

Abstract

Britain was the owner of the largest empire that the European colonial history has ever marked. Reinforced by the strongest navy in the world, She took control over the most strategic trading routes, defeating numerous European rivals. The empire at that time was considered as a principal source of wealth and prestige. However, over the course of the nineteenth century, the first signs of the economic decline and empire's disintegration started to appear. Especially after the second World War, when the world witnessed the British imperial disengagement and the emergence of the third world nations. This work aims to picture the heyday of the British Empire, the different justifications to the imperial policies, and different types of governance towards British colonies. This research also seeks to explain the reasons of the empire's disintegrations after the gradual reduction of power and influence. It offers different interpretations to Britain's retreat from the territorial empire and the degradation of imperial ambitions. The present work aims also to shed the light on the main consequences of decolonization on Britain and the different measures took by the government to recapture the nation's previous global role.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to

My dear and loving parents, my brother Mohamed Mahdi and all members of my family whose love and support helped me to undertake my work. Grateful thanks to my friends for their encouragement and help: Ayman, Nihed, Charifa and Yasmine.

List of Abbreviations

CPP : Conservative People's Party of Ghana

EEC : European Economic Community

GATT : General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

EC : European Community

OAS : Organization of American States

US : United States

USSR : Union of Soviet Republics

UK : The United Kingdom; the country of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

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I. Background to the study

Hundred years ago, the history of imperialism had been characterized by strong continental rivals between European colonial nations. The maximum annexation of territories, the economic supremacy, and the military power were the main reasons behind this harsh competition namely between Spain, Portugal, France, and Britain. In fact, America, Asia, and Africa were considered as the most important areas of interest targeted by most of the imperial powers who extended their political, economic, and cultural influence on their colonies. The most important leading pioneers of colonization in the 15th and 16th centuries were Spain and Portugal. However, by the end of 16th century Britain began to expand her overseas possessions putting the first bricks of her Empire. British imperialism had long been known for its uniqueness, length and diversity, especially over the course of the nineteenth century when she added 10 million square miles and 400 million people to its colonial holdings. In fact, during the next centuries, Britain became known as the most noticeable, unchallenged global colonial power.

The nineteenth century was believed to be the heyday of the British Empire which reached its peak at the Victorian era, marking Britain's strong presence in trade, politics and maritime power. In fact it was a busy era of colonization in the sense that many European sides were involved as well. Strategic spheres were divided between European colonial powers, however the largest share was owned by Britain. The diversity that characterized the empire was not only cultural and geographical, but also administrative. Additionally, we should know that colonial acquisition during the 19th century was not reluctant or accidental, but an important part of an aggressive expansionist policy. During this crucial period, the British were building their second Empire. The nation was fuelled by the industrial revolution in addition to the maritime supremacy that was considered as a very strong support which gave her an outstanding position in the imperial stage. In

addition to all these supporting factors, the British were advocating their colonial actions, by claiming that the Empire existed not for Britain's benefit, but for the sake of assisting primitive people who are incapable of self-government, and only with the British guidance they could become civilized. So Imperialism due to them was simply perceived as a manifestation to "The white's man burden" (Morrisey et al).

Over the course of the twentieth century, Britain had ceased to be the first world power, and her worldwide empire had been dismantled into fragments. This decline was not sudden, but it came after many interrelated factors and dramatic events that occurred in different periods of time. In fact, the empire had come to an end when Britain began to lose great parts of her colonies as a result of many internal and external factors, like the damages of the Second World War, the rise of communism and the anti colonial nationalism in addition to the British economic crisis. Britain found herself weaker which pushed her towards new face of decolonization that affected her international position, obliging the nation to take some measures that played a crucial role in forming a new British global position.

II. Statement of the Problem

The history of colonial Europe witnessed that the British Empire was among the great empires that have ever existed. Its power was perceived through the commercial engagements, military expansions, naval supremacy. However, there were various factors that led to the disintegration of its hegemony. For that reason, this research pictures the British Empire's heyday as well as the reasons behind its gradual decline. Besides this, it focuses on the negative and positive effects of decolonization on the British nation, and the different measure adopted by the government to recapture the previous British role.

III. Research Questions

Britain's imperial history, expansionist movements, the decline of her international position after the Second World War, and her unwillingness to maintain the overseas holdings arose many crucial debates. Hence a number of questions are going to be asked in this sense:

What were the main reasons behind building the British Empire and the types of governance towards her colonies?

What were the main reasons behind the empire's decline?

What were the main important consequences of the decolonization on Britain?

IV. Hypotheses

If the British Empire declined, it's because of many internal and external factors.

If Britain shifted towards the commonwealth, it's because of the degradation of her imperial rule.

V. Methodology

Since our research paper's topic is concerned with real facts and historical events about the history of the rise and the decline of the British Empire, it dictates the use of historical, interpretative and analytical methods. Under this approach, we are going to analyze, interpret and give clear explanations to the gathered data concerning the rise and the decline of the British imperial hegemony, in addition to the effects of this

disintegration on Britain. The material used in our study contains books, maps, diagrams, English courses and lectures and data gathered from different credible web sites.

VI. Literature Review

K.C Byrde (1920) in his book *Empire of the Sun* expressed his views about the British decolonization by focusing on the case of African colonies in addition to India. The author in his work claims that the growing capitalist enthusiasm was the main reason behind the British imperial expansions. Byrde emphasizes that the growing tensions caused by the emergence of anti-colonial feelings within Asian and African colonies led reducing the British influence. He also views that a strong Britain would have been able to maintain and keep hold of her colonies.

Phillippia Levine (2007) in her book *The British Empire Sunrise to Sunset* views that the spread of anti-colonial nationalism in the 20th centuries played a major role in shaping the process of decolonization that affected deeply the British imperialism after the Second World War. The writer also argues that the decolonization was a global phenomenon that took place in the late 1950s to the early 1970s, mostly because of the British economic weaknesses at the period.

K.C Byrde tackled the subject from a political point of view while *Phillippia Levine* investigated it from political and economic angles. However, our study deals with the real hidden causes that led to the decline of the British Empire, because we suppose that the issue was not very well developed from various angles. We hope that our study will be a single contribution to shed light again on the issue.

VII. Limitation of the Study

The current study is limited to the rise of the British Imperialism, namely the history of the first and the second empires growth, and then it sheds the light on the decline of the imperial hegemony at the period that follows the Second World War to the early 20th century. The research also tackles the effects of this decline on Britain during the same period.

VIII. Aim of the Study

In the early Victorian era and even before that, the British Empire's power was very remarkable. Britain was the possessor of two great territorial empires. So, the current study aims at demonstrating a clear image of the British Empire during the epoch of ruling the gigantic empire. After that, it focuses on the explanation of the real causes behind the empire's downfall and finally try to show how this decline affected Britain in various sectors.

IX. Significance of the Work

Our study deals with historical facts and events about the history of the British imperialism from the days of the glory to the last phase of the decline learners should know. Throughout our investigation, we also attempt to make from our research an available resource that help students to be aware of the elements that led to the huge spread of the British empire, its important achievements, as well as the causes and the consequences of its decline.

X. Structure of the Work

This research paper is divided into four chapters. The first one consists of a General Introduction. The second chapter deals with a brief history of the British imperialism, the British famous annexations and types of governance. In the third chapter, we are going to see the reasons behind the disintegration of the empire as well as the challenges that faced it, focusing on the external pressures and the rise of the anti-colonial movements. In the fourth and the last chapter, we will demonstrate the impact of the decolonization on the British social matters, economy and international relations.

Introduction

From the sixteenth century to the early beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain was the possessor of the greatest Empire that the world had ever known. In fact, it had got the connotation of "The Empire where the sun never sets". Its power and influence spread all over the globe for many centuries. Playing a crucial role in shaping the world's history, the British Empire is the typical case of how an empire was built, emerged and finally collapsed.

In the first chapter, we deal with a description of the term imperialism mentioning its different categories, and basing our explanations on many historians' perspectives. After that, we assess the different theoretical arguments and justifications adopted by advocates of the British imperialist tendencies. Then, we examine the process of the development of the British Empire, emphasizing the most important phases of its growth. In the last part of our chapter, we shed the light on the British two different types of governance; including the self-government directed to the colonies of white settlement and the native policy taking India as a case.

2.1 What is Imperialism?

Imperialism is the process of dominating other nations, by one powerful country in the political, economic and social sectors. It is a system of power and the act of giving the dominated people less importance. Imperialism derives from the process of expanding nation-states, power and differently ruling the colonized space in different parts of the world (Morrissey et al). In fact Imperialism has worked in various forms because of the great number of empires that have already existed throughout history. In that sense, a historian named Dan Clay said: "There have been over seventy empires in history".

Furthermore, in one of his books, Bernard Porter asserted that neither Britain nor other European nation had invented Imperialism by saying " Throughout recorded history, people have settled amongst, invaded, dominated, ruled, robbed, exploited, civilized, enslaved and exterminated other people.....All these carry elements of what is today called 'Imperialism' " (2) .

The concept of Imperialism has been explained in many different ways. Among the various attitudes, we can mention Dan Clayton who views that imperialism has been first analyzed from an economic and political terms as an important component to the development of capitalism. Many other historians also argued that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism (18).

Imperialism can be classified into three main categories. The first one is the old imperialism; this type includes colonialism and the direct control by government. Old imperialism proved to be very costly and was carried through the excessive exploitation of people and lands. Colonies were considered as strategic markets and a source of wealth, which enabled colonial's companies to gain monopoly trading privileges. The second type is believed to be known as the new imperialism. It started approximately from 1870 up to 1914s. This type was characterized by more political awareness from government that proved to be less involved in its colonies' internal political matters. New imperialism was mainly caused by the rise of the industrial revolution and the growing needs for resources. This fact pushed European colonial powers to divide the markets and the resources offered by the annexed colonies among them for the sake of preventing war. The third and the last type of imperialism is best known for modern imperialism. This type concentrates on economics and its purpose is to establish and organize areas of influence in strategic spheres. Under the modern Imperialism, colonies have been given more independence. Imperialism emergence was very fast, it was considered as the process of expansion that

existed in all parts of the world. It came into practice via methods of military and political conquest. In fact, imperial expansions resembled a race that is organized for the purpose holding and controlling over huge areas, even when there was no economic benefits for the conquerors.

Imperialism developed during the 19th century was driven by the French philosophy "mission civilisatrice" which was a kind of justification to the aggressive territorial expansion. However, by the nineteenth century, Britain and other European powers were driven towards a global competition for political and economic stability in addition to the national prestige and closed markets (Morrissey et al). A scholar named Robert young argued that imperialism in its formal meaning came to an end in parallel with the diminution of the European Empires over the course of twentieth century, due to various factors including the rise of anti-colonial nationalism and the growth of anti-western sentiments, the impact of the second world war and the spread of opinions which suggests that colonies became a heavy burden, and the inability to administer them effectively is absolute, especially after the second world. The emergence on new-super powers like the USA and the USSR which considered imperial trading as a kind of rivalry to their economic activities is also a worthwhile factor.

In this way, Imperialism cannot be studied from one view or theory. In fact, it should be examined through its various international, political, cultural and economic aspects and through the study of the specific characteristics of each imperialist nation.

2.2 Claims behind British Imperialism: Some Reasons for Building the Empire

From the acquisition of the American thirteen colonies in the sixteenth century by Britain, to the interventions in the Middle East by the Unites States in the twenty first

century, imperialism has shaped human history leaving its traces and forming human geographies in all parts of the world. Historians have long debated the reasons and the factors that helped Britain to obtain such gigantic empire. These debates still rage and no final or complete answers are given.

