

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789**

Among the greatest events in human history is the French Revolution of 1789. The French Revolution brought about profound changes in the political history social and economic of the western world never witnessed before. It marked the end of the monarchy and the old privileged aristocracy and ushered in the beginning of a new state. The new state was led by new men from unprivileged class many of these men had had no political influence during the times of the Monarchy. This revolution did not only affect France, but more worth. The revolution brought hope for better especially the poorer classes in Europe and it brought terror and fear of destruction to the privileged classes, the princes and Kings of Europe. Europe in the 18th century had a stratified social system which had rigid pattern of orders and groups. At the top of these strata was the monarchy. In the case of France at the bottom of the strata were the commons who included the peasants and the middle class also re-known as the bourgeoisie, who made the third estate.

Next from the bottom came the nobility. This was the second class or estate. From this class the Monarch got government officials and senior army officers. This class was divided into subordinate castes. At the top of this class were the nobles of the sword.

### **CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789**

One of the major causes of the French revolution was the despotic nature of the Bourbon kings. For many years the government of France was largely managed by one man. Originally a kind of parliament known as the Estates general which was made up of the common people, the clergy and the nobles' representatives had existed and had met at irregular intervals. This Estates General had however fallen into disuse since 1714.

From then, the kings exercised absolute power. The King was the state. He did what he wanted without fear or any restrictions.

He could throw men into prison, without having them tried, using royal orders called letters de cachet. He prevented criticism of his actions by implementing strict censorship of the press and through clamping (restricting) freedom of speech.

The second cause of the French revolution was the character of the government of France at the time. There was confusion in almost every department. New agencies had been established often totally disregarding those already existing. This often caused much overlapping of functions leading to many useless officials getting's salaries from the government. There was inefficiency, corruption and wastage in every aspect of the system.

In financial matters, issues were equally bad. The government has no budget, accounts were rarely kept and there was no demarcation between the national treasury and the king's account. Even the collection of public revenue was chaotic. The king used the old Roman system called tax farming for the collection of taxes. This was a system where private corporations and individuals were permitted to collect revenue from the peasants after having paid a stipulated down payment. The excess was the profit of the tax farmer. This gave the tax farmers the leeway to extract as much profit as they could from the peasants. In the judicial system, similar chaos existed. Nearly every province had its own laws based upon local customs. There was no uniformity of the laws of France. This was a great bother to the business community who often crossed borders of the various provinces of France in their transactions.

France also got involved in the costly wars of the time. The first of the wars of the time that France got involved in was the seven year war (1756-1763). This war was fought during the reign of Louis XV. In this war France and Austria were struggling for colonies against England and Prussia. France was overwhelmingly defeated and forced to surrender her colonial possessions in Canada and India. In this war France lost lands and her leading position in international affairs to Britain. The seven years war also caused financial challenges to the government of France. The war had been paid for by loans got by guaranteeing the victory of France. Therefore French defeat in the seven years war left France in devastating need for funds and increased French expenditure in order to strengthen her navy against the superior British forces. The only way out was for the King to charge new taxation in order to get out of this bad picture. When Louis the XVI came to power he followed his grandfather's footsteps. Louis XVI involved France in yet another costly war. This was the American war of independence 1775-1783. France got involved through supporting the 13 colonies in their attempt to get rid of the British. In 1778 Louis XVI intervened in the American war of independence despite France being heavily in debt. The heavy costs of maintaining large fleets and armies far away in America for more than three years made the French treasury completely bankrupt. It was partly because of the great need for money to meet the debt burden, which led to the quarrel between the king and other estates leading to the calling of the estates general sparked off the French Revolution of 1789.

The system of privileges or classes entrenched in the French society of the Ancient Regime was one of the major causes of the French Revolution of 1789. France before the French Revolution of 1789 was divided into three classes known as Estates. The first class was made up of the clergy, those who prayed for the nation; the second class was made up of the Nobles, those who defended the nation; and the third class; the common people or peasants; those who worked to maintain the nation. The first estate or class included two different ranks; the higher clergy and the lower clergy. The higher clergy were made up of the cardinals, the Archbishops, the bishops and the abbots. The lower clergy were composed of the parish priests. All the clergy were supposed to be members of a privileged group. However there was a wide gap between the two groups of the servants of God. In most cases the lower clergy were often as poor as the peasants. This was why they often sympathized with the common people. In contrast, the higher upper clergy lived lavishly at the king's court.

They were about 1% of the total population of France yet they owned 20% of all the land in France. They owned castles, paintings, gold and expensive jewels. Their incomes ran into hundreds of thousands of Francs. Most of these prelates spent more time on earthly matters than on religious issues. Some of them helped the king in political matters by aiding the king in maintaining his absolute rule. Many of these men of God were corrupt they neglected their duties, they were vicious and very domineering that people were convinced that the church as a whole was rotten to the core. Many people were convinced robbing the people and squandering the resources of the nation.

Below the church men were the nobles also called the second estate. The nobles were also divided into two ranks. At the top of the noble class were the nobles of the sword. These got their titles through hereditary inheritance from the feudal leadership role of their ancestors. Some of them lived in the urban centres. These were the most affluent. The less affluent nobles lived in the country side. Below this rank came the nobles of the robe who got their title through their immediate ancestors. Their ancestors had acquired some judicial office which gave them a title of nobility; i.e. the robe. The robe is the judges or magistrates gown. The nobles of the robe were commonly despised by their brethren the nobles of the sword, yet they were by far the most intelligent and progressive of the two upper classes, their ranks included the reformers and those who played prominent roles in the revolution of 1789. Among them included famous men like Lafayette.

Montesquieu and Mirabeau. It was the nobles of the sword, who were really privileged among the nobles. Combined with the higher clergy they took up the leading posts in government while leaving the bulk of the work to their subordinates. They owned large estates, they resided at Versailles and they used tax farmers to extract enough from the peasants to make them live in luxury at Versailles, they enjoyed privileges, the greatest being exemption from paying taxes. They were parasites who lived by enjoying what wealth the others had labored hard to produce.

At the bottom of the strata were the common people. These were the people who did not enjoy the privileges of the clergy and the nobility. These people were categorized as the third class or estate. This class embraced a broad range of the French masses. It was by far the largest group embracing the bourgeoisie or middle class and the workers of both the cities and the rural areas. Most French peasants went through the same obligation placed on them by the monarchy and the privileged classes. The peasants were obliged to pay the tithe to the church, land taxes to the state and rents to the land lords. The peasants were confused with a wide range of taxes. They were required to repair roads and serve in the army. Even harvest and sale of property were also taxed. In addition there were indirect taxes like that on salt called the gabelle. The peasants were also forced to take loans to survive from one harvest to another which loans were repaid at high interest rates. Such was the situation of the peasants who staggered and collapsed under all the obligations placed on him by the system of social classes. Many peasants as a result were forced to leave the land and wander the country – side looking for odd jobs. Many became beggars to survive. Peasant women looked for employment in towns and cities in order to send money back home to support the struggling relatives.

Children's also went to town to look for employment to help the family. Such was the disruption of family life by the end of the eighteenth century. The third class included the bourgeoisie, those members of the middle class who lived on income from investment. These members also included various professionals like bankers, financiers, businessmen, merchants, entrepreneurs, lawyers, shopkeepers, doctors, and craftsmen. Together with the nobility, the wealthy bourgeoisie were among those elites in the urban areas who administered the cities and town's. Many wealthy bourgeoisie bought offices that enabled them to move upwards into the ranks of the nobility of the robe. The bourgeoisie had serious challenges that caused them discontent. They were almost totally excluded from the government of France. They wielded no political power despite the fact that they were wealthy and educated. In the army, they had no prospects for promotion as the commissioned ranks were reserved for the nobles. The merchants and industrialists also had economic grievances. France's involvement in the American war of independence 1775-1783, the bad financial management, the luxury at the king's court and corruption had led to a situation where government expenses exceeded government income. To meet the hard situation the government raised huge loans from the nobility, the bourgeoisie and from the church. The national debt increased as a result and this worried the bourgeoisie as to whether the government would ever be able to repay the loans and interests accruing on the loans. With all this financial chaos the nobles refused to surrender their privileges clinging desperately to their exemptions from paying taxes; thereby adding to the woes of the king.

The Catholic Church was another institution that caused discontent to the French people. The Catholic Church was the official recognized church of France. There existed other forms of the protestant faith in France but these were not recognized by the law. It was only the Catholic Church that was allowed to practice publically. The education system was largely under the supervision of the Catholic Church. This Catholic Church in France was a state within a state. Many great French writers found a lot of literature to write about criticizing the monopoly of religious power by the Catholic Church in France. Great French writers like Voltaire demanded complete religious toleration. Within the Catholic Church there existed an intolerable despotism. The church was dishonoured by the earthly gains and practices that bedecked its leaders. The higher clergy frequently occupied well paid political posts in the government. At their palaces the bishops lived in luxury like that of the royal court and nobility. The majority of these bishops did not live in their dioceses. They spent most of their time in pleasure hunting. It was the parish priests who remained in the country side doing the day to day ministering to the people, yet they were not even allowed to retain the local tithe for their own upkeep. The Catholic Church owned enormous wealth in land property which aroused the envy of both the commoners and the bourgeoisie in France. The church owned one fifth of all the land of France. It received a yearly income of 500,000,000 francs yet it spent only some 30,000,000 francs to maintain hospitals, schools and other institutions, throughout France. Most of the income of the church went to the higher clergy who included 134 bishops and arch bishops, abbots, canons and a small number of other dignitaries. The total number of these church officials did not go beyond five or six thousand in the whole of France. There was a lot of free spending among the higher clergy that the whole nation was shocked at the extravagance of the church. These excesses of the church gave the freethinkers of France food for thought to share with the people of France and Europe at large.

The great French thinkers of the time did a lot to enlighten the French people about their rights. They wrote plays, novels, histories and popular books about science, religion, morality economics, politics and education. Through these books they enlightened the people about the idea that mans own powers could lead him to salvation. They preached with conviction the principles of freedom of thought, freedom of religion and political freedom. The philosophers were intellectual giants who wrote a lot about the virtues and vices of society at the time.

### **VOLTAIRE 1694-1778**

He was the most influential French Philosopher. Through his dramas, novels, histories and letters, he preached freedom of thought. He denounced cruelty and oppression in all its forms. He attacked the Catholic Church and Christianity in general for their excesses. He attacked religious intolerance and denounced the laws which only allowed Catholicism to be the public religion. He talked against all the injustices in French society and by the time of the revolution many nobles had began realizing the injustice they were causing to the peasants. In 1726 voltaire was exiled to England where he lived for some years. In England Voltaire was free to say what he wanted without being beaten or imprisoned. Instead he was treated with great consideration. In 1734 he published his famous book called “letter on the English” He praised the religious tolerance in England and the lack of privileged nobility like that in France. Later on he wrote about the English freedom of the press and the system of justice where there was trial by jury. He exaggerated the situation in order to attack the status quo in France, When Voltaire died in 1778 most of the people of France had stopped believing in the Devine Right of State or church or king to impose any control over the thoughts of men.

### **J.J ROUSSEAU 1712-1778**

Jean Jacques Rousseau expressed his basic ideas in his famous book “the social contract”. In this book he reasoned that the general will of the people should be the ruling force of society. His theory of social contract” simply stated that people give their acceptance to the existence of kings and governments on condition that there was a social contract between the kings and governments on condition that there was a social contract between the kings and the people in which the kings ruled by the peoples consent. That the people were free to break this contract if the kings and governments did not keep their side of the contract, which was to protect and to promote the interests of the people.

In al his works, Rousseau denounced the bad conditions in France. He argued that society was organised in a way that the few corrupt people had all the privileges and power while the majority of the people, who were mostly simple, honest, kindly and virtuous, lived in subjection and slavery. He argued that no man could justly be deprived of in natural rights and liberties without his own consent. He believed in reforming the existing system rather than abolishing it. In 1762, after the publication of the social contract” Rousseau was forced to leave France. For eight years he lived in exile, wondering and died in wretchedness. His contribution to the revolutionary spirit was that he enlightened the French men about the corrupt, bad and dictatorial system of government in France.

## **MONTESQUIEU 1689-1755.**

Montesquieu was mostly concerned with the limiting of the power of the monarch and reducing the privileges of the nobility. To him anything that reduced the absolutism of the kings was welcome. He divided all forms of governments into Republics, Monarchies and Despotisms. To him each had their own spirit. He believed that Republics had virtue and Moderation (limitations); that Monarchies had honour; and that Despotism had fear. For Montesquieu, good governments were ones where powers were separated, and checks and balances existed within the institutions of the state. Montesquieu saw Monarchism as the only realistic form of government but he argued that for a monarchy to be successful, it needed a strong and independent aristocracy to restrain its tendency towards corruption and despotism. He based his arguments on the case of Britain, which he praised as the only state in Europe in which liberty resided. In his works, he criticised the bad moral in Paris, in France and European religion. He explored how liberty could be achieved and despotism avoided. He based his arguments on the case of Britain, which he praised as the only state in Europe in which liberty resided. In his works, he criticized the bad moral in Paris, in France and European religion. He explored how liberty could be achieved and despotism avoided.

The influence of England. The thought of the great thinkers was derived from their impression of England. They saw the English institutions and life as being better, than those in France. In deed life in England was in many respects better than in France. During the 18th century many French bourgeoisie imitated the English dress and manners. Even the nobles wore English fashions which made them indistinguishable from the commoners. English news papers circulated among educated Frenchmen. There was also a political club in Paris which was set up on English lines but this was suppressed in 1731 because of the political topics that were being discussed there. The French people admired the English form of government, The British monarchy was constitutional. In this system power was shared between the monarchy and the ruling elite through the institution of parliament

Central government integrated Monarch and ministers, with chosen representatives from the localities. This integration provided the king with the vital information necessary to formulate National policy. This eased acceptance and enforcement of government decisions. The government was therefore seen as rule of law which was believed to operate for the benefit of all. The parliamentary system gave Britain solve of its particular strengths; the government was headed by the kind who was a constitutional monarch and not an absolute monarch like in France. The political power of the British Monarch was limited by law. The Kings powers (prerogatives) and the subject's rights were clearly defined after the revolution of 1688. The British parliament consisted of three separate organs; Monarch, Lords and commons. These three functioned together in order for the parliamentary government to operate. Each however existed separately as a check upon potential excesses of the others. The English people got on very well with this form of government. They defeated the French in three wars, tool away the French colonies and became the leading colonial and commercial power in the world. After 1763 many French men began to wonder why England always defeated them in war. They also wondered if France would not be better off if she adopted a system of government like that of England. The



writings of the philosophers did much to make the Frenchmen think so. Through their books the Frenchmen learned to think well of the English form of government and desired the Englishmen's political liberties. This seriously contributed to the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789.

When Louis XV died in 1774 of small pox, he left the throne to his unprepared twenty year old grandson, Louis XVI (1774-1792). Louis XVI was a young man who preferred amusing himself in hunting and pursuing his hobby as an amateur locksmith. At the tender age of twenty, he was helpless to manage state affairs. His helplessness to manage the state of affairs is exhibited when statements attributed to him are quoted,

“It seems as if the universe is falling on me”

He is again quoted to have said;

“God, what a burden is mine and they have taught me nothing”

( Mahajan V.D History of Modern Europe since 1789 pg 22)

Shy and Awkward as he was, he could not chair council meetings. He was therefore a failure when the country was confronted with a host of challenges that needed a strong willed leadership. He did not have the interest in leadership of the state. This is shown when he tells Melesherbes on Melesherbes resigning from his post: “How fortunate you are. I wish I could resign too.” (Mahajan V.D. History of modern Europe since 1789 pg 22)

Louis XVI lacked the ability to make personal decision. On most occasions he was influenced by his unfortunate advisers, the nobles and especially his wife Marie Antoinette who was hated by almost the whole of France. Louis XVI involved France in the American war of independence which increased the bankruptcy of France. This war opened the eyes of the French populace to the injustice in France committed by the absolute monarchy. Louis XVI misused the state funds and failed to undertake the kindly needed reforms in the country. He signed a free trade treaty with Britain (The golden treaty of 1786) which treaty opened the gates of France to British goods which were superior and very cheap thereby flooding France with Cheap British goods. This influx of superior cheap British goods seriously affected French industry which could not compete against the cheap British goods. This annoyed the French bourgeoisie who reacted by calling for the removal of the king and the monarchy.

Louis XVI failed to control the literature of the philosophers which literature spread critical ideas against the Ancien Regime. This was contrary to his predecessor who censored the press thus controlling the damaging literature. He allowed the middle class to access this damaging literature and the middle class in turn used it to discredit the monarchy. The last blunder which Louis XVI made, which was inevitable due to the precarious economic situation was the calling of the estates general meeting in May 1789. He failed to control, and failed to offer practical solutions to the problems of

his aggrieved people during the meeting there by letting loose the people to take issues into their own hands leading to the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789.

The queen of France, Maria Antoinette's character, greatly contributed to the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789. Maria Antoinette was the daughter of Maria Theresa, the Empress of Austria; she married Louis XVI when she was 14 years old. The object of her marriage to Louis XVI was to unite Austria Hungary and France into a bond of friendship.

At the age of 19 years she had become the Queen of France, the most prosperous state in Europe; She was strong willed and had a power of rapid decision. She also had a spirit of initiative. Unfortunately, she was lacking in wisdom and judgment. Having been born in a royal family, she could not comprehend the point of view of the commoners. She was extravagant with money, she was proud, not patient and fond of pleasure. Her reputation sank so low when it was reported that she dismissed the suffering of her starving subjects with a heartless remark;

“ Let them eat cake”

When the peasants demanded food from the king. She was the chief advisor to Louis XVI yet she was a foreigner who did not understand the temperament of the French people. She misadvised Louis XVI to dismiss the reformist finance ministers Turgot and Necker. This enraged the Frenchmen. She was a reminder to the French of their humiliation in the seven years war. She was the leader of those greedy people who were totally opposed to all reforms. Marie Antoinette was therefore a liability to the French. She was unpopular with the nobility, the middle class and the peasants because the king relied heavily on her for policy matters. Marie Antoinette's activities made the French Revolution of 1789 inevitable.

The bad financial status of France at the time was another cause of the French Revolution of 1789. The wars of Louis XIV had upset the finances of France. By the time he died the financial situation in the country was precarious. He advised his successor Louis XV to improve the financial situation and not to get involved in wars. Louis XV did not take heed of his grandfather's advice. He took part in many wars among which were the polish war of succession, the war of Autrian succession and the seven years war with Britain. When Louis V died in 1774, he left his successor Louis XVI with a disastrous financial deficit. Right from the beginning of his reign, Louis XVI was faced with a vicious circle of excessive spending by the state. Much of this spending was in the military. This was followed by heavy borrowing at exorbitant rates which required the state to pay huge interests on the loans. These forced the government to get tied down in a vicious circle of borrowing to offset the loans in order to get more. That was the state of affairs when Louis XVI made his own contribution to the bankruptcy of the state Louis XVI involved France in the American war of independence 1775-1783 by supporting the thirteen colonies in their rebellion against Great Britain. The involvement in the America war brought the French Monarchy to near bankruptcy. More than half of the state expenditure in the 1780s was going to repay the interest on loans taken to pay for foreign military ventures.



