814-1815)*, by Guglielmo Ferrero; *The Politics of Balkanization* by Crawford Young; *Ending Empire* by Spruyt; *Empire to Nation*, by Esherick, et. al; *Explorations in Connected History*, by Subrahmanyam; and *Balance of Power in World History*, by Kaufman, Little, and Wohlforth.

Beyond any subtlety, we cannot ignore the doxographic tradition — the collection of opinions and registries— that in these new nation-states adopted the documentary and antiquarian lesson of the positivist historiography of the 19th century with some degree of originality, dedication and responsibility.<sup>3</sup> In some cases, we should be grateful for the observational insight and for the recording of events, documents and bibliographies, as well as for the organization and conservation of indispensable papers and documents for any historic endeavor.

Nevertheless, such virtue or insight in the recording of events and documents --that should be fairly acknowledged-- has run parallel to the elaboration and establishment of the canonical version. Such canonical version, in the form of a Great Founding Tale, has shaped history and installed the paradigm of adaptation to the dominant order. Thus, reconstructive criticism is an imperative to set-off and adjust such objectivity in light of the unsatisfied expectations for the future in which the better destiny that we all wish for our societies is at stake.

Certainly, the continuous reproduction of that Great Founding Tale (or Official History) from its very origins during the 19th century, has nothing but concealed its troublesome and contradictory founding (institutive) order under occasional variations in the forms of social or political organization.

It is not surprising that the construction of individual Big Tales tends to ignore the parallel development of neighbor states or other continents (America, Africa, Asia, Levant), which are ignored in an increasing way or are stereotyped by means of derogatory statements (American degeneration by DePauw/Buffon, and oriental despotism by Wittfogel); binary models (East-West by Spengler), continental exceptionalisms and eurocentric conceptions (Hegel, Comte, Ranke, Barrington Moore, Wallerstein, Hobsbawm, Huntington).<sup>4</sup> Such indifference can be traced to the point that in the making up of the national identities, according to Andreas Wimmer, there is a tendency to replace the legal distinction between estates and between masters and slaves that was effective during the modern imperial absolutism, with the distinction between citizens and foreigners that ruled in the republican modernity. This new distinction turned neighbors, people that so far had been subjects of the same imperial jurisdiction, and users of the same institutions (universities, churches, hospitals) into citizens and users of alien nations. Furthermore, with world wars and the repeated territorial partitions neighbors turned into citizens with consecutive and multiple political identities, and into populations formed by foreign forced migrations.<sup>5</sup> More recently, the legal distinction between citizens and foreigners has been replaced by the new distinction between natives and immigrants as a result of the crisis of the nation-state.<sup>6</sup>

It does not require great perspicacity to perceive the obvious incompetence of these founding (institutive) orders to generate sustained and vigorous civil societies. On the other hand, said incompetence, ingrained in the social imaginary, has run parallel to the incapacity of the ruling classes (so acutely examined by Walter Bagehot) in most of Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East, to design a program to expel the estasic violence, to ameliorate the right of the strongest and to facilitate the means for the different groups and social classes to understand mutual obligations in the frame of true republican orders and fair and sustainable democratic societies.

Such societies, that protect immigration and settlement, respects the rights of citizens and ethno-religious identities of the individuals and offers at the same time opportunities for self-realization and dignity at work, is still a mere expectation with a not very clear orientation given the influx of ideologies which, driven by urgencies, dogmatism or mere opportunism have left such imaginary intact, a founding (institutive) order that hinders and weakens any effective change. .

The contradicting and conflictive interpretation of the political obligations has been plagued with never settled antagonisms, sublimated conflicts and double standards

which were reflected in a large number of simulations of republican adaptation. Over half a century of efforts to normalize the republic have ended, throughout the 20th century, in successive breaches of the constitution, unbearable dictatorships and a phenomenal nation-state crisis, de-coupling the nation from the state, followed by persecution, torture, and disappearance of members of the opposition or simple suspects.<sup>2</sup>

These perverse simulations of renovation with a clear Gattopardo approach, have been reflected as dubiously novel government action plans or have been behind the façade of ideological proposals that are no more than a cosmetic intervention in a scheme that perpetuates the vicious circle of the established power. This power in turn reinforces the group entitled to distribute benefits to the dominating or privileged classes and to the eventual appendices operating as their tributaries.

In this complex, disturbing and even contradictory scenario, in which not only the intelligibility of our historical evolution is at stake but the very destiny of our societies, the answers and the expectations depend on a necessary historical balance at global scale, which is a bit more than a mere settlement of accounts with the Official History.

Our work takes this new direction or search for intelligibility of the past, consistent with the recovery of the political history and the reaffirmation of an important set of theoretical and philosophical devices which, undoubtedly, belong to the classic tradition inherited from ancient Greece as well as from the Enlightened Modernity. It is in Ancient Greece where Thucydides' great work - re-examined magnificently by Leo Strauss – plays a decisive role. His distinction of *erga* (acts) and *logoi* (discourses) is a matrix not yet surpassed in the historical narrative, establishing the difference between principal and accessory facts. This basic difference has not been taken into account by some authors that confuse the instructive reconstruction of the past with an undifferentiated collection of news and events of scarce or no relevance for the future course of social life. For the former the Western culture has reserved, since the times of Thucydides, the name of History, leaving the rest to that undifferentiated group of antiquarians and collectors who have been joined by a broad range of quantitativists and minimalists that do not seem to be able to sort principal from accessory facts.

The old problems of war and peace, as intents to restore a balanced order, or to get rid of an established disorder (methanastasis), by different means (direct violence, commerce, law, communications, armies, and ethnic and religious or ideological homogeneity) so deeply examined by Eric Voegelin and Leo Strauss, and which were reexamined in the modern notions of Universal Monarchy, Just War, Equality of States, Common Law, Perpetual Peace (Democratic Peace and Cosmopolitan Peace), Armed Peace (Arms Race), Peace Commitment, Revolutionary Peace, Separate Peace, War of Aggression, Religious War and Preemptive War, formulated by Vitoria (1532), Grotius (1625), Montesquieu (1731-33), Kant (1790), and Bismarck-Moltke-Waldersee (1885-90), as well as the proposal of Cornelius Castoriadis over the conglomerate formed by the magma of the founding social imaginary, has allowed us to establish and disintegrate a remarkable variety of events.<sup>7</sup>

This disintegration shaped the adaptation and successive reproduction of the political obligation and its institutional forms and the related obligations and prerogatives in the new states that emerged starting with each revolution and/or world war. Starting with

the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, in the rest of the world the nation-states grew steadily to finally detonate.<sup>8</sup> This deflagration occurred all over the world: first in France and its colonies (Haiti, 1793; and Louisiana, 1803); then in Latin America after the fall of the Hispanic Absolutist Empire in 1808 and the transfer of the Portuguese Court to Brazil (1808); later on in the Far East, Eastern Europe and the Levant (or South-West Asia) after the fall of the last absolutist empires (Chinese, Ottoman, Habsburg, and Tzarist) that erupted with the Great War (1912-1918); afterwards in Europe and the Far East with the collapse of the Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan) during the 2nd World War (1922-1945); subsequently in Africa, Asia and the Levant after the collapse of modern empires (Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland) after the last world war (1952-1960); and ultimately in Eastern Europe, Mao's China and the former Soviet Union after the Fall (1989).

The work is also based on the great contribution of the Scandinavian School of material criticism of Law in the 1920s and 1930s—particularly Axel Hägerström, Alf Ross, Karl Olivecrona and Vilhelm Lundstedt, who rightfully distinguished the material juridical consciousness in its various components: ideals, attitudes, standards and values. At the same time we have been benefited by the extraordinary study of the colonial society done by Anthony Pagden, David A. Brading, Crawford Young and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and of other numerous authors.<sup>9</sup>

But at this point of analysis we should ask: What is an empire? How is an empire built and, what are the ideological elements that contribute to its creation?. Understanding these issues may probably lead to identify the motivations or the factors that have caused the fall. Probably such motivations emerge as a result of a long intestine war. What is certain is that each one claims for itself the glory and the heroic deed of mythological and ever better past times. As Balandier (2005) stated, political statuses carry the seal of the sacred, the descendants of the founding fathers or the first settlers, those who had contact with the gods through the teachings that rapidly turned them into a privileged group within their own structure.<sup>10</sup> William Blake, as quoted by Said (2004), suggested a way of recognizing empires by two mechanisms that reveal their ideological transmission, Art and Science.<sup>11</sup>

In that sense, the classification submitted by Pagden (1997) of the European empires, granted the Spanish Empire a specific treatment, as compared to the French and British empires. Obviously, their times have been different, even when similar or analogous structures can be traced in their political discourses about the “otherness”<sup>12</sup>. The pride for the national self takes specific assumptions with respect to an alleged “sub-humanity” of the native american, searching for the affirmation and building of Roman ideological remnants<sup>13</sup>. Originally, Pagden reminds us that in Latin the word empire refers to the sphere of the executive and administrative authority of certain Roman magistrates, even when their dynamic was purely sacred. The humanistic discourses of the XVth century borrowed their learnings from the Roman stoic philosophers, above all Sallust and Cicero. A more flexible interpretation of the term *imperium*, suggested the power performed by the “*perfecta communitas*” characteristic of the canonical jurists”.<sup>14</sup>

Ethimologically, Pagden remind us, the word empire can be understood as a mandate that delegates certain sacred strength: the *imperator*. While the word *imperium* was present during the Republican age, it was later transferred to the civil sphere (*domi*) and

the military (*militae*). Thus, in the course of time emperors cease to be only generals and became also judges under the figure of *princeps legibus solutus*<sup>15</sup>. To this intricate meaning of the term, one might add the meaning given many centuries later by Spain (extended territorial domain with military government), in accordance with the idea of “*Universal Monarchy*”, as a way to justify by means of the natural law the Hispanic territorial expansion.<sup>16</sup> Considered to be the most Romanized of all Europe, the Spanish Kings proclaimed themselves direct inheritors (prodigal sons) of the glory of “Octavius–Augustus”, and with it in full right of exercising the civilizing power (*Comunidad Civitas*) over the world.

This Spanish authority, unlike France and England, that advocated the legitimate possession of the land, implied the military presence by means of which certain precious metals were collected, and were returned to the “Indies” in specific forms, as religion and life styles. For Fanani (1933), this might be the beginning of “modern capitalism”. At such a point, Pagden maintained: “in the main mythology of the Roman Empire *there was another component which facilitated a relatively simple absorption of the classic theory of the Empire by their christian inheritors. The fact that the imperium have extracted its legitimacy out of the ilimited political power of a sole moral culture was due to the fact that such culture was based in the pietas*”<sup>17</sup>.

This notion of *pietas* implied a certain loyalty to a group (family) and later on to a bigger community ordered by means of reason in observation of religious laws. The practice of *pietas* was associated to *virtus* (virtue) not in the germanic sense of *Macht* (strength or work) as Huizinga (1968) implies, but beyond its own individuality in the *utilitas publica*. Tinted with Christianity, the virtue became the fraternity of the sons of God, generally a god that became man.

However, many are the positions when it comes to reaching agreement on the motivations that led the European empires –throughout their history- to conquer the whole world; for some the causes are economic and for others purely social such as prestige and status<sup>18</sup>. Instead, for Ruiz-Domenéc (2004), the European expansionist principle was based on the need of adventure, which was inherent to the Mediterranean spirit (through the greek-roman culture)<sup>19</sup>. But, do the same observations apply to non-Western empires like the Russian, the Chinese or the Ottoman? Thalassocratic or overseas empires (spanish, british, french) need to have the same treatment than the thelurocratic or continental empires (russian, chinese, austrian, ottoman? What is the linguistic validity of the term Empire out of the Indoeuropean borders?

Initially, previous indicators allow to study the subject in a systematic way, such as the presence of an unstable institutionality that carries on to an internal war, the building of a collective pride based on feelings of “superiority” over the rest of the communities, the ideological dissemination of such superiority by different means, the mythic or imaginary vision of the return to the glory of the golden age, the stereotype of the foreigner and Infra-valuation of the dominated people (naturalization of the inferiority) and finally, the fear to the loss of virtue and to the corruption of human habits. These indicators are present in the majority of the imperialist regimes. However, it is very hard to determine when an empire is going to emerge or when it will fall. Has the Roman Empire really fallen? Isn’t the very Greek-latin *oikumene* the precedent of modern globalization?. Or, how much Roman influence exists nowadays in Spain, England, France and the United States?<sup>20</sup>.

Moreover, and combined with the problematics of empire, war, peace, order, religion, and founding (institutive) social imaginary, we have adapted the notions of empire-decline built by Edward Gibbon and Arno Mayer in connection with the fall of the Roman and Ottoman Empires, the notions of formal and informal empire, studied by Onley (1953), and by Gallagher and Robinson (1953), with regard to China and South America; and the notions of thalassocratic empires and telurocratic empires, referred to the centrality of the sea or the continent.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, we have implemented those notions of perpetual peace elaborated by Kant, and commented by Rousseau and Bentham; and of world federalism or league of states also proposed by Kant.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, we have incorporated the notions of balance of forces (or power) developed by David Hume and recovered by Foucault (2006, 2007) and the English School of International Relations.<sup>23</sup> According to Akinola (2006), who analyzes the confederation of states such as Nigeria, but could be extended to several other states such as the USA before the War of Secession, or Germany and Italy before their respective Unities, the methods and techniques of maintaining or restoring the internal balance of power were: "...the policy of divide and rule (working to diminish the weight of the stronger side); territorial compensations after a war; creation of buffer states; the formation of alliances; spheres of influence; intervention; diplomatic bargaining; legal and peaceful settlement of disputes; reduction of armaments; armament's competition; and war itself".<sup>24</sup> Besides buffer-states, we have also inquired into the notions of satellite-state (part of a formal empire), client-state or client-monarchy (part of an informal empire), failed-state, rogue-state, and vacant-state.<sup>25</sup> We have also applied the no less important notion of fragment-state or *Staatsfragmente* of Georg Jellinek, as well as the Aristotelian concepts of *methanastasis* (generalized internal disorder) and *symmakhía* (non-territorial armed conglomerate) which combined with the notion of balance of forces closes a conceptual and theoretical circle that will allow us to engage in the interpretation of multiple historical phenomena until today hidden in uncertainties and misconceptions.<sup>26</sup> These notions, along with Jellinek's doctrine of subjective public rights, helped us to reconstruct the aggregation and internalization of the founding social imaginary.

This social order led in turn to the Established Order and provided the content for the Great Tale in which the Founding Heroes play the extraordinary disciplinary role – wonderfully described by Memel Foté (1991)- that gradually has allowed the survival and perpetuation of a corrupt social order, void of expectations, intolerant and in continuous retraction.<sup>27</sup> Those Founding Fathers of the Great Tale were among others Toussaint-Louverture (Haiti), Bolívar (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru), San Martín (Rio de la Plata, Chile, Peru), Tiradentes and José Bonifácio (Brasil), Hidalgo and Morelos (Mexico), and Morazan (Central-america); in Africa Nasser (Egypt), Nkrumah (Ghana), Abd al-Qadr and Ben Bellah (Argelia), Lumumba (Congo), Kaunda (Zambia), Senghor (Senegal), Cabral (Guinea), Machel (Mozambique) and Nyerere (Tanzania); in the Levant Atatürk (Turkey) and Mossadegh (Irán); and in Asia Gandhi (India), Mao (China) and Sukarno (Indonesia).

The central aspect of this research has been structured around the aforementioned theory aiming at reconstructing the problem of the formation and development of the founding (institutive) order and the changes in the institutional form of states. In the Franco-Hispanic-Lusitanian colonial space such changes took place from 1793 until their final

consolidation around 1880; in Africa, Asia and the Levant (or South-West Asia) started with the Versailles Treaty and the decolonization process of the 50s and 60s; and in Eastern Europe started with the fall of the Wall (1989). Then, the work tries to establish the matrix of its legitimizing function and its connection with the Great Tale to take the form of the Official History.

The hard core dimension, of this investigation is the specific review of the different periods in which the evolutionary sequence falls into disorder, paying attention in each case to the detailed disaggregation of the disciplinary task of the institutive social imaginary that has played a clear legitimating function. From another point of view, this legitimating function has been clearly linked to the conclusive role of the founding fathers, which --with stubborn insistence-- has been used as a disciplinary social emblem and a symbol of the Great Tale that has become known in different countries in the form of the Official History.<sup>28</sup>

The crisis of the six (6) absolutist imperialisms (Pre-revolutionary French, Iberian, Ottoman, Chinese, Tsarist and Austrian), although not equivalent, because strong differences were among them, since some empires like the Austrian have been always thelurocratic, while others have been thalassocratic and became thelurocratic, like the cases of China, Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and all of them brought about the reminiscence and forced comparisons with the long Roman decline.<sup>29</sup> In our analysis, the only decisive development was the aggressive action of Napoleon's forces and the no less warlike enemies, with their opposing coalitions (six consecutive Coalitions), their alliances (Swiss Confederation, the Confederation of the Rhine, 1806-1813), and their corresponding peace treaties.<sup>30</sup> The Napoleonic forces entered first in northern Italy dominated by the Austrian Empire (1797); then in the Ottoman Empire (Egypt, 1799), afterwards in the metropolis of the Austrian (1806), and Spanish-Portuguese empires (1808), and finally in the Tsarist Empire (Russia, 1812). In Spain, the Napoleonic forces stay and takeover all the peninsula after the escape of the Portuguese Court in November 1807 and the eventual and grotesque episode of Bayonne abdications in 1808, comparable --in Antonio Annino's view-- to the *Night of Varennes*, when the prisoner Louis Capet (Louis XVI) tried to escape from France disguised as a peasant.

At the beginning, imperial declines and permanent distortions of the balance of forces were promoted by mutual confrontations among imperial powers (Iberian, Tsarist and Austrian against Ottoman, Austrian against Tsarist, and British against Tsarist) and by their interest to compensate the costs of war by means of territorial partitions (annexations, cessions, exchanges, creation of buffer states), commercial privileges, mutual pacts of religious tolerance, and international agreements, which constituted a sort of zero-sum games, where what a world power obtained it was lost by another, for which reason was very relevant to evaluate in cases of war the seven (7) elements of each balance of forces: territory, wealth (including balance of trade), population, army (including military technology), communications (roads and telegraphs), and ethnic and religious or ideological homogeneity.<sup>31</sup>

But later, confrontations were started by new and secularized world powers that appeared for the first time in world history: first England, then Prussia, and later on France. The road to the fall of the Hispanic Absolutist Empire, the real "Sick Man of Europe", had been gradually paved throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Peace of



Westphalia (1846) guaranteed the independence of the Portuguese Kingdom and its colonies from the Spanish Empire; and during the 18th century, when the Habsburg dynastic extinction, the War of Succession and the Peace of Utrecht (1713-14) ended with the dying dream of a universal monarchy by imposing among multiple sovereignties the politics of the balance of power.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, the first defeat of the Ottoman Empire, after the expulsion of Moors from Spain (1492) and Lepanto (1571), was experienced in its War against the Austrian Empire, between 1683 and 1697, which ended up in the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699),<sup>33</sup> of the Chinese empire in the Opium Wars (1842); of the Tsarist Empire in the Crimean War (1854-56); and of the Austrian Empire in the battle of Koniggratz or Sadowa (1866). These military collapses were anticipated in the early 19th century first by the revolutionary interventions of the Directory and Consulate; and then by the Napoleonic interventions, that involved in Egypt Admiral Nelson, the Ottoman Sultan Selim III and Commander Jezzaz Pasha; in Russia the Tsar Alexander and his Ministers Tatistcheff and Pozzo di Borgo; in Austria the emperor Francis I and his ambassador Barón Wessenberg; and in Spain the Prince of Peace, King Charles IV, his wife and his son Fernando, and the War of Independence that followed the Bayonne abdications. Finally, the Congress of Vienna (1815), became a short up to date of the Peaces of Augsburg (1555), Westphalia (1648), Utrecht (1713-14), Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), Paris (1763) and Versailles (1783), and a frustrated outcome of the indefinite or Perpetual Peace demanded by Kant and developed by Rousseau and Bentham.<sup>34</sup>

In different places in the five continents, the dissolving and ephemeral action of the new Napoleonic order brought about an unbalanced distribution of world forces and an intense and long *methanastasic* process (decomposition of a group in situations of complete antagonism within a social ensemble) oriented to a violent and total rupture.<sup>35</sup> This segregative military process or political pathway occurred over eight (8) waves or phases, and more than thirty (32) courses of action, with their particular territorial partitions, balances of forces, historical stages (pre-revolutionary, pre-colonial, colonial, neocolonial, postcolonial) and cultural moments (political, religious, military, economic), lasting almost a couple of centuries.