British imperialism of the nineteenth century was not only a question of land acquisition, economic benefits, and national admiration, but also a moral duty, religious responsibility and divine mission. The British were the leaders of the most unchallenged empire; actually this status gave them a strong sense of certainty and confidence that was transformed later to a kind of arrogance concerning the superiority of their civilization and culture. In fact, they came to perceive that their empire is a divine blessing given to chosen people because they are endowed with a moral responsibility to spread their superior laws and religion around the globe, in another word "The white's man burden" (Brown 432-37).

Thereafter, serious discussions concerning the origins and the reasons behind Britain's imperial emergence increased and resulted in various theories of imperialism. The most important justifications adopted by historians, pro-imperialists and religious men can be classified into two major categories: Economic theories and ideological justifications.

2.2.1 Economic Theories and Great Power Rivalries

The first British Empire was a mercantile one. Trade, business and monopoly companies were becoming a popular fashion in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. In fact, it was a needing little effort and cheap method for the monarch to gain national prestige. The procedure was carried on by giving a charter to explorers to claim lands and permit some companies to use and exploit the natural resources of the colonies in return for an income tax paid into the monarch who also provide them with exclusive rights in

exchange for political support at home. In case of amassing a considerable political entity, the monarch might offer his military support to the company. The famous East India Company is the typical example of this system of government which was not so successful because of the outspread dissatisfactions among the colonized countries that led to the outbreak of several rebellions resulted from the company's interests in making profits rather than looking after the ruled people.

The famous British economist J. A. Hobson and V. L. Lenin attributed imperialism to particular economic forces at work in most industrialized nations of Europe. They claimed that colonial expansions of the late nineteenth century had economic origins which grew in a period of capitalism and industrialization. This economic justification to the urge for annexing colonies explains that whatever religious, political and even idealistic excuses might be made, the main important reason behind overseas expansionism was of capitalist eagerness for raw materials, markets, and new fields of investments. This argument can be found in what Hobson called "The economic taproot of imperialism". So, colonial acquisitions are very worthy to accomplish these capitalist goals that could only be achieved by opening up the under-developed world. However, if this operation was not possible, dividing the most important areas of interest was a worthwhile solution (Hobsbawm 61-7).

Supporters of the Marxist school were willing to prove that motivations behind imperialism were mainly economic, as they used to connect imperialism with the most extreme degrees of capitalism. Lenin who was the school's spokesman argued that the capitalist system is based on the availability of wealth put in fewer hands, but if opportunities for investment at home are reduced, capitalists have no option but to manipulate their efforts and time, making profits abroad, in the established. Lenin added

that the profits made imperialism succeeded in enhancing the skilled worker's relations with the bourgeoisie and pushed them to be more collaborative.

J. A. Hobson, claimed that imperialism arose from confusing domestic social and economic ills, mainly caused by industrialization. He related imperialism with capital export. According to him, capitalism led to whether under-consumption or overproduction. In another sense, as production at home exceeds the increase of population and great amount of goods which are produced and not being sold at profit, wealth is collected over a long period of time rather than being profitably invested. This standpoint is known as "Surplus Capital", a theory of imperialism which pushed capitalists to send the surplus capital to other countries for investments under the government's protection. In Hobson words:

Thus we reach the conclusion that imperialism is the endeavor of the great controllers of industry to broaden the channel for the flow of their surplus wealth by seeking foreign markets and foreign investments to take off the goods and capital they cannot sell or use at home. (qtd in wesseling 129)

Hobson viewed that only few people encompassing manufacturers, company owners and financiers were benefited from imperialism. Another historian named Chamberlain, criticized this situation by saying "Certain sectional interests that usurp control of the national resources and use them for their private gain"(Chamberlain 141). Chamberlain's solution to this status was in maintaining internal social reforms and more equal redistribution of wealth. In that sense he said:

If the consuming public in this country raised its standard of consumption to keep pace with every rise of productive powers,

there could be no excess of goods or capital clamorous to use imperialism in order to find markets.... It is not industrial progress that demands the opening up of new markets and areas of investment, but mal-distribution of consuming power which prevents the absorption of commodities and capital within the country(141)

A new school of thought emerged and was inspired by Hobson's views, among its followers was V. L. Lenin who is best known for his pamphlet "Imperialism The Highest Stage of Imperialism". Lenin emphasized that imperialism had economic motivations and was an extreme stage of capitalism. Lenin in turn was among those who believed that the concentration of wealth in fewer hands under capitalist monopolies led to the investment of the surplus capital abroad (Wesseling130).

It is true that the exploitation of the backward countries' resources was a needed method for capitalists used to achieve their imperialist tendencies, but still those economic justifications were not enough interpretations, especially as the continuous quantity of profits from the colony to the metropolis diminished. So, imperialism of the late nineteenth century can be more valid if it is justified by the search for strategic interests and the rise of great power rivalries. Concerning this, Bernard Porter said: "It was the rivalry which made the matter (Imperialism) urgent" (86) .The appearance of the new German "Reich" and the increasing tensions between European great powers were more worthy justifications for the establishment of a controlling strategic areas and supporting locations for military and naval bases . In brief, European countries annexed colonies for the sake of national security, as they were essential for national power and prestige. Furthermore, the Social Darwinism indicates that rivalry and competition between European powers was a kind of biological survival this is what Porter argued by notifying that:

The foreign politics of nations areanticipation of, provision for, and struggle for existence between incipient species Feeble races are being wiped off the earth and the few great, incipient species arm themselves against each other. England, as the greatest of these has avoided for centuries the only dangerous kind of war. Now, with the whole earth occupied and the movements of expansion continuing, she will have to fight to the death against successive rivals(qtd. in 129)

In the case of Britain, the national security relied on the control of strategic trading routes in addition to the superiority of her royal navy which was a symbol of power and greatness, in this sense Lord George Hamilton notified" The freedom of sea communications between Great Britain and the world is essential to her existence as the passage of air through the wind pipe of any being is to the prevention of his life"(127).

2.2.2 Ideological Justifications: Religion, Racism and Social Darwinism

Europeans selected other justifications for their expansionist movements; these claims were generally not similar to the economic ones. In fact, they were reinforced by ideological pillars which interpreted the imperialist tendencies by humanitarian, religious and cultural objectives. Most imperialists defended colonization claiming that it benefited the uncivilized native people by bringing them closer to the western cultures. Imperialist supporters were advertising to their tendencies by saying:"we must help our little brown brothers". Edward Taylor was among the imperialist advocators who were basing their position on the idea of European superiority. In fact, they considered the indigenous people of the colonies as primitive societies that stopped developing at very early stages. They also lack the sense of self responsibility to govern themselves that is why it is very

important for them to be ruled by superior races. Hence, British imperialists were endowed with a religious and moral uniqueness which obliged them to take the responsibility of educating the inferior people more elevated culture and religion. According to them, the process of saving souls seemed as important as increasing the nation's wealth and prestige. These arguments can be reduced into one connotation: "The White's Man Burden" which was introduced by Rudyard Kipling.

Furthermore, during the nineteenth century, there was a remarkable growth in the humanitarian's activities and charitable help, this fact made from imperialism very pleasant to many philanthropists; people who sought to help the colonies' indigenous and believed that UK possessed a divine duty to carry on a civilizing mission as they were God's instruments created to accomplish a noble work which was based on spreading Christianity and raising justices around the globe. Such ideologies relied also on missionary activities aimed at exporting western civilization, Christianity and commerce to the profound areas of Asia and Africa (Brown 31-9).

The idea of the survival of the fittest elaborated in the Social Darwinism theory was highly linked to imperialism. It is necessary for the superior people to control inferior races in order to demonstrate their strength and supremacy. Advocators of this idea perceived that non-white people should not be well developed pointing out: "To the development of the white man, the black man and the yellow must ever remain inferior". So, imperialism developed a set of racist belief which indicated that the white man, precisely the British race is more elevated than the skin colored races which give them the right to dominate them as they make part of the inferior non-white societies.

The British Empire went through two main epochs of colonial expansion. The first one has always been related to the reign of Elizabeth one and the actions of the

explorations of English sailors which were organized at the level of extremely large oceans, away from the metropolis. These actions were based on the naval supremacy. The first phase of emergence is often referred to as "The first British Empire" and it lasted from the 16th century up to the loss of the American thirteen colonies. The second phase dates back to the Victorian era and is often associated with the scramble for Africa, it lasted until the outbreak of the first World War and usually known as "The second British Empire". It comprised dominions which were colonies for settlement, protectorates, mandates and other territories controlled or administered by the United Kingdom (Armitage 05).

Historians of the eighteenth century's British Empire have clearly shown their disagreement with any small attempt to combine between the first and the second British Empires, particularly in terms of their similarities in purposes. In fact, the second Empire which was founded in the late 18th century distinguished in quality from the "old colonial system" as it was based on military annexation, racial subjection, economic exploitation and cultural influence.(02)

2.3 The First British Empire

It is necessary to keep in mind that the British Empire was not the product of any planned process, but a result of early trials to discover and exploit new territories for the sake of trade. In another sense, it was a product of European age of discovery that started with the maritime explorations during the 16th century. In fact, British unsuccessful attempts to discover a North West passage to strategic spheres resulted in an interest in North America. So, traders, sailors and missionaries, all acted similarly in building the British Empire. L.C.B Seaman in that sense said "The real founders of the British imperialismWere the missionaries, the exploiters, the merchants and traders and of

course, those who whether consciously or not, had voted against the condition of England by booking their passages in the immigrant ships" (371).

The first English colony was established in North America, precisely in Jamestown by the Virginia Company in 1607. In 1624, The Virginia company's settlements were supported by the monarch. The settlements then moved towards the eastern areas of North America to the West Indies. Much of these colonies were annexed by the well-known East India Company which was established to administer colonies and overseas trade. Concerning this, many scholars said:" The British Empire was not in any way a planned process. More often than it was a by-product of early attempts to find and exploit new territories for the purpose of trade" (134). These business organizations lasted only for a short time; they came to disappear particularly after the restoration of the monarchy (1600-1688). The American colonies became royal colonies under the direct control of the monarch. The empire had stretched in the seventeenth century annexing almost the eastern areas of North America or what is known as the thirteen colonies to reach the West Indies holding small parts of the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Islands. In 1620 s, Plymouth was founded and was considered as a refuge to the puritans who escaped the religious persecution. In 1688, king James two played a crucial role in creating the "Dominion of New-England" including Connecticut, New York and the Jersey (West and East), Massachusetts, Main and New Hemisphere.

By the end of the 17th century, an empire had developed. It was very centralized and found for the sake of supervising the trade of the colonies. Thus, England served as a commercial and manufacturing centre, while the colonies provided her with the raw materials and the needed markets. The economic value of the English acquisitions in America lied on the large sugar plantations mainly located in the Caribbean Islands depending on slave labor. Furthermore, the colonies provided Britain with considerable

quantities of tobacco, coffee, rice and other tropical crops consumed by her own population or re-exported to other European countries. The American thirteen colonies were weak, young and poor, and then grew gradually. It is undeniable that they were less financially successful than the Caribbean ones, but still they had large areas for agriculture, in addition to the good temperate climates which attracted a large number of English immigrants. These profits were very important for the British commerce, which explains the government's hard trial to protect the West Indies from the other colonizing rivals. During this time, the population of the British colonies in America increased to reach 2, 3 million in seventeen years. Also, the great number of slaves brought from Africa had contributed in shaping the New World's demography. In fact, the Atlantic slave trade was one of the necessities of the economy of the first British Empire. Before that, indentured servants used to work in the plantations, the government was obliged to import a new labor force; black African. For that reason, slave trade became very important to the British Empire as a source of wealth and cheap work force.