State bankruptcy was also brought about by the poor tax system of assessment, and collections. This bankruptcy created deplorable conditions which made society ungovernable. There was corruption in all the spheres of society. Bankruptcy disabled the state to meet its obligations to the people. Bankruptcy angered the masses who bore the burden of taxation. Government came up with unpopular economic policies like the imposition of unfair taxes and the free trade treaty with Britain due to the bad economic situation. It was bankruptcy that created the conditions which the economists, the encyclopaedists and the philosophers criticized. Above all it was because of the insolvent economic situation that the king was forced to summon the Estates General meeting which sparked off the French Revolution of 1789.

Natural calamities also had their share in the sparking off of the French Revolution of 1789. Through by 1780's the number of peasants without land was increasing. Matters were made worse by the bad weather where all the rivers were frozen. All the ports of France were frozen that ships could not sail in and out of France. Prices of food stuffs rise as it was difficult to bring in goods. Every morning women would stand in lines waiting to buy food.

When the Monarch Louis XVI failed to solve the problem of French bankruptcy in 1788, he was forced to summon the Estates general to meet in May 1789. In the Estates General he was to say what should be done about the debt burden and the taxes. Louis XVI decision in July 1788, to summon the Estates General, which had not meet for 175 years was a sign of acceptance of defeat of the crown, by the three classes of the lay the peasants, the ecclesiastical – the clergy and the judicial aristocracy – the nobility. The privileged classes had hoped that in the estates General meeting the traditional method of voting in the estates General ie voting by order (class) and not by head, would make them prevent the radical reforms that the finance ministers were trying to implement. They would also keep the peasants subjugated by their victory over the proposals of the king. With this in mind they resisted all attempts to reduce their privileges rendering the calling of the Estates General inevitable which in the end resulted in the French Revolution of 1789.

## **THE EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION (COURSE)**

The three years prior to the calling of the Estates General in May 1789, give a good picture how the King, Louis XVI, Was driven from one experience to another, in order to raise revenue until he was compelled to summon the Estates General in May 1789. It was the financial crisis, aggravated by other factors that forced Louis XVI to call the long defunct Estates General to meet in May 1789. His various attempts to raise additional revenue to overcome the deficit, brought about opposition, revolts and demand to summon the Estates General, The oppositions demand, that of the Paris Parliament to the king to Summon the Estates General, brought even greater pressure to the King.

By 1788 Louis XVI was such a desperate man that he accepted to convene the Estates General. The Estates General was a medieval parliamentary organ, modeled somewhat like the English parliament. The Estates General, it was thought, would advise the king, Louis XVI, as to how people wished the financial crisis to be solved.

Much excitement was generated when the King, Louis XVI, announced the convening of the Estates General for 5th May 1789. Each class had its own complaints and demands. The privileged classes complained because the king threatened their privileges. The peasants complained because the King was still permitting special privileges. However, all the classes were convinced of the fact that France was badly governed, and therefore wished to see reforms.

Immediately the delegations from the three estates met, there developed disagreements over the method of voting. Originally, each of the classes, the clergy, the nobles and the commoners, voted as a class of its own. The custom in the old days was each estate to sit and vote in their own room. The nobles and clergy wished to follow this old practice. On their part the deputies of the third estate wished to use a new practice, where all the deputies would sit in one room and vote as a one assembly. This conflict of interest lasted for eight weeks. If the Estates General sat as three separate assemblies, then no action could be adopted if it was not approved by a majority of the deputies of each of the three assemblies. This would make the clergy or the nobility to block any reform which would deny them of their privileges. On the other hand if the Estates General sat as a single assembly measures would be decided by a simple majority of the whole Estates General. Remember there were 1214 members of the Estates General. Of these 308 were chosen by the Clergy, 285 were chosen by the nobles and 621 were chosen by the Third Estate. Being more numerous than the clergy and nobles combined, the third estate would have a better chance to adopt the reforms they desired even if the clergy and nobles opposed them, if all the three estates sat as a single assembly.

### **THE PROCLAMATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.**

After a month of wrangling, the third estate on June 17th passed a resolution proclaiming itself the National Assembly. They argued that since they represented 96% of the French people, they alone were fit to make a constitution. They invited the members of the privileged orders to join them. Indeed within two days a majority of the clergy went over and a few nobles followed suit. The king then intervened. He ordered for the holding of a royal session very soon. Without informing the deputies of the third estate the Hall was closed for repairs in preparation for the King's address.

### **The Tennis court Oath.**

On the morning of 20th June 1789, when the deputies of the 3rd Estate assembled at their hall, they found its doors locked and guarded by troops. Convinced of the support from the masses, the commoners and their friends, withdrew to a nearby hall used as a riding academy and a tennis court. There under the leadership of Mirabeau and Abbé Sieyès they swore an oath not to separate until they had drawn a constitution for France. This Tennis court oath on June 20th 1789 is looked at by many historians as the real beginning of the French Revolution of 1789. The Estates General by claiming the authority to remake the governments in the name of the people, was protesting against the arbitrary rule of Louis XVI and asserting its right to act as the highest sovereign power in the nation.

## **THE ROYAL SESSION OF JUNE 23RD 1789.**

On June 23rd 1789, the King assembled all the deputies to a meeting to be directly addressed by himself. This is what is known as the Royal session of June 23rd. He intended to give the delegates his decision. He declared that what the 3rd Estate had done turning themselves into the National Assembly- was illegal and unconstitutional. He then gave his order for the three estates to meet separately for the discussion of all important matters. The king and the privileged classes then left the hall thinking that they had defeated the 3rd Estate. This was not so. The members of the 3rd Estate refused to leave the hall. The King then sent his master of ceremonies to tell them to leave. They assured the master of ceremonies that they would never leave except of the point of the bayonet. The master of ceremonies reported to the king all what the 3rd estate delegates had said. The king took matters lightly. He just told them to remain if they wished.

On June 24th 1789 more than half of the deputies from the clergy – parish priests, - left the clergy and joined the 3rd estate. On June 25th 1789 forty seven nobles followed the example of the clergy and joined the 3rd Estate. On June 27th 1789 Louis XVI himself accepted the situation . He ordered the deputies of all the Estates to sit as a single body. This marked the end of the Estates General and was replaced by the National Assembly.

If the King of France, Louis XVI, had resigned himself to the trend of events in France, the court nobles and the members of the Royal family were not prepared to accept the situation. They were bent on defeating the National Assembly by force or threat of force of arms, these people feared that the National Assembly, being controlled by the deputies of the common people, would deprive the king of his powers, and the nobles and the clergy of their privileges. They, therefore, urged the king, Louis XVI, to use the army to threaten the city of Paris, dissolve the National assembly and that way end the revolution before it did more harm. The king accepted the advice and gathered an army of about 30,000 soldiers in and around Paris. With the army in place, he on 11 July 1789, he dismissed his reformist finance minister, Necker and other ministers, who opposed the king's plans. News of Neckers dismissal reached Paris and trouble started immediately. The people of Paris did not approve of dismissal of Necker whom they considered their popular finance minister. The people saw in this action the king's determination to suppress the National Assembly. Matters were made worse due to the fact that there was scarcity of food stuffs in the city which made many people to be easily taken up by the speeches of young Desmoulins who called upon the people to resist soldiers.

## **THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14TH 1789**

The hungry people of Paris were more than ready to defend the National Assembly. Joined by many of the Kings soldiers, the crowds looted the bakeries, the wine shops and broke into the city Hall, where they acquired guns and gun powder. Many middle class people joined them at this juncture. They then turned their anger to the Bastille, which was considered to be the symbol of the Ancient Regime.

On July 14 1789 early in the morning the Bastille was attacked. The prison guards were quickly overpowered and they surrendered only to be murdered by the angry crowd. Seven common criminals were liberated from the prison and the people began demolishing the thick walls of the hated prison. The capture and destruction of the Bastille was looked at as a triumph of liberty in France. It was looked at as the symbol of the down fall of tyranny. The fall of the Bastille had profound impact on the situation in France. Every where in France the people elected new local councils in the people elected new local councils in the towns and in the country side. The old court system were swept away.

The nobles property, the monarchical records were destroyed and property was looted. The army officers were no longer able to control the soldiers. In this situation, the National Guard was established to protect the people and their gains, they declared July 14th a national holiday and a new flag was adopted for France. The new flag has three colours of Red, white, and Blue ( the Tricolour). This new flag now replaced the old (white) royalist flag. The first emigrants from the reactionary nobles, led by a brother to Louis XVI, the count d' Artois ( the later Charles x), were as a result of these profound changes. These changes later led to foreign intervention and war between France and the rest of Europe.

### **The Decrees of 4th August 1789.**

While the peasants protests were going on, the National assembly was sitting at Versailles. It was discussing the new constitution. When reports reached Versailles that peasant protests were increasing the National Assembly appointed a committee to report on the matter, on August 3rd the committee reported its findings. The National Assembly after receiving the report, decided to suspend the process of constitution making in order to deal with the peasants protests. Fearing that the peasants would soon refuse to pa the feudal dues, some two members of the nobility suddenly rose in their places and suggested equality of taxation for all and the ending of many of the feudal obligation of the peasants . Many clerical deputies and mobility deputies suggested other various reforms. In the end the National Assembly combines these various proposals in thirty decrees. These decrees swept away the whole system of feudal dues. It also declared the old taxation system illegal.

The national Assembly had intended to make only a political revolution but it ended by making also an economic revolution, a social revolution and a religious revolution. This was because the Assembly had created another grave problem for itself, which problem was the payment of state taxes. The assembly had authorize I the payment of taxes to continue but the taxes now fell away drastically. The government has soon to take desperate measures to gain revenue in other ways, due to the fact that it had been suddenly deprived of a large part of its revenue.

## **The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen Charter on 27th July 1789**

After the issues of 4th August, the National Assembly took up once again the issue of making a constitution for France. The deputies agreed that a declaration of the Rights of man should be included in the constitution of France as an introduction. The rights of man and of the citizen was modeled in some part after the English Bill of Rights, had the influence of the American ideas and also the teaching of liberal political French philosophers.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man declared that property was a natural right of man, as liberty and security. Man also had the right to resist oppression. For one to be deprived of any things, it had to be in public interest and after equitably having been indemnified. There was to be freedom of speech, religious, toleration and liberty of the press. All the citizens were to be treated equally before the law and no one to be imprisoned or punished unless it was according to the law. That sovereignty was to reside in the people and officers of government would be tried if they abused their powers. It specifically dealt with the civil rights that concerned the middle class deputies, Equality of all before the law, eligibility to public offices by all citizens, freedom from arbitrary arrest or punishment, freedom of speech and the press, an equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation and security of private property.

When the Assembly came to the issue of the powers of the king that serious trouble began. Many of the nobles wanted the king to have the right to veto any laws while the other deputies preferred the king to have the veto power only in delaying a decision for six years but not longer. When the deputies voted over the issue, by 673 against 325 it was agreed that the king should only have the power to delay a decision for six years i.e. a six year suspensive veto.

## **The March of the Women of 5th October, 1789**

The state of things in the city of Paris was not good. The price of bread was very high, because of the many people who had moved from the country side to Paris, and many wealthy employers who had deserted Paris. Matters were made worse when news reached Paris that the king had refused to accept the decrees of 4th August abolishing feudalism and had also refused to sign the Declaration of the Rights of man and the citizen. The people of Paris blamed all this on the king because of being influenced by the nobles at Versailles. News also reached Paris that at a banquet at Versailles, the kings body guards had insulted the tricolor flag, and the constituent Assembly. At this critical moment, the women of Paris, on the morning of 5th October 1789 six thousand women of Paris marched out of the city and moved towards Versailles. They forced their way into Hotel de Ville where they got arms and pulling a canon along with them, they headed for the kings palace. They were taking their problem to the king with demand that he solve it. Their aim was to get the king to order the shops to reduce the price of bread. They also wanted the king to order for the punishment of those officers of the kings body guards who insulted the tricolor. On the way they were joined by

a horde of men dressed like women. Later in the day, Lafayette, a popular hero of the American war of independence and commander of the National Guard sympathized with the women and led the Paris National Guard to Versailles to intercede on their behalf. He reached in Versailles only to find that the women had already invaded the assembly and demanded a decree lowering the price of bread. They also already sent a delegation to the king demanding that he orders the reduction of the price of bread. Early the next morning, October 6th 1789, when the women were tired of waiting and cold from waiting all night at the gates of the palace, they found an unguarded door, and they rushed into the palace. They straight away attacked the Queen's bedroom. Marie Antoinette managed to escape just before the crowd of women broke into the bedroom. In anger, the women thrust their pikes into her bed. They killed several members of the king's body guard whom they accused of having insulted the Assembly and the tricolor.

They decapitated them and mounted their heads on the pikes. Shocked by the women's action, Louis XVI agreed to return with the crowd of women to Paris. On the afternoon of the following day, in the mud and rain, headed by the National Guard with wagons full of wheat and flour followed by cheering women, the king Louis XVI and his family and Lafayette, made their way into Paris from Versailles. This procession also included a hundred deputies chosen to represent the Assembly. Now the king Louis XVI was a prisoner of the Revolution. Ten days later the Assembly moved from Versailles to Paris. In Paris the clubs, the pamphleteers and the orators now got more involved in the affairs of the Assembly.

### **The Civil constitution of the clergy of July 1790**

The decree of 4th August brought about the complete breakdown of the old system of taxation. This left the government without funds to meet the expenses of the state. The great wealth of the Catholic Church had already been discussed in the Assembly. During the Ancient Regime the higher clergy had been a privileged class. They rewarded the king for his favours by supporting his absolute rule. Due to this support the church had come to be seen as an instrument of oppression and greed just like the monarchy itself. In November 1789, accordingly the National Assembly resolved to confiscate the church lands. They aimed at using them as collateral for the issue of paper money called "assignats". This paper money – the assignats were sold by the government to gain the revenue necessary. The issue of the "assignats" was one of the cleverest steps taken by the National Assembly. They guaranteed the people of their lands. If the clergy and the nobility returned and claimed their former land then the power of the "assignats" would be destroyed. Therefore every holder of the assignat endeavoured to regain their power. This meant that indirectly every holder of the "assignat" became a supporter of the revolution from the economic point of view. The national Assembly then embarked on the secularization of the church. It enacted a law known as the "civil constitution of the clergy" which provided that all bishops and priests should be elected by the people and should be subjected to the authority of the state. The clergy were to be paid salary of the government. They were required to swear allegiance to the new rules. The people of Rome were to have no powers to change the election results of the clergy, or to change any matters ordered by the government. This



law reduced the salaries of the upper clergy and increased the pay of the parish priests. The aim of the National Assembly was to make the Catholic Church in France a national institution with less control from the pope.

The pope outrightly condemned the civil constitution of the clergy. He forbade any bishop or priest to accept it. The result of the popes order was that the clergy in France were divided into two groups. One group accepted to sign the civil constitution of the clergy and these became known as the “juring priests”. Those who refused and stuck with the pope were known as “non-juring priests”. Most of the non-juring clergy fled the country. Others remained and united with the reactionary nobles in resisting the whole revolutionary programme. These were known as counter revolutionaries.

### **The flight of the King to Varennes , of June 1791**

By 1791 most of the nobles and clergy and many of the people in France had become counterrevolutionary. They had come to regard the revolution as a dangerous movement which, if allowed to continue, would overturn everything in France. They feared that the condition of anarchy would easily be created. They wished therefore to stop the revolution and give back to the king his former powers and to the nobles and clergy the privileges they formerly had. The king himself was one of the counter revolutionists who wished to suppress the revolution, But how was he to do it? In July 1789 he had tried to use the army to dissolve the National assembly and Paris had risen in a rebellion by forming a National Guard to counter the army. Even many of the kings troops had joined the people. On October 6th 1789 the king and the court had been partly forced and partly convinced by Lafayette the woman and the National Guard, to come from Versailles and reside in Paris. In Paris he was virtually a prisoner of the mob carefully watched and with no troops that he could rely on. He was made to sign the law for the civil constitution of the clergy much against his will. This was a humiliation to him, to oppose the pope, being a devoted catholic. It was this situation which determined him to make an effort to escape from France. He hoped to join the “émigré” forces over the frontiers of France. His hopes were focused on his brother in Law, Leopold, the emperor of Austria. With the help of foreign force he would return to France and remove all the changes initiated by the National Assembly. He would then impose his will on the people.

A plan was then made for the king, Louis XVI, to run away from France to Austria. On the night of June 20th 1791, the King, the Queen and their children got quietly into a coach, moved out of Paris stealthily and drove rapidly away on the road to Metz on the border with Austria.

The king never reached the army of General Boville, the Kings Travel arrangements had been previously meant for one person, the king only. So a small and fast coach was made for the scheme. But the Queen insisted that she had to travel along with the king and their family. So a large, comfortable but slow coach was secured for the comfort of the royal family's escape. People in the little towns where it passed wondered who the dignitary was travelling with such pomp. Every where suspicion was aroused until at one town someone recognized the king. Finally at Varennes, the king and his family

were stopped and detained.

Meantime back in Paris the National Assembly had discovered the royal family's escape and had sent some officers on their trail to arrest them. The officers caught up with the royal family at Varennes on June 21st and presented the decree of arrest to the king, Louis XVI. The king and his family were brought back under strict guard to the city of Paris. They were taken back to palace at the Tuileries, where they were put under strict watch until the National Assembly could decide what to be done with a king who had ran away.

### **The New constitution of September 1791**

The flight of the King greatly affected the affairs in France. It made other people more bolder while it frightened the others. Some people like Danton and Madame Roland thought that since the king had shown his determination to crush the Revolution, he would no longer be trusted. So they proposed that the king be deposed and a Republic be put in place in France. Others were afraid of a republic and preferred to find some way to make the king accept the revolution. Out of this conviction the National Assembly decided to revise the political constitution, on which they had been working for two years. They hoped that the king would find it more to his liking. They also decided that while they were revising the constitution the king should be deprived of his duties and would be kept under guard. For two months the National Assembly was engaged in revising the constitution. They then presented the finished copy to the king on September 14th 1791. The king on that day came before the National Assembly and read a letter, in which he formally accepted the constitution. On September 30th 1791, the National Assembly was dissolved. The following day, the new Legislative Assembly provided for in the constitution of 1791 convened. In the new constitution the king was retained but given a six years suspensive veto. He was now a constitutional king to be guided by the laws of France. The new assembly was to consist of 745 members.