In this process of socio-political reformulation, and multiple territorial segregations, confederations, annexations and cessions, the first *methanastasic* wave was given by the collapse of the French colonial empire (Haiti, Louisiana). The fall of the Spanish Founding (institutive) Order became the second wave. The third wave took place in Europe at the end of the 1848 Revolution, which gave rise to Germany, Belgium and Italy as nation-states, and their later European expansionism (Alsace-Lorraine, Norway) with similar aftermaths in Africa, and during the same period in North-America, with the emergence of modern United States; in South-America, with modern Argentina, Brazil and Chile; in Eastern Asia, with the emergence of modern Japan; and also the dismemberment of the old African empires of Ethiopia, Ghana (Ashanti), Congo, Mali, Benin and Zimbabwe among the modern and annexationist European imperial metropolis (France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy). The fourth wave, complementary with the previous one, happened during World War I with the break-up of the last absolutist empires (Chinese, Ottoman, Habsburg and Tzarist) and a new balance of power (1911-1918). The fifth wave took place during the Inter-war period and collapsed during the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, because of not being able to militarily impose a New Order (1922-1939). The sixth wave took place during the slightly peaceful decolonizing process of the modern European empires in South Asia (India) and the

Levant (Arab Countries) after the 2nd World War (1952-1955). The seventh during the bloody decolonization process of the French (Algeria), Belgian (Congo) and Portuguese Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau) and South-East Asia (Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, East Timor) in the 60's, and the eighth and last wave during the rivalries and decomposition of Tito's Yugoslavia (1948), Mao's China (1960) and the Soviet Union (1989). All these waves, although interconnected, distinguished themselves because of different combinations of their historical legacies, cultural moments and balances of power.<sup>36</sup>

## II.- First Methanastasic Wave (1793-1803)

The first *methanastasic* wave is given by the collapse of the Gallic Founding Order, caused by the French Revolution (1789), which shall produce two different courses of action. The first course of action was generated with a widespread insurrection located in its main sugar-producing colonial enclave (Haiti), that afterwards will spread to the rest of Saint Domingue, a territory that has been ceded to France in the Basel Peace Treaty (1795). In the first place we show the case of Haiti (a French colony) where it is possible to register the initial course of colonial *methanastasis* represented by the action, in some way preparatory and emergent of Toussaint-Louverture and his struggle for independence, which connects to a complex and very poorly studied process of marches and counter-marches, wars, ethnic violence and territorial segregation.<sup>37</sup> And the second course of action of this first *methanastasic* wave happened in the continent, with the forced sale of a huge territory (Louisiana, 1803), which uselessly Spain and France tried to revert in the Congress of Vienna.<sup>38</sup>





### III.- Second Methanastasic Wave (1808-30)

In the Franco-Hispanic-Lusitanian space — taken as a sample for this research project that has a global scope and an interconnected nature— the starting point is a very clear reformulation of the Official History which starts in 1810 and, with overwhelming inconsistency, has traced back an undifferentiated mass of precedents, establishing a poor connection with the events that, after the removal of the Portuguese Court to Brazil as the result of the belligerent and ambitious expansion of the Napoleonic Empire in November 1807 and of the consequent immediate fall of the Hispanic Absolutist Empire in 1808, lead to situations of antagonism, rupture and *methanastasis*. These developments, the result of a world war initiated with the so called revolutionary wars and later with the Napoleonic wars, lead to an over-balance of political forces on behalf of France, and to secession, segregation and partition of the Latin American conglomerate, all under the umbrella of a continental liberation project and a long and strenuous War of Independence.

The continental liberation plan and war of independence were followed by the complex struggle of different groups and regions driven by a broad variety of interests, ideas and expectations, including a broad range of sociopolitical aspects interacting with established structures that tended to the creation of new nation-states and military contingents that could only be described as *symmakhia*, such as the Army of the Andes, reformed after the Rancagua Act under the hegemonic command of San Martín.<sup>39</sup>

In this reconstruction of the historic tale of independence and of the irregular and uneven reordering of former colonial territories —that had already experienced deep

territorial changes keeping time with the European Wars (Cuba, Colonia del Sacramento, Misiones Orientales, Falkland Islands)-- our work examines the complex, hard and disintegrated development from the early formation period initiated in 1808 and ending with the Panama Anphyctic Congress in 1826.

During this first period, going from 1808 to 1826, we have proved and we have clearly established that the initial *methanastasis* that followed the colonial fracture and collapse run parallel to a large variety of antagonisms and deep distortions in the balance of forces, intermingled with military and symbolic violence and fratricide or indirect parricide, originated in violent and intransitive options associated to ideas, imaginaries and institutional forms, as well as to identities, prejudices and interests that struggled with new players, which in turn paved the road to new events from different perspectives and different positions.<sup>40</sup>

Not everything followed the same tragic path in Latin America. In different colonial territories, historical itineraries and balances of forces differed radically. The Portuguese-American scenario witnessed the *elevação*, or transformation of Brazil into a kingdom (1815), which lead directly to a relatively controlled and almost peaceful independence (1822) that in turn gave rise to a new and powerful political body: the pro-slavery Empire of Brazil.

In the Hispanic-Lusitanian space, according to the results of our research, we can trace at least six (6) courses of action or master directions that open up in the main scenarios that are examined in our work with very specific attention:

First in our research program, we find the Portuguese-American territory, whose course of action is harder because of the vast interactions, tough articulations and pacts of unstable coexistence due to the singular and antagonist development of an economic civil society with a clear bourgeois, free-trade vocation, in a monarchic and pro-slavery context. In this scenario our study reconstructs the peculiar course of events from the moving of the royal Portuguese family at the end of 1807 to the war with the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata in 1827 that anticipated a number of republican and segregationist rebellions and new buffer-states which are part of the next phase.

Then, in the second place, we review the *methanastasic* process of the Rio de la Plata and Chile, whose origin dated from the formation in the late colonial period of a commercial bourgeoisie, free from Cadiz and linked not only with Europe but also with Asia and Africa; and whose complex ramifications led to the beginning of declarations of independence and the planning of an emancipation project at a continental scale.<sup>41</sup> In this Plan, with diverse durations and results, like war themselves, a decisive role was going to be played by the *symmakhia* established by San Martin in Rancagua. Of great relevance in this evolution were the wars of independence that were displaced to Peru, the fratricide fights in the Provincias Unidas and Chile, and the old and prestigious royal universities inheritors of the Spanish Enlightenment that later became poor national institutions of higher education. In this process the Carreras brothers played an outstanding role, leading to a governance crisis that ended in Provincias Unidas with the anarchy of 1820, the symmakhistic leadership, the transformation of provinces into states, the loss of an American political identity, the rural orientation of politics, and the clash of parties or “civilization against barbarism”, which later led to a permanent civil

war, to a strong internal imbalance, between regions and provinces, and to absolutist dictatorships that came to the rescue.<sup>42</sup>

Our research follows with a cluster of events in Peru and Alto Peru, where we find the third course of action that started in the Act of Rancagua and the conversion of the army into a *symmakhia*.<sup>43</sup> In this particular sequence, special relevance is attached to the Conference of Punchauca and the Garcia del Rio-Paroissien mission.<sup>44</sup> This course ended with the Guayaquil meeting, the frustrated monarchical proposals, San Martin resignation and the discontinuation of actions for the independence of Peru and Alto Peru.<sup>45</sup>

The fourth course of action presents itself, according to our investigation, in the territory of Nueva Granada (present Colombia) starting with the famous Cartagena Manifest, the San Mateo surrender and Miranda's prison, followed by the Carúpano Manifest and the Letter from Jamaica.<sup>46</sup> In this peculiar course, rather isomorphic, which is often observed at the same time in the Provincias Unidas, we elaborate on the execution of General Piar and later on the social war.<sup>47</sup> At this point Bolivar's itinerary is the core of our research and the key we use to analyze the Congress of Angostura, the Morillo-Bolivar interview and the Trujillo armistice, the Congress of Cúcuta and the formation of Gran Colombia. Bolivar appears in this part of our investigation as the craftsman of the independence program in spite of the failure of the Panama Congress and his subsequent and tragic destiny.<sup>48</sup>

Then we turn to the Mexican events where we trace the fifth course of action. Our review starts with the Conspiracy of Queretaro and the Hidalgo Cry and we stop in the promulgation of the Apatzingan Constitution, the execution of Morelos, the Iguala Plan and the peculiar proclamation of Emperor Iturbide.<sup>49</sup> We continue with the formulation of the Casa Mata Plan to the war against the United States which closes with the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty and the Ayutla Plan.

Finally our research traces in Guatemala the sixth and last course of action. Here we departed from the failure of Iturbide against the Central-American oligarchy and examined, in sequential order, the weak attempt to form the United Provinces of Central-America, the Federal Constitution of 1824 and the civil war of 1826-29, the actions of General Morazán and the Federal Republic of Central-America. Morazán's execution in 1842 closes this period.<sup>50</sup>

This analytical breakdown, beyond any theoretical digression that we previously developed in detail, requires a description of the global context to help see foundation of the argumentative building of the new critical narration of the evolution of the Latin American founding (institutive) order that we deem necessary for an adequate comprehension of the political-social world that we inherited from the crucial and stormy 19th century.

While the first global period of fracture of the colonial founding (institutive) order of Latin-America (1808-1826) was characterized by segregation, parricide war and a common American political identity, that even on behalf of a territorial irredentism of the east side of the Plata basin got involved in a war against the slave-oriented Brazilian empire (1825-28); the second period (1826-1839) appears to be marked by disintegration and anarchical fratricide and by the threat of the Holy Alliance

(Absolutist Empires of Russia, Prussia and Austria) not to acknowledge the Independence of the new Latin American nation-states. This disintegration manifests itself by the existence of several power vacuums; loss of the American political identity; division, isolation and insularity, and by the emergence --at first almost invisibly -- of new national identities and establishment of authoritarian institutions that eliminate any possibility of territorial and symbolic unification, as naively envisaged by the central players of the preceding period.<sup>51</sup>

The almost definitive territorial distribution is made evident with the establishment of national borders in the new states (the Argentine Confederation, the Empire of Brazil and the Republics of Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Central-America) and the consequent shaping of new ruling classes determined to proceed with the expansion of the economic civil society under a system of domination built around their own context. Our exam is oriented to shed light on the actions and instruments of adaptation used to create a uniform political obligation in each nation-state operating under the strict control of each hegemonic group in a frame of interlaced duties and prerogatives, resorting to factors of stability and discarding any opposing forces.<sup>52</sup>

The third movement (1840-1851) is characterized by the consolidation of a fragmented and authoritarian integration or confederation. In this new period we discover, above all, a huge endeavor, simulations of the organizational efforts, to build the Big Tale of every nation-state justifying the new order that, feeding from the past and appropriating the most relevant players of the germinal phase, ends up transforming those figures (Tiradenters, Toussaint-Louverture, Miranda, Miralla, Belgrano, Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Sucre, Santander, Paez, José Bonifacio, Hidalgo, Morelos, Guerrero, Morazan, etc.) into heroes or founding fathers destined to serve as legitimizing elements and suggesting figures of this socio-political materialization that was already shaping the established founding order of the new nation-states.<sup>53</sup>

We consequently show this sequence as a new form of disconnection reflecting an identity segregated from its own historical context that paved the road to a new form of fratricide that, amidst a vast number of antagonisms and lack of power balances all over Latin America, led to the Central-American civil war (1826-29), the Big War (1839-52), the Paraguayan war (1865-70), the Pacific war (1879), the Chaco war (1932-35), and the Guatemalan-Salvadorian, Argentine-Chilean, Peruvian-Chilean, Peruvian-Ecuadorian, and Bolivian-Paraguayan rivalries, which to date have remained unsettled .

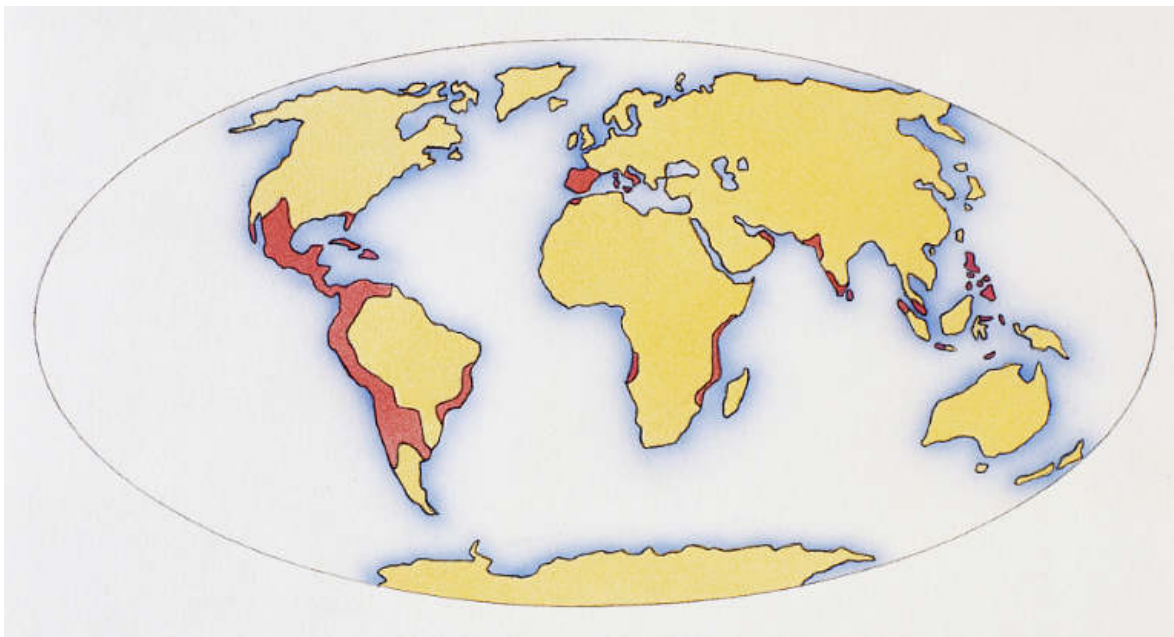
Finally, the 1852 - 1880 period, in a world characterized by a new colonial expansionism in Africa, Asia, Maghreb and the Levant (or South-West Asia), is the period we define as the fourth and last period of consolidation and new social order in Latin America, already segregated in terms of socio-political identities, where the territorial distribution of the new states was defined, with their separatisms, annexationism, irredentism, coalitionism (confederationism) and the creation of buffer-states and the allocation of excluding powers and future actions agendas that were totally divorced from their common backgrounds.











#### IV.- Third methanastasic wave (1848-80)

A third *methanastasic* wave, a continuation of the second wave triggered by the collapse of the absolutist Hispanic Empire, took place in several continents: a) in Europe as a result of the Vienna Congress (1815) and the 1830 y 1848 revolutions; b) in East Asia as a result of the Meiji revolution; c) in North America as a consequence of the Civil War (1860-65), and d) in South America as a result of the defeat of *Caudillismo* (petty tyranny of local political leaders) (1852-62). In this second wave, at least nine major courses of action, pathways or itineraries occurred which had colonial or extra-continental consequences, the first in Great Britain, the second in France, the third in Germany (Prussia), the fourth in Italy, the fifth in Spain, the sixth in Belgium, the seventh in Japan, the eighth in North America and the ninth in South America.

This third wave –the result of a never concluded revolutionary process and an unfinished truce (Congress of Vienna), which gave room to the existence of power vacuums and vacant states (Poland, Saxony, Parma, Tuscany), and that broke out in the 1848 Revolution —led to an inexorable trend to internally link together the nations to the states, to a more and more intricate interlinking of the concepts of nation–people, and people-state, and to a political legitimacy based on mediation regimes and ascending power theories whereby sovereignty originated in the peoples. This also led to a war notion that implied armies made up of citizens and not dynastic strata or subordinate subjects; to an expansionist external wave founded on “free trade”, on an international rule built of peace treaties, on modern communications, on secularization politics, and on pseudo "civilizing" missions; to the growing militaristic competition among colonial powers and to territorial exchanges and to the formal annexation of almost all African and Asian political spaces, and to the informal domination of the remaining Center and South-American spaces..

The first course of action in this third wave started in Great Britain (which have suffered a lot with the loss of the US in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and have experienced a rise in popular sovereignty and an age of deep reforms), where it is possible to register after the

Congress of Vienna (that reestablished in Europe a multipolar balance of power), different events that confirm its expansionist, mercantile, and thalassocratic nature (ocean-centered).<sup>54</sup> Among those events we could register: a) the homologation of India occupation (1815), b) the conquest of Sikkim and the South of Terai (eastern Himalaya) in the Anglo-Nepalese War (Sugauli Treaty, 1816); c) the appropriation of Malaysia from the Dutch (Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1825); d) the colonization of Australia with settlers and convicts; and e) the insertion of buffer states such as Uruguay in South America (1828), Belgium in Europe (1831), Afghanistan in Asia (1878), and Siam in South-East Asia (1893).<sup>55</sup> Also it has to be register as relevant the persecution of slave trade and piracy; the punishment of Mehmet Ali's attacks on the Sultan in Constantinople (1838-42); the conversion of New Zealand into a British colony (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840); the Anglo-French blockade of the Rio de la Plata (1845-46), the informal empire in the Persian Gulf (1820-1971), and the consecutive annexations of Sind (1843), Punjab (1849) and Beluchistan (1876-87) in Southern Asia (present Pakistan), as a defensive counterfort against the Russian advance in Persia.<sup>56</sup> Lastly, in 1878, anticipating the Italians, Great Britain acknowledged the French hegemony in Tunisia in exchange for the British hegemony in Cyprus.