More importantly, to make the transportation of slaves easier, and keep the slave trade in the British lands. Parliament officially decreed that only the British Ships were allowed to ply their trade in their English colonies. Bernard Porter explained this system by saying "The old mercantilist relationship with colonies forced to supply Britain's industries with raw materials, forbidden to compete with her manufactures, and prohibited from trading with other countries" (14). Navigation acts which were reinforced by the naval supremacy enabled Britain to control colonial trade inside the empire reducing the power of the European competitors. Britain's maritime supremacy enabled her to annex many colonies which belonged to her colonial enemies. In fact, the Empire stretched and grew in size because of the territories acquired after the seven years war (1754-1763) and the Napoleonic wars.

In 1776, the thirteen colonies rebelled against British colonizers, asking for freedom to trade, the right to set and collect their own taxes, in addition to the full representation in the British parliament. The American war of independence ended the British control over the thirteen colonies with the peace treaty of Paris which declared them separated from the British crown. This incident was very decisive for the history of the British imperial rule. It deprived her from one of the most valuable possessions changing her future direction into the pacific, Asia and Africa.

2.4 The Second British Empire

Britain had lost her possessions in America around the late of the 18th century, it is undeniable that this incident resulted in a serious confusion within the British imperial government; however, it drove her interests towards new types of imperial tendencies. Despite the fact that Britain continued to rule over Canada, encompassing earlier French settlements in Quebec and the Caribbean islands, she began to concentrate on India as a master piece of her empire. Furthermore, the acquisition of Australia and New Zealand in 1770s shaped the core of the second phase of the British Empire territorial expansionism.

The 19th century era represented the empire's golden age, this phase was characterized at the economic level by the growth of manufacturing, trade and continental investments. The industrial revolution, the transport revolution, religious and missionary involvements, all played an essential role in the formation of the second British Empire. Politically speaking, the second empire was marked by the increase of the direct government involvement in the imperial matters. During its early stages, the second empire building was a spark of fire that heated up long debates within politicians and public

opinion. Moreover, the rivalry between the great powers was very hostile, and it had not decreased until the broke out of the First World War.

During the Victorian era, Britain adopted a foreign policy that aimed at expanding her empire. Britain's imperial expansion during the 19th century experienced two main phases. The first one was marked by a smooth and gradual growth in power and size. Concerning this H.L. Wesseling argued that "the period from 1815 to 1919 is often described as a time of colonial stagnation" (75). That is to say, imperialists had ceased to annex colonies before Britain's notions of imperialism had been awakened by new international and domestic forces. The second phase came after 1870s up till the outbreak of the First World War, and was marked by an accelerating in the scale of imperial expansionism and the partition of the continental strategic spheres between the European industrial powers. This era was associated with the scramble for Africa and the acquisition of India and new lands in Australia.

The British interests in imperialism were renewed by the Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. T.L. Jarman said that it was he "who made monarchy and empire inseparable principles of the conservative party". During this epoch, Britain treasured India for her potential. In fact, the industrial revolution made from Britain a global workshop, while India played the role of the main supplier of raw materials. It is not strange then that Britain viewed India as "a jewel in the crown". These considerations pushed Disraeli to pass the "royal titles act" in 1876 under which he proclaimed queen Victoria "impress of India". T.L. Jarman also expressed his views concerning the royal acts notifying:

By giving the queen the title impress of India, the prime minister furthered at one and the same time two of his especial interests; he glorified the British monarchy and he enhanced the importance of the

Indian empire. He felt and wanted to make the most of the glamorous of monarchy (37).

Britain's power came from naval supremacy helped her to acquire large parts of land's in Asia. Furthermore, her industrial development had a great role in the expansion of the empire. India's security depended on the British expansion around her borders to protect her from the surrounding enemies. The East India Company helped a great deal in these expansions as well, its army had cooperated with the royal navy in many conflicts, like in the eviction of Napoleon from Egypt, the acquisition of Singapore(1819), the defeat of Burma(1826), the acquisition of Malay, Hong Kong and Egypt. In 1857, a large part of the Indian army (Seypos) rebelled against the British authorities. these revolts were called "The Indian Mutiny" and they resulted in the transfer of power from the East India Company to the British crown.

British annexation of India and her surrounding areas paralleled with that of the Pacific and Africa. This process was carried out during the 18th and the early 19th century. Britain showed her interests in the Pacific after the independence of the American thirteen colonies. Namely, the loss of Georgia which had been a penal colony, so the eagerness to find a compensate place where it is possible to expel the prisoners was a driving force behind the acquisition of Australia. So, the next destination was Botany Bay (Sydney) established in 1788 and was knows as New South Wales. Few time later, successive waves of immigrants arrived and made from the whole continent a pure British colonial possession, adding the Island of Fiji(1870) and New Zealand(1840) which became a colony of white settlement("The Rise of the British Empire").

British presence in Africa before 1870 was concentrated in west African coast and the Cape of Good Hope. Before the 1800s, African interior lands remained unknown to

strangers. In fact, Africa was called "the dark continent", where savage Negroes and contagious diseases existed. The first trial to enter inside the mysterious regions was stopped by the native's relentless resistance and the widespread of Malaria which gave the region the connotation of "The White's Man Grave" (Climent 13). In the 1890s, the British troops penetrated inside the continent thanks to the new technologies of steam, machine guns, and telegraphs in addition to the antibiotics which helped a great deal in opening up Africa. Therefore, a new phase of European colonization started, known as "The scramble for Africa".

The African colonies were divided between European powers during the Berlin conference. The last re-division of the world took place after the first world war, under the international supervision of the league on nations, Britain then gained great parts of the Germany's former African colonies like Tanganyika, the Cameroon and Togoland.

2.5 British rule over her Colonies

The period of high imperialism lasted for hundred years, during this time British colonies were far from being equal or similar in governance. The British second empire was extremely heterogeneous. In fact, it encompassed different types of colonies, the first type was known as colonies of white settlement including Canada, the Australian colonies and New Zealand. The second type included India, and the last one encompassed the South African dependent non-white colonies. In order to rule such huge empire with such diverse population, Britain used different administrative methods, taking into consideration the cultural and the race criteria. Therefore, colonies of white settlement were allowed to own a self-responsible government whereas non-white colonies were directly ruled by an autocratic crown.

2.5.1 Responsible Self-Government and Settlement Colonies

As a first step towards independence, colonies of white settlement enjoyed a self government right. Self-Government colony were endowed with an elected government in which elected rulers take the responsibility of making decisions without any assistance from the colonial powers. The term has been used in connection with the direct rule of crown colony by an exclusive governor.

Britain had treated her colonies in extremely different ways. British relation with her colonies of white settlement was peaceful. In fact, these colonies' economic, political and social structures were not very far from those of the metropolis. Canada was the fruit of seven years war, South Africa was taken from the Dutch to protect the sea routes to India. Australia was a by-product of British trial to transport her convicts and compensate her loss of the American exiles while New Zealand was a sub- colony of New South Wales (Field house 250-251). Lord Durham who was appointed as a general governor of British North America suggested to give the developed colonies the right to govern themselves in another word "responsible government", under this policy a British-appointed governor must take the elected colonial assemblies will into consideration. So, the internal matters the responsibility of colonies while the British government kept the control over constitutional question, trade and foreign policy (Levine 86). Soon after, this particular way of rule had gradually exported to other settlement colonies. Responsible self-Government was a method used to differentiate colonies of settlement from the other parts of the empire. This system helped in deciding about the appropriate rule for each colony taking into consideration the strategic importance of the colony, the political maturity and

the economic power. Furthermore, the race of the colony's settlers played an important role in deciding on the colony would be ruled (Field house 258).

In the province of Canada, this system of governance was first applied in 1849 after passing the rebellion losses bill which was a kind of compensation to the Canadian who suffered during the rebellions of 1837-1838 in Lower Canada. During this time, the first step towards independence was the granting of responsible self-government, Canada was granted more autonomy after that. The colonies of Australia and New Zealand were considered as penal settlements where a great amount of power was given to the governors because of the huge distance from London and the lack of rapid communications. However, the early settlers who were aware of Westminster system which granted responsible government to colonies made great efforts to enlarge their occasions to participate in this system. So, during the 1850s almost Australian colonies along with New Zealand set their responsible governments.

2.5.2 Native policy: British rule in India

After the American revolution of 1776, Britain lost the thirteen colonies. During the same period, Britain took control over Australia. However, because of the far distance, it was not able to replace America. As a result, the imperial tendencies turned towards India. The British government took part directly in the Indian affairs after the Sepoys Mutiny of 1858. India became officially a crown colony after proclaiming Queen Victoria Empress of India in 1876.

The method that the British government treated the skin colored people of India who are from Non-European origin was known as "native policy". Indians were prevented from establishing self-government, and the relation with them was not of kindness. In fact,

it was believed that they lacked the criteria to be given such great responsibility. The direct rule of India was driven by many imperial goals, mainly by the industrial revolution and the British vision that those lands should not only be exploited but also ruled. India was considered as the pillar of the British Empire and a unique possession. This importance derives from the great amount of resources and military power that she offers to Britain. In this sense Bernard Porter said "In the early nineteenth century, they (the British) saw themselves not as permanent masters of India, but as temporary foster-parents, holding her in trust for self governing future"(31). In another word, the British treated India as a non-mature nation.

The British ruled over India by dividing it into two parts. The first one was called the British India and was under a direct rule while. The second were called the Indian states and were under the indirect rule, governed through local Indian princes. The British justified their disagreement to pass power to Indian by the lack of racial competence. Indians could take control of responsible government only if "They should themselves fit to run a parliamentary system" (Field house 173). The historian Thomas Babington Macaulay perceived that the only way to obtain well educated subjects who may help the government to run its empire is by producing "a class of persons, Indian in color and blood, but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and intellect". From this quotation, we understand that the British had always under estimated Indians and prevented them from having the right of self government which can only be obtained after the process of being educated in English style.

Conclusion

The British history of colonialism went through two main stages. The first one was characterized by the rise of the first British Empire which was located in the Atlantic Ocean; divided between North America and the Caribbean Islands. The second empire was located eastwards in the Pacific, Asian and African colonies. During the epoch of building the second empire, Britain was in its heyday, it was the major controller of the most important trading routes thanks to naval forces, industrial power and technological development. Moreover, many arguments rose from different parts to justify the imperialist policies and were classified into economic, political and ideological justification. The British rule over her colonies was divided into two kinds of imperial governance. The colonies of white settlement were granted self-government while the colored people of Africa and Asia were severely controlled as they were viewed as incapable of governing themselves.

Introduction

Britain remained a world power and the possessor of a great empire until the late 19th century. In the early 20th century, Britain was exposed to many domestic and external tensions that threatened the future of her empire which seemed to be on the way of disintegration. The British imperial role was weakened by many historical events and various types of struggles and resistance, mainly resulted from the nature of the British imperial rule at the political and social levels. Furthermore, the British cruel actions and aggressive relations with the indigenous played a crucial role in provoking numerous riots and rebellions in different parts of the empire in addition to the rise of many nationalist movements that aimed at overthrowing the British rule from the oppressed colonies.