The system of election adopted was the indirect system. All those men over twenty five years, and paying state taxes equivalent to three days labour, and enrolled in the national guard were to be "active citizens" it was these active citizens who were to vote for electors. The electors would in turn elect the members of the Assembly. So even after the flight of the King to Varennes the Assembly was still prepared to accept a constitutional monarchy. However the king was deprived of the control he had formerly exercised over the army, the church and the local government. The king's ministers were forbidden to sit in the Assembly the king himself was denied of all power to veto (the six years suspensive veto) which veto could be overridden by the votes of three successive assemblies. The revolution seemed to be over.

### **The Radical stage of the Revolution;**

In 1792, the French Revolution entered a second stage. This stage lasted for two years. This in many ways: this stage was different from the first stage in many ways: the first difference was that France

was now a republic. On the tenth of August, the legislative assembly voted to suspend the king, it ordered the election of a national convention to be done by universal man hood. This convention was to draft a new constitution for France. Soon afterword Louis XVI was charged with the offence of plotting with the enemies on January 21st, 1793 Louis XVI was guillotined.

The second stage of the Revolution also differed from the first stage in that it was dominated by the lower class. The revolution was now not directed by the conservative members of the bourgeoisie. The extremists of Paris were the ones now responsible for guiding the movement.

The other difference was that the second stage was more violent and bloody than the first stage. This second stage witnessed the execution of the king, the September massacres (1792) and the reign of Terror .

There were many factors that explain the transition from a moderate, middle class phase to a stage of radicalism and turmoil. The first factor was the disappointed hopes of the working class the proletariat. In the beginning the Revolution had raised hopes of equality and justice for every citizen. The declaration of rights had particularly raised the hopes of the common man. Unfortunately, after more than three years of social and political upheaval, it was still very hard for the urban worker to earn his bread just like it had been before. Another disappointment that the common man discovered after the adoption of the constitution of 1791 was that he was not even allowed to vote. It dawned on the common man that he had only changed one set of masters for another. It was such realization that made the common man vulnerable by the preaching of extremists who promised them heaven on earth.

The other factor that brought about this radical stage was the momentum of the Revolution itself. Every movement generates an atmosphere of discontent where some men tend to feel more revolutionist than others. Such people are dissatisfied no matter how much the revolution has achieved. Such people will denounce the leaders of the revolution in its early stages, even more than they will denounce the previous regime. Such people will go all the way to cause chaos and to slaughter as many people as possible in order to fulfill their ideals. They would murder their closest associates the moment they disagreed with them. Such politicians contributed to the transformation of the revolution from the tranquil stage to the violent stage.

The outbreak of war between France and her neighbours greatly contributed to the violent stage of the revolution in France. The French Revolution of 1789 raised goose pimples among the reactionary rulers of Europe. The fear was particularly strong in Austria and Prussia. Here the emerges or French royalists had taken refuge. They were urging the monarchs of Europe that there was a danger of the Revolution spreading to their countries. They were urging the monarchs of Europe that there was a danger of the revolution spreading to their countries. They advised these leaders to intervene and crush the revolution in France before it could spread. In addition to the role of the Emigres, the Queen of France, Marie Antoinette was a sister to the Emporor of Austria. She was making appeals to the

Emporor of Austria to come to the help of her husband, Louis XVI, to reverse the Revolution. In response the Austrian and Prussian rulers, in August 1791, made the Declaration of Pilnitz. In this declaration they vowed to restore order in France and said that the rights of the Monarch in France was a matter that interested all the rulers of Europe. The French men interpreted this declaration as a declaration of the foreign monarchs with the intentions to intervene in France. It created various reactions from the various circles in France. The moderate factions expected that a military success would increase the peoples support to the new regime. On their part many of the radicals were looking at war secretly hoping that the armies of France would be defeated and France and the Revolution would be discredited. A republic would then be set up, and the gallant French soldiers would then turn defeat into victory. They would in turn export the fruits of the revolution ie freedom to all the oppressed peoples of Europe. These considerations forced the assembly to vote for War on April 20th 1792.

The death of Mirabeau delt a big blow to compromise in France between the revolutionists and the monarchy. Mirabeau had travelled a lot in his youth. He had as a result acquired a lot of experience. Mirabeau was a moderate who did not agree with the extreme views of the Jacobins. He stood for compromise between the Revolutionists and the monarchy. He was the only man who could have brought about a compromise between the National Assembly and the royal court. After his death, there was no other person to shoulder his responsibilities and lead both the people and the king.

Matters were made worse when the king attempted to escape from France and seek foreign help. This attempted flight of the king created fear throughout France. People feared the possibility of a civil war and a possible invasion of France by foreign powers. Outside the Assembly, the radical political clubs demanded that the king should be deposed immediately. These radical clubs and political parties contributed a lot in the converting the peaceful revolution that started in 1789 into a violent stage that consumed many peoples lives. Among these radical clubs included the Jacobins. This was the second important party in the Assembly. These were the most extreme revolutionists in their political views. They were extreme radicals who ultimately became republicans. Their leader was Robespierre. The second group of this party was known as the Girondinists. Their foreign policy was based on war. In the later years the Girondins overthrew the monarchy and executed the king.

In 1792, France got involved in a war with Austria. This war led directly to the fall of the Monarchy, the establishment of a Republic in France, the execution of the King and the Queen, and the infamous Reign of Terror, the Girondins believed the Revolution was not yet complete. They suspected that the king and queen were conspiring with foreign enemies of the Revolution. They also knew that most of the former clergy and Nobles (émigrés) were camped in Austria and Prussia ready to invade France. Other Emigres lived in foreign capitals of Vienna Berlin, London and St Petersburg. All these forces were counterrevolutionists who were working for a revolution against the Revolution. So the Girondins feared that unless the Revolution destroyed the counter revolution, the counter revolution would destroy the Revolution. With this fear and belief in mind, the Girondins welcomed war when it broke out with Austria in April 1792.

The Brunswick manifesto, a document dated 25th July, and signed by the Duke of Brunswick, a Prussian General, commanding the foreign forces invading France, excited and irritated the populace of France. This Manifesto declared that the emperor and the King of Prussia were invading France for the purpose of suppressing the Revolution against the French King. The document commanded all Frenchmen to submit to the invading armies. It threatened to treat any body who resisted as rebels. The manifesto threatened the people of Paris that should they resist, they would be shot down without Mercy, and that their rebellious city would be destroyed. The Brunswick manifesto produced the opposite of what it was intended to achieve.

It was meant to terrify the people of Paris but instead, it proved to the Parisians that the King, Louis XVI, and his wife were conspiring with the enemies of France for the purpose of suppressing the Revolution. This manifesto hardened the people against the reactionaries. They organized an insurrection on August 10th 1792. They replaced the city government with a new organ called the commune of 10th August. They also got control of the national guard, after which they attacked the king's palace, the Tuileries. The people then demanded that the National Assembly should depose the king. The king was deposed and kept prisoner. A provisional executive council of which Danton was a member was given the duty to manage the state affairs. A new Assembly, meant to decide the fate of the king was elected soon. It met on 21st September 1792 and operated until 26th October 1795. This was the National Convention. It was this National convention that abolished the Monarchy, established the Republic, executed the King, Louis XVI, organized the "Terror" and defended the French Revolution ( France) against the hostile European powers.

On January, 15th 1793, the convention voted unanimously that the king was guilty of treason against the nation of France. When the vote was taken on the question whether the king should be put to death 334 deputies voted against killing him and 387 deputies voted for his death. On January 21st 1793, Louis XVI was put to death.

The killing of Louis XVI convinced the Monarchs of Europe of the danger that France was to Europe. The convention had conquered Belgium; it had killed the King and had declared war on Kings and called upon all peoples against all kings. The governments of Europe were now convinced that something must be done to suppress the dangerous French Revolution.

It was this fear that led to the formation of the first coalition of European governments against France. England was the first country to join Austria and Prussia in a coalition against France. The imprisonment of Louis XVI, the conquest of Belgium and the execution of Louis XVI alarmed and horrified the English people. On January 22nd 1793, the English broke off all relations with France. Then on 1st February France declared war on England. France was now at war with four countries; Austria, Prussia, Holland England . The aim of the first coalition against France was to dissolve the National convention, restore the monarchy and enthrone the young son of Marie Antoinette as the new Monarch of France. The convention found itself being invaded in 1793 by the joint armies of

Europe on all fronts. The Austrians had defeated General Dumouriez and reconquered Belgium. The Prussians recovered Mainz and the left bank of the Rhine. The English fleet took the French port of Toulon and the Spanish army crossed the Pyrenees into southern France.

Mean while the National convention was faced with serious internal rebellions. The counter revolutionaries were a serious threat to the convention government. The Girondins had also joined the counter revolutionaries because of a bitter and irreconcilable conflict with the Jacobins. For nearly nine months the convention was faced with conflict between the Girondins and the Jacobins. It was the Jacobins with the support of the paris people who forced the execution of the king. Later they accused the Girondins of supporting the monarchy. This was because many Girondins had voted against the killing of the king. The Girondins were then expelled from the the convention. Twenty two of the leading Girondin deputies were expelled .

The removal of the Gerondist deputies from the parliament left the Jacobins in full control of the National convention. To consolidate their power, the Jacobins made another constitution in June 1793. This constitution of the first French republic but it was never put in use. This revolutionary government was known as the goverenmt of the terror and was directed by a committee of public safety appointed by the convention.

## **THE REIGN OF TERROR**

In October, 1793, the convention declared that “the provisional government of France is revolutionary until the peace” This government known as “the government of the terror” was directed by a committee of Public Safety appointed by the convention and only answerable to the convention. Between September and December 1793, the National convention gave official permission to three forms of Terror.

- (a) Political terror directed against the Feullonuts and all counter revolutionists
- (b) Economic terror directed against financial speculators and food hoarders.
- (c) Religious terror directed against organized Christianity.

To suppress all opposition, the famous law of suspect was passed in September 1793. To deal with the suspects, the revolutionary tribunal was created. Between march 1793 and july 1794, the Tribunal sentenced to death about 2600 people. Many of these people like Marie Antoinette, were enemies of the Revolution. Others had been good revolutionists but had fallen out with the Jacobins. Others had been good Jacobins but had annoyed the committee of public safety many of these people had never got into politics but were unfortunate to have been accused by a malicious neighbor. Whether innocent or guilty, many were put in prison. From the prison they were taken to the tribunal, from where they were taken to they were taken to the guillotine. Every day people gathered to watch the spectacle of the guillitone. The reign of terror was characterized by violence, imprisonment, torture



and anarchy. Many important people were put to death, people like King Louis XVI, the Queen, Maria Antoinette, madame Roland, Herbert Danton and his followers; Philippe egalite, the duke of Orleans who had voted for the death of King Louis XVI; and Robespierre the champion of the Reign of Terror. The reign of Terror claimed about 600,000 victims 70% of them were peasants.

The architects of the Reign of Terror were Robespierre, Danton and Herbert . These were the leaders of the Jacobin club. These men soon fell apart. Herbert tried to cause rebellion in Paris against the convention government in order to control the committee of public safety. People in Paris refused to support him and on March 24th 1793 Herbert and some of his followers were sentenced to death.

He was guillotined . After Herbert, the committee turned on Danton. Danton was one of the greatest men of the revolution. He was against the practice of guillotining so many people whose only crime was being suspected by the super patriots of the Revolution. He disliked the conflict between the Jacobins and the Girondins and disliked Robespierre. One day he pleaded for mercy for the imprisoned suspects. This did not go well with his colleagues who thought that public opinion might turn against them if Danton sided with the people. To save themselves the other leaders of the Revolution accused Danton of plotting with the royalists to restore the monarchy. Danton was tried in April 1794 and guillotined.

The death of Danton left Robespierre in full control of the convention government. For about four months, Robespierre was alone, the most powerful person in France. He introduced the new religion of liberty and humanity, and took the terror to its height. In June 1794 he introduced a new law of "Hurried Trial." Prisoners were tried in groups, they were condemned in groups and guillotined in groups. This method of introducing the new religion of the cult of the supreme being did not please the people. In the short period after June 10th 1794, 1376 people were guillotined. The surviving Girondists, the surviving Dantons and Herbertists organized themselves against Robespierre. They were joined by the various groups in the convention who hated Robespierre and feared for their lives. On July 27th 1794 the convention ordered for the arrest of Robespierre his most loyal followers. They were tried and guillotined on July 28th 1794. The guillotining of Robespierre ended the reign of Terror.

The death of Robespierre, however, did not bring to an end the Revolutionary government. (The convention). Public opinion turned against the "Terror" and also against the "Republic" since the republic was associated with the "Terror" As a result the convention in 1795 drafted a new constitution known as the constitution of the "Directory" it was under this constitution that France was governed until Napoleon Bonaparte took power in 1799. This new constitution provided that France was to be ruled by a board of five "Directors" The directory was to have two legislative chambers: the upper house to be called "the council of Ancients" and the lower house to be called "the council of five Hundred" The constitution of the Directorate was adopted in 1795. The convention feared that people might elect a majority of Royalist sympathizers to the two legislative bodies. This might lead to the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy. To prevent a return of the Bourbons the convention passed a decree provided

that in the first elections 2/3 (two third)s. This decree provided that in the first elections 2/3 two thirds of the members of the convention must be chosen from the council of Ancients and the council of five hundred. This decree very much annoyed the people of Paris that they organized an uprising against the convention. The people were supported by 30,000 troops from the National Guard. On its part the convention had only 4,000 soldiers. This insurrection on 13th October (Vendemiaire) 1795 brought on the scheme of France a new name formerly unknown. This new unknown man was a young artillery officer called Napoleon Bonaparte.

The man given the responsibility to defend the convention was one of the five directors, Barras. By acting on the advice of a young artillery officer by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, big guns called canons were placed in the narrow streets leading to the Tuileries gardens where the convention had its headquarters. When the rioters came to attack the Tuileries they were shot using the canons. Many were killed and many more were injured. That way the rioters were dispersed and the convention was saved. The famous insurrection of 13th Vendemiaire was ended that way. The man who had saved the convention was young Napoleon Bonaparte. This is what has been termed

“The whiff of grapeshot” on the 26th of October 1795 the great revolutionary assembly met for the last time. At two o’clock, the assembly passed its last decree declaring the mission of the National convention fulfilled and its sessions closed.

### **The Directory government.**

The convention was replaced by a new government by a committee of five called “The Directorate” The Directory government was made legislative chambers in parliament one was the council of peers which had 250 people and the council of deputies to have 500 members . The council of 500 would propose the laws and the council of 250 elders (ancients or peers) would approve them. To qualify to become a peer member, one had to be 40 years and above; and to become a member of the 500 deputies, one had be 30 years and above. The directory government had a model constitution which was based on the principle of separation of powers. The major aim of this constitution was to eliminate dictatorship in France which dictatorship had characterized the past French regimes, ultimately leading to the Reign of Terror. The five directors included men like Barras, Abbe Sieyes, Ducos who were to hold the chairman ship on a yearly rotational basis.

The directory continued to be bothered by the war against Europe. The French armies had managed to extend the war into foreign invaders from the French soil. They had annexed territories including Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. In an attempt to destroy the first coalition against France, the Directory appointed Napoleon Bonaparte to wage a war against Austria in 1796. Napoleon chose to start his campaign against Austria by attacking the Austrian forces in Italy. Napoleon defeated the Austrian forces in Italy, in the Italian campaign, and liberated the Italians from Austrian domination. He made the Austrians to sign the Treaty of Campo Formio by which France gained the Belgian Netherlands from Austria. France also gained part of southern Germany ( the Rhine lands while Austria gained

venice and promised never to interfere with France. The Italian campaign aimed at exporting the French Revolutionary catch words of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, to the Italians who were suffering under Austrian domination. After expelling the Austrians, Napoleon Bonaparte merged the Italian states into a republic which he called the cisalpine Republic .. This republic was composed of the Kingdom of Italy in the North and North East, the kingdom of Naples in the South, and the central Italian states. Napoleon Bonaparte introduced the French Model of administration in these states like the French code of laws the French system of taxation, the French system of land ownership and many other reforms modeled on the French system.

Napoleon Bonaparte's influence in Italy later helped the Italian patriots in their struggle against foreign domination after the 1850's.

By 1799 the government of the Directory had become very unpopular with the people of France . It had failed to control insecurity in France, corruption inflation and unemployment which had doubled in France. They had failed to consolidate on Napoleon's gains in Italy, had failed to reconcile with the Catholic Church and were disunited. This failure of the Directory to perform to the expectations of the French, led to its unpopularity, that when Napoleon Bonaparte returned from the Egyptian campaign in 1798 he was given a heroes welcome by the French people inspite of his failures in Egypt.

### **Achievements of the French Revolutions**

The French Revolution brought profound changes in France. The major achievement of the French revolution was that it brought about the collapse of the absolutist monarchy of Louis XVI. Louis the xvi and his royalist followers were overthrown and guillotined. After removing the absolutist monarchy, a liberal government was established. The liberalism which was brought was followed by a constitutional government. The French Revolution is called French because it was national. It was national because both the privileged classes and the third estate demanded a constitution and the established a new regime. A new regime in which individual rights were respected was thus established . The French revolution brought about the practice of equality of man before the law. Without this, the liberty which was given in the constitution would have become another privilege of other powerful citizens. For the French people of 1789, liberty and equality were one. They were almost two words for the same thing.

In the political arena, the French Revolution brought about the idea and practice of representative government and popular sovereignty. This was an essential contribution of the French Revolution to the evolution of the idea and practice of modern democracy.

Socially,, the French Revolution through the Jacobin constitution of 1793, brought forward the idea and experiment of equality by law. At the same time it brought about the abolition of rights by birth. The rights of man which was proclaimed included; freedom of worship and labour. The French revolution that way, brought forward the idea of a modern welfare state.

In the economic field, the French Revolution brought about the abolition of restriction on trade. Further more land was distributed to the middle class. This was particularly during the period of the reign of Terror 1792-1794, when laws were passed to free the peasants from feudal dues and to give them land.

The French Revolution led to the emergence of the bourgeoisie in government and their rise in society. Thermidor (Robespierre's death) marked the recapture of political control by the bourgeoisie. During the Reign of Terror it was this class who controlled the communes and the Paris section assemblies. For instance the constitution of 1795 was largely worked out by the bourgeoisie.