These British appropriations were not for nothing, since they put into action the competition with France and Russia for the spoils of Muslim Asia and required the persecution of piracy and the slave trade. Moreover, these appropriations required the crush of the Cipay's mutiny done by the Nepalese Gurkhas (1857), and the repression of the Islamic Jihad of El-Mahdi in Sudan (1883-84).<sup>57</sup> As well, these events were followed by the proclamation of the Dominion of Canada (British North America Act of 1867) comprising Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick colonies, and later on, in 1871, British Columbia; the loss of autonomy of Afghanistan and Burma; the consolidation of British authority in Central and Southern Asia (Burmese Wars, 1824-26, 1852, 1885 and Afghan Wars, 1878-79); and the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1876.<sup>58</sup> Then, prior to World War I, there took place the acquisition of the Suez Canal (1881), the establishment of the New Guinea, Burma and Nigerian Protectorates (1894, 1886, 1901); the coalition entered into with France and Russia (Triple Entente, 1904); the fixing of boundaries in Eastern Africa (Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Madagascar) among the great powers (Germany, France and the United Kingdom) by means of the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty (1890); and the prevention of Russian expansion into Central Asia by the British invasion of Tibet (1904) and its transformation into a buffer-state, disguised as an English Protectorate (1906).<sup>59</sup> Finally, in 1904, Great Britain experienced new territorial exchanges, accepting the French hegemony in Morocco in exchange for the British hegemony in Egypt and in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Also, as new international treaties were prompted from Great Britain as well as – following the example of Methuen (1704)-- to guarantee “free trade” and free navigation of rivers and seas, the colonial world was partitioned once again by the Declaration of “British Empire Dominions” affecting the Commonwealth of Australia (1901), New Zealand (1907) and South Africa (1910); the culmination of the Great Game in Central Asia between Russia and the United Kingdom (Anglo-Russian Convention or Entente Cordiale of 1907).<sup>60</sup> During the Great War new issues were faced: the Partition of the Arab countries (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia) between France and the United Kingdom or the secret Sykes-Picot Treaty (1916); the Balfour Declaration on Palestine (1917) by which the United Kingdom

supported the formation of a Jewish homeland; and the preparation for the self-determination of India (Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909; Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919); and Federations and Commonwealth Realms, such as the British Honduras (Belize), the English Guiana, and the British West Indies (Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Jamaica, Montserrat, Trinidad and Tobago, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Cayman Islands, and Turks and Caicos Islands). Furthermore, the insertion of a buffer state between Russia and the United Kingdom in Central Asia through the independence of Afghanistan in 1919; the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1922, that resulted in the Irish Civil War (1922-23); the Mandates of new client-states (Palestine, Transjordan, Mesopotamia, 1920-1922); the Proclamation of Canada as an autonomous dominion within the British Empire (December, 1931), and the conclusion of the British Mandate and independence of Iraq (1932) helped to clear the scenario of the colonial world.<sup>61</sup> In order to motivate the expansionist adventure, increasing anglophilia, popular religiosity and the memory of William the Conqueror was manipulated.<sup>62</sup>

Then, in the second course of action, that started in France, during the July Monarchy, in spite of the colonial frustrations (not in Africa where France controlled the coasts of Senegal) suffered with the loss of Quebec (1783), the Haitian insurrection (1793) and the Sale of Louisiana (1803), we found in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the French occupation of Algeria (1830), the frustrated policies of the Republican government of Thiers against the Ottoman Empire and in favor of Mehmet Alí in Egypt and against Rosas dictatorship in the River Plate (1839-42), Morocco's defeat by France at Isly (1844), the Lalla Maghnia Treaty signature (1845), and the colonial adventure of Maximilian in Mexico, sponsored by Napoleon III.<sup>63</sup> Later events in this course, after the II Republic, were the colonization of Congo (as promoted by Chancellor Bismarck to make up for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871), the Protectorate of Annam (1879), the Annexation of Tunisia (former Carthaginian territory, later known as the Ifriqiya) in 1881 in exchange for the acknowledgement of Cyprus to the United Kingdom. Moreover, the War with China, the transfer of the Gulf of Tonkin, the evacuation of Formosa, and the Peace of Tientsin were accelerated by the fear of China to Japanese expansion (1885). In Western Africa, the definitive consolidation of their colonies was confirmed by the Berlin Congress (1885).<sup>64</sup>

In the following decade, having the expansionist policies been reinforced, it is possible to register new ways of dealing with conflicting interests in the colonial world, such as the adoption of a regime of Direct Rule or Assimilation, the insertion of Siam (Thailand) as a buffer state between French Indochina and British Burma (Siam Protectorate, 1893), the Annexation of Madagascar (1896), the Protectorate of Morocco (Treaty of Fez, 1912); and in the first and second Moroccan Crisis or Algeciras (1906) and Agadir Crisis (1911), the German and British acknowledgements of the French control of Morocco in exchange for territories in Middle Congo or Cameroon (1912) for Germany, and in Egypt and Sudan for Great Britain.<sup>65</sup> Later on, during World War I, France retained Lebanon and Syria (secret Sykes-Picot Treaty, 1916).<sup>66</sup> All this colonizing itinerary finally led to the Vichy years (1940-1945), the Indochina War (1946-54) and immediately hereafter to the Algerian Independence War (1954-62).<sup>67</sup>

During the third course of action, that started in Prussia (Germany), after the conversion of Lutheran Brandenburg into a kingdom, the following events took place: first the annexation of half of Saxony and Rhineland to Prussia as established at the Vienna

Congress (sponsored by the Russian Tsar who was interested in ratifying his control over Poland or the Duchy of Warsaw); and then the victory of Prussia over Denmark in the Duchy War, which resulted in the Schleswig-Holstein annexation (1864); and finally the battle of Koniggratz or Sadowa (1866) where Prussia was triumphant thanks to its railroad and communication network, and as a result gave way to the Unification of Germany (1866).<sup>68</sup> Later on, with the economic, social and technological reforms, the military victory (French-Prussian War) over France, and the subsequent conquest of Alsace-Lorraine (1870), a number of political and military consequences ensued in other continents, such as the retreat of the French troops from Mexico after Maximilian's execution (1867) and the French occupation of Congo (1871), and, in addition to that, the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy brought about by the French annexation of Tunisia in 1882.<sup>69</sup>

Later on, after the 1884 Berlin Congress (which regulated the multipolar balance of power at a world scale, specifically the colonial partitioning of Africa and in the same way as the previous Berlin Congress have done with the Balkans), Germany started with France an Armed Peace policy (or arms race) which became a sort of prelude to the Great War.<sup>70</sup> However, this policy was not an impediment for Germany to negotiate with England the partition of the Portuguese colonies (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Prince's and St. Thomas Islands); and to share with England in 1886 the Eastern African territories known as Tanganyika (nowadays Tanzania) and obtained the Cameroon (Guinea Gulf) territories in exchange for the acknowledgement of the French influence in Morocco during the Agadir crisis (1912).<sup>71</sup> The same policy was applied in other continents, using symbolic violence, in what happened to be called the *gunboat diplomacy*, which was the case of the Anglo-German-Italian Blockade of Venezuelan ports, with the purpose of collecting their credits (1902).<sup>72</sup> In order to arouse German nationalism in World War I, Frederick the Great (1712-1786) -as Germany's Founding Father- was brought up.<sup>73</sup>

It is to be remarked that upon the defeat suffered in World War I and the frustrated Peace Treaty of Versailles (1918), Germany lost in Europe all the provinces that constituted the buffer-state of Poland, and in Africa all the territories acquired during the Berlin Congress (1885); and at the same time Austria lost all the provinces obtained in the Balkans as a result of the previous Berlin Congress of 1878.<sup>74</sup> Finally, after the Great War, the germanophilia, got accentuated, and communities like Jews and Gypsies, who lacked a geographic localization together with a national identity, in the II World War found themselves defenseless, and consequently were chosen as scapegoats and were decimated in an incalculable genocide once the fate of war turned against the Axis.<sup>75</sup>

In Italy, where the fourth course of action originated, colonial derivations were of a sustained violent nature for we have, with the Napoleonic Wars, the Partition of the Italian Principalities (Parma, Tuscany) between France and Austria. Half a century later the Unification of Italy (1860-61) took place, with the Papal state, the Italian principalities (Modena, Umbria, Marcas) and the kingdom of the Two Sicily constituting the Italian Kingdom under the hegemony of the Savoy dynasty (Piedmont-Sardinia), a buffer-state between Austria and France.<sup>76</sup> Then, political derivations followed with the Triple Alliance with Austria and Prussia, caused by the French annexation of Tunis in 1882. Afterwards, colonial derivations followed with the annexation of Massava (Eritrea) in 1885 and Somaliland through the Uccialli Treaty in

1889. Later on, new events were produced: the Adua (Adowa) defeat in Ethiopia and the signing of the Addis Abeba Treaty (1896), the annexation of Libya (formerly Cyrene) and the Dodecanese Islands (from where the Allies launched the Gallipoli's adventure) as a result of the War with Turkey in 1911-12, and the Italian commitment with the Triple Entente (Russia, France, Great Britain) in exchange for territorial promises in Dalmatia, Africa and the Levant (London Treaty, 1915).<sup>77</sup> To boost the public opinion on behalf of Italy the memory of Garibaldi and Mazzini was manipulated.

In Spain, where the fifth course of action developed, as a result of the Napoleonic Invasion - starting on May 2, 1808 (an event painted by Goya) – different events occurred, such as the Cadiz Constitution (1812); Ferdinand VII's Restoration (1814); the presence of Spain in the Congress of Vienna (1815), the Riego Revolution (1820); the loss of its colonies in America, excepting Cuba and Puerto Rico; and the acquisition of Equatorial Guinea in Africa from the United Kingdom (1845).<sup>78</sup> There subsequently occurred, first, both Carlist Wars (1832-39, 1847-60); the Spanish intervention in Peru (Islas Chinchas, 1862-66); and, at the end of the century, the War with the United States (1898), which sealed its fate as an imperial power with the loss of its last colonies (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines).<sup>79</sup> However, thanks to the 1885 Berlin Congress, Spain participated in the African Partition or scramble and was rewarded with the Gold River or Spanish Western Africa. As a motivation for the population, the Cid Campeador and the Catholic Kings were upheld as Founding Fathers of the Spanish nationality.

The sixth course of action had its location in Belgium which had obtained its independence from the United Provinces of the Netherlands only in 1831, and became a sort of buffer-state between France and England.<sup>80</sup> Half a century later and at the request of Chancellor Bismarck (1885), the king of Belgium, Leopold II, planned the occupation of Congo (Zaire) under the pretext of fighting the slave trade, surviving as a colonial power until the start of the Congolese National Movement, under the leadership of Patrice Lumumba, in 1959 and the subsequent declaration of Congo Independence in 1960.<sup>81</sup>

In Japan, where the seventh course of action took place, we found at the Meiji period, as a consequence of the reforms which put an end to serfdom and to the feudal system (Tokugawa) (1871), an expansionist foreign policy, new agreements with Russia in 1875, intervention in Korea, defeating China in the 1895 War whereby it conquered Formosa, and started exercising a sort of informal empire over China; and defeating Russia in the 1905 War thus obtaining the Korean Protectorate (1905).<sup>82</sup>

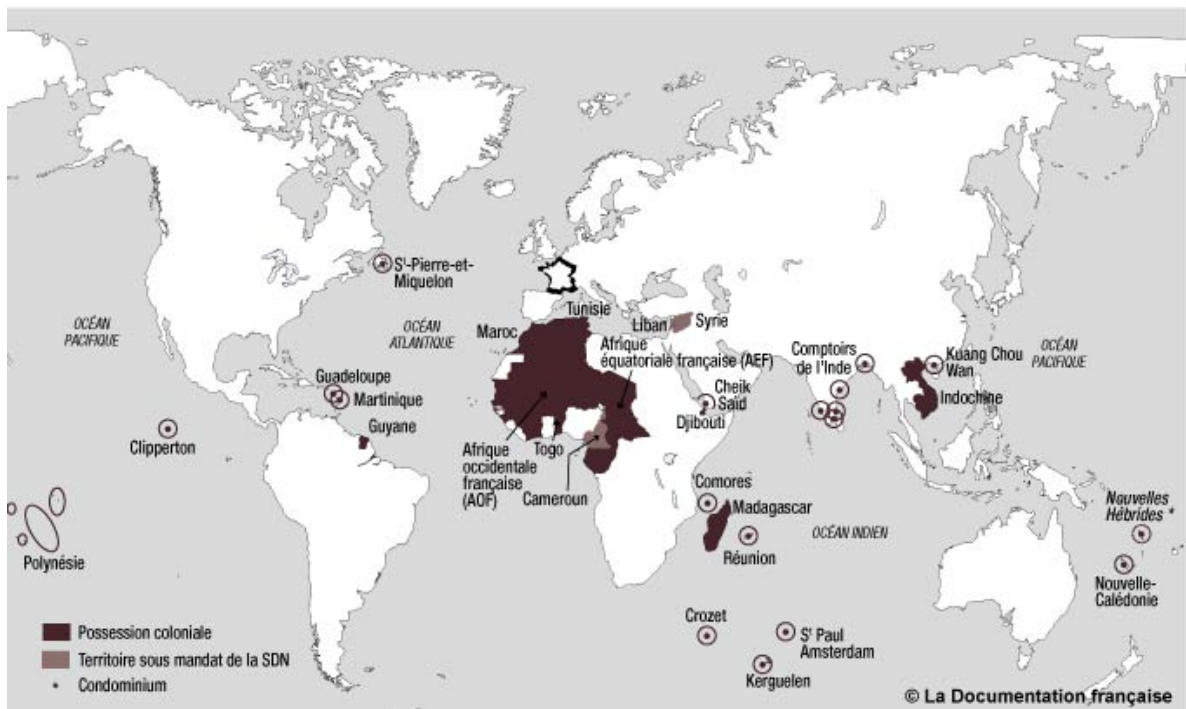
Then, we turn to the USA events, where we trace the eighth course of action. In spite of having become a new nation towards the end of the 18th century, and having initiated military and bureaucratic reforms, it did not attain their unified condition until the Secession War of the Northern states against the Confederation (1861-65), which resulted in the end of slavery and the beginning of an expansionist period.<sup>83</sup> This historical phase was possible thanks to a communication and transportation revolution, and was first represented by the so-called Far West Frontier, the ensuing genocide of the "Redskins" (1865-90), the acquisition of Alaska from Russia (1867), and deep educational reforms.<sup>84</sup> Later on, was followed in Central America (Nicaragua), by the Dickinson-Ayon Treaty (1870) and then, by the intervention in México in 1876.<sup>85</sup>

As from the Spanish-American War (1898), the United States consolidated as an informal imperial state with the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines (1898); the intervention in their satellite-states (Nicaragua and Costa Rica, 1899); the defeat of the Philippine Resistance (1899-1911); the annexation of the Panama Canal by virtue of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty (1901); the intervention in new satellite states (Dominican Republic, 1904-14; Cuba, 1906-09; Nicaragua, 1909-12; Honduras, 1910-12), and, later on, the landing of US Marine in Haiti (1914).<sup>86</sup> In such a role, to consolidate its imperial nature, USA imposed the Monroe Doctrine (1823) in order to prevent that Europe could change the established balance of power in Latin America.<sup>87</sup> What nourished the symbolic imaginary of the North-american people was the memory of a Manifest Destiny and the Founding Fathers, whose content and charisma have been subject to multiple interpretations and confrontations that fluctuated between a providential messianism down to the fulfillment of a program of humanist universal action.<sup>88</sup>

Finally, the ninth course of action occurred in South America, where new client-states (Brazil, Argentina and Chile) that revolved around the British informal empire and politics of "Free Trade", took possession, by means of successive wars, of neighboring territories.<sup>89</sup> This was the case with the Triple Alliance or Paraguayan War (1865-70) through which Argentina and Brazil consolidated their frontier areas in Chaco and Mato Grosso; the Pacific Ocean War (1879-83) that enabled Chile to take possession of the Arica, Tarapacá and Antofagasta territories belonging to Peru and Bolivia (Ancón Treaty, 1883); and the so-called Desert Conquest whereby Argentina expanded over the Pampas and Patagonia and took military action against the Indian population (1880-84).<sup>90</sup> From these expansionist struggles some countries remained enclosed as buffer-states. Those were the cases of Ecuador, Bolivia and Uruguay. Also, some of them remained trapped in ethno-cultural dilemmas, like the case of Bolivia. In this last case, their ruling elites found themselves pulled by antagonistic forces: the Aymara-centrism (La Paz) against the Camba-centrism (Santa Cruz de la Sierra) and the Chapaco-centrism (Tarija).







L'Empire français en 1930

Source: La Documentation Photographique n° 8062





## V.- Fourth methanastasic wave (1911-1918)

In a fourth *methanastasic* wave that rose in the last absolutist empires around World War I, at least four major courses of action or pathways occurred: the first one in China of the Qing (Manchu) Dynasty, the second in the Ottoman Empire, the third in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the fourth, in the Tsarist Empire. This fourth wave—the result of the lethargy and parasitism of a political space—was characterized by a monarchic order, traces of absolutism, descending power theories, changes in monarchic hierarchies (principalities, kingdoms, empires), dynastic struggles, lineage inequalities (morganatic relations), controversies on religious fundamentalisms, gender (Salic Law), hereditary legitimacy and age precedence (first son).<sup>91</sup> As well, during this fourth wave western military interventions, rival systems of alliances (Triple Entente, Triple Alliance, Balkan League), loss of territories, forced migrations, never fulfilled promises of independence, new colonial partitions and the deflagration of the Great War, led to a new and unstable balance of power all over the world, an irresistible centrifugal movement of the conglomerates of the Far East, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Caucasus, as well as the re-colonization and later decolonization of the Levant (or South-West Asia).<sup>92</sup>

The first course of action in this fourth wave took place upon the fracture of the Chinese Empire, an old multi-ethnic and multi-religious state, of a thalassocratic nature (sea-oriented), where an Enlightened experience similar to the European one did not have taken place, and where a long series of capitulations had started first with the Portuguese trade, and then with the defeat in the First Opium War and the subsequent cession of Hong-Kong to Great Britain (Treaty of Nanking, 1842).<sup>93</sup> This was followed first by the Taiping Insurrection (1850-64), a sort of charismatic messianism, intermingled with the defeat in the Second Opium War (1856-60), which resulted in the granting of a bureaucratic reform, the free navigation on rivers and the right to establish free ports and diplomatic legations in Peking in favor of the United Kingdom, France, Russia and the United States (Tientsin Treaty, 1858, and the Convention of Peking, 1860).<sup>94</sup> Later on, towards the end of the century, China lost on behalf of Russia the western and Islamic Province of Kulja (1871); and after its defeat in the Sino-French War (1884-85) the control of Tonkin. Ten years later, Kulja was restored to China, and its border with Russia was outlined by the Treaty of St Petersburg (1881). The Tientsin Peace Treaty happened to be accelerated because of fear of the Japanese expansionism (1885). Meanwhile, because of the defeat in the war with Japan, China lost Manchuria and the island of Formosa (Shimonoseki Peace, 1895), and Japan became a sort of informal empire over China.<sup>95</sup> Finally, China lost Tibet in the hands of the British (1904).