In this chapter, we first endeavor to present the British Empire during the First World War and the British relation with some of her colonies during this period. Then, we focus on the first signs of losing the imperial role and the impact of the British broken promises in exploding the colonial enthusiasm. After that we explain the effects of the Second World War and to what extent it acted as a catalyst for shortening the decolonization process. Furthermore, we shed the light on the economic conditions of Britain after this phase and the domestic elements that pushed Britain to submit her possessions. Additionally, we put emphasis on the rise of anti-colonial nationalism, the influence of Indian resistance and finally the wind of change as an explanation to the rise of eagerness for independence within the British colonies.

3.1 The British Empire and The Great War

Throughout history, Britain was involved in many wars and conflicts, making from her colonies mere scenes for military operations and a reservoir for manpower and

weaponry. In fact, more than two and a half million men served in the British army whether as volunteers or recruited soldiers. Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914, during this period the Empire's financial and armed supports were greatly invaluable. The great war according to the British was "a war for the preservation of the empire, in the sense that if Britain had lost she could not have retained her empire" (Porter 228). During the war, Britain has always received different supplies from her colonies thanks to her royal navy supremacy. The naval forces managed also to destroy aggressively the German army. Actually, the existence of the empire relayed on the collaboration of colonial armies. Furthermore, the war gave Britain the chance to test the loyalty of her colonial subjects. Many colonies revealed that their contribution was not unconditional or without objection. Australia for example rejected twice the policy of conscription sending only volunteers to army. In addition, similar to the amount of pressure that the war put on colonies to participate in the fighting, it also provided them with more opportunities to get concessions while many promises for speeding up the self determination process rose. Furthermore, even if British India and other colonies had entered the war involuntarily and without their consultation or approval, they proved to be reliable source in terms of economic and military support. Following the end of the war, colonies hoped to gain more improved fate, they fought against Nazism in order to help European people to maintain their freedom, hoping that their efforts will serve in their projection towards autonomy and independence. Thus, many hopes and aspirations were born among the colonies, that's why any delay from Britain in taking measures to calm the atmosphere would absolutely lead to unpleasant consequences (Mioche 155).

3.2 The first Signs of Losing the British Imperial Role

The period that followed the First World War was characterized by the emergence of new stresses and divisions. The great war of 1914-1918 had emphasized that Britain became unable to rule the waves. Furthermore, the loss of the naval supremacy affected negatively the British imperial rule and reduced her power to exert a worldwide hegemony. The British royal navy became weaker, especially the royal Canadian navy of the North Atlantic which was relying intensively on the colonial and the allied support even in home matters. In 1907, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were officially announced dominions and joined later by the Irish Free State and South Africa. Following the First World War, their relation with Britain changed. In fact, they became more involved with national freedoms. The Great War resulted in the international recognition of their contributions in the battle; they also signed post-war treaties and entered the League of Nations which weakened the imperial ties with Britain. The UK put a great deal of her naval and military forces in her efforts to protect Egypt and the Middle East oil supplies. These measures were needed to be achieved through the dominance of French Syria, Iraq and Iran in 1941. However, strong waves of resentments were raised by Egyptians and many other Arabian countries because of the oppressive ways they used to be treated by Britain especially during the First World War. Additionally, the campaign of the east proved to be hard, it caused Britain to suffer from a series of ignominious defeats at the hands of Japan in Hong Kong, Malaya, Borneo and Burma. Britain also lost her key naval base located in Singapore, which was a shocking defeat that cost her 132,000 British subjects including 32,000 Indian, 16,000 British and 14,000 Australian, in addition to the national prestige in the east that was fatally injured (Dalziel, Nigel120).

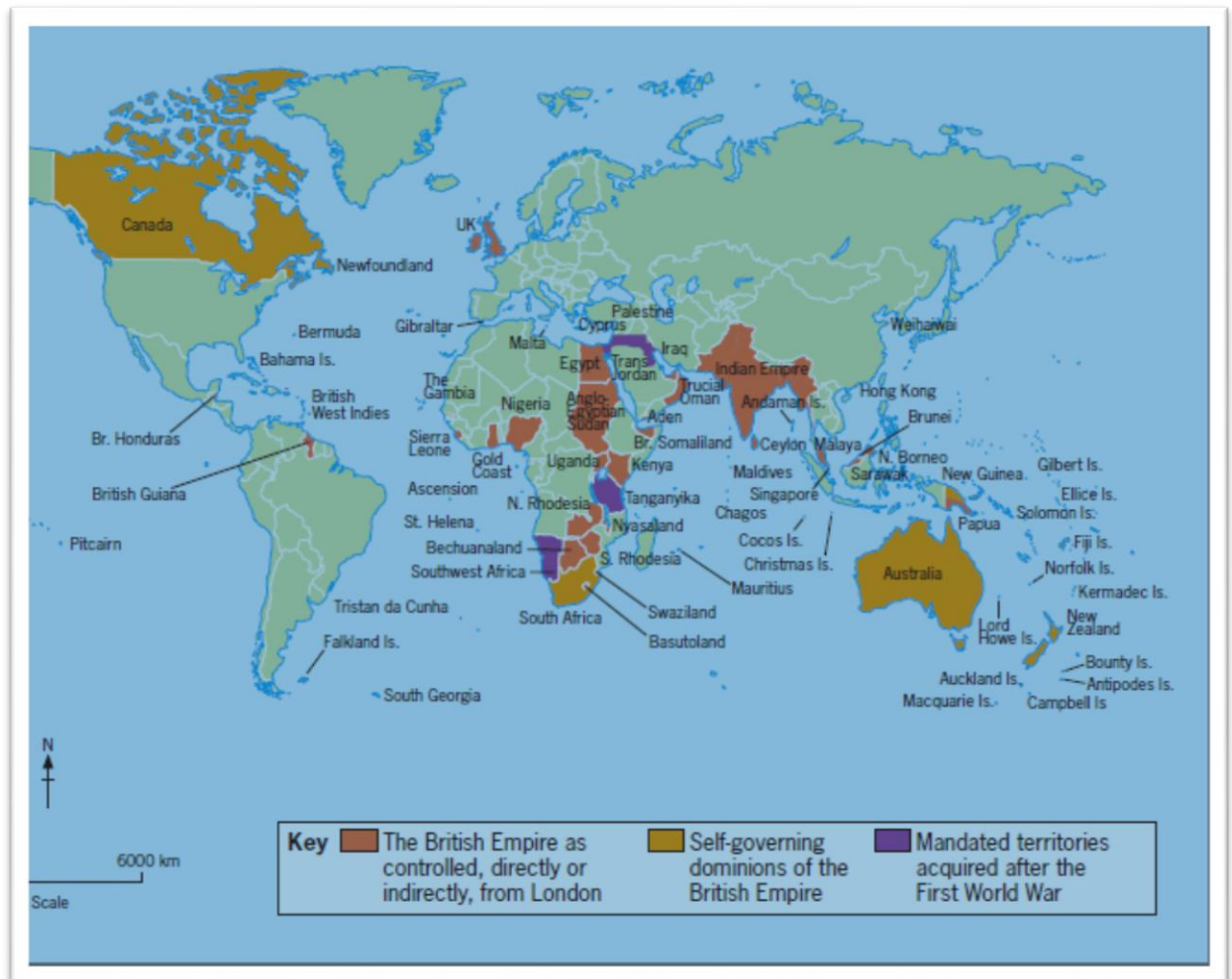


Figure 01: The British empire after the First World War

Source: Ben Walsh GCSE Modern History. End of the Empire, C.1919-69.

This map demonstrates that the British colonial Holdings were divided into Mandated territories gained after the Great War, self-governing dominions including Canada, Australia, New Zealand and some regions in South Africa, in addition to many stretched holdings located in different parts of the world.

3.3 Britain's Broken Promises

"The Aim justify the means", this statement is typically related to Britain's situation in the First World War. The war caused Britain to undertake some promises that did not served her benefits. So, getting rid of Germany and securing their interests in the middle east, pushed Britain to make a number of promises to many colonies who took side with the allies, but all were delayed to the end of the war. Among these numerous formal promises made during the Great War were those made to some Arabian tribes concerning the recognition of their independence from the Ottomans in addition to some social reforms in India and the promised home rule given to Ireland (" British Decolonization 39")

After the end of the war, it was becoming increasingly apparent that the costs of the victory were not merely expensive in terms of material and human loses, but also at the level of moral qualities. The irrespctive promises were also to be taken into consideration. In fact, every pledge was given to the Indian, Irish and Arabs were not completed. David Thomson commented on the broken promises made by Britain during the first world war as follow: "Most of the promissory notes, given in secret treaties to win or retrain Allies' need have never been given"(55). Furthermore, Italy during war time was in neutral position, however, British promises to her concerning the accession to the Australian territories pushed her to enter the battlefield. Also, in the Middle East, Britain increased the hopes among the Jews and the Arabs to find an acceptable arrangement to the Palestinian case. Britain was not more than a supporter of the revolts that Arabs were preparing to the ottomans. However, the British interference in the middle east ended up every hope towards Britain and paved the way for strong Anti-British sentiments among the Arabian countries especially after the Balfour declaration of 1917 which stated that "The

establishment in Palestine as national home for the Jewish people" which destroyed all the Arabian aspirations (Thomson 7- 55).

The years that followed the war were characterized by great tensions and division within the empire, especially inside India, Ireland and the Middle East. Frustrations were caused by the long period during which Britain continued to deprive her colonies from self-determination. Britain continued to delay the Irish home rule. In India, she also made some concessions for responsible self-government which were far from being satisfactory to the congress party led by Gandhi. All those elements resulted in the rise of anti-colonial nationalism during the second half of the 20th century; precisely after 1945s.

3.4 The Empire and the Second World War

It seemed hard to imagine that the bright light of the gigantic British Empire was going out. Before the Second World War, the British society was not given a considerable attention, which led to the emergence of numerous domestic conflicts. The government had no choice but to spend more budgets on social reforms, reducing the amount of money specified for the navy. A short time later, many nations were convinced that engaging in business with Britain is no more worthy because of her inability to protect the commercial sea routes. Sooner, Britain found herself fighting in a war that she had not prepared for, while she was still struggling to recover from the damages of the First World War.

The Second World War was believed to be much more destructive than the first war. It was a global unique conflict. In fact, statistics showed that over than 60 million people died during this war as more than trillion dollars were expended. The struggle made from European colonial power weaker, namely Britain that lost a great deal of national prestige. It is arguable that the financial pressure caused by the war's expenditures

destroyed the British economy and weakened the nation's capacity to preserve her huge territorial empire. Before the war, Britain had benefited from the terms of the Ottawa conference of 1932, which notified that trade between Britain and other countries can be completed with a symbolic tariff, while the tariffs of trade deals where Britain is not involved must be high, this policy was called "imperial preference" and it granted Britain the dominance of her colonial economy, reducing the level of the competition and the risk of her rivals, namely the USA. However, the war and its destructions harmed deeply the British economy, it devalued the previously strong pound against the dollar. The economy of the USA was developed by the war and emerged stronger than the one of the British imperialist economy, this can be seen through the gross national production of the USA which reached 50 per cent while the European's great national power production became 25 per cent lower, This can be explained by the large battles and the bombing attacks that took place in Europe, destructing the countries' industry, namely the British one. The United States which was a by-product of anti-imperialist revolution helped in rebuilding Britain, imposing her influence and weakening the position of the United Kingdom. American help was not a sort of charity, but the loan offered by the US which was of 3, 75 billion dollars obliged Britain to lower the trade barriers in return. This forced Britain to submit her empire by the threat of economic collapse otherwise. Therefore, advantages of controlling colonies were destroyed. Furthermore, maintaining the British army across the empire proved to be costly. The new economic status proved that Britain is no longer able to occupy the position of the dominant world power. The shift of power from Britain to the US can be noticed by the American dominance of the economic assistance to the pro-western Greek and Turkish governments which used to be assisted by Britain(" The British empire and the second world war").