### **REVISION QUESTIONS**

1. To what extent was the bankruptcy of French Monarchy responsible for the outbreak of the 1789 French Revolution?
2. "The Catholic Church was responsible for the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789"  
Discuss.
3. How far was the weakness of King Louis XVI of 1789 responsible for the outbreak of the French Revolution?
4. Discuss the causes and the effects of the Reign of Terror of 1792-95.
5. Discuss the significance of the following major events in the course of 1789 French Revolution.
  - a) Storming of the Bastille on the 14th July 1789.
  - b) The calling of Estates General Meeting on 5th May 1789
  - c) The Declaration of the Rights of man and Citizen Charter.
  - d) The 1790 Constitution of the Clergy
6. Why was France at war With the rest of Europe in 1792 -1799?
7. Examine the strengths and weaknesses of Directory Government in 1795-1799.
8. Account for Napoleonic conquest of Italy in 1796 and show its significance in the politics of Europe.
9. Account for the collapse of the ancient regime in France by 1793.
10. Assess the achievements of 1789 French Revolution in the history of Europe
11. Assess the achievements in the 3rd stage in the Course of the French Revolution of 1795-1799.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **NAPOLEON BONAPARTE 1799-1815**

Napoleon Bonaparte is one of the people well known in the history of Europe. TO understand his significance in European history, it is necessary to learn something of his personal life and the part he played in the dramatic events before his rise to power.

His origin: Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio on the island of Corsica on the 15th August 1769. This was one year after France had taken the island of Corsica away from Genoa which was formerly part of Italy. This meant that Napoleon Bonaparte was born a Frenchman, and was therefore entitled to all benefits that accrued to the Frenchmen. He was a son of a proud but poor family that held a title of nobility from the republic of Genoa in Italy. In 1779 he entered school in Brienne in France and five years later he entered the military academy at Paris, where he acquired military skills and came out as an artillery officer and joined the French revolution of 1789 and the outbreak of foreign war against France, gave Napoleon chance to rise to power rapidly.

### **FACTORS THAT LED TO THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO POWER IN FRANCE.**

The occurrence of the French Revolution of 1789. The progress of the French Revolution and the subsequent wars fought against neighboring countries by the revolutionary government of France, gave Napoleon Bonaparte the opportunity to show his ability as a capable military officer. This in turn gave him chance for quick promotion from one rank to another as he successfully accomplished tasks given to him by the revolutionary government of France.

The revolution also promoted Napoleons chances since many of the officers of the ancient regime fled the country.

This brought about lack of efficient artillery officers opening the way for Napoleon Bonaparte to exhibit his ability and thus get promoted. By 1793 he was promoted to colonel Napoleon Bonaparte and given the task of expelling the British from the French port of Toulon. He did it with distinction. He was then rewarded with the promotion to the rank of Brigadier General. In 1795 he was given the task of defending the National convention against an uprising of reactionaries from Paris. He diligently did the work, In 1796 he was entrusted with the task of commanding an expedition against the Austrians in Italy. His successes in the Italian campaign made him a national hero in France, that his failure in the Egyptian campaign of 1798 was over shadowed by his earlier successes.



*Napoleon Bonaparte*



Napoleon's education at the prestigious schools of Brienne and Paris, meant for children of the clergy, exposed him for a better and brighter future. At school he showed seriousness and responsibility towards his work. The school helped him to get the capacity for endurance. At school he was placed among cadets from wealthy noble families making him socially inferior. This was because he was from a poor family background. This situation gave him the impetus for hard work especially as he considered his colleagues less capable than him. Though wealthier.

Napoleon Bonaparte's character greatly contributed to the rise of this great man to power. He had enormous energy, self-confidence, fearless and very resourceful. He had the ability to inspire confidence, through his oratory power, to all those who followed him. He loved his soldiers and they also did so. He is said to have had a wonderful memory that he remembered the names of his soldiers and regiments by heart. He had an unsurpassed genius for action and management. He always arranged things to the best advantage as desired and had some power that enabled him to impose his will on others. Napoleon Bonaparte was tremendously ambitious, with a lot of confidence in himself and always waiting for any opportunity to make himself known. These qualities made it easy for Napoleon Bonaparte to rise to power in France in 1799.

Among the factors for Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power in 1799 was luck. The Bonaparte family produced 13 children. 5 of them died during infancy and 8 survived childhood death. Napoleon's luck did not end there. He was lucky to have gone to the prestigious military schools where only children of the wealthy nobles went for education. Napoleon was also lucky to have escaped death during the reign of terror. He was arrested for his relationship with Augustine Robespierre, the young brother of Maximilian Robespierre, the organizer of the reign of terror. Napoleon Bonaparte was lucky only to be imprisoned and later released. Many other people who had associated with the Robespierres were guillotined. He was also lucky when he undertook the foreign military campaigns against the Enemies of France.

Luck was with Napoleon Bonaparte when he was born a year after France had acquired Corsica from Genoa. This made him a Frenchman by birth and eligible for all the benefits that Frenchman got. Such luck enabled Napoleon Bonaparte to survive and rise to power in France. That he was not killed during those campaigns. Many people died during these campaigns but Napoleon came back safely. Luck was with Napoleon Bonaparte when he was born a year after France had acquired Corsica from Genoa. This made him a Frenchman by birth and eligible for all the benefits that Frenchman got. It was such luck that enabled Napoleon Bonaparte to survive and rise to power in France.

Napoleon Bonaparte's participation in the various military expeditions helped him greatly to rise to power. He was entrusted with the duty to expel the British fleet which had occupied the French port of Toulon. This he did courageously in 1793. Again in 1795 he was entrusted with the responsibility to defend the convention government against the reactionaries of Paris. He did this successfully in what is called "the whiff of Grape shot" on October 5th (15th Vendemiaire). The crowd was dispersed



and the convention was saved. Soon after the whiff of Grapeshot” Napoleon Bonaparte was given the command of the army that was to attack the Austrian army based in Italy. This was the Italian campaign of March 1796. The Austrians were defeated and this added more honour and respect to Napoleon Bonaparte. Anxious to get rid themselves of two dangers now threatening them – Great Britain still resisting the French and Napoleon Bonaparte himself- the Directory government offered Napoleon Bonaparte the command of an army that was going to invade Egypt, to dislodge the British and cut off their sea route to India and the far East. All these duties given to Napoleon Bonaparte by the Directory government helped to enhance Napoleon Bonaparte’s popularity thus driving him to rise to power in France.

Napoleon Bonapartes family background was very helpful in his rise to power. He was a son of a petty nobleman from the republic of Genoa, part of Italy. It was this family connection to the nobility in Genoa that enabled his father Carlos Bonaparte to enroll Napoleon. Bonaparte in the prestigious military academies of Brienne, Autum and Paris where he excelled in military science. His poor family background also hardened him especially while at the military academiEs where he shared with the wealthy children of wealthy nobles. His needy conditions made him to work hard and helped him to be ambitious for success in life. This ambition generated from his family background helped him to rise to power.

Napoleon Bonaparte associated intimately with Josephine de Beauharnais the daughter of Barras, the principal Director. This marriage to the daughter of the Director made him dear to the Directorate that he was entrusted with the command of the campaign against Austria in Italy. There in Italy, Napoleon Bonaparte laid the foundation for his imperishable military career. His success in this campaign promoted him to the status of a national hero. The name Napoleon Bonaparte was on everybody’s lips that politicians feared him and competed to give him audience, and whatever he desired. That way his marriage to lovely Josephine de Beauharnais helped him to rise to power.

The advance in scientific invocations enhanced Napoleon Bonaparte’s rise to power Belter maps, modern weapons were introduced in the French army. This increased the efficiency of Napoleon Bonapartes army, making it successful in its campaigns. His successful in its campaigns. His successful in its campaignhns. His successes militarily gave glory to France and thus popularity for Napoleon Banaparte at home leading to his rise to power in France.

The coup detat of ( 18th Brumaire ) 9th November 1799 was the fanal stage in the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to power. In couspiracy with Barras and Abbey sieyes. Napoleon Bonaparte carried out the coup de tat that brought him to power in France . The plans did not go as planned because they had hoped to convince the Assemblies to dissolve them to pave way for constitutional revision where Napoleon Bonaparte would be made leader of state. The assemblies refused and confirmed saved by Napoleon Bonaparte’s brother , Lucien the assemblies later, a small number of representative came back and in collusion with Abbey sieyes, they voted to revise the constitution . They appointed three counsuls to do the work. They appointed three cousuls to do the work. These were Abbey sieyes

Roger Ducos and Napoleon Bonaparte. Of the three, the first consul was Napoleon Bonaparte. The coup d'état was completed and Napoleon Bonaparte was in power in France.

Napoleon Bonaparte and the internal reorganization of France.

As first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte carried out a large number of reforms which made him remembered forever.

To start with Napoleon promoted the idea of "career open to talent" as a basis for his administration. In this ideology he promoted many men to high offices in the state, on ability alone. This was in disregard of one's origins. In this way he used the new forces liberated by the revolution for the promotion of his ideas. Many of the Generals promoted by Napoleon Bonaparte were men of common birth. This ideology of career open to talent gave much of the strength to Napoleon's France at that time.

Napoleon made a concordat with the pope. The revolution had left the question of the Catholic Church unsettled. Having to govern a country largely Catholic, Napoleon felt that it was highly vital to gain the good will of the Catholics in France. Napoleon on this conviction entered into negotiations with the pope, Pius VII. After many months of controversial negotiations Napoleon induced the pope to sign with the French government a formal agreement which is known as the Concordat of 1801.

The concordat defined the relationship between the Catholic Church and the French government. It provided that Napoleon should appoint the bishops, that the bishops should appoint the priests and that the priests should be paid salary by the government. This would give government control over the priests since it paid them salaries. The pope agreed that neither himself nor his successors would ever disturb in any way those people who had benefited by acquiring the confiscated church lands. By signing the concordat the pope recognized the republic which the Revolution had created. It also meant that he accepted the validity of the revolutionary laws by which the church property had been confiscated and sold.

Napoleon Bonaparte did a lot to improve on the confused mass of French customs and laws. He got lawyers together and made them to complete the codification of the confused laws of France which work had been embarked on by the National Convention. After several years of hard labour five codes were completed. These codes dealt with commercial law. The most important of the codes was the civil code. This was enacted in 1804. These codes defined the rights of persons and the law of property. It accepted the changes brought about by the revolution. Its basis was that all people were free and equal before the law. The civil code accepted the abolition of feudal obligations on the land. On inheritance it provided that when a man died his property must be equally divided among his heirs.

This made it more difficult for people to build great landed estates like those before the revolution. Its basis was that all people were free and equal before the law. The civil code accepted the abolition of feudal obligations on the land. On inheritance it provided that when a man died his property must be equally divided among his heirs. This made it more difficult for people to build great landed estates like those before the Revolution there was also the criminal code (1810) which accepted the

work of the French Revolution. All persons were liable to the same penalties. Torture and the most cruel types of punishment were removed. Arbitrary arrest and imprisonment were no longer allowed by law. Accused people would be tried in public, were provided with a lawyer, were provided with a lawyer, were allowed to bring witnesses to testify to their defence and there was to be trial by jury. These codes had a great impact on European countries. With some few modifications, it was extended to Holland, Italy, Belgium Bavaria and Baden.

Napoleon Bonaparte reorganized the French education system.. Before the revolution the French schools were mainly controlled by the church. Their general purpose was to maintain the catholic faith, the supremacy of the church and the authority of the king. Napoleon Bonaparte ordered the establishment of public elementary schools. In every village, high schools of cycees in every important town and a college for teaching teachers in Paris. He put the military and technical schools under state control and founded a national university (the university of France imperial university) to maintain uniformity of education thought France. The organization of all the schools, the subjects to be taught, the appointments of the teachers, the payment of salaries was all controlled by the government. This was what the revolutionary leaders of France had wanted.

Napoleon made changes in the central government of France. To give his government the appearance of a democratic government, Napoleon Bonaparte created two legislative assemblies—the Tribune and the Legislative Assembly – neither of which had real power.

He devided the country into eighty three departments. In each of these departments he appointed a prefect to take charge of the affairs of state. These prefects were answerable to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, the first consul. The new prefects were able men who soon established orderly government in places where confusion had once existed during the directory government. The country was divided into provinces districts. Cantons and communes. This reorganization of the administrative system made it easy for Napoleon Bonaparte to manage efficiently the administration of his government. As the first consul, he had the prerogative to appoint promote or dismiss the mayors, the prefects and the sub prefects. This gave him the opportunity to effectively control local government administration in France.

Napoleon Bonaparte instituted a decoration known as the Legion of honour. This was a medal given to men who had done distinguished service to the state, irrespective of their blood or wealth. The principle of legion of honour aimed at promoting the French men in the Army, civil administration public relations, finance and any other field where they excelled. Napoleon insisted that the was promoting careers open to talent . Towards the end of Napoleon Bonapartes reign, he had created 31 Dukes, some 400 counts , more than 1,000 Barons and about 1,500 knights. The legion of Honour worked as an incentive to the government of Napoleon Bonaparte and his civil service in France.

Napoleon Bonaparte reorganized the economy of France as well. He confirmed the redistribution of land accomplished by the French Revolution of 1789, thereby allowing the French peasant to remain

an independent farmer. This encouraged the peasant farmer to produce more. He reorganized the system of tax collection and severely punished the corrupt officials. He imposed taxes on foreign countries and made them support the French armies. This way he was able to add to the revenue of the states and also to reduce on the expenditure of France. He protected the home industry by imposing high tariffs on imports especial cheap goods from Britain. This helped the local industries to take off. He created an advisory board of commerce, and a chamber of commerce and industry to help in the field of industry. He perfected the taxation system in France so that it was now uniform. He introduced a new currency that replaced the paper money “assignats” which had lost value. He built the bank of France in 1800, which was one of the soundest financial institutions of the world at the time.

Napoleon Bonaparte did a great deal of work on the public amenities of France. He carried out a lot of public works using the prisoners of war he had captured. He improved on the country’s road net work that by 1811 could boast of 220 wide roads built by prisoners of war, many bridges were constructed, canals and water ways were perfected and marshes were drained, important sea ports were enlarged and fortified. They were to be used for Naval and commercial purposes.

In art, Napoleon Bonaparte restored and enlarged the state palaces. He beautified the city of paris and enlarged its streets and avenues. France was so modernized during Napoleons time that during the peace of Amiens people from Britain and else where came to Paris to see for them selves the new impressive scientific system of government that had emerged from the French Revolution of 1789.

### **WEAKNESSES IN NAPOLEONS DOMESTICS’ POLICY**

However, Napoleons beneficial schemes in France were accompanied by an increased restriction on social life and political freedoms. For instance, he abolished trial by jury in certain cases and imposed strict censorship of the press. When he came to power Paris had seventy three news papers but after, only one year there remained only nine.

Napoleon crippled the education to patriotic purposes and to his own glorification by ordering that children in schools should be taught to love and obey their emperor and to offer prayers for his safety. He denied the girl child formal education relegating them to house work at home. He also baned the teaching of liberal arts which he deemed revolutionary thus curtailing the freedom of speech advocated for by the French revolution of 1789.

He reintroduced the hated ministry of police in 1804 under the command of General Joseph Fouché. In 1810 he literary revived the hated “tettes de cachet “ of the old regime. He set up prisons and allowed the arrest and detention without trail. He employed thousands of spies and secret agents who informed Napoleon Bonaparte of any opposition and he could crush it ruthlessly whenever he chose. He was opposed to the idea of liberty which had inspired those who brought about the idea of the French revolution . The legion of honour formulated by Napoleon Bonaparte recreated the class system similar to that of the ancient regime in France. It was a new nobility class of career open to

talents. These awards were mainly given to army officers. Napoleons Bonapartes concordat with the people did not please many Frenchmen. It was seen as bringing the church nearer to the state again. The code napoleon subjected women to their husbands and children to their fathers.

## **ASPECTS OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE FOEREIGN POLICY**

The battle of Trafalgar in 1805 was one of the important aspects of Napoleons foreign policy . Napoleon had garthered the French army in Northern France and Belgium in an attempt to invade England. He had delivered defeat after defeat to the European powers, Austria fell in 1805, Prussia in 1806 and the Russians in 1807. It was only Britain that Napoleon Bonaparte had not defeated . He quickly made plans for the invasion of Britain . He assembled 150,000 men and got 1,200 flat boats built. He trained his men to disembark rapidly from the boats. He added a Spanish fleet to his forces and on the 21st October 1805 the battle of Trafalgar was fought . France was defeated after six hours of ship action.

More than half of the combined French and Spanish fleet by 33 ships was destroyed or captured. Britain lost only one ship. However the commander of the British forces, General Nelson, was killed. The defeat of the French at Trafalgar saved the British from Napoleons invasion of Britain. The Trafalgar war of 1805 had direct consequences on Napoleons Bonaparte's plans. After his invasion plans of Britain in 1804-1805 and the battle of Trafalgar in October 1805 failed, Napoleon devised another plan. This was the continental system. It was devised for the destruction of English commerce.

Napoleon Bonaparte scheme was to close the European ports to the importation of English and colonial commodities. He wanted England to buy goods of the European countries but he wanted England to pay for these goods in money. This wasy Napoleon hopes to drain England of her gold, and running English merchants and traders. To make the system effective Napoleon Bonaparte had to extend his territorial conquests and gain control of more and more of the continental coastline. On her part England wished to stop Napoleon Bonaparte from carrying out his grand scheme. So England used all her power to keep the European ports open and force her good into European markets.

The continental system led to profound effects in Europe, like rise in the prices of daily commodities. This led to economic hardships in Europe which created bitter discontent among the French allies. Prussia, Russia, Portugal, Holland, Switzerland and Italy all became hostile to France. The system led Napoleon Bonaparte to fight many big wars. He fought against Prussia, Russia, Austria Portugal and Spain. All these wars led to the loss of lives and materials. People started hating Napoleon Bonaparte because of the destructive wars. The continental system was therefore the principal tragedyin the drama of Napoleons downfall.

The peninsular wars of 1808 – 1813 also contributory profoundly to Napoleons adventures in his foreign policy. In 1807 Napoleon made an alliance with the king of Spain for the conquest of Portugal and its partition. Before the plan could be accomplished, the Spanish king and his son quarreled and so the government of Spain was weakened. Napoleon Bonaparte now thought he could conquer Spain

itself and then take for himself Portugal. He thought it would be simple and would require 25,000 men and only one or two months to complete. Napoleon sent his army into Spain and overthrew the king of Spain. He replaced him with his own brother Joseph Bonaparte whom he brought from Naples. The scheme proved very simple. To Napoleon Bonaparte's surprise the Spanish did not willingly give up their independence. They organized a popular resistance, a kind of guerilla warfare that forced Napoleon Bonaparte to keep 300,000 men in Spain. To worsen the situation, the English sent their forces to help the Portuguese and so Napoleon Bonaparte was not able to control Lisbon the capital of Portugal. The Spanish war helped to tie down a large force of Frenchmen who would have given Bonaparte more strength. The Spanish resistance promoted the spirit of defiance somewhere else like in Austria and Prussia which were encouraged to resist Napoleon once more. The Spanish war therefore created cracks into the French empire leading to the weakness of Napoleon Bonaparte and his eventual downfall.