Lastly, as a reaction to the spoliation inflicted by the Western powers, a general sinophilia spread all over China, which fostered the Boxer Rebellion (1900),<sup>96</sup> prior to the fall of the almost millennial Qing (Manchu) dynasty in 1911 and the emergence of the Kuomintang, a nationalist party led by Sun Yat Sen.<sup>97</sup> After the civil war (1930-34); the Long March (1934-36) was produced; and a war erupted between China and Japan (1937-45), that convinced the Chinese to glorify Genghis Khan and Sun Yat Sen as Founding Fathers.<sup>98</sup>

In the Ottoman Empire (of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population and a thalassocratic nature), where the second course of action began --after the expansion during the Soliman's leadership and his alliance with Venice (to whom he tried to convince of his common descent from Priamo King of Troy)-- a long decay started first in the 16<sup>th</sup> century at Lepanto (1571), and the lack of an Enlightenment emphasized the relative cultural distance with Europe, which increased heavily at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in several wars with the Austrian, Tsarist and Persian Empires.<sup>99</sup> In the war with Austria, the Ottomans first ceded most of its satellite-states: Hungary, Transylvania and Slavonia (Karlowitz Treaty, 1699), and afterwards lower Walachia (present Rumania) and northern Bosnia and Serbia (Treaty of Passarowitz, 1718). However, during the Austrian War of Succession (1740-48) the Ottoman Empire could recover the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (Treaty of Belgrade, 1739). Later on, in several wars with the Tsarist Empire, the Ottomans lost the Azov Sea and the Crimean Khanate, and had to move the border backwards as far as the Dnieper river (Küçük Kaynarca Treaty, 1774; and Iasi Treaty, 1792), producing several forced migrations, among them the descendants of the old khazars.<sup>100</sup> Out of these defeats, the Ottoman Empire learned the benefits of the Enlightenment's diplomacy (reciprocity and multilateralism) and the military technology.<sup>101</sup> Also, its decline was accentuated by a long list of failures which were inflicted by the Napoleon's Campaign in Egypt (1799-1801), its forced absence from the Congress of Vienna (1815), and the Turkish defeat in the war against Persia (Battle of Erzurum, 1821), which ended up during the 19<sup>th</sup>

century in great territorial partitions located in the Caucasian region and in the Balkans.<sup>102</sup>

The first Balkan Partition (1827-31) occurred as a result of the proclamation of Greece autonomy under Turkish sovereignty, planned by the so-called Triple Alliance (France, England and Russia) against the Ottoman Empire, an outcome of the Greek religious and territorial irredentism and of the Greek Independence War (London Treaty, 1827).<sup>103</sup> After the Treaty was rejected by the Ottomans, and interested in restoring the Byzantine Empire (the religious hegemony of the Christian-Orthodox Church), guaranteeing the exit of the Black Sea, and fixing a shift in the tripolar balance of power of the Balkan world, the Triple Alliance and the new Tsar Nicholas I (younger brother of Alexander I), declared war to the Ottoman Empire (1828-29, battle of Navarino). Out of the Ottoman defeat, Serbia obtained its autonomy (which included the province of Kosovo) and the Ottomans lost most of the West coast of the Black Sea (Bulgaria) and the mouth of the Danube river (Moldavia and Walachia principalities). Also, the Russian sovereignty of Georgia and part of present Armenia were acknowledged (Treaty of Adrianopolis) at the expense of Persia (Qajar Iran).<sup>104</sup> These partitions, acknowledgements, territorial losses, religious banishments, population transfers or massive deportations, and lack of power balances motivated in the Empire the civil service reforms known as the Tanzimat Edict (between 1839 and 1876), that led to the assimilation of non-Islamic and non-Turkish populations (Greeks, Jews and Armenians), with the exception of the Caucasian peoples, which were considered barbarian.<sup>105</sup>

Afterwards, a second Balkan partition but in prejudice of Russia followed, like the autonomy of the Danubian Principalities or satellite-states of Moldavia and Walachia (Rumanian embryo, to which one must add the Transylvania) and the forced neutrality of the Black Sea, which resulted from the Russian defeat in the war against the Ottoman Empire and their allies the United Kingdom, France and the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia (Crimea War, 1854-56; and Congress of Paris, 1855).<sup>106</sup> Later on, a third Balkan Partition followed, as an outcome of the war against Russia (1877-78), caused by the cruel Turkish repression against Serbians, Bulgarians and Montenegrins. This third partition consisted of the independence of Serbia, Montenegro (former Venetian theocratic Principality) and Rumania (Moldavia, Walachia and Transylvania); the loss of Bosnia into the hands of Austria-Hungary (1908-09); the autonomy and status of kingdom to Bulgaria, although under Turkish sovereignty as a satellite-state (Saint Stephan Treaty, 1878; Berlin Congress, 1878); the occupation of Cyprus and Egypt by Great Britain (1878, 1882), and the building of the Orient Express, a railroad between Berlin and Baghdad.<sup>107</sup> This particular railroad hurt the susceptibility of the Western Powers due to the danger that in case of war the massive transportation of troops to Mesopotamia implied. As a consequence of a popular revolt in 1885, the Ottoman Empire lost Rumelia (Southern Bulgaria); and even having defeated the Greek in 1897 (the Greek Megali Idea pursued the irredentist goal of reconstructing the Byzantine Empire), in 1908 it was forced to give independence to Bulgaria (Thracia in ancient Greece); and due to the war against Italy in 1911-12, it lost Libya and Tripoli.<sup>108</sup>

Finally, the fourth Balkan Partition was a result --in principle-- of the first Balkan War (1912), between the Balkan League (Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Montenegro) and the Ottoman Empire (London Treaty, 1912), and consisted in the independence of Albania (1912). Also, it is the result of the second Balkan war (1913), which led to Macedonia

separation from Bulgaria (Bucharest Peace, 1913). To these consecutive territorial losses (Egypt, Bosnia, Lybia, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Albania) the Ottoman Empire had to add the new fact that Western Europe divided and appropriated Africa. These two events generated a very strong Islamophilia and a Pan-Islamic Movement which finally resulted in the support of the Ottoman Empire to the alliance of Austria and Germany in the Great War, which ceased to be a Triple Alliance to become a Dual Alliance (vulgarly known as the Double), because of the previous Italian desertion.<sup>109</sup>

As an outcome of such territorial partitions, changes of monarchic status, and the defeat in the Great War, which have shaken the tripolar balance of power in the Balkans, the Levant and the Caucasus, the creation of the Turkish national identity was promoted in detriment of old ethnic minorities.<sup>110</sup> This new national identity became manifest in the Young Turk Movement (1905-23), in the exaltation of Osman Ghazi and Soliman the Magnificent as Founding Fathers; in the excess of loyalty that led to forced deportations and ethnic cleansings (Armenian genocide, 1915-23) at the image and likeness of what the Russians have done half a century before with the population of the Caucasus (1863-67); in secular policies that led to the Caliphate suppression (1925), and finally in the Balkanization of its last satellite-states (Smyrna, Syria, Iraq, Armenia, Cilicia).<sup>111</sup> Regarding those Arab countries that belonged to the Ottoman Empire (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi-Arabia), the independence that had been promised by Western Powers after the end of the Great War was unfulfilled; and on the contrary, their territories were shared as Protectorates or Mandates among the United Kingdom and France (Sykes-Picot Treaty, 1916).<sup>112</sup> Ten years later, the Independence of Hijaz and Nejd (Saudi Arabia, Jedda Treaty, 1927) was granted, and monarchy was restored in Lybia, Syria and Iraq. And at the end of the 2nd World War and as a result of Zionist irredentism --caused by the impossibility of assimilation in Europe— and Nazi persecution, a forced fragmentation of the Palestine territories occurred (State of Israel, 1948).<sup>113</sup> Meanwhile, the Arab Countries started their search for unity.<sup>114</sup> A sad last sequel of such process of fragmentation was the transformation of old Kosovo (former Serbian province) into a narco-state (2008).<sup>115</sup>

In the Austria-Hungary Empire (which have ceased to be sacred as a result of the Peaces of Augsburg, 1555; and Westphalia, 1648), where the third course of action was inaugurated, the political rise --paradoxically paralleled to the beginning of the Spanish decay (Westfalia/Utrecht)-- had reached its zenith by the military annexation --with the help of the Holy League (Poland, Venice and Russia)-- from the Ottomans of a great part of new client-states: Hungary, Transylvania and Slavonia (Treaty of Karlowitz, 1699); and later on the north of Bosnia and Serbia and lower Walachia (Treaty of Passarowitz, 1718).<sup>116</sup> Half a century later, the Austria-Hungary Empire lost Moldavia and Walachia (present Rumania) to the Ottomans (Belgrade Treaty, 1739) and Silesia to Prussia in the long War of the Austrian Succession (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748). But after the Napoleonic storm, at the Vienna Congress (1815), the Austrian Empire succeeded in incorporating Lombard, Dalmatia and Venetia, and in organizing the Holy Alliance (politico-military agreement) with Russia and Prussia and the blessing of the Papacy against the threat of new Liberal and Nationalist uprisings.<sup>117</sup> Venice ceased to be a thalassocratic empire, the only one that have relied on the privilege to trade with the Black Sea ports --Trebizonda (Armenia)- and the silk and caravan trade proceeding from India and Samarkand (Central Asia).<sup>118</sup> But the decline started first with the defeat inflicted by Germany (Prussia) at Koniggratz or Sadowa in 1866, which gave rise to the first territorial partition with the final loss of Venice and Lombard on behalf of Italy in

1866, the reincorporation of Transylvania into Hungary, the autonomy of Hungary and Croatia and its conversion into a dual (Austro-Hungarian) monarchy in 1867.<sup>119</sup> These increasing weaknesses were balanced with the military presence of Tsarist Russia, which by defeating Turkey in 1877 caused the third Balkan partition at the 1878 Berlin Congress.<sup>120</sup> With great Russian disgust this last Congress granted the independence of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, and ceded the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria.<sup>121</sup>

As Austria shared territories in the Balkans as an outcome of the Berlin Congress of 1878 (a new tripolar balance of power in Eastern Europe and the Balkans), a common political identity each time more separated from the local ethno-religious identities was formed; in other words an Austro-slavic political identity developed as well as the need of a new common institutive tale and of a new multi-ethnic national identity.<sup>122</sup> In the following Berlin Congress of 1885 Austria did not share any colony in Africa, but in 1908 annexed the imperial province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it had been administering for almost thirty years. This last province was peopled by a mixed Serbio-Islamic population giving rise to the increasing need of a multi-religious national identity. Therefore, the emperor and his court felt themselves in the midst of a tug of war between three powerful antagonistic forces: germanophilia (pan-germanism), slavophilia (pan-slavism), and islamophilia, which he could not handle or arbitrate politically.<sup>123</sup>

Notwithstanding the multi-national and multi-religious nature of the Austrian Empire, when the Sarajevo crime occurred and the Great War started, to boost the Austrian nationality feeling during the Great War, its ancestral origin in the Holy Roman-German Empire was brought out and Charlemagne was praised as the Founding Father. As a result of it, Serbia was invaded and its population was forced to cross the mountains and get refuge in Albania. After its defeat in the Great War, the independence of Czechoslovakia and Hungary took place, as well as the incorporation of Croatia, Slavonia, Voivodina, Carniola, and the imperial province of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the so called Kingdom of Serbians, Croats and Slavonians (1918). Then, the identity of a Bosnian experienced a multiple change, since having belonged to the Ottoman Empire, shifted to the Austrian domination, of a Catholic sign; and later to Serbia, of Christian-Orthodox sign. By the end of the Great War the Kingdom became the Republic of Yugoslavia (1945), which lasted as such almost half a century.<sup>124</sup> Finally, with the soviet collapse (1989), Yugoslavia got dissolved, a civil war was declared, and serbian nationalism became accentuated, focusing in their religious identity, and as a result the Islamic Bosnians were decimated.<sup>125</sup>

And the fourth and last course of action broke out in the Tsarist Empire of the Romanoff dynasty (Russia), an old multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic state, of a strong thelurocratic nature (land centered) where a long series of events had accumulated and finally imploded at the beginning of the XX century.<sup>126</sup> In the first place, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century we register an expansive Russia, after the kingdoms of Peter the Great and the wife of his grandson, Catherine the Great, who had conquered from the Swedish the Baltic Sea and from the Gold Horde, the Khazars and the Ottomans the north coast of the Black Sea, the Azov Sea and the Crimean Peninsula.<sup>127</sup> Already before the French Revolution, Russia invaded the north margin of the Black Sea and sieged Ochakov in 1789, and in 1812 conquered the Bessarabia (eastern section of Moldavia) from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>128</sup> Later on, Russian commercial companies

colonized Alaska, and as a result of the Russo-Persian Wars (1804-1813, Treaty of Gulistan, 1813; 1825-1828), the Russian army crossed the Black Sea and invaded first Georgia and Abkhazia (ancient Colchis) and then Armenia, all of them Christians and satellite states, located in the Transcaucasus or South Caucasus, and with maritime coasts on the south-east of the Black Sea.

However, like in Egypt, Napoleon's Campaign in Russia (1812), despite its failure, left its germ with the Decembrist Conspiracies (1825). After the Congress of Vienna (1815), and in spite of the increasing rivalry with Great Britain for the colonial spaces, Russia succeeded in controlling Poland, its most beloved satellite-state.<sup>129</sup> These military and Cossack advances were fed: a) by irredentist objectives that Russia searched since Catherine the Great, like the restoration of the Byzantine empire, and the hegemony of the Christian-Orthodox Church; b) by the demographic pressure caused by the emancipation of serfs (1861); and c) by the guarantee of the Danube and Black Sea exit (Dardanelles Strait) and the arrival to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea area, under the Enlightened excuse of Tsar Alexander II of civilizing barbarous peoples.

All these objectives were pursued at the expense of Islamic Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirguistan, Tayikistan), which in the past have been buffer-states between Persia and China, and later became part of the geopolitical competition or *Great Game* between Russia and Great Britain.<sup>130</sup> Also, these objectives were pursued at the expense of the Siberian people (Yakut, Chukchi, Korvaks, Kamchadals); the North-West Caucasian tribes (Circassians or Adyghe, Ubykhs, Abaza), the North-East Caucasian peoples (Ingushetians, Chechens, Daghestans, of Sunni Islamic religion); the Ottoman Empire and the Iranian Qajar Empire (Treaty of Turkmanchai, 1826; First Herat War, 1838-41).<sup>131</sup> In these last cases, the Ciscaucasian self-defense (1864-67), under the leadership of several Imams, the first one a converted Jesuit and the last one the Imam Shamil, in reaction caused cruel pogroms and massive forced deportations towards Siberia and the Ottoman Empire (Muhajirism).<sup>132</sup> On the other side, the Iranian defense of the Transcaucasia (Abkhazia, Georgia and Armenia) was considered by the British to play the strategic role of a buffer-state, in order to indirectly defend India and the Red Sea.<sup>133</sup>

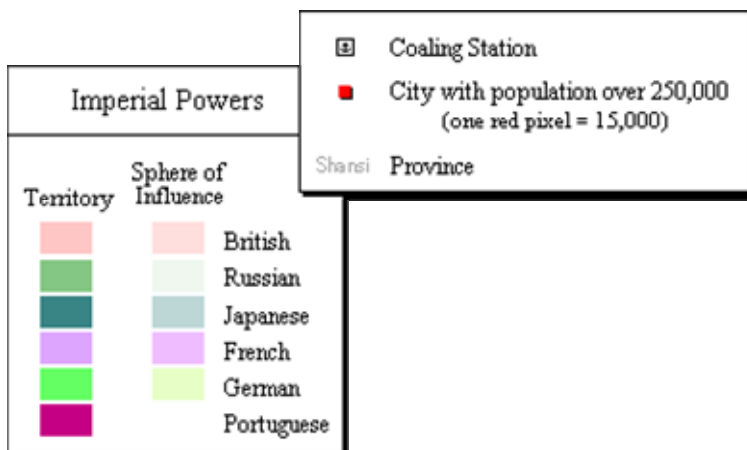
Contemporarily, as a result of an aggressive Tsarist foreign policy, the first Balkan Partition followed, as well as the autonomy of Moldavia and Walachia (Rumanian embryo) and of Serbia as new satellite-states: an outcome of the war against the Ottoman Empire in 1827 (battle of Navarino, 1829).<sup>134</sup> Again, a second Balkan partition happened during the Crimean War (1854-56), when Russia fought against the Ottoman Empire and its allies (France, United Kingdom, Sweden, Piedmont, Austria).<sup>135</sup> In this famous war, Russia and its Tsar Nicholas I had to turn over Moldavia and Walachia. As an outcome of the defeat and the death of Tsar Nicholas I a new Tsar Alexander II was crowned, and with him Russia abolished serfdom in 1861, developed the railway network, and had to sell Alaska to the United States of America (1867).<sup>136</sup> Later on, new territorial partitions and buffer states happened in Central and Eastern Asia, because in the 1860s Russia annexed Turkmenistán, and in 1871 took possession of Kulja Province. Besides modern reforms and expansionist policies, Tsar Alexander II punished the populist movement (Narodniki) and fed an increasing slavophilia (or panslavism), which generated the War against Turkey of 1877-78 (Berlin Congress, 1878) and the third Balkan Partition.<sup>137</sup> The assassination of Tsar Alexander II (1881)

originated widespread pogroms against the Jewish population, similar to the one committed against the Circasian people (Caucasus).<sup>138</sup>

Afterwards, as an outcome of the war against Japan (1905), by virtue of the Treaty of Portsmouth, Russia and the new Tsar Nicholas II lost in the Pacific Ocean the Sajalin and Port Arthur Islands and its influence over Korea and Manchuria (1905).<sup>139</sup> Lastly, with the 1905 Revolution, repressed thanks to transportation and communication innovations (tramways and telegraphs), the tardy and frustrated politics of renewal of the failed Minister Stolypin (1906), and the poor role performed in the Triple Entente with France and Great Britain (1907), foretold the final catastrophe of 1917, the victory of real socialism (which at that time aspired to become a world state), as led by Lenin and Trotzky, and the Brest-Litovsk separated peace treaty (1918).<sup>140</sup> The following Civil War between the Red Army and the so-called Whites, the religious and ethnic persecutions, and the defeat of the Baltic nations (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) in their war against Bolshevik Russia (1918) confirmed the failure of nationalist policies.<sup>141</sup> The later Nazi invasion (1942) resurrected the memory of the national resistance against Napoleon as well as revitalized historical figures (Holy Russia, Moscow-Third Rome and Peter the Great) as symbolic elements for irredentism and spiritual leadership (Founding Father).<sup>142</sup>











### The Dual Monarchy, 1914:



### Administrative Divisions and Capitals, 1914:





## VI.- Fifth methanastasic wave (1922-1945)

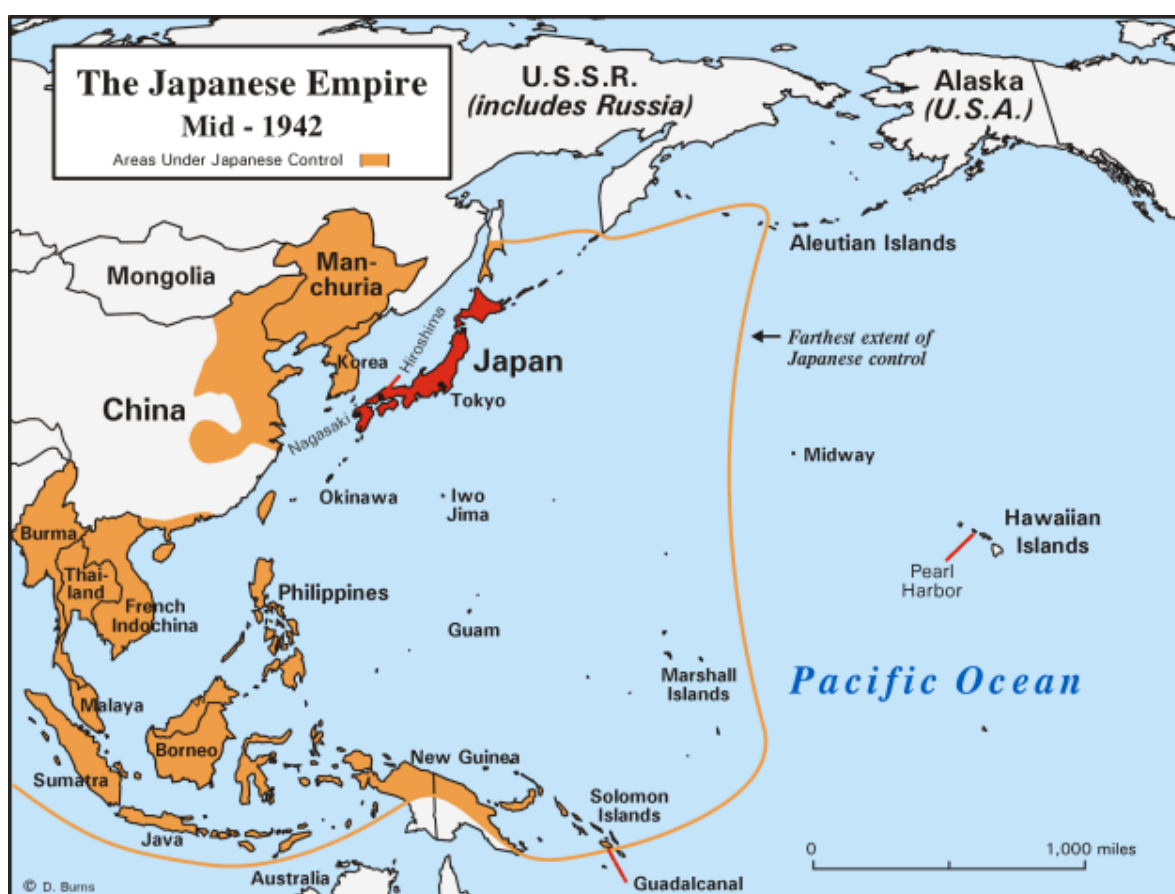
In a fifth *methanastasic* wave, which occurred in the modern totalitarian empires as a direct result of the 2nd World War, three great courses of action can be identified: the first in Japan, the second in Italy, and the third in Germany. This fourth wave—an outcome of fascist power theories, military expansionisms, client, buffer and satellite-states, compulsive territorial partitions, puppet governments, and the military defeat of the 2nd World War—led to a forced disintegration of their conquered territories.<sup>143</sup>