Concerning Africa, the war played a crucial role in the decolonization process, even if Britain tried hard to preserve African colonies, decolonization wave proved to be stronger and imposed itself. Many politicians sought that Africa was not yet ready to be released. Before the war, Africa has long suffered from its tribal system which prevented the nationalist movement from developing slowing their independence down. The absence of national unity pictured Africa as non-mature continent. However, the war has forged their path towards independence. They also moved forward as the self-government was devolved in 1950s. During this period, many reforms were introduced, a central African federation was created and many territories were reorganized (Byrde 5-4).

3.5 Post World War and British Decline 1945

In July 1945, Britain along with the labor government took the responsibility of balancing domestic and international commitments, which harmed the financial capacities. John Keynes who occupied the post of the chief economic advisor of the new labor government argued that Britain's international powerful role became a burden to her in 1945 in terms that "there is no reasonable expectation of being able to carry". Furthermore, British foreign secretary stated that Britain was struggling to abandon her duties in the stretched parts of her colonial holdings adding that the nation faced an urgent need for domestic "economic rehabilitation" in order to heal the British economic. Also, the government's interests turned towards establishing equivalence within the social class structure.

In fact, the labor government hoped to establish a domestic welfare policy that aimed at enhancing the education, the health care, and social services. However, the lack of economic capacity reduced the chances of reaching a successful policy without

undermining the country's world position. Furthermore, one quarter of the Britain's wealth was spent as expenditures for the war which resulted in the British dependence on American aid to secure the most important imports of food and raw materials. As a circumstance, Britain was obliged to reduce the total amount of money spent on her main important overseas possessions while giving independence to the less important territories (Llyold 369-70).

3.6 Domestic Origins of the End of the British Empire

The 1945s was a turning point in the British history. This era was marked by the emergence of the socialist labor party and the decline of the imperialist conservative party. Furthermore, during this time Britain saw a shift in morality. Hence, the domestic opinions were passing from encouraging imperialism and world power towards the praise of decolonization and domestic social welfare. Numerous historians argued that the emergence of new ideas and thoughts led to new opinions of morality towards the empire known as "anti-imperialism". After 1950s, The British notions of pragmatism and opportunism that had previously resulted in British Empire's hegemony declined and were switched to social and economic reconstruction at homeland. The historian A.J.P Taylor once argued that "The British expressed that they were no longer strong enough to maintain their empire. It would be truer to say that they no longer believe in it". In fact, society's last hope was to be dropped into new hardships like those that were witnessed during the interwar years. Therefore, the interests were driven by the new hopes to create national social services in order to ameliorate the British life. C.J Barlett commented on the radical changing in the British society's belief after the first world war by saying "The British society was transformed by the Second World war which was the people's war led

to people' peace". From another angle, the historian Marwick gave another sort of argument by saying: "The change then, is not in basic structures, but in the ideas and in social attitudes and relationships, in how people and classes saw each other, and most important, in how they saw themselves".(qtd in Barlett). These ideas led to the emergence of numerous pressure groups, the best known one was believed to be the "movement for colonial freedom". Another historian named John Darwin claimed that the decline of the British Empire was mainly resulted from the rise of fresh domestic opinion in Britain in the period that followed the Second World War. The British society was not in need for maintaining the empire because the attentions were shifted towards social issues including employment, health, education and social other welfare. In one of his books, Darwin mentioned that "The British opinion at home was simply not interested in the empire, knew little to see scarce resources spent on preserving it. In this version of argument, then, the empire was almost completely negative factor in the British politics"(Darwin-13). Hence, the lack of enthusiasm for maintaining the empire in Britain after the Second World War was followed by the rise of working class people whose basic wish was to improve their financial situation and be equal to the middle class.

3.7 The Rise of Anti-Colonial Nationalism

The anti-colonial nationalism of the twentieth century played a crucial role in shaping the decolonization process in the period that followed the Second World War. It is undeniable that it existed long before this incident; however it did not affect deeply the British attitude. After 1945, it became uncontrollable mainly because of the spread of nationalist ideals and the British acts of oppression towards her colonies. The Atlantic charter of 1941 was in turn one of the most crucial factors that caused the strength of the

nationalist movement. It gave people a great deal of hope to regain their freedom and self-determination that were believed to be put into practice in the future. The charter was originated from Roosevelt's anti-colonial views and was fed by the great tensions that characterized American and the British relations after the Second World War. In fact, American strong position at the period was very helpful in forcing Britain to sign the Atlantic charter that included " Outlining the principles of freedom and economic development to ensure peace"

So, the global stressed relations along with anti-colonial nationalism created a healthful atmosphere for the decolonization. Demands for better treatment and self direction arose after the Second World War. In 1949, Kwame Nkrumah who had founded a nationalist party in Gold Coast in West Africa claimed that "Imperialism was an exploitative system, and all people had the right to govern themselves". Nkrumah's principle became reliable call for anti-colonial nationalism in the region"(Decolonization and the rise of Afro-Asian independence"). Furthermore, the Australians developed a strong sentiment of hatred towards Britain, they blamed her for supporting the western theatre of war, and leaving Australia exposed to attack without protection. This pushed Australia to sign a pact to protect herself from hostilities with USA. This act had totally excluded Britain (Levine 197). Concerning the people of India and other similar colonies who entered the war involuntarily without any consultation or approval, they refused to stand by the side of Britain at first; however, the promises of independence after the war played an important role in changing their position. Many Indians who fought with the Allies hoped to receive recognition for their efforts. The British refusal to reward her colonies for their loyalties angered many activists. Labor protests emerged across Africa; rebellions broke out in India and Cyprus. Authorities were panicked which pushed them to arrest many Indian prominent congress party members which in turn caused serious

tensions between the ruler and the ruled in India. Moreover, the war caused many hardships in India which were driven by inflation and famine, this led in turn to local protests especially after the Great Depression which strengthened the civil disobedience, in fact a huge campaign known as " Quit India" took place in 1942. In other colonies, many riots, demonstrations, and popular unrest arose (196).

Britain and France did not honor their promises concerning Arab independence that was made during the First World War. However, their replacement to the Turkish rule angered Arabs especially when Britain failed to find a suitable solution to the Palestinian case. Things became worst during 1914s, when Egypt had been made a British protectorate, namely when a delegation of Egyptian leaders was not permitted to present their case for self-determination to the conference of Versailles. This led to the explosion of unexpected mass demonstrations (Porter 232). Additionally, post war circumstances strengthened nationalism and paved the way for decolonization mainly as the new imperialism system imposed heavy taxes on the colonized people and the indirect rule system through local chiefs was in its way of disappearing as political leadership was taken by the urban middle classes. The Second World War led to the development of Nationalist movement which was impatient with the British rule, they heated the scene of strikes and political protest which in turn led to the development of independence movements. The great enthusiasm for self-determination reached its peak after the Second World War, because of the restrained freedoms, imperial intervention in the economy of colonies, and imperial demands for great colonial contribution in the war. So, decolonization became urgent and inevitable ask since nationalists became eager to get their freedom and sovereignty. Also, external pressure from the new powers of the US and the Soviet Union and the emergence of international organizations like the United Nations put Britain in hard situation to recognize self-determination of her colonies. In fact, the united nations in

the charter of creation in 1945, confirmed all people's rights to get their independence and self determination, the charter precisely said" All nations possessing a colonial domain will have to cooperate with the people of these regions to make them able of receiving the status of national independence". So, it is clear that the US supported the emancipation of the dependent people by ending hostilities between the colonizers and the colonized people. American views about colonialism and their support of colonies' right to self determination were expressed in many conferences. One of them was the peace conference of 1919 in Versailles Paris, where the US president Woodrow Wilson slowed his liberal idea of self-determination that became later a core principle in the charter of the League of Nations. In the same way, during the world war the second the US remained a strong advocator of self-rule rights ("Decolonization and the rise of Afro-Asian independence").

3.8 The influence of Indian Resistance

The history of Indian conflicts with Britain are bound up with those of the East India company which had been created in 1600s by Elizabeth one as a kind of challenge to the Dutch-Portuguese monopoly of the spice trade. After the Indian uprising of 1875s, India became a symbol of national prestige, and the jewel of the imperial crown. Despite this fact, India was also a source of many political and administrative conflicts. In fact, there were numerous conflicts and uprisings in India that exploded during the British occupation. However, the campaign of non-violent resistance led by Mahatma Gandhi and his social efforts started from 1915s were believed to be most effective. His first big campaign of non-violent non-cooperation attracted the attention of the Indian public. Gandhi next great campaign of 1930 was a source of annoyance to Britain which reacted by suspending the civil liberties and arresting Gandhi and many congress leaders .Gandhi

non-violent movement known as "Swadeshi" reached its peak during the second world war causing a great pressure on Britain, obliging her to recognize the significance of the movement. Shortly after the end the war, the British prime minister Clement Attlee announced in his speech in the House of Commons:

India is today in a state of great tension and this is indeed a critical moment.... let us all realize that whatever the difficulties, whatever the division may be, there is this underlying demand among all the Indian people - as a nation of 40,000,000 people that has twice sent her sons to die for freedom. That she should herself have freedom to decide her own destiny?

This speech was a serious confirmation that Britain had no choice but to help India attain freedom. The Indian people did not ceased to defy the British authorities; it seemed that nothing but independence would satisfy them. Gandhi argued that " Britain cannot defend India". As the war in Europe ended, Indians agreed that the British rule must end, while the British beliefs that India had become ungovernable increased. Mainly because of Indians who owned a strong revolutionary spirit and who followed Gandhi's words "They may torture my body, break my bones, even kill me, they will have my dead body. Not my obedience!" Indian independence movement was a source of influence African nationalists ladders like Kwame Nkrumah who was deeply inspired by Gandhi's achievements. Nkrumah who was the leader of the convention people's party (CPP) in 1950, had always advocated the self government, he started campaigns including non-violent protests and non-co-operation with the imperial authorities which was similar to the one led Gandhi. So, the colonial atmosphere was characterized by noticeable changes since India's independence (Pierce 2009)