The pope was also not ready to practice the continental system. It was Napoleon Bonaparte's determination to enforce the continental system in the papal states that he was forced to quarrel with the pope. The pope's resistance to the continental system compelled Napoleon Bonaparte to imprison the pope and annex the papal state in 1809.

The biggest mistake that Napoleon Bonaparte committed was the invasion of Russia in 1812. This was known as the Moscow campaign of 1812. In 1807 Napoleon had convinced Tsar Alexander that Russia's alliance with France would mean great things for Russia. But in the long run, the Tsar Alexander I realized that Napoleon Bonaparte had just used him for his own ends. By 1811 the relationship between the two men had cooled so much that they ended up quarreling openly. These reasons were that Napoleon's continental system was hurting the economy of Russia. France had also annexed the North coast of Germany and the kingdom of Holland, Napoleon had also annexed the papal states and gained the control of the Mouth of river Tiber and Rome. Tsar Alexander was convinced that Napoleon intended to control Poland and so the Tsar quickly annexed it before Napoleon could do it. Tsar also sent a Russian army to the border with Poland to protect the new creation. Napoleon looked at this as an insult and he decided to attack the Tsar. In June 1812 Napoleon crossed into Russia with about 530,000 soldiers. This was the Moscow campaign of 1812. Napoleon Bonaparte met with disaster in the Moscow campaign. His troops were killed by the Russian severe winter having not prepared for it. Out of the 530,000 soldiers he went with Napoleon brought back only 100,000 men. The Moscow campaign was a military disaster for Napoleon Bonaparte. It encouraged the Prussians and Austrians to join the Russians in a coalition against Napoleon.

Napoleon Bonaparte in his earlier days had signed the peace of Luneville in 1801. The treaty of Luneville 1801 was signed between France and the Austrians after the famous battle of Marengo. By this time the European powers had formed the 2nd coalition against France. Napoleon had crossed the Alps, descended into the plains of Lombardy and defeated the Austrians at the Battle of Marengo. He forced the Austrians to sign a peace treaty called the peace of Luneville. By this treaty Napoleon recovered for France the control of Northern Italy in 1801.



In 1802 Napoleon concluded with the British a treaty known as the Treaty of Amiens. This peace treaty came as Britain and France seemed tired of war which was not ending in the victory of either of them. It was this that made Britain and France to sign the peace of Amiens in 1802. Britain promised to give back to France and her allies all those territories she had captured from them except Ceylon and Trinidad, she was also to leave the island of Malta. France agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal states. Both countries welcomed the peace of Amiens as it gave them breathing space.

The peace of Amiens did not last long. In 1805 Napoleon Bonaparte attacked the Austrians. He then captured the capital of Austria Vienna. In December 1805 he defeated the combined Austrian and Russian army at Austerlitz. The treaty of Austerlitz was signed with Austria. Austria was forced to give to Bavaria and Baden some of her valuable possessions in south Germany. Austria thus became landlocked and was forced to accept the changes that Napoleon had made and was to make in future.

The treaty of Tilsit 1807 was signed between Napoleon Bonaparte and Tsar Alexander I. Napoleon Bonaparte had managed to defeat the Prussians at Jena and Austerlitz in 1806. He had put the greater part of Prussia under the rule of his generals. Next he turned his forces on the Russians. In 1807 he defeated the Russians at the battle of Friedland. Napoleon Bonaparte and Tsar Alexander I then met at the Prussian town of Tilsit on June 21st 1807. At Tilsit agreement was made between Napoleon Bonaparte of France, Tsar Alexander I of Russia and Frederick William II of Prussia. They then came out with the Treaty of Tilsit according to which; Prussia lost valuable territory to France and was obliged to pay a huge war indemnity, before which payment French troops were to occupy various fortresses in these provinces until the completion of payment. On the part of Russia, Napoleon made the Tsar believe that the door was open for him to expand Eastwards. This was not true. Russia accepted to mediate between France and Britain. Napoleon would mediate between Russia and Turkey and stop the war between the two. The Tsar was made to believe that Napoleon was very committed to the partition of Turkey and that the Tsar would gain Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey. This was not Napoleon's real purpose but he made the Tsar think it was.

## **NAPOLEON BONAPARTE'S DOWN FALL 1814-1815**

Napoleon Bonaparte's career from 1808 to 1815 is a record of the gradual decay of his fortunes. After Tilsit, his problems began to multiply until he was finally overwhelmed and eventually disaster struck him.

There were many factors that explain Napoleon Bonaparte's eventual downfall.

The continental system

Napoleon Bonaparte tried to destroy English commerce by the continental system. He had always disliked the English whom he called "a nation of shopkeepers." He always thought that the English only cared for money and that their political power depended extensively on their commerce. He

therefore, in 1806 and 1807 devised a grand scheme, known as the continental system. This system was purposely made for the destruction of English commerce. His aim was to close all the European ports to the importation of goods from England, her friends and her colonies. England on her part wished to stop Napoleon Bonaparte from carrying out his grand plans. Therefore, the continental system was a method of boycott. It consisted of the orders, resolution, rules and mandates issued, in order to boycott English economy and in the end, weaken England militarily. The continental system greatly contributed to the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte because all his other foreign policies were pegged on it. For instance Napoleon had to wage wars to meet the violations of this system by the others. Even France it self became afflicted with bribery and corruption because of the continental system. Napoleon could not check these vices because he was preoccupied with the continental system. Napoleon himself got entangled in the trap he had laid for England. The continental system cost Napoleon Bonaparte heavily in men, materials and money. The continental system led the European powers to unite against Napoleon Bonaparte in the fourth coalition of Prussia, Russia, Britain and Austria, which in the end defeated him. The continental system led to unemployment, and other hardships which made peoples attitudes to harden against Napoleon Bonaparte. The continental system bred nationalistic movements against Napoleon Bonaparte and these helped to bring down Napoleon Bonaparte.

The peninsular war was another episode in the down fall of Napoleon Bonaparte from power. Napoleon aimed at enforcing the continental system over Portugal that forced him to get involved in the peninsular war. Napoleon demanded that Portugal should stop all trade with Britain and capture all British subjects and their property in Portugal. Prince John, the Regent, refused. Napoleon decided to punish Portugal. He sent French armies to attack Portugal . They had to pass through Spain to reach Portugal. The British came to the help of Portugal and France failed to capture Lisbon. The peninsular war had started. The people of Spain were not happy with French troops passing through their country.

There were riots and a quarrel developed between the king of Spain and his son. Napoleon used this opportunity to overthrow the king of Spain and install his brother Joseph Bonaparte as the king of Spain. The people of Spain organized them selves to resist Napoleons plans and the scheme which was meant to take one or two months ended up lasting for years 1808-1813. It also pinned down 300,000 French soldiers in Spain instead of the previously expected 25,000. The courage of Spain to resist Napoleon promoted a spirit of defiance elsewhere to the extent that Napoleon could no longer take things for granted. The peninsular war created cracks in the French empire. The guerilla tactics employed by the Spaniards proved very costly for the French troops. The war encouraged the people of Prussia and Austria to resist Napoleon once again. Napoleon was therefore forced into war with Austria in 1809 when he was still entangled in the Spanish difficulties and was still busy with the (continental system) war with Britain.

When the pope got dissatisfied with the continental system he withdrew from its operations. Napoleon Bonaparte could not accept this behavior from the pope. He annexed the popal states and imprisoned

the pope, The imprisonment of the Pope turned the catholic population in Europe and in France, against Napoleons Empire in Europe. This alienation of Napoleon Bonaparte by the catholic community worked against Napoleons popularity thus weakening him.

The Moscow campaign of 1812 was a total disaster for Napoleon Bonaparte in men, materials and money. Napoleon Bonaparte had taken into Russia about 600,000 men followed him back to France. Of the original army that crossed into Russia, 50,000 men had deserted, 130,000 men were mercifully taken prisoner, 250,000 had died. Apart from being a military disaster, the Moscow campaign destroyed the myth that Napoleon Bonaparte was unbeatable. Now his enemies came to realize that Napoleon Bonaparte could be defeated. Soon the Austrians and Prussians regained their courage and with Russian support, made a coalition in a war of liberation against napoleon Bonaparte, that eventually led to his downfall.

Napoleons militarism provoked a reaction amongst its victims. This was the intensification of the sentiment of nationality. The people of Italy and of Nationality. The people of Italy and German states were not happy to see the French armies overrunning their countries. They resented being dominated by foreigners. French officials, army officers and soldiers were everywhere about. Many of these were arrogant. In the Italian and German states, the French army's presence was humiliating the people, there in the end found it better to be governed by their kings and nobles rather than by the arrogant French officials and officers. The more Napoleon's empire grew larger, the more he encountered opposition and difficulties which in the end led to the final collapse of Napoleons empire.

The British naval superiority was a great challenge to Napoleon Bonaparte. First of all, the British used their navy to win a number of decisive naval battles against the French. Such battles included the battle of Trafalgar in 1805. The British navy destroyed the navies of Napoleon Bonaparte's allies, who would have helped to boost Napoleons own. The Danish fleet was destroyed in 1807. The British navy was used to cut off the overseas markets and sources of raw materials for France. The British navy also cut off France from her colonial empire. Britain, using her navy, counternated and frustrated Napoleons continental system had been meant to cut off Britain from the continent and strangle the British economy. The British navy used to ship supplies and war materials to the British allies e.g. Austria and Russia. Thus frustrating Napoleon Bonaparte's plans and weakling him.

Napoleon Bonaparte had an over whelming ambition. His ambition was to control the whole of the European continent. Indeed by 1807 his imperial authority extended far beyond the frontiers of France. Virtually all the continental Europe west of Russia and Austria was under Napoleon Bonaparte. He was gradually breaking up the vast states of Prussia and Austira. He was systematically creating a number of small states and subjecting them to his French empire. He attempted to introduce in Europe a uniform system of rights and institutions like those in France. By 1810 he had exported the French administrative system and the civil code to Holland, Switzerland, in the German states and in the Italian states. The empire he had created was so vast that by 1807 it began to crack. It became very difficult for Napoleon to manage this vast empire that by 1814, the empire came crushing down along

with Napoleon Bonaparte . People say that he bit off more than he could chew.

Exhaustion contributed to the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte. This is because there is always a limit to human energy. After a certain age a person starts feeling the effect of exhaustion and fatigue. This was the case with Napoleon Bonaparte. From 1799 when he overthrew the directorate to 1807 when he signed the peace of Tilsit, it was the story of success. But after Tilsit, from 1808 to 1815 Napoleon's story is a record of the gradual decay of his fortunes. His woes began to multiply until they overtook him leading to his exit from power.

The fourth coalition 1813 marked the death blow to Napoleon Bonaparte's reign in Europe. The fourth coalition was formed in 1813 after the unsuccessful Moscow campaign by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1812. It was composed of Russia, Prussia, and England. Austria joined the coalition later on. In their war against France, they defeated Napoleon Bonaparte at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813. This greatly weakened Napoleon Bonaparte that in 1814 he was completely defeated and forced to give up the throne of France. He was then exiled to the Mediterranean island of Elba to live a peaceful life there in retirement. After some eight months in exile he escaped from Elba and came back to France where he again ruled France for 100 days. In 1815 the fourth coalition again defeated him at the Battle of Waterloo. This time he was captured and imprisoned on the stony Pacific island of St Helena, very far away from France. That way the fourth coalition succeeded in overthrowing Napoleon Bonaparte from power in France, and restoring the Bourbons to power in France.

#### Revision Questions

1. "The Moscow Campaign was the turning point in the career of Napoleon I" "Discuss."
2. How far was Napoleon I a child of the French Revolution?
3. Assess the achievements of Napoleon I.
4. "It was the Continental System that led to the downfall of Napoleon I" Discuss.
5. Discuss the factors for the rise and fall of Napoleon I.
6. How GREAT was Napoleon I?
7. Discuss the importance of Napoleon I in the history of Europe 1799 -1814.
8. Account for the downfall of Napoleon I by 1815.
9. "The 1789 French Revolution led to the rise of Napoleon I to power by 1799" Discuss.
10. To what extent were the foreign factors responsible for the downfall of Napoleon I in 1815?

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE VIENNA CONGRESS OF 1814-15 AND THE CONGRESS SYSTEM 1818-1830**

#### **BACKGROUND**

The Vienna congress was the first international meeting of the European powers both great and small that sat at Vienna, the capital of Austria to settle European problems that had been created by the French revolution and Napoleonic wars immediately after the down fall of Napoleon Bonaparte in Nov 1814-1815. It was held in order to draw up a plan to alter Europe politically and territorially so as to prevent the extensive expansion of any one great power, such as that Napoleon had brought about.

The congress of Vienna was a conference of ambassadors of European states chaired by Klemens von Metternich, and held in Vienna from September, 1814 to June, 1815. The objective of the congress was to settle the many issues arising from the French revolutionary wars, the Napoleonic wars, and the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. This objective resulted in the re-drawing the continents political map, establishing the boundaries of France, Napoleons' Duchy of the War saw, the Netherlands, the states of Rhine, the Germany province of Saxony, the various Italian territories and the creation of the spheres of influence through which France, Austria, Russia and Britain brokered local and regional problems.

The congress of Vienna was the first of a series of international meetings that came to be known as the concert of Europe, which was an attempt to forge a peaceful balance of power in Europe, and served as a model for later organizations, such as the league of Nations and United Nations.

The Vienna congress was attended among others by prince Klemens wenzel Von Metternich of Austria who was the chairman and King Francis of Austria, Czar Alexander I, of Russia, Lord Castlereagh, the British prime Minister, Frederick Witham III, the King of Prussia, Bishop Charles Talleyrand, the French representative and princesses and Princesses from Small states of Holland, Denmark, Spain, Neaples among others. However, it was the decision of the four great powers of Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia that were adopted and formed the Vienna settlement which refers to the resolutions / outcomes / agreement adopted by the four great European powers at the Vienna congress in their move to solve European problems.

#### **AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF THE VIENNA CONGRESS**

Although the overall aim of the Vienna congress was to maintain continental peace or objects which included the following, to restore continental peace in Europe, to ensure Europe against any future French aggression, to restore back the overthrown legitimate rulers, to restore back the European balance of power, how to share the disputed territories among the European powers in a way accepted

by all, how to punish the allies of Napoleon and reward the allies of the great powers, to re-draw the map of Europe and how to establish co-operation among European states and maintain effective alliance of the four great powers.

The most fundamental aim of the Vienna congress was restoration of peace. The European delegates at Vienna met to discuss on how to restore and maintain continental peace which had been disrupted by the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars. Napoleon Bonaparte had distorted peace on the European continent by waging wars on other states, some such Napoleonic wars include the war between France and Austria, the Moscow campaign of 1815 (War between France and Portugal ( the Peninsular war) among others. Such series of wars made France an enemy of other European states. Therefore the European delegates at Vienna wanted to restore peace on the European continent by undertaking measures such as fighting future French aggression, solving European problems amicably without going to war free navigation among others. Indemnity of 20 million pounds for all the destruction she had caused in Europe and her boundaries were reduced to those of 1790. France was also ordered to restore capitals they had been looted from by Napoleon. Through such an arrangement, France got powerful neighbours and she could not dare fight against them. Therefore, the French aggression was seriously checked by the above mentioned measures and France never became an aggressor throughout 19th and 20th centuries.

The other serious aim as to why the European statesmen convened at Vienna was to restore back the traditional legitimate rulers who had been overthrown either by the French revolution or Napoleon Bonaparte. In their desire to check the growth of revolutionary ideas, the statesmen at Vienna passed the principle of legitimacy under which they agreed that all the kings and princes who had held their thrones from long historical ancestry before the Napoleon I and revolution removed them be restored to their respective rightful thrones so that they could help in maintaining continental peace and fight future French aggression. Against this background, the Bourbons were restored back in France, Spain, and Naples under Louis XVIII and later Charles X, Ferdinand VII, and Ferdinand I respectively. Victor Emmanuel I was restored to Piedmont–Sardinia, the House of Orange in Holland under William I, the Pope was restored back to his Papal states, the House of Braganza in Portugal and the Central Italian states of Modena Parma, and Tuscany were restored back to their leaders who had family ties with the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy. The restored legitimate leaders were expected to suppress liberal and revolutionary ideas and stamp out revolutionary movements of all fashions.

Another aim of the Vienna congress was to restore back the European balance of power principle which had been distorted by Napoleon Bonaparte. Since in 1740, the European balance of power principle had tried to maintain continental peace in Europe. The Vienna congress men therefore tried to balance the powers by reducing the size of France to that of the Pre-revolutionary days where by the states that France had conquered were shared among the great powers for example Austria acquired the Italian states of Lombardy and Venetia, the Germany states which were reduced from more than 200 to 39, part of Poland and part of Saxony among others. Russia acquired part of Poland and part of Saxony, Prussia was given a half of Saxony, part of Poland the German territories north of the



Rhine river, the Swedish pomerania among others while Britain received overseas territories where she had economic interests like the islands of Malta and Ionian in the Mediterranean sea, West Indies, Cape of Good Hope in South Africa among others. Through this arrangement the four great powers emerged out of Vienna strong and equal than before.

Sharing the disputed territories of Poland and Saxony in a way that is acceptable to all was another aim of Vienna congress. The European statesmen convened at Vienna in order to map out a way on how the disputed territories of Poland and Saxony would be shared. After the defeat of Napoleon, there was a question / disagreements on who should control these areas as Russia wanted the whole land of Grand Duchy of Warsaw and also wanted other parts of Poland while Prussia wanted the whole of Saxony. The delegates agreed to form the Polish kingdom which was a half of Poland and put under the overlordship of Russia while the remaining half was shared between Prussia and Austria. Half of Saxony was given to Prussia for the loss of Belgium to Holland while the remaining was shared between Austria and Russia. Through this, the problem of disputed territories was peacefully solved.

The statesmen at Vienna also discussed on how to restore and establish European co-operation through improving interstate relations that had been disrupted by Napoleon's continental system. To effect this, they declared free navigation on all big waters like River Rhine, Black Sea, River Danube, Mediterranean Sea among others all of which encouraged free trade among the European powers which resulted into industrial boom and later led to the recovery of the European economies, hence putting to an end the continental system and its devastating effects which had negatively affected European economies.