The first course of action of this fifth wave occurred with the fracture of the Japanese or Pan-Asiatic Empire, where the height started with the lease of the Kwantung Peninsula and the Manchuria railway, and was followed by the assassination of Zhang Zuolin, the *coup d'état* of the Kwantung Army, the building of the satellite-state of Manchukuo and the annexation of Korea (1910).<sup>144</sup> Once the fiction of a nation-state was built a syncretic imperial tradition (*sanjiaoheyi*) (Confucian-Buddhist-Daoist) was organized and the Concordia Association as the Only Party of the Manchukuo was agreed. Lastly, this policy was continued with the crowning of Pu-Yi as emperor of Manchukuo and with its independence from China (1933), later on with the declaration of war against China (1937), and finally with the Pacific War (1941-45).<sup>145</sup>

The second course of action was produced with the fall of the Fascist or Italian Empire, or the so called New Roman Empire, where although its height started with the occupation of Lybia in 1912, the occupation as satellite-states of Eritrea and Somalia (1914), and then the defeat of Caporetto against the Austro-German army (1917); the final collapse began with the invasion of Ethiopia in 1936, the conquest of Albania in 1939, and in the last stage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War the occupation of Dalmatia, Montenegro, and parts of Slovenia and Greece (1941).<sup>146</sup> For the purpose of boosting

the public opinion, the ancestral Roman emperors as Founding Fathers of the Italian nationality were used.<sup>147</sup>

And the third course of action was produced with the collapse of the Nazi Empire, which was the only European power that lost in the Versailles Treaty all its colonies in Africa. The fall has started with the settling of a so called New Order and the theories of the Lebensraum, which contributed to distort the balance of power in Europe.<sup>148</sup> It was followed by the invasion of Czechoslovakia (1939), and then of Poland (1939), and thereafter with the invasions of the East Front (Soviet Union and the Balkans); and the Western Front with the conquest of France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway (1940).<sup>149</sup> At that time, the railroad network was ostensibly amplified. But from the troop mobilization by means of the railroad, proceeded to the mobilization of ethnic minorities bound to the extermination camps and the crematorium furnaces. Paradoxically, the huge railroad network that existed in Eastern Europe, not being consistently bombed by the Western powers, facilitated the holocaust.



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## VII.- Sixth methanastasic wave (1945-1952)

In a sixth *methanastasic* wave, which took place in the modern European empires around World War II, at least three courses of action, pathways or itineraries occurred: the first one in Southern Asia, the second in the Middle East and the third in British

colonial Africa. This sixth wave —the result of the exhaustion of the British colonial power which in spite of the government of indirect rule was characterized by the subordination of traditional hereditary elites in the colonies, by the manipulation of political positions of the subordinate political units (client and satellite states and buffer-state colonies), the internal differentiation of ethnic and religious minorities, an insufficient degree of cultural integration of local minorities, and by the huge economic deterioration and the new bipolar balance of power caused by the II World War (Yalta and the Security Council of the United Nations) – ended up in an irresistible movement to decolonization and to the emergence of three major independent territories located in three different geo-political locations (India, Arab Countries, South Africa).<sup>150</sup>

The first course of action of this sixth wave began in India, a colony confirmed to Great Britain by the Vienna Congress (1815), where a number of events took place that first of all supposed a transition from caravan trade to new modern ocean trade, from Portuguese and Dutch trade to British trade, and third to politics that gradually weakened its colonial status.<sup>151</sup> These last politics started with the Indian Insurrection of 1857-58 (repressed by the British with the help of Nepalian Gurkhas; the neighboring Afghan Wars operated from India (1839-42, 1878-79); the foundation of the National Indian Congress (1885); and the secession of Bengal (1905).<sup>152</sup>

With regard to the rivalries between Hindus and Muslims the Lucknow Pact (1916) and the Khilafat Movement (1918-24) put a temporary end to them, and promoted a solidarity campaign with the Muslim Caliphate, threatened by the military defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War.<sup>153</sup> Moreover, the Morley-Pinto (1909) and Montagu-Chelmsford Act (1919) were protocols drawn up for the self-determination of India. Despite the Satyagraha Campaigns (1920-22, 1930) and the Pakistan Plan of the Muslim League (1940), the Proclamation of India Independence (1947) gave rise to a bloody Partition of India along religious lines. As when the Ottoman Empire fall apart, the 1947 Partition of the Punjab and the Bengal regions was followed by transfer of populations, forced migrations and ethnic cleansings.<sup>154</sup> The cruel drama finally ended with the Proclamation of Pakistan independence (1956) and twenty years later with the independence of Eastern Pakistan or Bangla Desh (1971). As from that moment Mahatma Gandhi was named the Founding Father of India, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah of Pakistan. More recently, the topic of the untouchableness and the division in castes was also addressed.<sup>155</sup> Later on, through the Russian and United States military interventions, Afghanistan increased its role as a narco-state (2008).

In the Levant (or South-West Asia), where the second course of action was created, Arab Countries had been in the centre of geopolitical concern due to its being a colonial space which was successively dominated by the Ottoman Empire, France and Great Britain and constituted, after the Suez Canal construction, a necessary passage to India. Egypt's autonomy under the Ottoman Empire had started with the Mameluke (jannizaries) extermination in 1811, then followed with the submission of Nubia and the expansionist policies of Mehmet Ali in the Levant.<sup>156</sup> Although such Egyptian policies were initially supported in France by Thiers republican government (1839-42), they finally caused its precipitous fall due to the intervention of the other powers (Great Britain, Russia, Austria). French interests irrupted again in the Levant with the construction of the Suez Canal (1859-69) and were later supplanted by British interests that became consolidated through military action and the confirmation of the English Protectorate in 1881, which was resisted by the nationalist insurrection carried out that

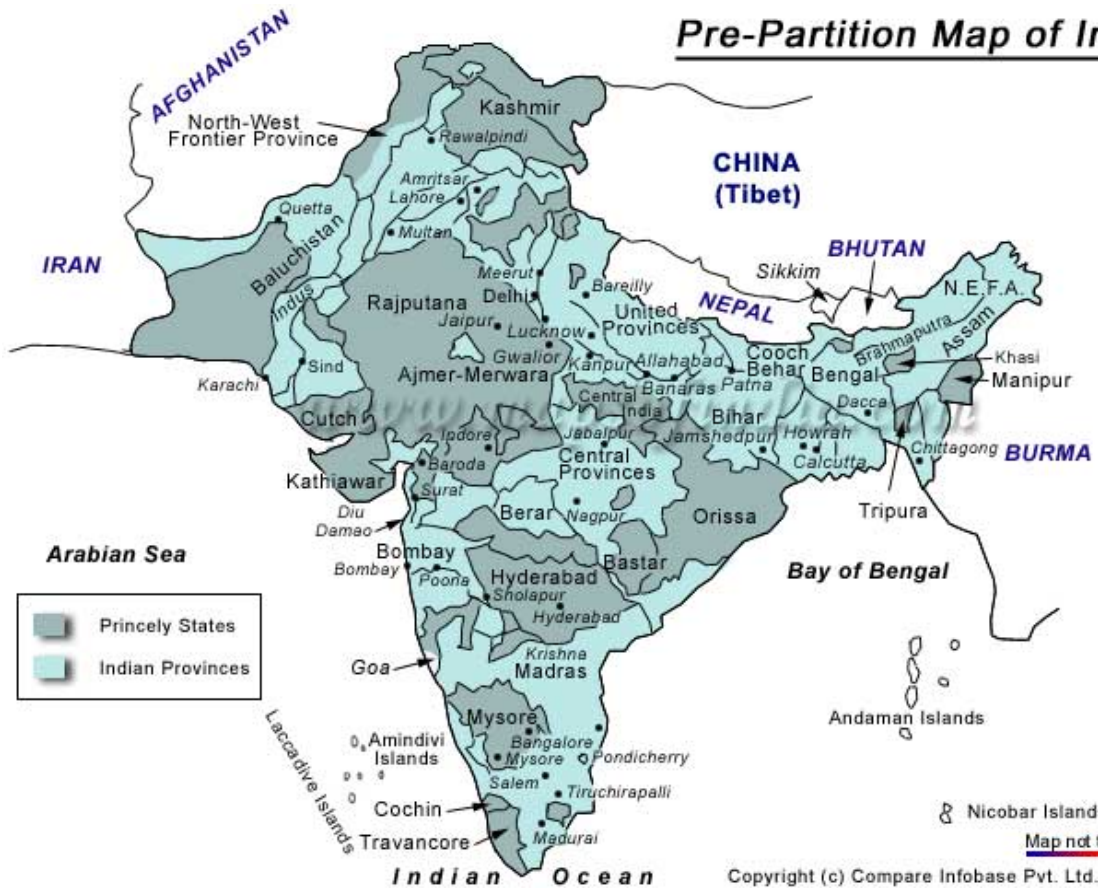


same year in Alexandria and by the messianic struggle started by El-Mahdi in Sudan (1883-84).<sup>157</sup> After the Peace Treaty of Versailles (1918), where Western political leaders achieved a doubtful and ephemeral balance of power, the Declaration of Egypt, Syria and Iraq as independent kingdoms (in fact satellite-states) and the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936 are considered to be the background for the emergence of a pan-arabic lay ideology of Arab nationalism in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Libya, that like Turkey, overthrew their monarchial regimes (Hashimite dynasty in Syria-Iraq and King Idris in Lybia) under the leadership of young military officers.<sup>158</sup> This particular reaction demanded the building of a political identity of an Arab origin and a new Great Tale opposed to the Ottoman one. In Egypt the *coup d'état* led by Gamal Abdel Nasser put an end to King Farouk's monarchy and the British hegemony in Egypt (1952), and all Arab Countries emerged as Arab Socialist regimes. Lastly, the Bandung Conference (Indonesia, 1955) started during the Cold War the so called Non Alligned Countries (Third World).<sup>159</sup>

And finally, the third course of action took place in South Africa, drawing the attention of the academic world due to the peculiar occurrence of completely new political experiences.<sup>160</sup> In fact, those experiences started in the 17th century with the Boer (Dutch) or Afrikaner colonization, integrated by the European Calvinist Diaspora (as a result of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685), which had to deal first with the Bantu resistance, and later with the Zulu rebellions (1888, 1906).<sup>161</sup> At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, like what tried to happen in Buenos Aires a little later, the British forces landed in South-Africa, caused by the Napoleonic proclivity of the Dutch migration; and at the beginning of the 19th century the British abolition of slavery was imposed.<sup>162</sup> This British policy was followed by the Boer resistance which expressed itself in the Great Migration or Great Trek (1836-44), the foundation of Orange Free State (1836) and the Transvaal Republic.<sup>163</sup> In order to face the resistance, Great Britain annexed Natal (1843) and settled numerous colonies, such as Bechuanaland (Botswana), Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe), Basutoland (Lesotho) and Swaziland, designed to isolate the Transvaal Republic, which was finally annexed in 1877.<sup>164</sup>

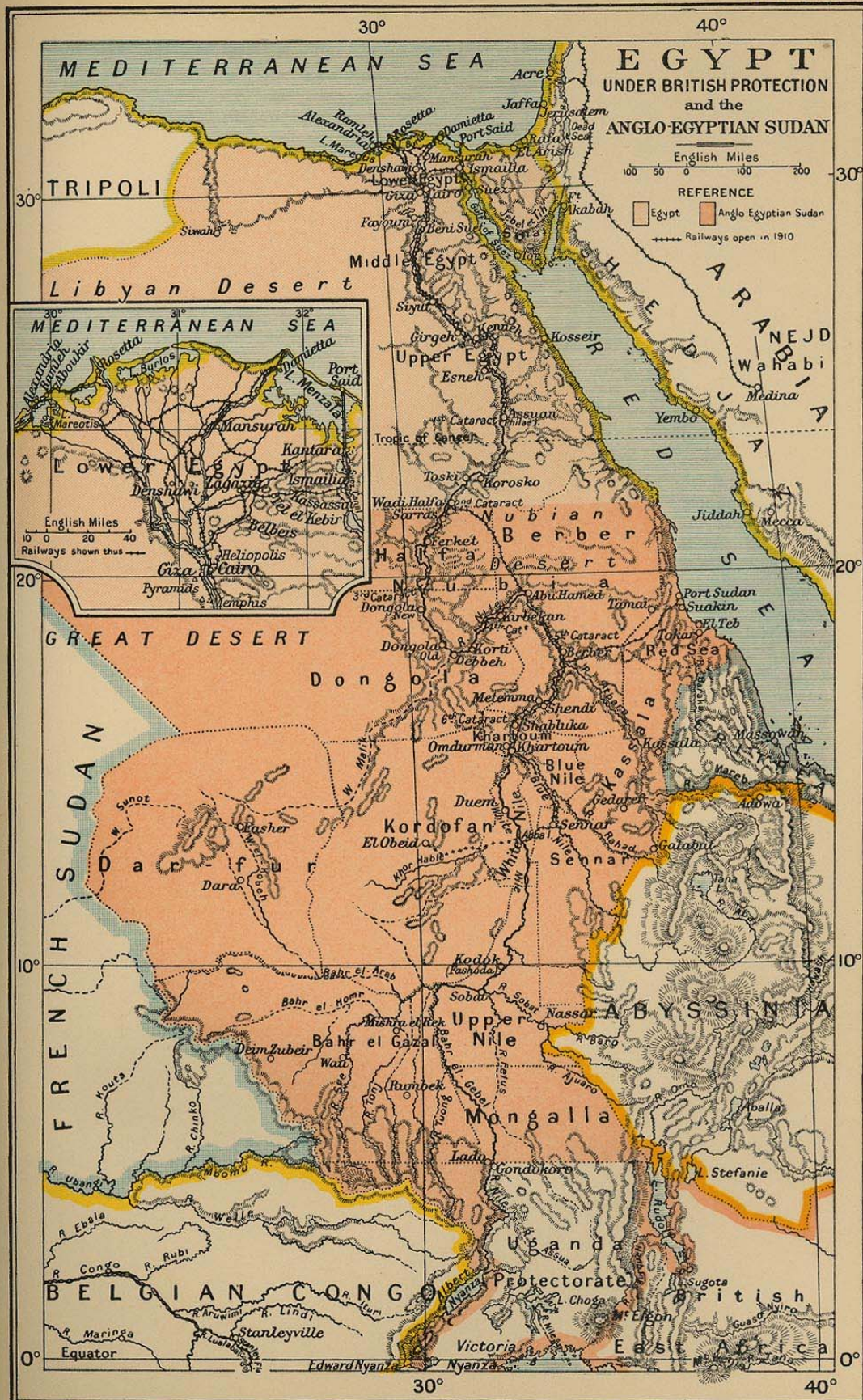
The political and military manoeuvres against the projected railroad branch between Transvaal and Lourenzo Marques (Mozambique), and against the Boer refusal to use the English language and to recognize political rights to British settlers, brought about an insurrection that was bloodily suffocated in a long, cruel war (1899-1902).<sup>165</sup> This war was followed by the Vereeniging Peace (1902) the outcome of which was the enforcement of the South African Act in 1909, the declaration of South Africa as a British Dominion in 1910, the Natives' Land Act in 1913, the Natives and Urban Areas Bill in 1918, designed to force the natives to reside in their ghettos, the Urban Areas Act en 1923, which introduced residential segregation and provided cheap labor for mining and agriculture, the Color Bar Act in 1926, the Native Administration Act in 1927, and the Native Land and Trust Act in 1936. These successive rules gathered the colonies (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Rhodesia) and the Republics (Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State) under the jurisdiction of the South African Union and in a British dominion part of the Commonwealth with an autonomous government for the Afrikaners and segregationist regulations for the Natives. The segregationist program (Appartheid) was completed between 1948 and 1994, which finally collapsed thanks to the popular resistance led under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.<sup>166</sup>

### Pre-Partition Map of India





Map 132



### VIII.- Seventh methanastasic wave (1960-1970)

In a seventh *methanastasic* wave, affecting the French, Belgian and Portuguese colonial worlds, at least two major courses of action took place: the first in Africa and the second in Southeast Asia. The sixth wave – resulting from the exhaustion of the French, Belgian, Dutch and Portuguese colonial powers characterized by the abolition of both the slave trade and piracy, by the distinction between the notions of nation and nationality, by the different levels of self-determination of the ethnic and religious minorities, by the brutal repression of native upheavals, by the frustrated processes of nationality building and by the discredit caused by the humiliating Nazi occupation of the metropolis - led to an irresistible and bloody trend to decolonization and balkanization of the political conglomerates of the Maghreb, Western Africa and South East Asia.<sup>167</sup>

The first course of action of this seventh wave developed in the Maghreb and Sub-Saharan Africa where even more peculiar events had taken place around the transition from slave trade and piracy to “legitimate commerce” as well as on politics of “Free Trade”.<sup>168</sup> The French presence in the Maghreb started during the July Monarchy with the conquest of Algeria (former Numidia), the despotic government of General Bugeaud (1836-37), and the creation of the Foreign Legion between 1830 and 1839 which was fiercely resisted by the Berber tribes commanded by Abd-El-Kader, founding father of the Algerian nation.<sup>169</sup> Further on, upon the retreat of the troops from Algeria during the French-Prussian War, the military void was taken advantage of to insist on a generalized insurrection (1871). This colonization was followed by the French annexation of Tunisia and the Declaration of same as a Protectorate in 1881. By mid XX century, once World War II had been overcome, the Independence War broke out in Algeria (1954-62) led by Ben Bellah.<sup>170</sup>