3.9 The Suez Crisis and the End of the Empire

The strategic importance of Egypt to the British empire was obvious during the end of the eighteenth century. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 creating new wave of tensions and increasing the imperial rivalries. The canal's role in securing the routes to India and the trade within the eastern Mediterranean was very important. In fact, Disraeli bought 177,000 out of 400,000 shares in the canal company as a political action for the sake of preventing the French control over the region. Few years later, Britain occupied Egypt in order to prevent the spread the nationalist revolts which were rising during that time. After the occupation of Egypt, and during the first world war Britain made from Egypt a military base for British troops in the middle east. In 1922, Egypt was declared independent; however it remained the largest military base in the Middle East according to the Bilateral Treaty of 1936 which declared Egypt as a sovereign state in return to the recognition of London's rights to use Egypt as a military base. British troops withdrew from the cities to concentrate in canal areas. In November 1951 king Farouk was deposed, the monarchy was abolished as a result of a military coup. After that, Mohamed Naguib had been proclaimed president followed by Gamel Abdel Nasser who occupied his position one year later. The new Egyptian nationalist leaders were very hostile to the British presence, in fact, on July 26, 1956; Abdel Nasser took an action of revenge against the British who controlled the canal for decades by nationalizing the Suez Canal. The main reason internationalizing the canal was to use the tolls for financing the building the Aswan Dam after the US refusal to finance the project. Britain had withdrawn completely her troops from the Canal Zone as a result of harsh American pressure. Furthermore, the fear of the complete loss of the rest of her colonial holding in Asia and Africa pushed Britain to choose the abandonment of the canal (Mioche 151). The Suez crisis was a turning point that accelerated the speed of decolonization. After the crisis, it was revealed that Britain

became no longer a major political power and that she would never regain her previous colonial prestige again. This diminution in status affected deeply the attitudes towards Britain and her colonial possessions. The action of nationalizing the canal was followed by the British trials to enter a war with French and Israelis against Egypt to recapture the canal and this happened in October 1956. The US preferred a mixture of negotiations and pressure for the purpose of securing the international control of the canal. The Franco-British actions pushed her to threaten Britain to sell the US reserves of the British pound and precipitate the collapse of the British currency. At the same time, Khrushchev who was the leader of the Soviet Union threatened to launch nuclear-armed rockets at Britain and France. So, the intense pressure from these two international powers, in addition the Arabs states' contribution which had condemned the British presence in Egypt again. The economic consequences of this event revealed the dependence of the country on the American goodwill. Britain learned from the crisis that new power structures had emerged and that her empire had been extremely weakened. It became clear that Britain declined on the world stage. It was revealed also that the British national pride was hurt in the sense that Britain could no longer be seen a world power without the complete assistance from the US. After the unsuccessful struggle in Egypt, Britain was exposed to the fact that the empire was no more a source of political strength for her. In this sense sir Nicholas said: "The Suez debacle of 1956 was a sudden eye opener to the decline of the British power..."(Levine 199).

3.10 The Wind of Change

During the course of the 1950s, there was developing a number of colonies whose progress towards independence could not be stopped. In fact, some historians attributed the

real causes of decolonization to the domestic troubles within Britain. Hence, the great empire submitted her colonies mainly because it was seen that they became a heavy burden and no longer served any economic purpose. Following the Second World War, anti-colonial nationalism spread rapidly to reach an unprecedented legitimacy. This strong wave of anti-colonial nationalism that grew in Asia and Africa made of European empires, namely the British one unwilling to control directly her colonial holdings. Furthermore, encouragements from the superpowers of the US and the Soviet Union made from the decolonization a logic fate to the British Empire after centuries of greatness. Additionally, most of the colonies received motivations from Indian as well as the Algerian war of independence that resulted in an explosion of anti-British revolutions and a speeding pace of independence throughout the empire (Dalziel -Nigel 128).

Britain acknowledged that the spread of African consciousness was blowing through the continent. This fact was famously described by the prime minister Harold Macmillan in 1959 as "The Wind of Change" who said: "The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of.....African national consciousness. In different places it may take different forms, but it is happening every-where. The wind of change is blowing through the continent" Macmillan was too moderate in describing the violent wind of decolonization that swept across British Africa. Nigeria got her independence after Ghana in 1960, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika in 1961, Uganda in 1962, Kenya in 1963, Zambia and Malawi in 1964, Gambia in 1965, Botswana in 1966. In his famous speech given in February 1960 during a tour in Africa, Harold Macmillan recognized that he felt a strong colonial consciousness there, and that the African colonies were strongly willing to liberate themselves and that it was time for Britain to recognize her colonies' rights for self-determination. Concerning this fact, he mentioned: " As I've traveled around the Union I have found everywhere, as I

expected a deep preoccupation with what is happening in the rest of the African continent . I understand and sympathize with your interests". He also said: "This growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it...."(" Macmillan Wind of Change Speech"). Macmillan also expressed his major worry about the possibilities of alignment of the newly independent nations of Africa with the capitalist bloc by saying:" As I see in the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the east or to the west. Will they be drawn into the communist camp?". Few years later, many former British colonies got their independence. In fact, in 1960s the United Nations adopted most of the independent nations into its organizations which defend human rights, freedom and peace.

Conclusion

By the late of the nineteenth century, the British imperial role started to be weakened by many domestic and external conflicts and pressures. The vast territories and the great amount of population dominated by Britain seemed to be less manageable after the end of the Second World War. Moreover, numerous colonial rebellions emerged as soon as the sun of nationalism and anti-colonial sentiment started to shine which caused the territorial empire to be dismantled. The largest empire that the world have ever seen came to an end after the emergence of consciousness within most of the colonies which seemed to rebel whenever any hesitant reaction or broken promise was remarked.

Introduction

Around the beginning of the twentieth century Britain had completely lost the imperial power which had helped her to maintain a strong international position. The so-called "Empire of the Sun" had diverted both the history of Britain along with other countries before and after its decline. However, the impact of the empire's disintegration on Britain itself was the one that had always been investigated excessively. So, along in this chapter we probe how the beginning of decolonization led to a regression within Britain obliging her to replace the territorial empire by the Commonwealth of Nations. Then, we endeavor to emphasize the impact of decolonization on the British society's satisfactions and the sense of national identity. Additionally, we try to show how decolonization changed the British economic visions and how the government reacted concerning this fact. Furthermore, as we as we investigated the negative impact of the British imperial retreat, we also try to deal with the positive measures Britain took in an effort to regain her previous powerful international position by turning towards the EEC and building an informal empire as a continuation of pragmatism in adopting new methods to form a new powerful global position.

4.1 The disintegration from the Territorial Empire to the British Commonwealth

Historically, it is believed that Britain possessed two empires; the first was the one that was built in North America and which became later the USA after 1776s. The second was more global, it stretched to reach many overseas colonies, and transformed after its collapse to the British commonwealth in 1949 then, the commonwealth of nations encompassing Canada, the USA, Australia, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Caribbean Islands and numerous countries of British colonial roots in addition to few non former

British colonies with various cultures and histories, sharing the commonwealth values of peace, order and good government. This makes us understand that Britain did not break all ties with her former colonies, but kept a special relation with most of them, especially with those that still dependent on the British assistance, speak and use English in their administrations, and swear allegiance to the British Crown. So, the replacement of the empire by the Commonwealth was smooth, gradual, and came into practice after many transformations. In fact, it was said that " The Commonwealth evolved from Britain's acknowledgement of the increasing independence of the states in its empire. Over time, a large free association of countries has emerged..." (Dalziel, Nigel 132).

The term "Commonwealth" derived from the relationship of Britain with her former colonies, which were granted Dominion statues in the mid-19th century. After its creation, the monarch's title was changed to reflect " by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and of her other realms and territories, Queen Head of the Commonwealth, defender of Faith". The idea of the Commonwealth was originated from the days of the prime minister and the conservative leader Benjamin Disraeli who suggested the idea of the "imperial union" which might help Britain to maintain her position as a firm against her rivals in case of losing the imperial role. Joseph Chamberlain also supported this idea suggesting that a union with the colonies would help to reestablish the economic and social conditions at home (Llyold 88).

Furthermore, the period of high nationalism and anti-colonial pressure along with the emergence of new ideas concerning the abandonment of the colonies, which were believed to become a heavy burden, prompted Britain to rethink the relation with her empire. Hence, a number of ideological and political visions that prevailed the new British model of democracy rose. Additionally, it was prevailed that the British Dominions had always asked for greater role, equal status and more rights for decisions making, not

cutting the entire relations with Britain. This fact changed the future character of the empire, especially after the Anglo-Irish treaty which called for " a co-equal of the community of nations, forming the British commonwealth of Nations" under the free association of equal partners"(88).

Moreover, the ties between Britain and the commonwealth were characterized by a relation of kinship, economic cooperation and the facilitation of accession to each other's markets. This clarifies the weakness within post-imperial Britain which used to be the possessor of " the empire where the sun never sets". Britain was obliged to degrade from the position of the conqueror and search for new peaceful ways to deal with her former colonies in order to protect the remaining interests that had relation with her ex-colonial possessions (88).

The objectives of the commonwealth aimed at preserving the world peace, encouragement of democracy and individual liberty, the pursuit of equality and the opposition of racism, the fight against poverty, ignorance and diseases in addition to the encouragement of free trade and sharing the benefits of globalization. Most of the commonwealth countries have similar political systems either a Westminster or a democratic parliamentary. This intergovernmental organization grew to include 53 member states all shared democracy, human rights and rule of law values.

4.2 Decolonization Post-Colonial Social Troubles, New Challenges and Concerns

The fact that the British Empire was abandoned did not mean that it had left no traces. Both the colonizer and the colonized were affected by the dissolution of the British Empire. Britain left most of her colonies sinking in an "under-developed world". Concerning those who had run the empire, it was very hard for them to adapt to the new

lifestyle after the decolonization. Most of these people made from the empire an integral part of their world, which explains the feelings of frustrations and the dissatisfactions caused by the fail of their imperial emotional urges. Hence, a whole range of imperial supporters that was developed over the years in the service of the empire was left extremely unhappy. Some of these people succeeded to become familiar with the new situation and some failed. Others were pleased by holding their old empire with them into their private retirement. Some took their energy coming from their old imperial enthusiasm and put it into other sectors of public life, politics and industrial managements while many of the upper class people proved to be not interested in their imperial losses (Porter 335).

One of the most apparent aftermaths of decolonization were the successive waves of immigrants coming from British ex-colonies. A few number of white settlers who escaped what they saw as horrendous future, especially as many social ills were expected to be raised because of the chaos left after the imperial retreat, and around 123,000 of non-whites entered the United Kingdom between 1955 and 1957 fleeing the hard conditions at home. The new settlers' presence angered the native urban population, especially among the working class who had not benefited from the empire while it had been alive, but bore the most unpleasant results of its dying legacy. A multi-racial Britain was one of the main results of the decolonization. Furthermore, the loss of the empire had a deep effect on Britain's national morale, Dean Acheson, a former US secretary of state expressed her dissatisfactions from the British morale status after submitting the Empire, notifying that " Britain lost an empire and not yet found a role" in 1962, this indicates the hardships that faced Britain following the first years of decolonization. The trouble was that the empire had dawn Britain's role for long periods of time and it was really a difficult challenge to find alternatives. This fact did not only affect her part in world affairs, but also the public views about their nation. It seemed that without the empire, Britain possessed no clear

sense of national identity. That is why many efforts were undertaken to create a positive non-imperial national identity based on "tolerance" and "coexistence" (336).

Furthermore, because of the successive waves of immigrants who moved to Britain from her ex-colonies after the decolonization, racism was directed at colored people and grew to be a constant problem in Britain from the 1950s onwards, resulting in two kinds of legislative reactions - immigration controls and anti-discrimination laws- which had never succeeded in removing this problem completely. Additionally, a strong wave of Anti-European xenophobia emerged within the new immigrants who became a part of the British society, and was seen on two major levels; among young thugs on the streets and the terraces of continental football stadia, and on the conservative Anti-European community right. In this way, imperialism history became a scapegoat for many social ills that afflicted Britain during the 1960s and 1970s.