The Vienna statesmen had an idea of solving European problems through peaceful negotiations rather than resorting to destructive and expensive wars. This was after realizing that wars are wastage of resources and lead to the destruction of property and human life. To effect this, the statesmen at Vienna decided to maintain effective alliance of the four great powers which became the quadruple alliance of Britain, Prussia, Prussia and Austria, this resulted into concert of Europe commonly known as the congress system which became the idea to solve future European problems through peaceful negotiations. This later resulted into the congresses of Aix La Chapelle, Trochu, Laibach, Verona and St. Petersburg in 1818, 1820, 1821, 1822 and 1825 respectively.

The congress of Vienna was also held with the aim of punishing those states that allied with Napoleon and rewarding those that had allied with the great powers. The allies with the great powers. The allies of Napoleon included Belgium, Denmark among others while the allies of the great powers included Holland, Switzerland among others.

The Vienna congress punished Belgium by uniting it with Holland where she became the subject of Holland while Denmark was punished by losing Finland. According to the allies of the great powers were regarded in a way that Holland was given Belgium while Switzerland was declared independent and neutral.

## **THE IMPACT OF VIENNA CONGRESS 1814-1815**

The Vienna Congress which was the first international meeting of the European great powers of Austria, Britain, Russia, Prussia and France plus the small states that sat at Vienna to solve European problems that had been caused by the French revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte had far reaching impacts on the social, economic, and political affairs of the European states, some of the impacts were positive while others were negative.

### **POSITIVE IMPACTS**

The Vienna congress restored back the legitimate rulers to their rightful thrones. The legitimate rulers were ancient rulers of Europe who had been overthrown either by the French revolution or Napoleon Bonaparte. The rulers that were restored back include the Bourbons of France under king Louis XVIII who was succeeded by his brother in 1824 Comte de Artois under the title of Charles X, the Bourbons of Spain and Naples under Ferdinand VII and Ferdinand I respectively. The pope went back to his papal states and Hapsburg ruling family in Austria was also restored back among others. Through such an arrangement the statesmen at Vienna restored back the legitimate rulers of Europe whom they hoped would maintain continental peace.

The European settlement of Vienna restored back the European balance of power in Europe. This was done by reducing the size of France to that of her pre-revolutionary days where by the state she had conquered and put under her ruler were shared among the four great powers so that they can equally balance for example, Austria acquired the Italian states of Lombardy and Venetia, the Germany states which were reduced from more than 200 to 39 part of Poland and part of Saxony. Prussia acquired the Germany territories north of the Rhine river, the Swedish Pomeranian, half of Saxony and part of Poland. Russia gained the overlordship of the Polish kingdom and part of Saxony while Britain gained overseas territories where she had economic interests like the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, islands of Malta and Ionian Isles, Ceylon among others. In so doing, the Vienna restored back balance of power on the European continent.

The Vienna congress laid a strong foundation upon which future French aggression would be controlled. This was done by creating defensive barriers / buffer zones on the borders of France so that if France declared a war could be attacked from all the frontiers. For example Belgium was united with Holland to form the Netherlands kingdom to act as a defensive barrier in North East of France, Sardinia was united with Genoa to form a defensive barrier in the south of France, Prussia was given the Germany territories to form a barrier in the East while Switzerland was declared independent and neutral through such an arrangement throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, France was not a continental problem.

## **Promotion of international Trade**

By re-instating the inter state co-operation on the European continent, Vienna congress led to the promotion of international trade which had been disrupted by Napoleons continental system where the European powers were stopped from trading with Britain. Free navigation was declared on all big waters like river Rhine, river Danube, Mediterranean sea, black sea among others. This resulted into free trade on the European continent which later paved way for international trade.

The Vienna congress re-draw the map of Europe to the liking of the four European great powers of Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia. The political map of Europe was re-drawn by reducing the size of France to her pre- revolutionary days and the states which France had conquered were shared among the four great power. For example Poland was shared among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, Saxony was shared among Prussia, Austria and Russia while the Germany states were shared by Austria and Prussia to mention but a few . Through this, the European map was re-drawn to her former position.

The Vienna congress restored back continental peace atleast for forty years after more than twenty years of revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. This is evidenced by the fact that after 1815 waterloo battle from where Napoleon 1 was decisively defeated the European great powers did not engage in any serious war until 1854 when the Crimean war broke out which involved Russia against Turkey, Britain, France and Prussia. Therefore Vienna congress is remembered for having restored peace on the continent of Europe which lasted for some reasonable time.

The Vienna congress answered the Polish – Saxony question which had brought disagreements between Russia and Prussia over the control of the two disputed territories . This was done in away that half of Poland formed the Polish kingdom which was put under the over lordship of Russia and the remaining half was shared between Austria and Prussia while half of Saxony was given to Prussia while half of Saxony was given to Prussia and the remaining half was shared between Russia and Austria hence the congress avoided war though it ignored nationalistic interests of the Poles.

The Vienna congress introduced and established diplomacy in solving European problems through peaceful negotiations rather than resorting to wars. Through the idea of effective alliance under the quadruple alliance which was a coalition of the four great powers of Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, the Vienna statesmen agreed to time from time to time and solve European problems peacefully or diplomatically which later gave birth to the concert of Europe (concert of Europe congress system) that ran between 1818 and 1830.

The Vienna congress led to the complete defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte who had been a continental problem during revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. This was done by reviving the 4th coalition which was a military alliance power of Europe that included Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain Holland among others.

This coalition defeated Napoleon Bonaparte in June 1815 and imprisoned him in the rocky island of St Helena where he died in 1821 and hence no longer a continental problem.

## **NEGATIVE IMPACTS**

Failure to promote the spirit of nationalism and liberalism. The Vienna congress failed to promote the spirit of nationalism and liberalism in Europe by restoring back the traditional legitimate rulers who suppressed people freedom and could not listen to the demand of the people. The restored legitimate rulers became autocratic and suppressive which resulted into revolutions against the restored leaders. For example the 1820-21 revolutions in Spain and Naples against Ferdinand VII and Ferdinand I respectively, the 1830 revolution in France against Charles X and the 1848 revolutions in Austria against the Hapsburg ruling family. All these revolutions were as a result of the failure to consider the spirit of nationalism and liberalism by the Vienna congress.

The Vienna congress ignored the interests and aspirations of the small states in Europe by subjecting them to foreign domination of the four great powers of Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia. The Vienna statesmen decided to share the territories of the small states among the great powers. Nations and peoples were bandied as though they were or constituted a buffer state there. The Norwegians, Belgians, Poles, Italians and Finns were placed under foreign governments they hated intensely. Poland was divided among Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the Belgians were forcefully united with Holland leading to the creation of Netherlands. Lombardy and Venetia were lost to Austria among others. All these led to the loss of independence and nationality of the small states.

The Vienna congress neglected the Holy Alliance which was proposed by Czar Alexander I of Russia. The Holy Alliance advanced that leaders should rule their subjects basing on the Christian principles by avoiding suppressive measures that were likely to disrupt European peace. This was rejected by Metternich and Lord Castlereagh who even considered Alexander to be insane. The leaders went ahead to suppress their subjects which resulted into future revolutions that disrupted European peace.

The Vienna congress drew Russia into the affairs of the Balkan region and which conflicts disrupted European peace. Russia penetrated deeper into the affairs of the Balkan states for example, in the Greek war of independence, Russia supported Greece in her struggle for independence on the grounds of Slav and Orthodox Church connections. This war disorganized European peace between 1821 and 1832 when Greece was declared independent from the Ottoman Empire. Therefore the Vienna congress led to the emergence of conflicts in the Balkan region by drawing Russia in the affairs of the region.

The Vienna congress delayed the unifications of Germany and Italy by subjecting the German and Italian states under foreign domination and sub-dividing them and restoring back the legitimate rulers who were opposed to the unifications. For example the Italian states were divided into five component sections each independent of the other like Naples and Sicily under Ferdinand I, the papal

states under the pope, the king of piedmont under house of savay, Lombardy and venetia under Austria plus the central Italian states of parma, Modena, and Tuscany while the Germany states were divided between Austria and Prussia. The Vienna congress therefore deliberately the unification of Germany and Italy.

### **THE CONGRESS SYSTEM (CONCERT OF EUROPE) 1818-1830)**

The congress system also known as the concert of Europe after the congress of Vienna was the balance of power that existed in Europe from the end of the Napoleonic wars (1815) to the outbreak of the first world war (1914) . It was formulated in 1815 as a mechanism to enforce the decisions of the congress of Vienna which Prussia and Great Britain agreed to meet from time to time to solve European problems amicably through peaceful negotiations as they arose.

The congress system therefore refers to a series of international meetings that took place in Europe after the Vienna congress. The congress aimed at having round table conferences in conflict resolution as away to avoid destructive and expensive wars in solving international problems. It involved the congresses of AIX –La Chapelle 1818, Troppau 1820, Laibach 1821, Verona 1822, and St. Peterburg 1825.

#### **The congress of Aix –La – Chapelle 1818**

It was the first international meeting of the European great power following the idea of meeting from time to time to peacefully solve European problems which was adopted at Vienna congress by the quadruple alliance of Austria, Russia, Prussia and Great Britain . The meeting was attended by Czar Alexander I of Russia, Lord Castlereagh of Britain, Metternich of Austria, Frederick William of Prussia and Rechetiue, the French representative.

The aim of this congress, was to discuss on the admission of France into the alliance of the four great powers, formation of the international army, stopping of the slave trade, fighting the pirates in the Mediterranean sea, treatment of Napoleon in St, Helena and the Orthodox Christians in the ottoman empire.

In this meeting, France came in to request the powers to remove the occupational armies from her soil. Having been satisfied with stability of France, the congress members agreed to admit her in the alliance of others powers and removed the occupational troops from the French soil. Thus France was accepted as a fifth member and anew quintaple alliance was formed while in secret the quadruple alliance was maintained.

At the congress of AIX –LA-Chapelle, Fredirick William of Prussia proposed that an international army be formed and put under the command of wellington British commanders and permanently

stationed in Belgium ready to suppress revolution that might arise at anytime in Europe. However was opposed and rejected by Britain who never wanted to get involved in the affairs that did not concern her. The question of the Barbary pirates was also tabled and Czar Alexander I of Russia proposed an international fleet to be formed and given powers to move to mediterranean sea to stomp out pirates who had become a problem to the commercial vessels of Europe, the proposal was again opposed by Britain and France who accused Russia of using this as a mask to spread Russian imperialism in Europe. Britain also rejected because she never wanted the commercial vessels of other European countries to enter the waters where she had commercial interests. Against Britain's rejection, the problem of Barbary pirates was not solved by the congress members at AIX-La-Chapelle.

On the question of slave trade, Britain proposed that a navy force should be established to search the merchant ships carrying slaves. The navy force was to enter the waters and check any vessel carrying slaves and if found be impounded and slaves sent back to their homes. Other powers were opposed to her naval superiority and so the idea was firmly rejected. They contended that since Britain needed slaves for industrialization. Therefore the problem of slave trade continued until 20th century when it was officially stopped.

At Aix – La- Chapelle, the congress members discussed on how to treat Napoleon who had been imprisoned at St. Herena by the allied powers. It was agreed that although Napoleon had caused havoc in Europe, he should be offered a fair treatment like any former European leader. It is against this background that Napoleon was fairly treated until 1821 when he died a natural death.

On the issue of the Orthodox Christians in Turkey, the Aix-la- Chapelle congress members advised the sultan to offer fair and equal treatment to both Muslims and Christians which he accepted and later never implemented as he continued to mistreat orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

The powers also discussed the Swedish- Denmark question where Denmark had refused to clear the debts she owed Sweden. The Danish government accepted and started clearing the debts.

In summary the AIX –La- Chapelle congress broke up, after the powers had agreed to meet again when ever necessary although strong differences of opinion had been expressed during the deliberations.

The congress of Troppau of 1820

This was the second congress of the European great powers which was attended physically by Metternich of Austria, Czar Alexander I of Russia, and Fredrick William III of Prussia while France and Britain sent more observers. The years that followed the AIX – La – Chapelle Congress were difficult for the reactionary Europe and the congress had to be convened at Troppau in Austria in 1820. A number of reasons led to summoning of this conference.

There were revolutions in Spain and Ferdinand VII was forced to grant a constitution in 1812. There were university students demonstrations in Germany who later murdered a Russian dramatist journalist, and spy Kotzebeu who had been employed by Austria to act as a spy in the Germany states in 1819. There was also Polish tension in Russia and revolts in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in South



America which declared their independence. There were disturbances in the Italian kingdom and in England, there were riots at Spa Fields. In France, a prince and a potential king Duc de Berri was assassinated as he left Paris opera. In the face of such odds, it was necessary to call a congress at Troppan in 1820.

Therefore the congress was called to put measures on the revolutions that had marred European continent as was evidenced in Portugal, France, Russia, Italy Germany, England among others as well as discussing on the Carlsbad decrees that had been issued by Metternich in the Germany states.

The powers condemned the revolutions and proposed that to form a joint force to suppress the revolutions that had broken out and those that would break out in future. Against this background, the Troppau protocol was signed in October 1820 by Russia Prussia and Austria amidst the opposition from Britain. By this protocol, the three great powers were bound by arms if necessary to restore the guilty state into the bosom of the great alliance. It was thus on the protocols strength that Austria intervened and crushed the revolution in Italy, restored Ferdinand I in Naples and Sicily and consequently withdrawn the legal constitution he had promised. It was in the same strength that France intervened to suppress the Spanish revolution in 1822. This marked the beginning of the split within quadruple alliance during the deliberations at Troppau and later Laibach.

On the Carlsbad decrees, the powers agreed with Metternich to implement them since they could help in solving revolutions in the Germany states. However, the absence of France and Britain in this congress reveals that there was no effective alliance of the great power and what ever was agreed upon would not be binding on the two powers that were absent.

**The congress of Laibach of 1821**

This was a third congress which was to continue from where the Troppau protocol stopped. Therefore it came as a continuation of the adjourned Troppau congress. The congress of Laibach was summoned to endorse or rectify acts already taken by the powers in the view of the Troppau resolutions. The Laibach congress was physically attended by Russia under Czar Alexander I Austria under Wenzel Von Metternich, and Prussian under Frederick William III. The powers met to acknowledge the Austrian suppression of the revolutions in Italian states of Naples and Piedmont and consider ways of safeguarding the established Vienna governments against liberal revolutions.

For Spain the powers agreed on the joint suppression of the revolt. However, the question of interference to suppress liberal revolutions was separating the allied powers seriously, but the separation was halted by the Greek war of independence in 1821 and revolutions in the Spanish colonies in Latin America.

**The Verona congress of 1822**

This was the 4th meeting of the great powers which took place at Verona in Northern Italy in October 1822. The European statesmen that attended the meeting include among others Metternich of Austria,

Czar Alexander I of Russia, Frederick William III, and the French representative, and Wellington for Britain on behalf of the new British prime minister Lord Canning. The purpose of this congress was to discuss the revolutions that had broken out in Europe and had not been attended to like the Spanish revolt, the Greek war of Independence, and Mexican revolt.

In this congress the powers under the influence of France proposed that a joint force be dispatched to Spain to suppress the revolt, overthrow the constitution which the king had been forced to grant by the subjects and restore back Ferdinand VII with his autocratic powers.

On the Mexican revolt, Prussia, Austria, and Russia proposed to intervene and suppress the revolt. However, this was rejected by Britain because it was a direct intervention in the internal affairs of America. Britain had ever pledged to join hands with America and fight any power that interferes in Mexico. Due to this, the Mexican revolt was not suppressed and this led to the independence of Mexico.

On the Greek war of independence, there were sharp disagreements between Austria and Russia. This is because Russia under the pretext of protecting the orthodox Christians and the Slav race wanted to support the revolt against mistreatment by the Ottoman rule, but Austria wanted to suppress the revolts.

The powers were divided into two, on one side was Russia, Britain and France ready to support the revolt and the other side was Austria and Prussia well equipped to suppress the revolt. Out of this disagreement, France, Britain, and Russia supported the Greek war of independence which led to the granting of independence to Greece in 1832.

### **The St. Petersburg Congress of 1825**

This was another conference of the great powers of Europe that sat at St. Petersburg in Russia. However, this congress was held at a time when the congress system had broken down and hence nothing much was achieved. It was attended by Austria, Prussia and Russia in an attempt to solve their problems. The St. Petersburg congress became unsuccessful since there were no serious binding resolutions made. The St. Petersburg congress broke in May in bad terms and this marked the end of the congress system although some members continued meeting on an ad hoc basis.

### **The London Congress of 1827**

This was an international meeting that was attended by Britain, France and Russia which led to the promulgation of the Treaty of London on 6, July 1827 by the great powers. The three main European powers had called upon Greece and Ottoman Empire to cease hostilities.

The major aim of this meeting was to sign a treaty that would cause the Ottoman Empire to create an independent Greek State. Members agreed that while the Ottoman Empire should recognize the independence of Greece, the Sultan would be a supreme ruler of the Ottoman Empire. However, the Ottoman Empire, basing upon its superior naval force, declined to accept the idea, this directly caused

the great powers to send troops that destroyed a combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet at the battle of Navarino bay and forcefully created an independent Greece.

## **THE IMPACT OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM**

The congress system which dominated Europe between 1818 and 1830 had far reaching impacts on the social economic and political affairs of the European states. These impacts were both positive and negative.

The era of congresses in Europe led to the establishment and maintenance of peace on the European continent. Ever since the time the congress system was inaugurated, there was no major war that involved the European great powers until 1854 when the Crimean war broke out involving Russia against a coalition of France, Britain, Piedmont, and Turkey. This is because the congress encouraged negotiations in solving European problems rather than wars.

The congress system laid a foundation stone for the future peaceful conflict resolutions through peace organizations. The congress system introduced the use of diplomacy and negotiations in conflict resolution. All the congresses, Aix – La –Chapelle 1818, Troppau 1820, Laibach 1821, Verona 1822 and St Petersburg 1825 involved round table negotiations by the European powers. This made it easy for the peace organizations such as the league of Nations which was formed in 1919 to end the world war I and re-instate peace in the world, the United Nations among others.

The congress reconciled France with other European powers which had been an enemy on the European continent. Since 1792, the great powers of Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia were always organizing coalitions against France who had become an European aggressor. Even in 1815 when the great powers defeated Napoleon Bonaparte at the battle of Waterloo, they stationed an army of occupation on the borders of France and imposed a heavy war indemnity hoping that France would revenge. At the congress of Aix-La – Chappelle, the great powers officially reconciled with France and admitted her into the alliance turning the quadruple alliance into the Quintuple alliance.

The congress system maintained the Legitimate rulers who had been restored by the Vienna congress to their rightful thrones. When the revolutions broke out against the legitimate rulers, the congress system suppressed the revolutions so that these rulers were maintained in their positions for examples when a revolution broke out in Naples in 1820 against Ferdinand I, the congressmen gave Metternich the powers to suppress the revolt. In 1823, the congress system sent the French – Russian Austrian and Prussian troops to suppress a revolt in Spain with the intention of maintaining Ferdinand VIII in power who had been overthrown by the revolt.