The sustained presence in Sub-Saharan Africa started with the Berlin Congress of 1884, which regulated the freedom of navigation (Congo and Niger rivers), the mutual obligation to inform the occupation of a territory, and the acknowledgment of the right to colonize a hinterland corresponding to a coastal region previously occupied.<sup>171</sup> By these agreements, French Africa (Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea-Conakri, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Madagascar, Benin o ex Dahomey, Burkina Faso o ex Alto Volta), Belgian Africa (Congo), British Africa (Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana o ex Costa de Oro, Gambia, Kenya, Uganda, South-Africa), German Africa (Togo, Cameroon, Rwanda-Burundi, Namibia and Tanganyika) and Portuguese Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau) were peacefully distributed.<sup>172</sup> However, despite the Berlin Congress, rivalries between Germany and England over the Portuguese colonies (partition sponsored by Cecil Rhodes); and between France and England over the rest of Africa, almost reached a violent clash (Fashoda Incident of 1898).<sup>173</sup> But after the Russian defeat in its war with Japan (1905), and the following weakening of Russia; both World Powers decided to forget old offenses and zealed an alliance known as the Entente Cordiale. Finally, once the Versailles Treaty was signed, the German Africa, which committed a genocide with the Hereros tribe, was redistributed between France and Great Britain, and in doing so Portugal could perpetuate its threatened dominions in Africa.<sup>174</sup>

And after Algeria got its independence, Western Africa entered a balkanization process with internal wars and military *coup d’état*, which was repeated –with the exception of



Nigeria—in the African sector under British hegemony, but where the colonial borders were fully respected.<sup>175</sup> Lastly, in addition to the above mentioned balkanization, there started a process of radicalization, civil war, struggle for identity, return to a patrimonial and tribal state, and clan-oriented religious rituals, and proliferation of failed or rogue states.<sup>176</sup> For instance, the state of Rwanda-Burundi (Eastern Congo) ended in genocide of the Tutsi population done by the Hutu ethnica (1985).<sup>177</sup> This last majoritarian population have been historically oppressed by the Tutsi, as servants or slaves. And in Guinea-Bissau, an ex-Portuguese colony, one of the first to get its independence, a tragic involution into a narco-state happened (1998-99).<sup>178</sup>

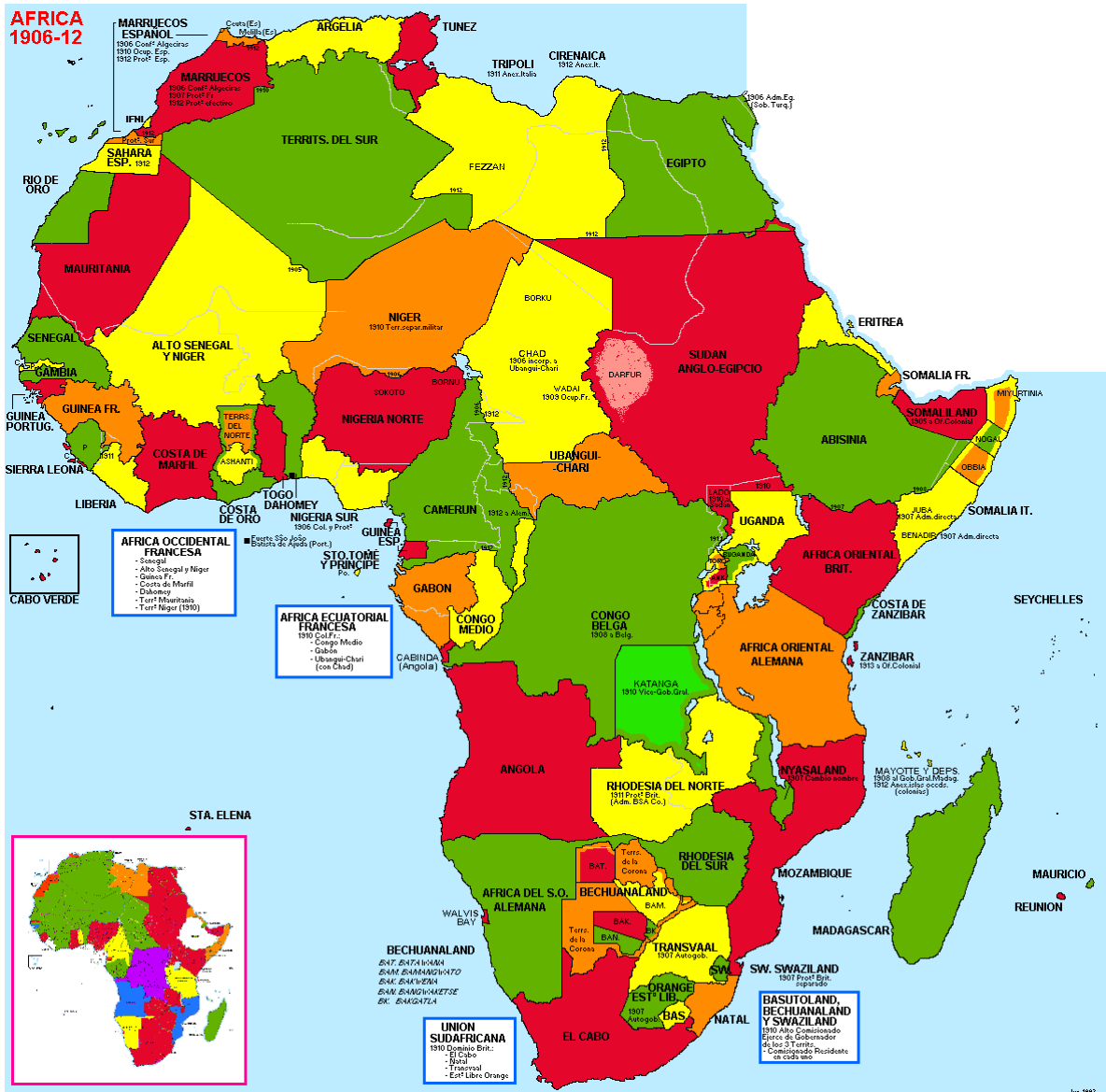
And the second course of action appeared in Southeast Asia where the background was given by the particular composition of the conflicting forces prior to the arrival of the European settlers. European penetration was facilitated by the ancient rivalries existing between the Kingdom of Siam (Thailand) and the neighboring peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.<sup>179</sup> In Annam (North Vietnam), France had to make every effort to fight the Taiping millennial *jacquerie* (Black Flags, 1873-1876), and this was followed by the declaration of the Annam Protectorate (Treaty of Hue, 1874), to defend it from the Kingdom of Siam, a buffer-state between British Burma and French South-East Asia.<sup>180</sup> A decade later the following events took place: the transfer to France of the Gulf of Tonkin (Peace of Tientsin, 1885), the cession of Burma to Great Britain in 1886, the acknowledgement of Siam as a French Protectorate in 1893, the creation of Indochina Union (Tonkin, Annam, Cochin China, Cambodia), the French reinforcement of Laos ethnic nationalism against Thai irredentism and the Protectorate of Laos (1893), and Thailand's transfer to England of the sovereignty over the southern provinces of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu (Anglo-Siamese Treaty de Bangkok, 1909).

Both World Wars increased during the XX century the vulnerability of French domination which finally led to the Capitulation of Dien Bien-Phu (1954), planned by the political and military leadership of Ho-Chi-Minh, and the ultimate victory against the United States intervention that was accomplished with the fall of Saigon (1975).<sup>181</sup> Finally, the French and American domination in Southeast Asia came to an end through an acute Balkanization process into satellite-states (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) which also occurred in the English domination area (Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei) but this was not the case with Indonesia where the Dutch settlement had preserved the unity of said vast archipelago.<sup>182</sup> On top of such Balkanization there started in Cambodia a radicalization or failed state process that led to a forced migration or Great Exodus of urban populations into the countryside, under the pretext of north-american bombardments, and to a genocide caused by the Khmer Rouge under the command of Pol-Pot, and to which the Vietnamese Popular Army put an end (1975).<sup>183</sup>



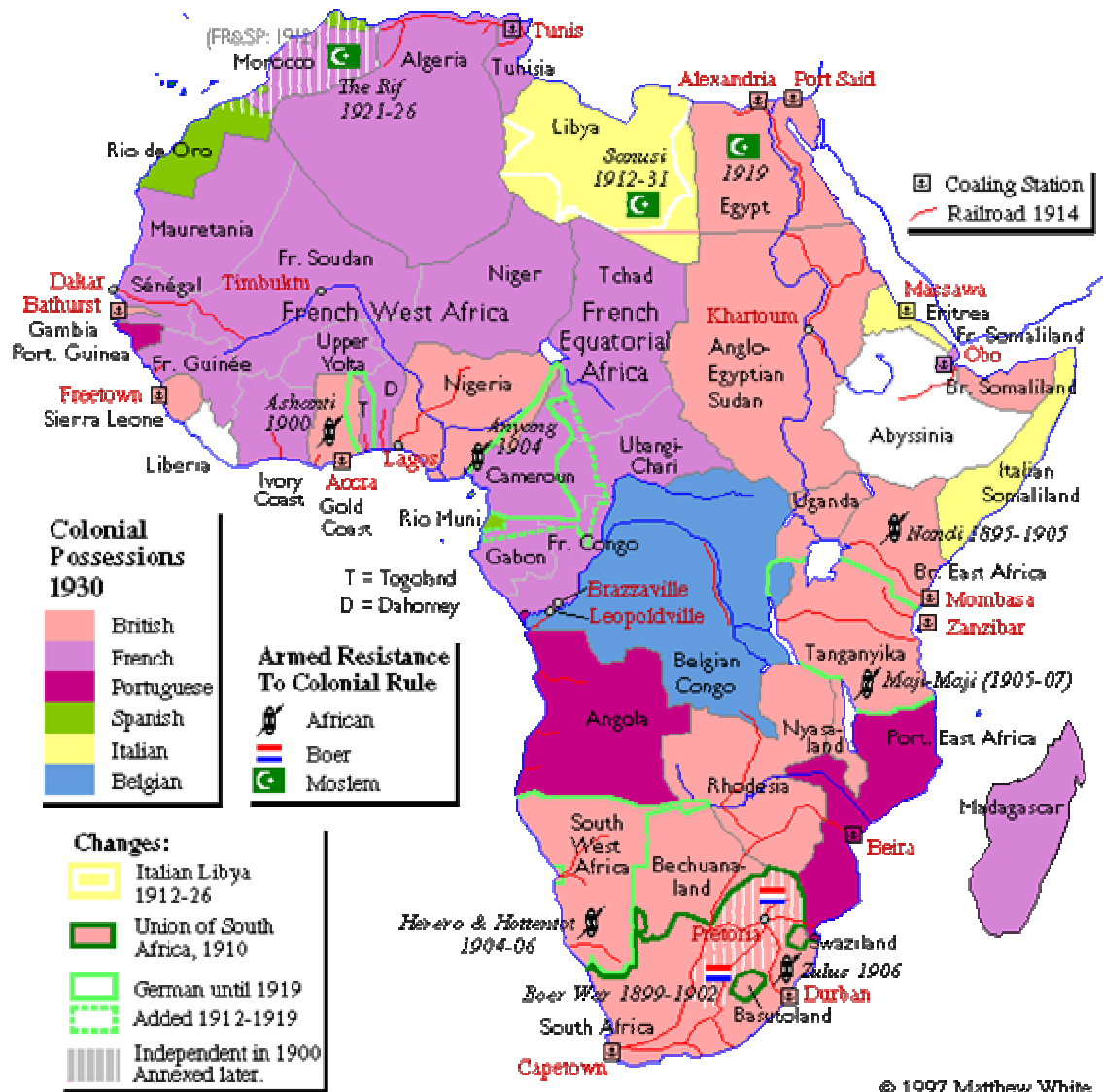






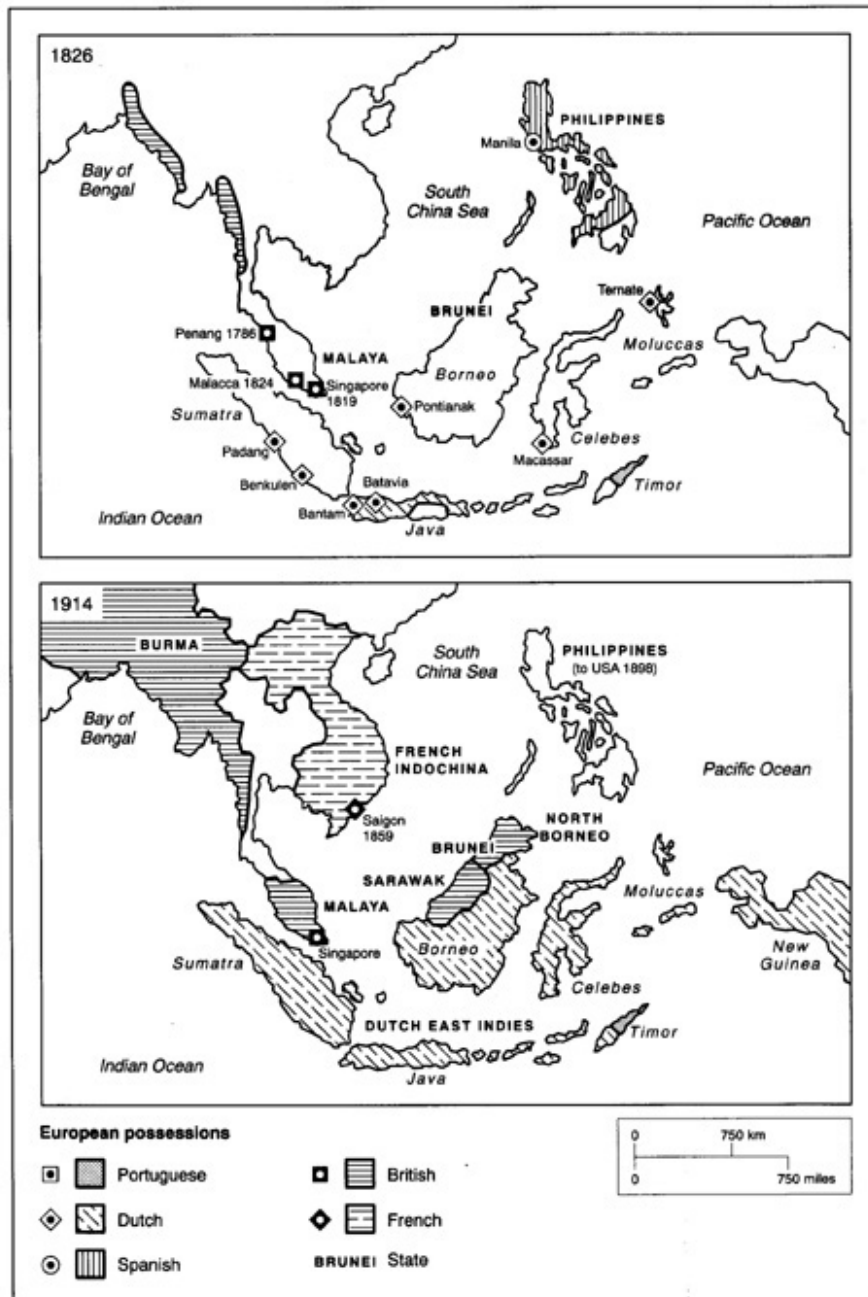


# Africa in the Early Twentieth Century

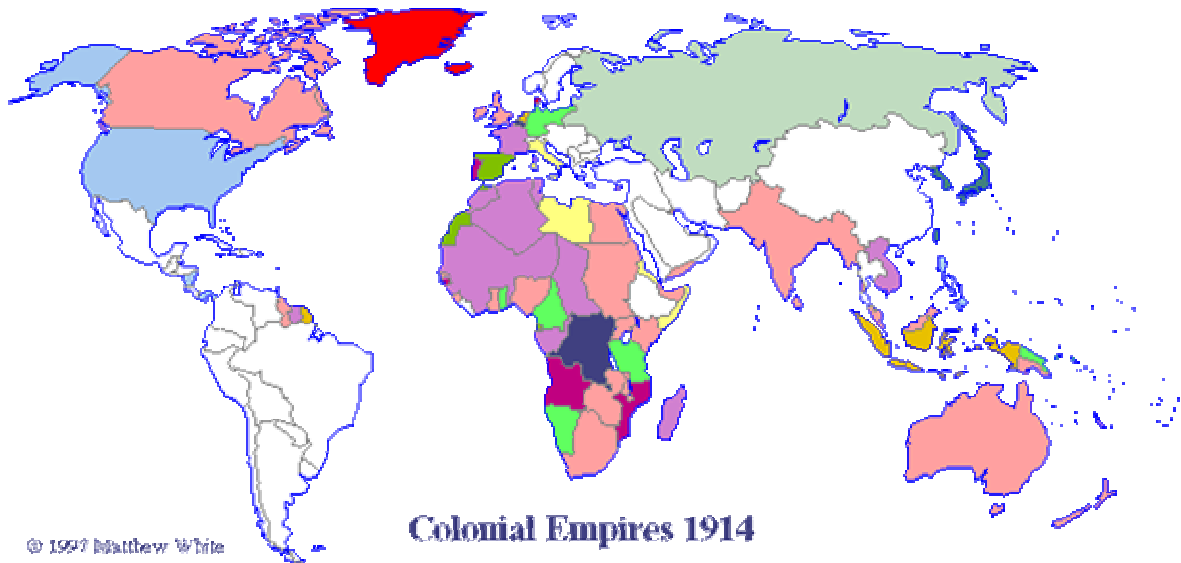


SOUTHEAST ASIA

FOREIGN POWERS 2 1826-1914



## Imperialism and the Balance of Power



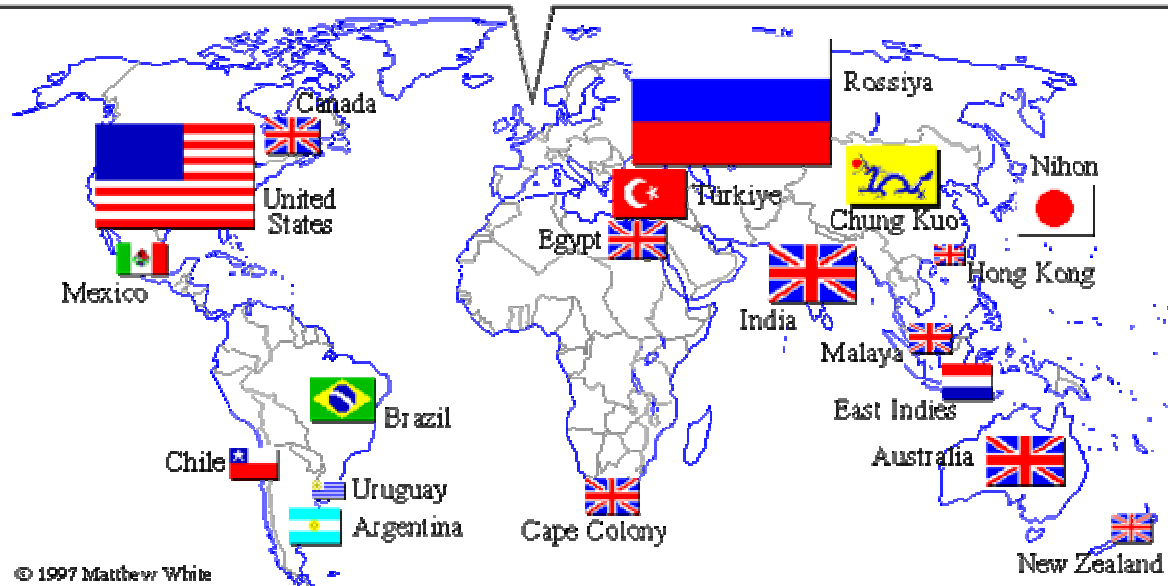
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**Colonial Empires 1914**

■ Belgium	■ France	■ Great Britain	■ Japan	■ Portugal	■ Spain
■ Denmark	■ Germany	■ Italy	■ Netherlands	■ Russia	■ United States