Many scholars viewed that with the end of the empire, a great part of the British consciousness gradually disappeared, especially among the young generation which have not witnessed the heyday of the British imperial role. The imperial disintegration resulted in the loss of the global status and raised a big challenge to the old ideas and values that were shaped from the imperial culture. The loss of the territorial empire had its own echoes of denial and nostalgia. These responses were clearly seen in popular culture and the refusal of a multiracial society especially after the increase of migration from the new commonwealth. The British society seemed to fail in confronting the imperial past. In fact, a Gallop Poll organized after the submission of the empire revealed that, even though the British people were distant and unaware about their empire, they remained proud of it, and a great part of the population seemed to regret its demise. The Gallop poll recorded a kind of high "imperial afterglow" which can be described as a strong belief that the empire had always been successful and beneficial to both Britain and her colonies. This can lead us to

determine that even if the old imperial holding had become a hazy memory, still the idea of the imperial supremacy and the myth of the benevolent empire existed, with the ability of defining the national identities (Bush184).

A large number of empire's supporters seemed to be worried about how the British national identity, history and culture should be defined in postcolonial Britain. This fact resulted in the construction of many museums among which we can mention the British Empire and commonwealth museum. It was located in Bristol; a city of a strong relation with slave trade and empire. Here it is apparent that many imperial advocates were highly concerned about the loss of the imperial knowledge and the disappearance of the story of empire that they believe was highly linked to the national consciousness. Many scholars like Neil Derbyshire claimed that the history of the British Empire can never be separated from that of the British society; this is why the museums' founders wanted to present a clean history which can picture the greatness and the essential humanitarianism of the British empire (185).

4.3 Economic views' change within Britain after the decolonization and government's reactions

There was no escape from the painful fact of economic weakness after the decolonization. It was obvious that Britain would face many economic changes after submitting her colonies and the emergence of the US and the USSR that occupied the economic scenes (Darwin 20). Britain was obliged to hurry on the process of decolonization so to create a wider role for the Sterling by moving towards convertibility by the mid 1950s. Britain shifted the direction to get profit from the new opportunities in the international economy. In fact, it was believed that convertibility would create more

occasions for the nation's trade, and that these steps would make a victory over the powerful dollar. Actually, after the abandonment of her colonies, and the rise of new important industrial economies around the world, exporters found less difficult ways to sell their goods and services in Europe and the United States than in poorer countries of the empire and the commonwealth. So, the focus of Britain's economic activities shifted from the empire towards Europe as a result of intensive individual business in Europe and the United States.

Furthermore, the years that followed the decolonization phase proved that Britain's future international economic policy could no more rely on the colonial component or on the commonwealth. It was perceived that Britain could get profits from the new opportunities existing in Europe and avoid the possibility of being weakened by the United States only by taking new economic steps with her colonial neighbors. Additionally, by the early 1970s and after losing the imperial power, Britain faced the possibility of becoming "once more nothing but an insignificant Island in the North Sea" or returning to the "Pin Point", the only solution was to become a member of the EEC that intensified competition in the domestic market. Simultaneously, Britain's problems were becoming worse because of the rapid inflation connected with the OPEC price rise. The post-imperial crises resulted in the emergence of the Thatcherite conservatives with their forceful mixture of strong nationalism and free market economics; they perceived that Britain's economic troubles could come to an end by encouraging the unhindered work of market forces. Post-imperial governments, namely Thatcher's one viewed that the excessive public expenditures limited the private investment and the strict control of money supply would end any threat of inflation and industrial revival. Competition for financial business grew to be more violent around the 1970s, mainly thanks to the computer revolution that really succeeded to make from the British markets international. However, Tokyo and New York became more

frightening rivals. In fact, in 1979, the Bank of England faced unexpected shock caused by the amount of national business transferred to other centers. Britain reacted in 1986 by putting a series of reforms named "Big Bang" into practice, which aimed at removing the restraints and take restrictive measures on stock exchange. These reforms encouraged numerous foreign firms to turn their attentions towards London, and rapidly occupy the position of dominant force in the market. As the strength that was originated from the imperial basis disappeared, Britain faced a relentless pressure for greater economic unity, for financial integration and the creation of a single currency. These tensions resulted in a mess within the Thatcherite conservative party in 1990. Britain then became a great center for multinational business and finance, her most powerful institutions are mainly based on American, Japanese and European capital even if the local expertise are the first source of reliance for these institutions. All In all, we can say that the empire has sunk leaving a remarkable trace behind, the British business and political life changed , but the nation quickly adapted and continued to survive (Cain , Hopkins 640- 44).

It is undeniable that the disintegration of the British Empire and the decolonization phase had deeply resulted in the regression of Britain at first. However, the lion-hearted country succeeded again in imposing itself within the international order. After many struggles, Britain recapitulated her lost hegemonic position to make her new strong steps towards power and influence.

4.4 Positive effects of decolonization on society

Historically, the British social conditions' development coincided with the Second World War epoch. Millions of people joined the job market in military sectors, created by the war industries and the general conscription. These changes strengthened the working

class, namely the labor party presided by Clement Attlee who legislated favorably for better people's living conditions.

After the decolonization and by 1970s, Britain marked a great prosperity and national development. During this phase, a welfare campaign improved the lives of most citizens, especially the working class which was the most beneficiary of reconstruction programs undertaken after the submission of the empire (Farhat 80). For instance, unemployment disappeared and Britain sought to receive immigrants from the former colonies that contributed in the building efforts. Therefore, a great colonial work force entered the country to create a fast-rate population. Henceforth, in the 1960s, Britain planned for an expansion of prosperous working class through the rearmament programs that strengthened the economy and increased the wages for employees. These financial increases also contributed in improving social life and material comfort. In this way, construction companies delivered between 300,000 and 1,000,000 new houses per year. Furthermore, the years that followed the decolonization witnessed a new policy of encouraging individuals to acquire shares in individual enterprises. The purpose was to make from the capitalist culture, " a common man's asset" and not only an upper or middle class privilege. In fact, the concept of the " the affluent society" rose during the period, and it reflected the new efforts to improve the living conditions enabling ordinary citizens to be endowed with profitable jobs, luxurious houses as well as make savings. Moreover, the post-decolonization British society was well known for the phenomenal explosion of imaginative creativity in the culture and the arts field. A best example of this was the increasing development in new fashion of dressing, and the rejection of the old conservative habits. Hence, the emergence of fashion designers who cooperated with each other in this field, targeting the young generation. Concerning the arts' fields, the country witnessed a great revolution of musical styles and entertainment outlets, especially those of

"the pop groups" and "the rock n' rollers". Naturally, these general developments worked against the inherited unchanged family types and the church's static teachings of the past; precisely their strict control over individual lives, emotions and creativity. In another sense, they paved the way for new life styles and the freedom of thinking under what was known as "the counter culture" artistic revolution (81).

4.5 New methods: Britain's Engagement with the New International Order

If " The British empire is best understood not as territorial phenomenon but as the grand project for a global system" then, it becomes clear that Britain's relentless attempts to influence the international affairs were not weakened by the formal decolonization. The process of decolonization was a mere recognition that the new global order resulted from the second world war aftermaths is no more suitable for the maintenance of such expansive empire reinforced by military power. Britain perceived new interests through " the protection of an international system that had been at the forefront of creation" and through joining new organizations as a key member such as General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) (Vale 2012). For example, creating the commonwealth was no more but a revival of " the old and hated empire in disguise". Additionally, many historians like Tomilson (2007) argued that the British empire kept an attachment to the past interests mainly through the commonwealth first, then by the entrance to the European Economic Community which signified the notion of modernization and the hard trials to save the British economy from the decline. Many other historians pointed out that Britain's attentions turned towards Europe and her new international engagements were resulted from the economic decline, but at same time were well-planned steps. A scholar named McGrew for instance claimed that the concentration of the British defense efforts within

the NATO can be considered as a worthy pragmatic step aiming at enhancing the British security. Other historians argued that Britain's most important strategic interests and the security of the British Isles lies on the European continent. Therefore, the membership in the NATO granted Britain an easy way to allocate her resources where the returns would certainly be raised.

The decolonization process obliged the nation to take more careful steps as far as her foreign policy is concerned. Britain had to share the spotlight with two main super powers, and make certain that any future step would need to be scrutinized to ensure its effectiveness; this procedure had lasted for a long period, and led to the shift towards Europe and the development of a close relationship with the United States. Moreover, these recent changes resulted by the decolonization's impacts and the rise of the informal empire made from the new stresses and competitions less harmful to Britain's interests. Also, we shall know that Britain granted independence to her colonies only when she was certain that the new governments and the ruling class created by the British power would help in the realization of its interests in the submitted areas. concerning this fact, Darwin who was another scholar suggested that " Britain's informal imperial policy was a last attempt to turn global politics to Britain's advantage and build a new British system to fight the uncertainties of the post- imperial world" (2012)

4.6 Informal empire as a continuation of pragmatism

Despite the fact that the British imperialism had ended, Britain never ceased to intervene in foreign affairs. This situation was referred to as "pragmatic imperialism". The period that followed the decolonization was characterized by special Anglo-American relationship and a very strong engagement with the European neighbors. These measures

were taken for the sake of enabling Britain to pursue the same old imperial interests without worrying about military and financial burdens of the empire. In fact, it was argued that the dissolution of the British Empire resulted in the spread informal, invisible empire. Many historians described the new situation as "neo-colonialism" which can be described as the political control practiced by a rich country over a poorer independent country or "the continued economic domination of newly independent territories by their formal imperial overlords". Britain seemed to worry about the future of her business even before the decolonization trend took root, Pollard (1909) described this situation by saying "The question for any time we can foresee is not whether the British Empire will live, but how business of the British Empire is to be carried on". It is argued that the post imperial Anglo-American relationship, the shift of interests towards Europe, in addition to the creation of the commonwealth of nation were the signs of the growth of the British informal empire which aimed at protecting the vital interests by using new means. Britain which used to have a very hostile relation with India sought to express the hope to establish a new special relation with her former crown's jewel. This strategy was carried by Britain in order to serve two purposes; the first was to make sure that the newly independent states would not become a new opponent through developing and spreading opposing ideologies, at the same time it aimed at keeping former colonies friendly to British ideas. Another example of the British pragmatism was the support of the foundation of the central African Federation in return for allowing Britain to get profit from certain amount of Northern Rhodesian Copper, which was important to British industry. The British encouragement to the birth of Central African Federation, which supposed to permit the gradual increasing of African political participation and granting the preservation of white hegemony, was evident when Britain withdrew its veto on the political union of the Rhodesians.

Britain, as any powerful country has always practiced the "realpolitik" before and after the decolonization. The typical example of that was her withdrawal from India which was the effective solution to recapture the order inside the mother country when the so called jewel of the crown became no more a heavy load on her shoulder. So, the economic interests resulted in the acquisition of territories, and these last could be given up when nothing worthy seemed to be gained or lost. In fact, many historians pointed out that decolonization removed many threats on the British business and presented new development opportunities to the country (Vale 2012).

Britain has also been pragmatic concerning her intervention in other nations. For instance, she avoided to intervene when Muammar Kaddafi deposed the Libyan Monarchy as a result of a military coup in 1969, mainly because the new political regime was considered as a powerful shield which would preserve the United Kingdom's interests in the region. Similarly, Britain did not intervene when Idi Amin undertook a coup in Uganda, which aimed at deposing Milton Obote's government. Britain's neutral position raised from her financial interests rather than the violation of the human rights (2012).