The congress system laid a foundation for the abolition of slave trade in Europe. At the Aix-La – Chapelle congress, Britain proposed to the rest of the great powers to have a naval force that would enter the waters and search all the commercial vessels carrying slaves and if found be impounded and

the slaves be freed. Although powers rejected to implement the proposal, the idea was bought hence laying a foundation for the abolition of slave trade in Europe.

The congress system maintained the balance of power that had been laid down by the Vienna congress. This was done in such way that when ever small states revolted against foreign domination, the congress system suppressed the revolutions in fear that they could break the European balance of power principle. For example in 1830, Metternich suppressed the Italian revolt which was against Austrian domination and also in the same year Czar Nicholas I and Metternich suppressed the polish revolt which was against Russian domination so as to maintain the European balance of power.

The congress system laid a foundation for peaceful conflict resolutions in future after its collapse. This is evidenced by the future conferences like the 1840 long conference, the 1841 London straits conference which settled the Syrian question, the 1856 Paris conference that ended the Crimean war, the 1884-85 Berlin conference among others.

The congress offered fair treatment to Napoleon I and other minority groups in Europe. The minority groups includes the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman empire. Napoleon I was given a fair treatment in his exile at St. Helena where he died of a natural death in 1821. The congressmen also requested the sultan of Turkey to offer fair treatment to the Christians under his rule.

The congress system led to the decleration of the independence of the Greece from Turkey. When the Greek war of independence broke out in 1821 over the mistreatment by the Sultans rule, the European great powers of Britain, France and Russian decided to support the Greeks to be free from the mistreatment of the ottoman empire. Against this background, Greece was declared independent in 1832 by France and Britain.

The congress system drew Metternich the Austrian chancellor into the affairs of Europe which made him dominate the European affairs from 1815- to 1848. Metternich monopolized each and congress in Europe which resulted into disagreement between him and other European statesmen like Czar Alexander of Russia. Due to the congress system, Metternich issued the Carlsbad decrees in the Germany student assassinated the Russian journalist, chaired the various congresses in Europe and suppressed many revolts. It is against this background that the period between 1815 to 1814 is refered to as the “Metternich era”

The congress system led to the domination of Europe by the five great powers of Europe which included Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia and France. Ever since its inauguration in 1818, the congress system became a mechanism used by the European great powers to dominate the European great powers to dominate the European affairs. All the congresses starting with that of Aix-La-Chappelle, in 1818 to the congress of London in 1827 were fully dominated by the five great powers of Europe who never involved any small state since the small states were already subjected their rule.

The congress system led to the growth of nationalism and liberalism in Europe. Much as the congress system subjected small states under foreign domination of the great powers, facilitated the growth of nationalism and liberalism as the small states such as those in Italy and Germany realized the need for liberal constitutions. However, this led to the era of revolutions in Europe. This also led to the independence of Greece and Mexico plus the overthrow of the autocratic legitimate rulers.

The congress system failed to create an international army as evidenced at the AIX-La-Chapelle congress where Britain rejected the idea advanced by Frederick William III of Prussia of forming an International army which would be used to suppress revolutions. Upon Britain's rejection, the international army was not formed not only at AIX-la-Chapelle but through out the congress system. That is why when ever the revolutions broke out, it could take the congress system long to suppress them. For example the Spanish revolt broke out in 1821 but was suppressed in 1823 due to lack of international army.

The congress system is blamed for delaying the Italian and Germany unifications. This was done by maintaining Germany and Italy under foreign domination of the European great powers which established suppressive measures against their nationalism and liberalism. For example the carlsbad decrees against the Germans and spirit work against the Italians. The powers also suppressed revolts in Germany and Italy between 1821 and 1830 hence delaying the unification of the two countries.

## **THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM**

The congress system, which started after the Vienna congress and encouraged international conferences, by 1830 had collapsed due to a number of factors which include the following:-

The congressmen had different political ideologies which led to the collapse of the congress system. In Europe, by 1830 Britain and France were under constitutional monarchs and therefore wanted to spearhead the constitutional rule on the continent while Russia, Prussia, and Austria were under autocratic, conservative, and ancient rule, which they wanted to maintain, not only in their countries but in the whole of Europe. This made Britain and France to always conflict with Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Therefore, the different political ideologies of nationalism and liberalism against dictatorship and conservation could not let the powers continue with the congress system.

The death of the founder members of the congress system and the rise of the new leaders led to its collapse. In 1821, Lord Castlereagh died and in 1825 Czar Alexander I of Russia also died who started the congress system with Metternich of Austria their death gave rise to Lord Canning in Britain and Czar Nicholas I of Russia who lacked a parental heart to the system. Therefore, the death of founder members left Metternich alone who could not convince the new leaders to meet in the congresses hence the collapse of the congress system.

The selfish interests of the great powers brought conflicts among them, which led to the collapse of the congress system. The big powers conflicted over the creation of the international army, how to fight

the Barbary pirates, and how to end slave trade at Aix-La- Chapelle and at Verona over the Greek war of independence. Out of these conflicts, suspicion and mistrust developed which made members not to meet in future congresses that led to the downfall of the congress system.

The congress system had a lot of institutional weaknesses which led to its collapse. The congress system did not have any standing army that could be used to suppress the revolutions as required by the congressmen which led to breakout of revolts broke out and took long to be suppressed hence weakening the congress system. The congress system also did not have any constitutional or charter in execution of their activities . All these were institutional weaknesses that led to collapse of the congress system.

By 1830 the spirit of nationalism in Europe had reached the small states unwanted to be independent and have liberal constitutions led to revolutions in Europe since these states rebelled against the foreign domination of the great powers to which they had been subjected. The congress system ignored the nationality of these small states by maintaining them under forceful unifications. Time came when these states started demanding to be liberated and become independent hence dis-organising the congress system leading to its downfall.

The admission of France into the concert of Europe at Aix –La-Chapelle by the big powers of Europe led to the collapse of the congress system. France was considered the only enemy in Europe and since Napoleon was defeated and France suppressed and later on admitted into the congress system. Therefore members found it unnecessary to attend as the enemy had been dealt with and they were satisfied with her stability .This led to the collapse of the congress system since some members could not attend the future congresses. For example Britain sent mere observers to the troppau meeting.

The isolationist policy of Britain also led to the collapse of the Congress system. Britain developed a policy of non-interference in other country's affairs hence to leave autocratic leaders to handle European affairs in a dictatorial manner. She absented her self from the congresses of Troppau and Laibah which meant that what ever was discussed at those congresses did not concern her. The worst came with a new prime minister lord canning who declared every nation for her self and Good for us all.” This British policy led to the collapse of the congress system.

The congress system because of upholding legitimate rulers who had become unpopular in Europe. By maintaining legitimate rulers forcefully into power without considering their unpopularity among the subjects was a great blow to the congress system. This made the subjects to declare revolutions against the autocratic regimes of those rulers which the congressmen and the legitimate rulers themselves suppressed without addressing their causes. For example between 1821 and 1830 revolutions became the order of the day in Europe due to the autocratic rule of the unpopular legitimate rulers and hence the congress system could not survive beyond 1830.



Another factors that undermined the congress system was lack of prior experience. Being the first of its kind on the European continent, it lacked experience and point of reference which made the congress members to handle international matters as individual matters. This indicated that it lacked guiding principles , had no agenda, no constitutional and no work plan all of which made it impossible for the congress system to survive beyond 1830.

The congress system collapsed due to Metternich and the Metternich system which was over rullig in Europe . The Metternich system made the congress system unpopular in Europe. For example Metternich encouraged foreign domination of the small states by the great powers, suppressed the nationalistic and liberalistic revolutions, introduced a spy net work. And instituted the carls bad decrees all of which resulted into revolutions in the most of the European countries like in Italy Germany among others which undermined the survival of the congress system.

The congress system collapsed because of the disagreements between Metternich and Czar Alexander I. In many occasions, the two great statesmen failed to agree for example Czar Alexander I wanted leadership which was based on the Christian principles which Metternich was not ready for. Alexander was a liberal while Metternich was conservative and dictatorial. Alexander stood in support of the Greek Revolt which Metternich was opposed to . Such disagreements could not let the two rulers continue meeting effectively hence the collapse of the Congress system.

The failure of the congress statesmen to involve small states in decision making not calling them in meetings, and subjecting them foreign domination made the congress system collapse in the long run. The great powers of Europe never involved the small states in their congresses, yet they were discussing matters concerning them. This made the congress system unpopular among the small states as they could not support it hence leading to its collapse by 1830.

The outbreak of the Greek war of the independence also contributed to the collapse of the congress system. When the Greek war of independence broke out in March, 1921, the European great powers met at Verona to discuss on the matter. Unfortunately, they became divided into two groups .One group comprising of Russia, France, and Britain ready to support the revolt and the other group comprising Austria and Prussia ready to suppress the revolt. This division undermined the congress system.

### **Revision Questions**

1. To what extent did the congress system live up to the expectations of its founders?
2. Critically assess the achievements of the Congress system in 1815-1830.
3. “It was the death of pioneer founders that led to the downfall of he Congress system by 1830” Discuss

4. How successful was Congress System in achieving its objectives?
5. Account for the collapse of congress system by 1830 (1998. UNEB)
6. Assess the impact of the Vienna settlement of 1814-1815 on Europe.
7. Compare congress system and League of Nations of 1919.
8. why did the congress system collapse between 1815-1830.(UNEB 1992)
9. Assess the achievements of the congress system in Europe up to 1848.
10. To what extent was the congress system an instrument of peace an instrument of peace in Europe between 1815 and 1830. (UNEB 1989)

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FRANCE 1814-1830**

#### **THE RESTORED BOURBONS**

The Bourbon Monarchy was a hereditary ruling line in France. It included rulers like:

Louis XIV 1643-1715,  
Louis XV 1715-1774,  
Louis XVI 1744-1792,  
Louis XVIII 1814-1824 and  
And Charles X 1824 -1830

Louis the XVI was guillotined in 1793 by the Revolutionists during the course of the French Revolution of 1789. The Revolutionists then ruled France from 1792 until 1799 when Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew them in the coup d'état of 18th Brumaire. Napoleon Bonaparte rules France from 1799 up to 1814 when he was forced from power by the coalition forces. In 1812 England formed the fourth coalition consisting of Britain, Russia, and Prussia and later on they were joined by Austria. This coalition started a war of liberation of Europe. Napoleon was defeated in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig in 1814.

After the departure of Napoleon Bonaparte from France in 1814, and his deportation that had defeated him restored to the throne of France the old ruling line of the Bourbons.

The Restored Bourbon monarchy in France consisted of two rulers: Louis XVIII 1814-1824 and Charles X 1824-1830

#### **LOUIS XVIII 1814-1824**

Louis XVIII was the brother of Louis XVI. By the time he was given the throne of France, he was 59 years old. He was in character and intellect upright. He had the common sense to realize that what had happened during the Revolution of 1789, could not be reversed in anyway. He had travelled widely in Europe during his exile where he had seen poverty and hardships that he was not ready to suffer such conditions again. This attitude made him to compromise and reconcile with the situation as it was in 1814 in France.

#### **The Constitutional Charter of 1814.**

When the great powers were giving Louis XVIII power in France, it was agreed that the Bourbon line was not to restore fully the old regime status quo. Louis XVIII was made to understand that he

must not interfere with the political and economic reforms, which still survived as the fruits of the Revolution of 1879.

Accordingly, the new king, Louis XVIII was given a charter confirming the revolutionary liberties of the citizen and provided for a limited monarchy – Constitutional monarchy.

On 4th June 1814, Louis XVIII issued a liberal charter to the people of France. This charter contained the constitution of France up to 1848. In this charter.

The king was to be the Head of government he was given the power to make all appointments. He was to issue ordinances; to declare war; to make treaties of peace alliance and commerce; to command the army and Navy; and was the one to initiate and sanction laws.

The charter provided for a parliamentary system of government. According to the charter, the king could only rule with the consent of a legislature consisting of two chambers;- a chamber of peers and – a chamber of deputies.

The chamber of peers was to be appointed by the king himself. These members were to serve for life or as hereditary members. These members were to sit in secret. They were to act as the high court of justice. They were to try impeachment cases of ministers.

The chamber of deputies was to be elected by those people who paid 300 francs annually as direct taxes. The members of the chamber of Deputies were to hold office for five years. One out of five of its members were to retire every year. The chamber of deputies was to meet once every year. This chamber of Deputies could request the king to introduce laws on a particular subject.

The charter promised to keep the civil codes which Napoleon Bonaparte had established. These codes defined the rights of persons and the law of property. The civil codes accepted the changes brought about by the French Revolution of 1789. The civil codes emphasized that all people were free and equal before the law. These codes accepted the abolition of feudalism. They determined how property should be shared when a man died. There were also criminal codes which categorically stated how people were to be treated in certain circumstances by law. These codes brought uniformity in the French system of law.

On religion, the Roman Catholic Church was reestablished but freedom to worship any religion was granted. This was not the case during the ancient Regime when Catholicism was the only recognized religion in France. All the other religions were not recognized. Any person was free to worship any religion of their choice.

Liberty of the citizens was guaranteed. The charter recognized personal equality of people, the press was given freedom, every citizen of France was entitled to have employment under the state, and every citizen was entitled to trial by jury.

Those people who possessed confiscated property were allowed to keep the property. The property would not be taken away from them.

The charter restored the two nobilities Napoleons nobility and the nobility of the Ancien Regime – on an equal footing. The charter encouraged reconciliation and discouraged revenge.

The charter, therefore, accepted the work of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic gains. It recognized personal equality, ie eligibility for office, religious toleration, the code Napoleon, the concordat and other gains. The charter was given by the King to the people as a matter of grace. It was not from the people to the King but from the king to the people.

Estimate of the Charter of 1814.

The first problems that confronted the Restored Bourbons were inherent in the charter itself. For instance, the charter gave Louis XVIII excessive power. The French Revolution had fought against excessive power by the French Kings. French society of the day therefore did not expect a king to have such excessive power as had been conferred upon Louis XVIII by the charter of 1814. For example, the king alone controlled the army and foreign affairs. Appointments in important offices was also the duty of the king. It was such excessive powers that the French Revolutionaries had fought against in 1789, Therefore, the French men would not be willing to see such powers coming back again.

The charter was not liberal enough. For instance, to qualify to vote in any election, one was expected to be 30 years old and to be paying a tax of 300 francs the liberals in France did not like these restrictions. They had fought against these restrictions in 1789 and were most likely to object to their re-introduction.

The French parliament that Louis XVIII gave to the French men was to have two chambers – the chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies. The king was to appoint the members of the chamber of peers. The Frenchmen were not happy with this type of arrangement. They preferred to take part in the election of these members. Even in the chamber of deputies, the French were not happy because there were very many restrictions placed on the electorate and the candidates for these posts. For instance to be a candidate for the post of deputy, one was expected to be 40 years old and to be paying a tax of 1000 francs annually. In 1789 it was such restrictions that the Frenchmen had fought against. With their being reintroduced, there was bound to be trouble for the Restored Bourbons. The charter of 1814, therefore, set the foundation for the problems that were to confront the restored Bourbons in France.

The Bourbon monarchy was thus restored; but it was now a constitutional monarchy instead of an autocratic one. The majority of the people were well satisfied with this arrangement and no serious difficulties were encountered as long as Louis XVIII reigned. This was because he was content with governing as a constitutional king using the charter.

## **The Reign of Louis XVIII 1814-1824**

Louis XVIII adopted a policy of no revenge. He followed a policy of moderation and did not pay attention to the demands of the ultra Royalists. He was not as conservative as his predecessors. Louis XVIII was an enlightened ruler. He was aware that it was impossible to rewind the clock backwards. So he recognized the gains of the revolution. On coming to power in 1814, he was told to rule the French people using a constitution. This he agreed and issued the charter of 1814. He indeed respected this charter until his death in 1824. On his death bed he is said to have advised his young brothers Charles X, to rule France democratically. Charles X did not follow his brothers advice and as such Charles X ruled for only six years.

Louis XVIII established peace in France for the fifteen years he rules France. He absorbed most of Napoleons former general into the new French army. Unfortunately he did not improve much on their welfare that when Napoleon Bonaparte returned to France during the 100 days, he was welcome by the army.

Louis XVIII pursued good economic policies. He did not bring back the unfair tax system of the Ancient Regime. The luxuries within the royal court together with the ancient royal extravagance were not restored he kept the financial reforms began by Napoleon Bonaparte. He promoted and protected home industries in France agricultural activities prospered during his reign. He was not interested in revenge. He largely stood for the principle of “let by –gones be by –gones” He was ready to forgive and forget. He had a compromising character that he was strongly against the malicious activities of the ultra royalists, although they tended to prevail.

During his reign France managed to pay off the war indemnity to the victor powers that, in 1818 at Aix La Chapelle, France was readmitted into the ranks of the European powers. The army of occupation was also removed from France. The European alliance thus turned from the Quadruple alliance of four powers (Britain, Austria, Russia and Prussia ) to the Quintuple alliance of five powers including France.

He maintained diplomacy in Europe. He maintained the position of France among the great powers of Europe. He was on good terms with the allied powers who brought him to power. It was because of this diplomacy that France was re-admitted into the ranks of the European great powers in 1818, at the congress of Aix La Chapelle.

His chief ministers were men of compromise. Richelieu 1818-1820, tried to please the Frenchmen by preserving the 1814 constitutional charter. Duke de Decazes 1818-1820 tried as much as possible to pursue liberal and moderate policies to all groups of people in France.

He was willing to accept some of the changes brought about by the Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte. He allowed the peasants to keep the land they acquired during the revolutionary days. He maintained trial by jury and accepted the Napoleonic codes, Napoleons local administration arrangements and freedom of the press.



He allowed parliamentary democracy to function. He accepted to follow the constitutional charter of 1814. During his regime France had the best liberal constitution in Europe, only second to that of England. The parliament became functional with a two chamber formation, the chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies. The chamber of deputies was directly elected by the masses. This was the democracy the people had always wanted. This shows that Louis XVIII had learnt some lessons from the Ancien Regime and why it collapsed. This awareness enabled Louis XVIII to rule France democratically until his death in 1824.

In spite of the liberal policies that were undertaken during Louis XVIII regime, there were many shortcomings that were witnessed during his regime.