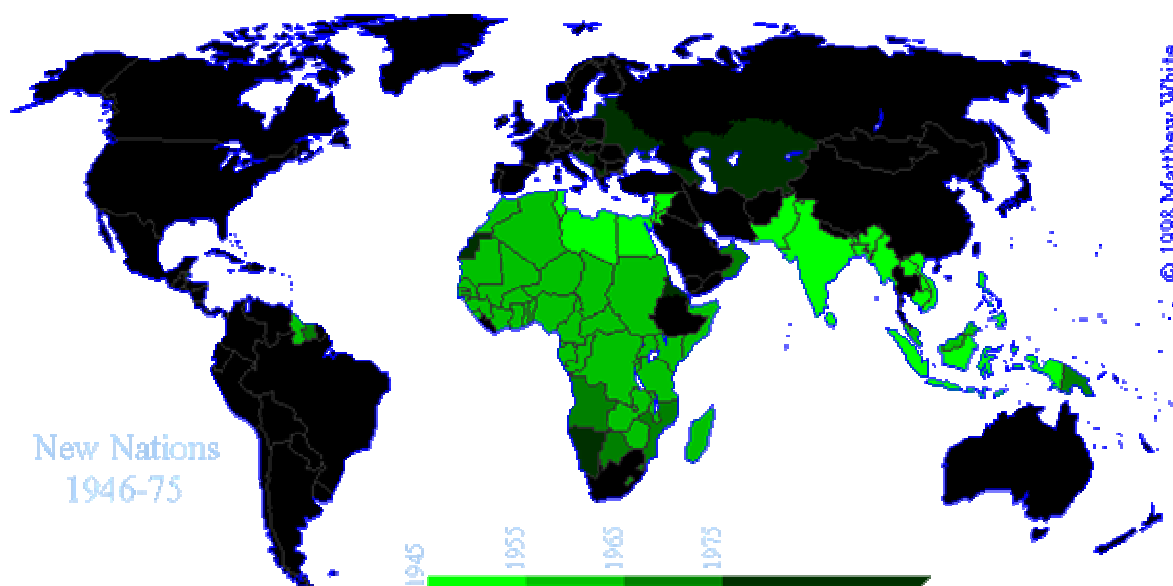
## Government Revenues in the Early 20th Century:

The size of the flag indicates the relative size of the government's income



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## Dumping the Colonies



### IX.- Eighth methanastasic wave (1989-2008)

And in the eighth and last *methanastasic* wave, which occurred in the real socialist world, there were at least three major courses of action: the first in the Balkan states (Yugoslavia), the second in Socialist China, and the third in the Soviet Union.<sup>184</sup> The background for the breakdown of real Socialism consisted of a long series of events that gradually prepared the ground for its fatal implosion. They started with the Russian Civil War of 1918-1920, and continued with the long Stalinist despotic period (Gulag Archipelago). The first course of action occurred with the confrontation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (1948).<sup>185</sup> The *débaclé* began while the long Cold War (1945-1989), with the Budapest insurrection of 1956, followed by the second course of action that started with the Prague Spring of 1968, continued with the frustrated Afghan War in 1979, and ended in the Chernobyl accident (1986). The collapse reached its peak during the third course of action, with the tardy reform attempts inspired by Alexander Solzhenitsin but carried out by Mijaíl Gorbachov, known as the Perestroika in the economic field and the Glasnost in the political field (1985-91).<sup>186</sup>

### X.- Conclusions

In this work we elaborate the history of war and peace with their different balances of power, and a review of the creation of the founding (institutive) order and the correlated myth of the Founding Heroes with their legitimizing roles. At the same time the exploration is based on a previous theoretical explanation developed in the first part that provides the reasons for the argumentative structure and the foundation of the disaggregations and categories that serve as a frame or comparison of events that could not be identified or compared before given certain peculiar features, as is the case with attitudes, ideals, standards and values that provide content to the founding social imaginary.

The variety of details of the political obligation, for which we have taken a broad registry of the active, passive, positive and negative status, as examined and explained in the *System der subjektiven Offentlichen Rechte* by George Jellinek, has led us to a novel registry of facts and documents, based on which we believe we are revealing for the first time in a concrete and detailed investigation, the socio-political world fabric that articulates the new resulting legitimacy. This articulation results, also, in the new system of domination that is shaped after a long process of allocations and adaptations. The ethic and political context has been reordered and reformulated based on the platform established by J. G. A. Pocock about civic humanism and classic republicanism, on which modern nations have been built. This crucial function of the republican model whose roots are originally found in the aristotelian polis make it possible to identify a precise genealogy of the modern institutive order and to track the different *methanastasic* waves and their numerous courses of action, which, in turn, makes it possible to establish the moments of rupture and institutional disorder.

Notwithstanding the above said, we should underline a peculiarity that, on specific issues could differentiate us in some aspects from the authors with whom we built our platform of intelligibility. In that sense, we consider the United States as the first new nation and the disciplinary model for the institutive order that gradually became universal over the last two hundred years. We point out very precisely in this case the deep institutive ambiguity that its first program (1776-1786) showed, only solved after the Civil War of 1861-65, in such a way that at the same time we provide details on the elements of the contemporary institutive order, showing the footsteps and fractures that the same order presented between 1808 and 2008.

Aside from the original approach combining the retrieval of the extraordinary conceptual and theoretical devices of the philosophy and history of ancient Greece (Thucydides) and the Enlightenment (Hume, Kant, Rousseau, Bentham), along with the contribution of new schools of political philosophy and sociology (Foucault, Castoriadis, Voegelin, Strauss, Deleuze, Guattari, Balandier, Wimmer and Min, Bayly, Wimmer), we are aware that the narrative we present here is nothing else but an initial approximation, certainly bold in nature and only provisional and synoptic in some places in order to avoid repetitions.<sup>187</sup> We are also aware that our conclusions are susceptible of new revisions, like any new contribution having the natural limitation of a genuine investigation.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that here, for the first time, numerous crucial and previously unattended elements are integrated to allow for a better intelligibility of the whole and that, for the same reason serve the purpose of connecting and highlighting the complex course of events and the also complex founding social imaginary with its enormous disciplinary consequences, as harmful as unnoticed.

It may appear redundant to repeat that this approach does not ignore nor disdain the traditional instruments of historical heuristics and does not underestimate prior contributions of the modern social theory and philosophy that owes so much to authors like Hobbes, Spinoza, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Marx, Engels, De Maistre, Tocqueville, Durkheim, Weber, Pareto, Freud, Huizinga and many others. All these authors, through their sharp contributions, have helped clear obstacles and dilemmas originated in similar situations or registries they faced in the interpretation of social and historical reality. This clarification becomes necessary, basically because the

use of theoretical or conceptual instruments stemming from the thinking and the work of those authors does not imply getting stuck in their ideological devices. On the other hand, the dogmatism of the schools that follow their thinking has degraded their work by means of an unacceptable and useless servility, whose poor results are evident to any shrewd and intelligent observer.

The phenomenal impact of these reformulations should be taken as an effort of intelligibility oriented towards making the scenario where we act today understandable. We do not question the results, which surely most philosophers should reconsider with respect to this sort of universal homogeneous state; and simply try to offer a new way of classifying the parts in order that the fabric of history could become intelligible to everybody, beyond the fact, also evident, that only a few privileged sit at the table to dispute the game of history with extraordinary indifference towards the rest, who are not even considered worthy of being informed of their movements and strategies.

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## XII.- Notes

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<sup>1</sup> About the intelligibility of history in 18<sup>th</sup> century France, see Foucault, 1992, 138-139.

<sup>2</sup> About area studies, globalization, and the nation-state crisis, see Mirsepassi, 2002. For a maritime response to the crisis in area studies, see Lewis and Rigen, 1999. For an análisis on the crisis of area studies in South-east Asia, see King, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> We understand by doxografic tradition the accumulation of comments by historians which express themselves under a narrative form with a documental support bound to justify the previous opinion about events. This is a point of view which considers that facts speak for themselves.

<sup>4</sup> Among continental messianisms we find ourselves surrounded with eurocentrism [galocentrism, germanocentrism, slavocentrism], afrocentrism [congocentrism, swahilicentrism, zulucentrism], sinocentrism, hinducentrism, easterncentrism, latin ethnocentrism, etc.

<sup>5</sup> About explaining territorial disputes: from power politics to normative reasons, see Forsberg, 1996. About the linkage between internal wars and colonial wars, see Grangé, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> About the crisis of the nation-state in Latin America, see Mann, 2002.

<sup>7</sup> see Voegelin, 2006, 204-205. About Suárez, Grotius and epigones, see Moratiel Villa, 1997. About commerce, power and justice: Montesquieu on International Politics, see Rosow, 1984. About the transition from a state of war to perpetual peace, see Demenchonok, 2007. About Kant, liberal legacies, and foreign affairs, see Doyle, 1996. About Kantian perspectives on democratic peace, see Cavallar, 2001. About Cosmopolitan Democracy versus popular sovereignty, see Franceschet, 2000; Nakano, 2006; and Archibugi, 2008. About Peace Commitment and Revolutionary Peace, see Ferro, 1998. About the building of Order after major Wars, see Ikenberry, 2001.

<sup>8</sup> About Inter-State, Intra-State, and Extra-State Wars, 1816-2003, see Wayman and Sarkees, 2005. About military conscription in the French Empire (1800-1810), see Frasca, 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Books whose authors here at Buenos Aires have been impossible to find we have been able to partially access through the reviews found in the Web. Moreover, we had used as secondary sources the World Historical Atlas and the information provided by Wikipedia.

<sup>10</sup> Balandier, 2005, 145.

<sup>11</sup> ver Said, 2004

<sup>12</sup> Pagden, 1997, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Pagden, 1997, 24.

<sup>14</sup> Pagden is not wrong when he admits: “... *already in the 1st Century A. C the term had acquired part of its modern meaning that is now familiar to us. The Roman historian Sallust uses, (probably for the first time in history) the expression Imperium Romanum to describe the geographic extension of the authority of the Romans*” (Pagden, 1997, 26). About the notion of Imperium applied in the early modern thought, see Skinner, 1987, I, 28, 31, 174, 177; and II, 270-272, 274, 277, 304, 331, 351-353, 356.

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<sup>15</sup> Pagden, 1997, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Pagden, 1997, 27.

<sup>17</sup> Pagden, 1997, 45.

<sup>18</sup> Duroselle, 1991.

<sup>19</sup> Ruiz-Domenéc, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Grimal, 2002; e Hidalgo de la Vega, 2005. About the limits of the Roman power in the legionary economy, see Colas, 2005. About the collapse of the Roman Empire, see Kagan, 1962; and Heather, 2005.

<sup>21</sup> About the Imperialism of Free Trade, see Gallagher and Robinson, 1953. About Informal Empire in Argentina: an Alternative View, see Hopkins, 1994. About War, Diplomacy and Informal Empire: Britain and the Republics of La Plata, 1836-1853, see McLean, 1995. About Informal Empire in the History of Anglo-Argentine Relations, 1810-1914, see Thompson, 1992. About British Informal Empire in Uruguay in the Nineteenth Century, see Winn, 1973. About the Japanese informal empire in China, 1895-1937, see Duus, Myers and Peattie, 1989. About German Informal Imperialism in South America before 1914, see Forbes, 1978.

<sup>22</sup> About Kant's defence of a League of States and his idea of a World Federalism, see Foucault, 2007, 75-82; and Kleingeld, 2004. About Metternich's theory of European Order, and an agenda for indefinite or Perpetual Peace, see Sofka, 1998. About war and perpetual peace in Hegel and Kant, see Alves Borges.

<sup>23</sup> About the balance of power, diplomatic history and international law, see Donnadieu, 1900; and Livet, 1976, quoted in Foucault, 2006, 342, 344-354. It must be underlined that Foucault in this research ignores Hume and gives all the credit to Donnadieu. Moreover, we should underline that when Pocock (1975) deals with Hume forgets to mention his famous essay *On the Balance of Power*. About the balance of power in Thucydides and its influence in the Modern World, see Kemos, 1997. About the rise of Balance-of-Power politics, see Knutsen, 2007; and Barbé, 1987. About Hedley Bull and his contribution to International Relations and the balance of power, see Hoffman, 1986; Lechner, 2007; and Hjorth, 2007. About the English School's contribution to the study of International Relations and the balance of power, see Little, 2000; Copeland, 2003; and Suganami, 2002.

<sup>24</sup> Akinola, Taiwo Nigeria Has A Balance of Power Problem <http://www.dawodu.com/akinola2.htm>

<sup>25</sup> About Historicising representations of 'failed states', see Bilgin and Morton, 2002. About Failed States, Warlordism and "Tribal" Warfare', see Woodward, 1999. About the new nature of nation-State failure, see Rotberg, 2002.

<sup>26</sup> About the notion of symmakhia, see Meabe, 1998, 1999, and 2004.

<sup>27</sup> For a theoretical approach to the territorial power of the state in fragmentation processes, see Jieli, 2002. For Jieli (2002) the territorial dynamic is based in topographic, demographic and ethnic variables.

<sup>28</sup> About Tiradentes, see Murilo de Carvalho, 1997, 97.

<sup>29</sup> About a comparison between British and Roman Imperialism, see Brunt, 1965.

<sup>30</sup> Basilea, 1795; Campo Formio, 1797; Amiens, 1802; Presburgo, 1805; Tilsit, 1807, Erfurt, 1808; Schönbrunn, 1809; Chaumont, 1814; and Fontainebleau, 1814.

<sup>31</sup> About monarchy and religion in Europe, 1589-1715, see Monod, 1999. About the Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe, from the French Revolution to the Great War, see Burleigh, 2005.



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<sup>32</sup> About Westphalia and its link with the Augsburg Peace Treaty (1555), see Cruz, 2005. About the growth of international law and the mediation of the Republic of Venice in the Peace of Westphalia, see Busi, 1999. About Utrecht and the emergence of the Great Powers, 1685-1715, see Wolf, 1951.

<sup>33</sup> About the battle of Lepanto, see Yildirim, 2007. About Ottoman wars, 1700-1870, see Aksan, 1993, 1995 and 2007.

<sup>34</sup> About the notion of universal monarchy, see Yates, 1975. About religious toleration, the Peace of Westphalia and the German territorial estates, see Asch, 2000. About the Treaty of Westphalia and new territorial dimensions of Modern Statehood, see Brunn, 1998. About the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the origins of sovereignty, see Croxton, 1999. About Westphalia, authority, and international society, see Philpott, 1999. About war in German thought, from the Peace of Westphalia to Napoleon, see Wilson, 1998. About the Congreso of Viena according to the Marquis of Labrador's mailing, see Villa Urrutia, 1928.

<sup>35</sup> The methanastasis is a general internal disorder or decomposition process in conditions of complete antagonism within a social aggregate, see Meabe, 2007.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion about colonial legacies, see Ballart and Bertrand

<sup>37</sup> About the Saint Domingue Slave Insurrection of 1791: a socio-political and cultural analysis", see Fick, 1991. About the Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below, see Fick, 1990. About the British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793-1798, see Geggus, 1982. About Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution, see James, 1938.

<sup>38</sup> About Jefferson, Napoleon and the Louisiana Purchase, see Blumberg, 1998. About the Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America, see Kastor, 2004. About Mr. Jefferson's Lost Cause: Land, Farmers, Slavery, and the Louisiana Purchase, see Kennedy, 2003. About the Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America, see Kukla, 2003.

<sup>39</sup> See Meabe, 2007. For the role of war and state formation in Latin America, see Thies, 2005.

<sup>40</sup> Concerning wars and separatist consequences, see Abreu Cardet, 2005 and 2007; Kuethe, 1986; Guzmán Perez, 2007; Millington, 1996; Cabrera Geserick, 2008; García Diniz, Cardoza Sáez, Pérez Garzón, 1978; and Heredia, 1977.

<sup>41</sup> About an autonomous comercial bourgeoisie in the Rio de la Plata, see Wedovoy, 1955, 1960.

<sup>42</sup> See Paredes M., Bonilla y Spalding, Bracamonte, Aldana Rivera, Montoya Rivas, Earle, Quintero, Malerba . Kaempfer

<sup>43</sup> About the political invention of Bolivia and Ecuador, see Demélas, 2003.

<sup>44</sup> For the fall of the Spanish government in Peru, see Anna, 2003; Basadre, 1973, and 2002; Bonilla, 1972 and 2001; and O'Phelan Godoy, 2001.

<sup>45</sup> About caudillismo in Bolivia, 1825-1880, see Peralta Ruiz and Irurozqui Victoriano, 2000.

<sup>46</sup> About the crisis of the colonial regime and Nueva Granada independence, see Carrera Damas, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> About Bolívar and the social war, see Bosch, 1966.

<sup>48</sup> For the state and caudillismo in Bolivia, 1825-1880, see Peralta Ruiz and Irurozqui Victoriano, 2000.

<sup>49</sup> About the Junta's explosion, see Chust, 2007.

<sup>51</sup> With respect of the influence of regionalism in the conformation of nationalities, the boycott of continental plans, and the building of separatisms and irredentisms (from Rio Grande, Chiapas, zuliano, camba, pastuso) while the Colombian Alfonso Múnera Cavadia explored the links among regions, classes and race in the Colombian Caribbean 1717-1810; J. R. Fisher and Paul Gootenberg had earlier exhausted the relationship between regionalism and leadership in the colonial and independent Peru; Cerda-Hegerl followed them with the regionalism of the Chilean Araucanism; Mexican Sergio Nicolas Gutierrez Cruz with his "*Encrucijada y destino de la Provincia de Chiapas*", Venezuelan Zulimar Maldonado Viloria with his *Las ciudades disidentes durante la independencia de Venezuela: El caso de Maracaibo*; and Panamanian Rolando de la Guardia with "*Separatismo Panameño en el siglo XIX*". With reference to the annexations and the political coalitions, Venezuelan Amelia Guardia honored us with her "*La idea confederacionista de Andres Santa Cruz*" and Dominican Domingo Lilon Larrauri with his unpublished "*El complejo camino hacia la republica en el Santo Domingo español*".

<sup>52</sup> In the research line over the dispute of government regimes, between monarchies and republics, we have to extend our deepest gratitude to Chilean Cristian Guerrero Lira who advised us of his "*La propaganda monarquista y la Sociedad Patriotica de Lima en el gobierno de San Martín en el Perú*". Over the relationship of the élites with the formation of the modern state, Argentine Sara Ortelli contributed with her "*Elite neovizcaína frente a la injerencia estatal en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*", Chileans Juan Cáceres Muñoz and Guillermo Lizama Carrasco with their *Elite, Estado y Ciudadanía en Chile, 1750-1850*; Bolivian Marilu Soux with her *Ciudadanía y representación local en la república temprana: Poopo y el problema del catastro en 1826*, Spaniard Gonzalo Butrón Prida with his *Pueblo y élites en la crisis del absolutismo: los voluntarios realistas*; and Brazilian Jurandir Malerba with his "*The Constitution of the élites in the rise of the Brazilian Imperial State*", and his *A corte no exílio: interpretação do Brasil joanino (1808 a 1821)*. About the relationship between the learned élite and the state-building process important materials have been rendered by Peruvian historian Carlos Augusto Ramos Nuñez over the history of Peruvian law and the reference in his book to his own materials around the history of Peruvian rights and the reference to his book *Historia del Derecho Civil Peruano*, Venezuelan Gilberto Quintero Lugo with his "*Real Audiencia de Caracas y los Tenientes Justicias Mayores*", Equatorian Enrique Ayala Mora with *Lucha política y origen de los partidos en Ecuador* and Argentine Osvaldo Barreneche in his "*Delito, plebe urbana y administracion de justicia en el Buenos Aires Virreinal*".