4.7 The United Kingdom Entry into the European Economic Community

After the decolonization and in October 1961, the British Prime Minister Macmillan undertook a series of negotiations, which aimed at securing Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. Many personality welcomed Britain's approaches, hoping to build a real European economic security. The negotiations continued successfully for a year. However, in 1962 a "special relationship" was developed with the United States. For security reasons, Britain sought to buy a sky bolt nuclear tripped missile system from the Americans in order to strengthen its position in Europe. The French

president Charles De Gaulle saw this step as a big opportunity to develop the Anglo-French military cooperation, while Britain found it a great occasion to reduce the military ties with the United States as she possess a quiet similar power now. Macmillan instead perceived to develop closer British-European relations only in terms of economy. The French government announced its intention to veto the British application to join the European Economic Community. However, De Gaulle was convinced that the post imperial United Kingdom was endowed with strong political and military power inside the Atlantic circle which prevented France from using the Veto right. Moreover, in October 1964, the labor government stood against the British membership in the European Community because of their strong belief which considered the British community as a "Capitalist Club" which should strictly avoid socialism and prevent it from progressing. In July 1966, George Brown the labor party deputy leader became a foreign secretary; he succeeded in convincing the prime minister then the Cabinet of the worthiness of the United Kingdom membership in the European community. In May 1967, Britain introduced the second attempt, negotiations lasted for almost a year before being stopped in 1968 because of the "Soames affair"; a conversation between the British ambassador to Paris sir Christopher Soames and general DE Gaulle held during a private dinner. De Gaulle clarified that France would encourage the British entry to The European Community if it meant the reduction of European reliance on the United states, the encouragement of free trade, and more powerful global role for member countries. But when the details of the conversation were leaked to the federal German leadership and the rest of the European Community was governments were informed. They revealed their worries about the British membership which might be a "Trojan horse" with the intension of damaging the community from within. The result was the condemnation of the second British attempt to join the community (Louis 140).

The turning point in Britain's relations with the European Community was the resignation of De Gaulle from the presidency in 1969. After this incident, most of the head members of the community expressed their new favorable position to the British membership. Between 1971 and 1972, series of treaties were signed to confirm Britain's entry to the European Community on the first of January 1973.

On the first January 1973, the United Kingdom joined the European community (EC). As it is known, Europe had never ceased to play a crucial role in the British history while Britain had never stopped to influence the course of European history. Britain's presence in the first and the second world wars is the typical example of this fact. Britain had been always involved in European affairs. However, the United Kingdom's membership in the European Community is a special important change.

Since 1973, Britain developed new positive ideas about joining the United Europe, and that can be explained by the end of the old British world role, the decline of the territorial empire, and the belief that the post-imperial Britain survival lies on the European future, despite this, it is undeniable that there were many opponents who did not perceived to follow the same path. In that sense, Tony Blair pointed out " We always come back to the same dilemma: in or out of Europe. To be in or out of Europe, that is the question". Tony Blair revealed also his positive views about entering the European Community by saying" we have always chosen to be in". Actually, he tries to reconcile the traditional view of the European continent as a source of tensions with more recent faith in Europe as a source of security, opportunities, and so forth.

Moreover, after the Second World War, it became clear that the British special relationship with the united became unbalanced. It was also revealed that the commonwealth became no more a source of reliance. In Europe, divisions caused by the

cold war pushed Britain to think about membership in an influential union that will enable her to maintain the homeland peace and secure her interests through diplomacy. The chancellor of exchequer Macmillan once argued that "the world is divided into the Russian sphere, the American sphere and a United Europe of which we were not a member". This explains Britain's entrance to the European community avoiding by that the diplomatic isolation (Mioche, 257-265).

	British exports to EEC (%)	British imports from EEC(%)
1935-8	21,7	18,6
1948	16,7	13,1
1954	21,5	18,4
1960	20,9	20,2
1071	29,3	29,9
1979	41,8	43,1
1983	43,8	45,6

Figure 2: Percentage of British export to and imports from the EEC

Source: Louis Roger, Imperialism at Bay p 150

In this table, it is demonstrated that the British trading relations with the EEC developed gradually especially after the Second World War and during the period of decolonization as Britain started to involve itself within the European Community.

	1955	1965	1975	1984
Exports to W .Europe + USA as % total exports	34,2	50,5	56,3	70,5
Exports to OSA as % total exports	49,2	34,8	22,3	13,2

Figure 3: Percentage of British Exports destined for selected areas; 1955-84

Source: Louis Roger Imperialism at Bay p 119

In this table, it is clearly shown that the British total exports to Western Europe, the United States and the Organization of American States had emerged gradually after the Second World War and during the Decolonization phase. This can be considered as a result of British entrance to the new international order and the increase of interests towards Western Europe and the Unites States.

Conclusion

The British Empire which used to be a great unchallenged force, diverting the history of both Britain and her colonies was dissolved by 1960s. The impact of decolonization on Britain was clear, especially after the disintegration from the empire to the commonwealth in an attempt to protect the remaining interests within the British ex-colonies. The first years that followed the decolonization resulted in a big disturbance within the British society that seemed to consider the empire as a source of proud and national identity. The disintegration of the empire resulted also in the rise of racism, which was directed at colored people. Furthermore, the first years of decolonization

brought a kind of economic weakness to Britain, which seemed to react by shifting towards the international economy after experiencing the usefulness of the commonwealth. The loss of the British Empire had also its positive effects on Britain, which tried hard to recuperate the previous influence by giving more opportunities to creativity within the working class, turning towards engagements with the new international order and building an informal empire that aimed at controlling the foreign affairs of other nations. Britain also succeeded in forming the European Economic Community after it became clear that the survival of post-imperial Britain lies on the European future.

General conclusion

The history of colonial Europe has witnessed that the British Empire was noticeable, exceptional and very rich of its overseas holdings. It was the largest empire that the world had ever seen. The current dissertation is mainly addressed to demonstrate the rise of the British imperialism. As we have seen, the British first conquests went back to the consolidation of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. After this incident, Britain started gradually to pave the way for the early overseas expansions, which developed later into imperialism. Economic reasons and monopoly companies, political urges, search for influence in addition to the ideological reasons; namely the White Man's Burden and the Manifest Destiny mainly motivated the British imperialism. The British first empire is believed to be located in North America or what is known as the thirteen colonies. The first empire's foundation was the result of early attempts to exploit new territories. However, Britain's tendencies were not limited to exploitation, but emerged because of the harsh competition with other European rivals. After the end of the Napoleonic wars and thanks to the power provided by the industrial revolution and the great naval force, Britain gained an unprecedented imperial supremacy. After the loss of the American thirteen colonies, Britain's interests were driven towards new types of imperial tendencies; this led to the construction of the second empire that reached its peak during the Victorian era. Over the course of the late nineteenth century, following the Second World War and many other successive events, the British Empire confronted a new phase of disintegration, which made from the decolonization an inevitable option that could be taken after the colonies became a heavy burden on Britain's shoulders.

It is also agreed that after 1945s, the supervisor of the international order had lost the previous prestige and authority in parallel with the submission of the empire. Many historians attempted to figure out logic reasons behind Britain's withdrawal from the

empire. As our first hypothesis indicates, the views were divided between internal factors and external ones, encompassing colonial awareness and international pressure. Actually, it is not possible to explain the end of the British Empire by one cause. Throughout the research, it was clearly explained that different historians have attributed its end to the death of domestic desire for maintaining colonies, the unpleasant conditions and the results of the Second World War. Moreover, the socialist visions that appeared after the rise of the labor party by 1945s reduced the British imperial role and changed the direction towards social reforms and domestic interests. Another prominent factor that resulted in the disintegration of the British Empire was the explosive waves of anti-colonial nationalism, the colonial enthusiastic mood and the eagerness for independence and self-governance. Additionally, the contradictions that rose in Britain concerning colonialism played another crucial role in the dissolution of the empire. In fact, many perceived that it is no more beneficial to keep controlling such widespread empire because of the economic weaknesses caused by the Second World War's destructions in addition to the successive economic crisis. Also, after the Second World War, the United States became clearly a source of financial reliance to Britain. This resulted in an economic stagnation caused by the loans, and therefore the reduction of overseas expenditures and granting independence to the less important colonies to save the mother country.

Additionally, the Suez Crisis created another factor that led to the British imperial retreat. The canal that was a secured route to India and a facile way to get access to the Mediterranean was lost. This event created many tensions at the level of international relations. Britain was opposed by both of the US and the USSR and prevented from entering a war with French and Israelis against Egypt in an attempt to recapture the Suez canal again.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain had completely surrendered her overseas colonies. The process of withdrawal seemed to affect the nation. In fact, during the first years of decolonization, Britain suffered from a regression in status. As it is suggested in our second hypothesis, Britain undertook an effort to guard the remaining interests within the ex-colonies, she sought to give the imperial presence another form and cooperate with her lost colonies by founding a new commonwealth of nations. This indicates the weakness within the post imperial Britain which degraded from the position of preeminence and started searching for pragmatic solutions like the maintenance of interests within the ex-colonial holdings. Also, the first years that followed the empire's dissolution were characterized by the spread of frustration feelings and dissatisfactions within the British society. Additionally, remarkable waves of violence were resulted from the rise of racism due to the large number of immigrants coming from Britain's ex-colonies. British society also seemed to suffer from a lack of strong national identity after the loss of the empire. The decolonization had its special effects in changing economic views. Britain's economy which was limited to investments within the colonial space shifted the direction towards the international economy, mainly western Europe and the United States.

The abandonment of the empire has also its positive effects both on Britain and on her submitted colonies. This can be perceived through British contributions' in reproducing democratic political systems and bringing some notions of progress including education within most of her colonies; namely India and Africa. Concerning Britain, it can be remarked that after the decolonization, the British working class became endowed with great national rights because of the government interests in national matters. This in fact led to the spread of creativity within Britain and the improvement of social life. Britain also sought to search for new methods to regain the previous position in the international

order by joining different organizations as a key member, engaging with European Community, and developing a kind of "pragmatic imperialism" through the indirect influence and control of foreign affairs especially over poorer countries.

In short, we can say that it is true that Britain gained a lot of power and influence thanks to the huge colonial possessions, and that the loss of the empire which was caused by internal and external factors led to the regression of the United Kingdom following the first years of decolonization. However, Britain had successfully dealt with the new status, learning from the previous gaps, and making from the post-imperial weaknesses a base for the recuperation of the lost position within the global order.

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Résumé

La Grande-Bretagne était considérée comme le plus grand empire de l'histoire coloniale européenne. Soutenue par la flotte navale la plus puissante au monde, elle a pu vaincre ses plus grands concurrents européens et prendre le contrôle sur la majorité des routes commerciales stratégiques. Durant cette époque, l'Empire britannique représentait la principale source de gloire et de richesse. Cependant, les premiers indices de crise économique n'ont pas tardé à apparaître vers la fin du 19ème siècle, notamment après la 2ème guerre mondiale. Ce déclin a coïncidé avec l'émergence des pays du tiers monde. Ce travail vise à décrire l'âge d'or de l'Empire britannique, les différentes politiques adoptées ainsi que les multiples méthodes de gouvernances vis-à-vis de ses colonies. Par ailleurs, ce mémoire tend à expliquer les diverses raisons qui ont conduit à la détérioration et la dégradation de l'empire et à l'affaiblissement de son pouvoir d'influence. Ce document présente également plusieurs explications sur les raisons qui ont poussé la Grande-Bretagne à renoncer à son grand empire et à abandonner ses ambitions impérialistes. En outre, cette étude met en lumière les répercussions de la régression de l'Empire britannique sur la patrie et les mesures prises par le gouvernement pour récupérer son positionnement international.