<sup>53</sup> In the dispute over the symbolic hegemony, Colombian Eduardo Posada Carbó mentioned, with reference to the memoirs of Garcia Marquez, his "*Historia y los falsos recuerdos*", which agrees with the work of David Solodkow about Garcia Marquez and Macondo's metonymy. To understand the Paraguayan localism or autonomy in the person of its perpetual dictator Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, the Brazilian Alai Garcia Diniz offered us her "*Experimentalismo y mediación cultural en la obra de Augusto Roa Bastos*". On the same note, the research of Guatemalan Jose Edgardo Cal Montoya offered us his "*Why and for what writing a History of Central American Literatures?*". And to answer that challenge the Chilean literary critic Edson Cesar Faundez Valenzuela nourished us with his work *El mito del héroe en tres relatos de la literatura latinoamericana*, the colombian Miguel Angel Urrego Ardila with his "*Mitos fundacionales, reforma política y nación en Colombia*", and the North-American Samuel Brunk with this study over the Zapata myth and the Mexican revolution. Lastly, in this imaginery land, Uruguayan Gustavo Verdesio contributed with his classical "*The Invention of Uruguay*", Argentine Alicia Poderti with her "*Historia socio cultural de la literatura del noroeste argentino*", and Brazilian Wilma Peres Costa with her *Voyage et écriture de la nation* (Voyage and writing of the country).

<sup>54</sup> About sea and ocean basins as frameworks of historical analysis, see Bentley, 1999. About the rise of popular sovereignty in England, see Morgan, 1988. About State, masculinity and the law: some comments on gender and English state-formation, see Liddle, 1996. About the British Army and the struggle against revolutionary and Napoleonic France, 1793-1815, see Guy, 1990.

<sup>55</sup> About rethinking the British Age of Reform, 1780-1850, see Burns and Innes, 2003. About Great Britain and Sea Power, 1815-1853, see Bartlett, 1963. About the Congress of Vienna and its attitude with regards to nationalism in Germany, Italy and Poland, see Straus, 1949. For a new light towards Talleyrand in the Congress of Vienna, see Blinn, 1935. About convicts, settlers and the state in Early Colonial Australia, see Kirsty, 2007. About the Australian frontier wars 1788-1838, see Connor, 2002.

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<sup>56</sup> About the attitude of the Congress of Vienna towards nationalism in Germany, Italy and Poland, see Straus, 1949. About new light on Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna, see Blinn, 1935. About Britain's informal empire in the Gulf, see Onley, 1953.

<sup>57</sup> About the British annexation of Sind (Pakistan) in 1843, see Wong, 1997. For the Mahdi insurrection in Sudan, see Holt, 1958; and Lovejoy and Hogendorn, 1990. About the British Army and the theory and practice of Colonial Warfare in the British Empire, 1919-1939, see Moreman, 1996. About Britain's Colonial Wars, 1688-1783, see Lenman, 2001.

<sup>58</sup> About the annexation of Burma, see Banerjee, 1944. About the British Army and the theory and practice of colonial warfare in the British Empire, 1919-1939, see Moreman, 1996. About the rise and demise of the British World Order and the lessons for global power, see Ferguson, 2004. About British Imperialism in Southeast Asia, see Webster, 1998.

<sup>59</sup> About the British Empire and Tibet 1900-1922, see Palace, 2005. About the British Invasion of Tibet: Colonel Younghusband, 1904, see Coates, 2001

<sup>60</sup> About Free Trade and Liberal England: 1846-1946, see Howe, 1997.

<sup>61</sup> About the Balfour Declaration, see Stein, 1961. About the Irish Question, 1800-1922, see McCaffrey, 1968. About the Easter Rising and Irish Nationalism, see Ward, 2003.

<sup>62</sup> About popular religiosity and the British People in Two World Wars, see Snape and Parker, 2001.

<sup>63</sup> About Algiers under French Rule, see Celik, 1997. About the social origins of Egyptian expansionism during the Muhammad `Ali period, see Lawson, 1992.

<sup>64</sup> About the makers and defenders of the French Colonial Empire, see Singer y Langdon, 2004. About slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa (African Studies) (Paperback), see Klein, 1998. About the French Colonial Empire, see Tate, 1940. About the Politics of Balkanization: AOF in comparative perspective, see Young. About West African States and European Expansion. The Dahomey-Niger Hinterland, 1885-1898, see Obichere, 1971. About the religious missions and the french colonial politics in Vietnam (1857-1914), see Thuan, 1990. About the French Colonial Lobby, 1889-1938, see Persell, 1983..

<sup>65</sup> About French Imperialism and pre-colonial rebellions in Eastern Morocco, 1903-1910, see Venier, 1997. For a comparison between French and British style for direct and indirect rule, see Crowder, 1964. About the notions of *assimilation and association in French Colonial Theory, 1890-1914*, see Betts, 1961. About the Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930, see Conklin, 1998.

<sup>66</sup> About the climax of French Imperial expansion during the Great War, 1914–1924, see Andrew y Kanya-Forstner, 1981.

<sup>67</sup> About the Vichy Years in French West Africa, see Ginio, 2006. About the French colonial empire and the Popular Front, see Chafer and Sackur (1999)

<sup>68</sup> About the Partition of Poland and its struggle for independence, see Lutostanski, 1918, quoted by Ferrero, 1943, 225; and Davion, Kloczowski, and Soutou, 2007. About the Battle of Koniggratz: Prussia's Victory over Austria, 1866, see Craig, 2003. About Moltke, the railroad and the German Wars 1864-1871, see Bucholz, 2001.

<sup>69</sup> About the rise of historical economics and social reform in Germany, 1864-1894, see Grimmer-Solem, 2003. About the Franco-Prussian War, and the German Invasion of France 1870–1871, see Howard, 1991; and Wawro, 2003. About Bismarck, Napoleon III, and the origins of the Franco-Prussian War, see Wetzel, 2001.

<sup>70</sup> About the Armed Peace between Germany and France (1885-1894), see Albin, 1913. About the Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875- 1890, see Kennan, 1979.

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<sup>71</sup> About German Colonialism, 1919-1945, see Schmokel, 1925. About the Transformation of German Colonial Policy, see Seligman, 1998. About the German colonial imperialism: a late and short-term phenomenon, see Poloni, 2004. About the reorientation of the German foreign policy after de Berlin Congress, 1878-1880, see Waller, 1974. About Bismarck's favorite British and the missions to Berlin of Lord Odo Russell, see Urbach, 1999. About the European Colonial Empires: 1815-1919, see Wesseling, 2004.

<sup>72</sup> see Aron, 1963, 88.

<sup>73</sup> About the ancient Germans and the history of modern France, see Thom, 1990. About the Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884-1918, see Townsend and Hayes, 1930. About Carl Peters and German Imperialism, 1856-1918, see Perras, 2004.

<sup>74</sup> About contexts of German Colonialism in Africa, see Smith, 1997. About British Public Opinion and the Partition of Poland, see Horn, 1945.

<sup>75</sup> About the politics of the Nazi past in Germany and Austria, see Art, 2006. About myth, nationalism and genocide, see Kiernan, 2001.

<sup>76</sup> About the Italian Colonial Empire, see Tate, 1941. About the multinational fighting force that defended the Vatican in the nineteenth century, see Coulombe, 2008. About the Pope's Secret Plot to capture Rome from the New Italian State, see Kertzer, 2004. About the Central Empires and the Triple Entente, see Weitsman, 2002. About Russia and the Triple Entente, 1905 to 1914, see Tomaszewski, 2002. About the Triple Entente and the arrival of the Great War, 1914-1918, see McCullough, 1999. About the origins and negotiations of the Anglo-French Agreements of April 1904 (Entente Cordiale), see Rolo, 1969.

<sup>77</sup> About the Central Powers and the Triple Entente", see Weitsman, 2002. About Russia and the Triple Entente, 1905 to 1914, see Tomaszewski, 2002. About the Triple Entente and the Coming of the Great War of 1914-1918, see McCullough, 1999. About the Origins and Negotiations of the Anglo-French Agreements of 8 April 1904 (Entente Cordiale), see Rolo, 1969. About Théophile Delcassé and the Making of the Entente Cordiale, 1898-1905, see Andrew, 1968. About Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, 1902-1914, see Schmitt, 1924. About the Italian conquest of the Dodecanese Islands, see Doumanis, 1997.

<sup>78</sup> About Spain in the Congress of Vienna according to Minister Pedro Gómez Labrador's mail, see Villa Urrutia, 1928.

<sup>79</sup> About the First Carlista War, see Bullón de Mendoza, 1992. About the Philippines in 1998, see Pascual.

<sup>80</sup> To imagine the Belgian nationality, see Bossche, 1998. About Belgium as a buffer-state, see Braeckman, 2006.

<sup>81</sup> About Belgium's imperialist rape of Africa, see Hochschild, 1998. About an African colonial enclave (Congo) of a European buffer-state (Belgium), see Braeckman, 2006. About the historiography of Belgian colonialism in Congo, see Vanthemsche, <http://www.cliohres.net/books/6/Vanthemsche.pdf>

<sup>82</sup> About Japan's annexation of Korea (1868-1910), see Oei, 1989. For the Tokugawa period in early modern Japan, see Burns, 2003. About the Japanese informal empire in China, 1895-1937, see Duus, Myers and Peattie, 1989.

<sup>83</sup> About the rise of popular sovereignty in America, see Morgan, 1988. About political and social reform of the Military Establishment, 1801-1809, see Crackel, 1987. About the Revolutionary origin of conscription in the United States, see Kestnbaum, 2000. About the British opposition to the annexation of Texas, see Roeckell, 1999. About the United States Army 1812-15, see Kochan and Rickman, 2000. About the Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783, see Royster, 1996. About the Mexican

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<sup>84</sup> About the impact of Railway Management on Victory and Defeat in the Civil War, see Clark, 2001. About the Alaska Purchase and Russian-American Relations, see Jensen, 1975. About educational Innovation in. Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachussets, see Katz, 1968.

<sup>85</sup> About the acquisition of Alaska, see Sherwood, 1959.

<sup>86</sup> About the Banana Wars, an inner history of American Empire, 1900-1934, see Langley, 1983, and 2002. About the Annexation of the Dominican Republic, see Hidalgo, 1997. About the Monroe doctrine and American expansionism, 1843-1849, see Merk, 1966. About the successful colonial warfare in the Philippines and Cold War Failure in Vietnam, see Gates, 2001. About central authority and local autonomy in the American Philippines, 1900-1913, see Hutchcroft, 2000. About vagrants, beggars and bandits or the social origins of Cuban separatism , 1878-1895 , see Pérez, 1985 .

<sup>87</sup> About the Monroe doctrine and American expansionism, 1843-1849, see Merk, 1966. About the United States in Central America, 1977-1992, see Leo Grande, 1998. About the role of the judiciary in American expansionism, see Kerr, 1982.

<sup>88</sup> About the Manifest Destiny in the age of the American Revolution, see Dion, 1957. About the Founding Fathers and the place of religion in America, see Lambert, 2003. About race, religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898, see Blum, 2005.

<sup>89</sup> About the social origins of protectionism and free trade in nineteenth-century Lima, see Gootenberg, 1982.

<sup>90</sup> About the international dimension of the Pacific War, see Bonilla, 1979. About a new history of the Paraguayan War, see Doratioto, 2002. About slavery, citizenship and military service in Brazil's mobilization for the Paraguayan War, see Kraay, 1997. About brazilian expansionism or the role of Brasil in the Rio de la Plata region, see Bandeira, 1985. About colonel Francisco Bolognesi and chilean expansionism, see Pons Muzzo, 1987.

<sup>91</sup> About the Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals (Bourbons and Habsburgs), 1550-1780, see Duindam, 2003. About origins of the Russian Intelligentsia: The Eighteenth-Century Nobility, see Raeff, 1966. About the European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, see Scott, 1995. About state and nobility in Early Modern Germany, 1440-1567, see Zmora, 1998.

<sup>92</sup> About the neutralization of the Black Sea, see Graham, Jr. , 1927. About the historical, political and economic importance of the Danube river, see Hajnal, 1920. About religious tolerance and Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca in the Russian Empire, see Brower, 1996b.

<sup>93</sup> About Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754, see Souza, 1986. About the Maritime Sector and the Sea Power of Premodern China. see Deng, 1999. About Imperial rulership and cultural change in traditional China, see Brandauer and Huang, 1994. About migration and ethnicity in Chinese history: Hakkas, Pengmin, see Leong, 1997.

<sup>94</sup> About the rise and decline of Occidental Intervention in China, see Cranston, 1943. About Bureaucratic Reform in Provincial China, 1867-1870, see Ocko, 1984.

<sup>95</sup> About China's Search for a Policy during the Sino-French Controversy, see Eastman, 1984. About Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795–1989, see Elleman, 2001. About the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, see Paine, 2003. About the Japanese informal empire in China, 1895-1937, see Duus, Myers and Peattie, 1989.

<sup>96</sup> About the Boxer Rebellion or the dramatic story of China's War on foreigners that shook the world in the summer of 1900, see Preston, 2000; and Muñoz Vidal, 2008.

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<sup>97</sup> About the Kuomintang and Chinese Communist elites, see North, 1952. About the Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950, see Levine, 2004.

<sup>98</sup> About the Chinese cult of Chinggis Kahn, see Bulag

<sup>99</sup> see Foucault, 1992, 58. About piracy, banditry and the Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic, see Bracewell, 1992. *About Islam and the Enlightenment*, see Davidson, 2006. *About nation*, identity and coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean. Venetians in Constantinople, see Dursteler, 2006. About Ottoman Diplomats in the West: the Sultan's Ambassadors to the Republic of Venice, see Pedani, 1996. About "Venice and the Slavs of Dalmatia: The Drama of the Adriatic Empire in the Venetian Enlightenment", see Wolff, 1997. About an Ottoman Tragedy, a study of the Ottoman identity, see Piterberg, 2003. About Ottoman Orientalism, see Makdisi. About Naval Wars in the Levant 1559-1853, see Anderson, 1952. About Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery, see Brummett, 1994. About the Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society, see Lapidus, 1975.

<sup>100</sup> For a history of Eastern Europe, see Bideleux and Jeffries, 1998. About Ottoman wars, 1700-1870, see Aksan, 1993, 1995 and 2007. About the discourse of reform in Late Eighteenth Century Ottoman didactic literature, see Menchinger <http://www.lurj.org/article.php/vol2n2/ottomanlit.xml>

<sup>101</sup> see Hurewitz, 1961, 461, quoted by Menchinger. About military technology diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, see Grant, 1999.

<sup>102</sup> About Venice and the Ottoman expansion, 1503-1517/1908-1923, see Brummett, 1988. About the Ottoman wars 1700-1870, see Aksan, 2007. About the Eastern Question, 1774-1923, see Macfie, 1996. About Palmerston and the Levant Crisis, 1832, see Vereté, 1952.

<sup>103</sup> About brigandage and irredentism in modern Greece, 1821-1912, see Koliopoulos, 1987. About the Greek War of Independence, see Paroulakis, 2000; and Brewer, 2001

<sup>104</sup> About the turco-persian wars, see Farmanfarmaian, 2008

<sup>105</sup> About British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement, 1826-1853, see Bailey, 1943. About Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789 – 1922, see Findley, 1980

<sup>106</sup> About the Crimean War: 1854-1856, see Sweetman, 2001. About the origins of the Crimean War, see Goldfrank, 1994. About Prince Gorchakov and the Black Sea Question, 1866, see Clark, 1942. About the Neutralization of the Black Sea, see Graham, 1927.

<sup>107</sup> About the reorientation of German foreign policy after the Congress of Berlin, 1878-1880, see Waller, 1974. About Bismarck's Favorite Englishman: Lord Odo Russell's Mission to Berlin, see Urbach, 1999

<sup>108</sup> About the Megali Idea and the Greek-Turkish War of 1897, or the impact of the Cretan problem on Greek irredentism, 1866-1897, see Tatsios, 1984.

<sup>109</sup> About the struggle for mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923, see Veiga; and Karsh and Karsh, 1994. About *the First World War and the end of the Ottoman Order*, see Brennan, 2007. About the Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East, see Fromkin, 1989. About Gallipoli, seen by the Turkish, see Fewster; Basarin and Basarin, 2003.

<sup>110</sup> About Christian, Jewish, Armenian and Kurdish minorities in the Ottoman Empire, see Shatzmiller, 2005.

<sup>111</sup> About *Turkish Nationalism*, Armenian Genocide, and contemporary mass destructions, see Melson, 1996; and Akçam, 2004. About the development of secularism in Turkey, see Berkes, 1964. About Islam and democracy, the limits of the Western Model, see Esposito and Piscatori, 1991; Mernissi, 1992; Elhachmi, 1996; Esposito and Voll, 1996; and Abed, 1995. About Islam and the myth of confrontation:

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religion and politics in the Middle East, see Halliday, 1995. About democracy in the Balance of Power: Culture and Society in the Middle East, see Kamrava, 1998. About a study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence, see Runciman, 1985. About the opposition to the Ottoman Caliphate in the Early Years of Abdulhamid II: 1877-1882, see Buzpinar, 1996.

<sup>112</sup> For the secret Treaty of Sykes-Picot, see Karsh and Karsh, 1994.

<sup>113</sup> About the Ottoman Empire, Britain, the First World War and the Jews in Palestine, see Hamilton, 2004. About the Ottoman Empire, Zionism, and the Question of Palestine (1880-1908), see Oke, 1982. About the Last Ottoman Century and Beyond: The Jews in Turkey and the Balkans, 1808-1945, see Rozen, 2005.

<sup>114</sup> About the search of Arab Unity, 1930-1945, see Porath, 1986. About the Arab Balance of Power, see Taylor, 1982. About secularization and Baghdad Jewry in Late Ottoman times, see Deshen, 1994. About the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire, see Levy, 1992. About the Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, see Shaw, 1992. About Sephardic and Mizrahi Jewry: From the Golden Age of Spain to Modern Times, see Zohar, 2005.

<sup>115</sup> About a short history of Kosovo, see Malcolm, 1998.

<sup>116</sup> About the Dispatches of Sir Robert Sutton, Ambassador in Constantinople (1710-1714), see Kurat, 1953.

<sup>117</sup> About the Habsburg Empire, see Okay, 2002. About the Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna, see Zamoyski, 2007. About Metternich's German Policy at the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, see Kraehe, 1983. About the Congress of Vienna: A Study in Allied Unity, 1812-1822, see Nicolson, 1946. About Talleyrand in the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), see Ferrero, 1943.

<sup>118</sup> About trade and state in the Arabian Seas, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, see Barendse, 2000. About the Ottoman Turks and the routes of Oriental Trade, see Lybyer, 1915. About monetary and fiscal institutions in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1800, see Pamuk, 2005. About the historical function and future prospects of Trabzon, see Aydemir and Aydemir, 2007.

<sup>119</sup> About the dissolution of the Austrian Empire (1867-1918), see Kann, 1980; Berenguer, 1997; and Mason, 1997. For the transition from dynasticism to multi-nationalism in the Habsburg empire, see Fichtner, 1997.

<sup>120</sup> About how doomed was the Austrian empire, see Remak, 1969.

<sup>121</sup> About the annexation of Bosnia, 1908-09, see Miller, 1938.

<sup>122</sup> About the search for a multi-ethnic identity in the Austrian empire, see Reifowitz, 2003. For the south-slavic conflict in the Habsburg monarchy, see Beaver.

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