### **Weaknesses of Louis XVIII**

During the regime of Louis XVIII the policy of the ultra royalists tended to prevail. Most of them were not happy with the Charter of 1814. They were not happy with an form of constitutional government. What they wanted was a total return to the ancient practices. These people had come back to France in large numbers in 1815, expecting to get back all the property and privileges they had lost during the Revolution and the Napoleonic years. These people were more reactionary than the king himself. So they were called “Ultra Royalists” Their leader was the king brother, Comte De Artois, the future king Charles X 1824-1830. He was the most bitter, of all the enemies of the French Revolution. They cut down the army, they censored the press; they abolished the Tri colour, and killed Napoleons general and followers ( the like Marshall Ney. They killed Marshall Ney, the bravest of the brave, of Napoleons generals. They committed all blunders in full.

Louis XVIII is said to have favoured the returnee nobles whom he gave high government offices. He restored the clergy to their former position in state affairs. He appointed mostly nobles to the chamber of peers, and to the ministerial posts. They proposed laws for the nation and made sure that they passed laws that were favourable to noble interests.

Louis XVIII ignored the welfare of the army that when Napoleon Bonaparte staged a comeback from Elba, the army abandoned Louis XVIII and welcomed Napoleon Bonaparte. After the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo in 1815, the Bonapartists of Napoleon Bonaparte known as Bonapartists were attacked. Protestant Christians were also attacked every where in France. This was initiated by the Catholics. Thousands of Bonapartists were either imprisoned, killed or exiled. Many more were dismissed from their jobs or put on half pay. This was what was called the” White terror” In February 1820 the heir to the throne of France, Duke de Berri was assassinated by unknown people. He was the son of count de Artois. The ultra royalists blamed it on the liberal policy of Louis XVIII. As a result of this assassination, the policy of compromise was thrown away. It was replaced with the policy of reactionary. Duke de Orleans, a liberal , was dismissed and an ultra Royalist, Richelieu was put in place. Richelieu brought back censorship of the press and the election was changed. Now voting by secret ballot was abolished and the franchise was narrowed. Double vote was also given to

the landed interests.

In 1821 Richelieu was removed and in his place was appointed Villèle. Villèle was able and careful but an extreme ultra royalist. In 1822 he made censorship of the press even more serious and more rigorous. He gave the church control over education for religious and propaganda purposes. He increased taxes on imported goods to favour the landed proprietors and manufacturers most of whom were nobles. Liberal members of the chamber of Peers were removed and replaced by conservative ones. He extended the life span of the chamber of Deputies from five years to seven years. This was meant to enable the Bourbon Monarchy to maintain power in France.

By the time Louis XVIII died in 1824, he had laid the foundation for the collapse of the Bourbon Monarchy. This was by destroying the political and economic reforms which had survived as the fruits of the French Revolution. He did what the victorious powers forbade him to do.

### **CHARLES X 1824-1830**

Charles X was known as comte de Artois, before he became the king of France in 1824. When Louis XVIII died in 1824, comte de Artois succeeded him as the leader of France. Then he took the name Charles X. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, comte de Artois fled France and went into exile where he became the leader of the Emigrés. When Napoleon Bonaparte was defeated and overthrown in 1814, comte de Artois came back to France and became the leader of the Peers. During the white terror he demanded revenge against the enemies of the monarchy. He was the leader of the Ultra Royalists during the reign of Louis XVIII. It is said that he was a man of prejudice. It is believed that he learnt nothing and forgot nothing during and after the Revolution. He was proud of not having changed at all despite the changes brought by the revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte in France. He believed in the supremacy of the church and was ready to go all the way to satisfy the clergy. His government was a government by priests through priests for priests.

On coming to power he came up with very unpopular policies which led to opposition from all political groups in France.

During his short stay in power in France, he totally disregarded constitutional democracy. He suppressed the freedoms which the charter of 1814 granted the people of France. He censored the press, he suppressed free speech, and restricted freedom of association. This was totally against the revolutionary gains, yet the charter of 1814 had guaranteed them.

In 1825, a law was passed to indemnify the émigrés for the loss of their land during the days of the French Revolution. By compensating the émigrés, he made an unpardonable blunder in the eyes of the common man in France. Each of the émigrés was compensated with & 40 million. The money was raised by lowering the interest rate on the public debt from 5% to 4%. This blunder affected more those people who were members of the middleclass who had bought government bonds and had thus lent their money to government.

Charles X pursued a religious policy aimed at restoring fully the powers of the Catholic church

in the politics of France. On the day of his coronation all the Ancien ceremonies and pomp were strictly followed. He revived the Old Catholic orders like the monasteries and nunneries. To protect the catholic faith, Charles X passed a law of sacrilege in 1826. He also restored church influence in education, by making a catholic bishop the minister of education. In 1789 the Frenchmen rose up to fight such practices. The reestablishment of these ancient practices by Charles X annoyed the French masses, that they rose up in 1830, this time to chase Charles X from France.

The practice of Ultra royalism prevailed during the reign of Charles X. The ultra royalists believed in the policy of revenge. After the battle of Waterloo, they created a reign of terror known as the “white terror” in France. They attacked the followers of Bonaparte, attacked the followers of Protestantism and everywhere they masterminded revenge killings of the supporters of the Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte. They censored the press, changed election laws and narrowed the franchise. They doubled the vote for the landed and gave the church the power to control education. They dismissed the liberal members of the chamber of Peers and replaced them with conservative ones. They extended the life of the house of Deputies from five to seven years. All these changes worried and annoyed the French masses who saw them as a return to the Ancien regime.

Charles X policy was aimed at the restoration of the old order in France. He appointed fanatical and reactionary emigres as his chief ministers. Prince de Polignac was such an enemy of the Revolution that vowed to reorganize society, give back to the clergy their weight in state affairs, to create a powerful aristocracy and surround it with privileges. He totally opposed the constitutional governance. He did not believe in the charter of 1814, His object was to undo the work of the great revolution and restore the autocratic monarchy and the privileged classes of Nobles and clergy as they were before the Revolution of 1789. The appointment of Polignac therefore alienated Charles X even more from his subject.

Charles X disbanded the National guard which was the peoples revolutionary army which had protected them right from the revolutionary days. The people depended on the National guard to defend their revolutionary gains. This national guard had opposed the kings policy of restoring the Divine right of kings and the restoration of privileges to the clergy and nobles. The disbandment of the National guard offended the people of Paris and it prepared his eventual overthrow in 1830.

Charles X abolished the tri-colour flag (RED, WHITE and BLUE) and brought back the Royalist Ancien WHITE Flag. This worried and annoyed the French masses who saw it as a return to the ancient ways in France.

Charles X had a glorious foreign policy. During his reign France conquered Algeria. France also joined the British to help the Greeks against Turkey.

In France itself, the Peasants land acquired during the revolutionary years was not confiscated. The parliamentary system established by the revolution was not totally removed during Charles X rule. For instance, there were elections in 1827 and 1829 for the parliamentary Deputies though the franchise was narrowed.

## **Collapse of the Restored Bourbon Monarchy in France.**

The ordinances of St. Cloud, issued by Charles X in July 1830 caused unrest in France that led to the collapse of the Restored Bourbon Monarchy in France. In July 1830, elections for the Deputies of the lower chamber were held. The voters elected deputies who were opposed to the king. Charles X ignored the new chamber of Deputies and issued four famous ordinances known as "the July ordinances or the ordinances of St. Cloud." These ordinances abolished the just elected chamber of deputies, they abolished freedom of the press and changed the voting so that only those people who supported the king's measures would have the right to vote. Another ordinance reduced the life of the parliament from seven to five years. By these ordinances the King virtually put aside the constitutional charter of 1814 and restored the autocratic monarchy in France. The people of France accepted this challenge. The students, the workers and other people took to the streets, tore up sign posts and built barricades (road blocks) across the narrow streets. They then fought the soldiers for three days until the soldiers gave up. The National Guard and the soldiers then joined the people on 29th July 1830. Charles X was that way defeated. Charles X abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson Henry, Duke of Bordeaux, better known as Count de Chambord.

The Bourbon rulers violated the constitutional charter of 1814. This of the restored Bourbon Monarchy in 1830. Louis XVIII and Charles X did not follow what they were told to do by the great powers in 1814. They were given a charter with which to govern France. Instead the restored Bourbons ignored and violated the 1814 charter leading to their overthrow in 1830.

The Restored Bourbons restored the strength of the Catholic Church in France. Catholicism was restored as the state religion, the Jesuits society reemerged in France, the law of sacrilege was re-established and the clergy were given back their privileges in society. These actions did not please the masses of the people in France. The republicans and liberals of France got disappointed with the Restored Bourbon rule.

The restored Bourbons appointed ultra royalist ministers who were out of step with public opinion in France. Polignac aimed at organizing society and restore the privileges of the first and second estates. This was what the French people had fought against in 1789, The reintroduction of such policies kept the French spirit of revolution burning that in July 1830, they staged another revolution which led to the collapse of the Bourbon Monarchy in 1830.

The Restored Bourbons decided to compensate the emigrés who had lost property during the Revolutionary days. A lot of money was spent on indemnifying the émigrés. Much of this money was got by reducing the interest on government bonds. These bonds were held by the bourgeoisie – Middle class- who had lent their money to the government. By reducing the interest rates from 5 percent to 4 percent the Bourbons transferred a lot of money from the middle class to the privileged classes. This greatly annoyed the masses.

Collapse of the Restored Bourbon monarchy in France was also brought about by the weakness and latter the collapse of the congress system . The congress powers had earlier worked in concert, to eliminate any form of revolt in Europe. However later on, the congress system was weakened by internal conflict. The powers could no longer work in concert. This inability to act as one, encouraged the oppressed groups of people to revolt against their oppressors. This was the case with France in July 1830, when the restored Bourbons were removed from power.

The restoration of the old order in France contributed to the collapse of the Restored Bourbon monarchy. The restored Bourbon rulers aimed at reversing the trend of event in France, to that prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789. Fanatical, reactionary and conservative chief ministers were appointed to fulfill this dream. Such chief ministers were Martignac and Polignac. These ministers did not believe in the charter and worked hard for its abolition their aim was to reorganize society, give back to the clergy their weight in society, reorganize society, give back to the clergy their weight in society, create a powerful ruling class and surround it with privileges . Their object was to reverse the work of the great revolution of 1789, restore the absolute monarchy and the system of privileges as they were before the revolution of 1789. This restoration, of the old order was climax by the enactment of the ordinances of St. Cloud. It was these ordinances that sparked off the revolution that terminated the Restored Bourbon monarchy from the leadership of France in 1830.

### **Revision Questions**

1. “The policies of the restored Bourbon monarchy of 1815 – 1830 were unrealistic”. Discuss.
2. Assess the achievements King Louis XVIII in France 1815 – 1824.
3. “The restored Bourbons led to 1830 revolutions in France”. Justify.
4. Why was the reign of Charles X in France so short lived?
5. To what extent was violation of 1814 charter contribute to overthrow of the restored French Bourbons?
6. “The downfall of Charles X was expected”. Discuss.
7. “The restored Bourbons had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing of the old order which led to their downfall in 1830”. Discuss.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **FRANCE 1830-1848**

#### **THE ORLEANS MONARCHY UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE 1830-1848**

When Charles abdicated the throne of France and fled to England, the revolutionaries faced a problem of establishing an alternative system of government. There were many divisions in France with different political programmes for France i.e the Bonapartists who wanted a continuation of the changes Napoleon Bonaparte had established in France, the Royalists who wanted the grandson of Charles X, Duc de Bordeaux to ascend the throne and continue with the Bourbon line, the socialists who wanted a complete social and political reform and above all the Republicans who wanted a Republic to replace a monarchy under the presidency of Lafayette, the hero of 1789/ Charles' grandson was unacceptable because of his age (young) and the reflection.

The evils of Bourbon rule. The creation of a Republic was the popular choice amongst the common people of Paris but was regarded as too extreme by the moderate middleclass. It was during this confusion that the name of Louis Philippe, a member of the Orleans, a junior branch of the Bourbon family was suggested and was accepted by the majority as the next French king.

#### **LOUIS PHILIPPE 1830 -48**

Following the July Revolution 1830 Louis Philippe Egalité, the Duke of Orleans, a junior branch of the Bourbons was proclaimed king of France. Louis Philippe was the son of Egalité born in 1773. He took over as the Duke of Orleans after his father. He once belonged to the Jacobin club and fought in the revolutionary wars against Austria in 1794. He voted for the death of his cousin Louis XVI. Later when he lost favour of the revolutionaries, he fled to Switzerland and later to England. He returned to Paris after the battle of Waterloo and began mixing with people of all classes especially the middleclass. This made him a familiar figure in Paris and Parisians identified him as an ordinary citizen. He has been described by some historians as having been intelligent, observant and self-confident with great knowledge of foreign affairs. He was the first French Monarch to be elected and was presented to the chamber of deputies as a champion of the revolution.

#### **FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE AS KING OF FRANCE.**

Louis Philippe was welcomed as French king in 1830 because of his revolutionary background. He supported the 1789 French revolution i.e. fought for the revolution in the battle of Jemappes 1792 and went to exile because of the revolution. He was opposed to the ideals and practices of the ancient regime. He for example showed little interest in the extravagancy of the Ultras and even voted for the death of Louis XVI, his cousin.



Thiers, Gambetta and their companions presented Louis Phillipe to the chamber of Deputies as candidate for the French mornachy and they produced for him a very good testimony i,e his revolutionary background and social habits. He associated with all people and led a simple kind of life. He himself wrote books suggesting solutions to the problems of France at the time. This identified him with the common people of Paris and France in general which earned him the support of the ordinary people.

He associated with middleclass interests, a class to which he belonged which enabled him to win the support of the middleclass. He was elected by the chamber of Deputies which was dominated by the middleclass.

The liberal demands of July 1830 and the unpopularity of Charles X provided ground for the support of Louis Philippe. Charles' reign had led to political frustration. and desperation among Frenchmen and the confusion was exploited by Louis Philippe. His moderate stand made him a compromise king. He was seen as a balance between the excesses of the Bourbon Monarch and the French revolution of 1789 (Republicanism). He accepted to rule as a moderate constitutional monarch and to adopt the revolutionary tri-color flag instead of the white flag of the Royalists.

He had a true hereditary claim to the throne, being a member of the Bourbon family and the Royalists readily accepted him. He belonged to the Orleans house, a junior branch of the Bourbon family. In addition, Philippe's unique career and character gave him unpredictable and confusing personality to various French groups Frenchmen were generally naive about Philippe's intentions and political temperament. This factor eluded many classes to support him to power i.e. his earlier identification with the peoples' cause as his personal concern right

The fear of Republicanism led to support for Louis Philippe from the Bonarpatists, Royalists and moderate middleclass people. Lafayette, the leader of the Republican party though experienced, was very old and therefore unacceptable to the ordinary Frenchmen. Secondly Frenchmen feared Republicanism would bring to France another Reign of terror as was the case in 1792.

### **LOUIS PHILLIPE AS KING (DOMESTIC /INTERNAL POLICY)**

Louis Philippe reigned under very unfortunate circumstances. The French society was divided into Socialists, Bonapartists, Royalists, Liberals and Republicans who expected him to persue the 1830 revolution further. Louis had to contend with all these groups. His success depended upon his degree of imagination and foresight. During his 18years reign (1830-48), Louis tried in many ways to show skills, common sense, craft and statesmanship in maintaining his precarious position. Inspite of this, Philippe's reign has been described by historians as 18 years of disappointment Louis Philippe faced growing opposition from the various political groups in France and in the end failed to wield the country together. Though he carried out a number of reforms, such were largely superficial.

In August 1830, Louis Philippe accepted the title “King of the French” often known as the citizen king (constitutional monarch) so as to change the former attitude the French had about their kings who claimed for absolute monarchism. In addition he adopted the revolutionary tri-color flag as the flag of France and retained his name Louis Philippe rather than becoming Louis XIX or Philippe VII. He often dressed like any businessman with no royal robes, leading a simple kind of life,. In being this crafty, Louis attracted people in the first days of his reign. However such virtues were condemned later. This behaviour made him lose his popularity and honour as king.

The old Royalists despised his democratic habits of lighting his own study fire, shaving himself, living principally on soup and moving round the shops with no greater protection than an eternal umbrella. The glory seekers came to think that the citizen king led to dull a life, when compared with the powers and glories of Napoleon I. and Louis XVI. Thus by 1840, Philippe’s social habits were being condemned where as they had been praised in 1830.

The new king introduced a series of changes designed to remove the worst excesses of the Bourbon rule. The most important changes were those affecting the political system i.e a revised constitution, the charter of 1830 embodied many alterations, i.e the king lost his right to suspend laws and to rule by decree, and the assembly was accorded true parliamentary status. The electoral system was also revised. To qualify for a vote in elections to the assembly, Frenchmen now had to pay 200 francs per year in direct taxation as opposed to 300 francs under the Bourbons. As a result, the electorate was widened from 94,000 to almost 170,000 people. Censorship of press was abolished, freedom of worship was guaranteed, church influence in state matters was reduced i.e. the church became a subject of the state. Such changes would have been fair but they were often punctuated by Louis Philippe’s conservative policies, and were generally considered unsatisfactory by the liberals.

In addition, Louis Philippe’s regime associated with the well to do conservative middleclass composed of manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, journalists and university teachers. This was a small section of the entire population of France. The conservative middleclass (party of resistance) were opposed to any change in line with democracy. They wished for law and order to prevail in France, and between France and the rest of Europe (Pacific Policy). He ignored the Bourgeoisie of the movement party who desired further democratic changes and France to pose as a champion of the oppressed people of Europe (the Belgians, Italians, Poles etc). The result was the growing disquiet and opposition from among the party of movement members for their lack of political freedom and denial of the right to vote. Many were denied Franchise because they were not property owners and had limited wealth. It is this group that organised the working class to oust Louis Philippe.

The regime of Louis Phillippe was bourgeoisie in action, in purpose and personnel. Due to the problems of the time, most of Philippe’ s governments were short lived until Guizot -a University professor came to power as his principle counselor. The working classes equally disliked his government for the simple reason that though it was their blood which had established it, it did almost nothing to improve their lot. The working conditions became very unsatisfactory but with minor exceptions no labour

legislation was enacted. It is only after 1841 that the working hours for children under 16 years was reduced to 12 hours a day while the employment of children below 8 years was prohibited.

Louis Philippe's reign triumphed in the field of industrialization. Industries were encouraged, machinery was imported from England and factories were set up in France. Local industries were protected to compete favourably with England. Industrialization caused towns to grow out of all proportions to the general increase in population. Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse more than doubled in population. The result of this was that demand on scarce resources increased i.e housing, food, health facilities and the general conditions of living especially in industries like working hours and the terms of payment. All these people wanted a democratic government to solve their problems.

Louis domestic policy especially in regard to the poorer classes greatly damaged his reputation. Both Louis and his minister Guizot completely failed to realise the need for state action on behalf of France's poorer classes or for any measure of political and social progress. While industrialization benefited the middleclass and fostered national growth, it exposed the horrors of factory life-slum dwellings, child and women labour, poor pay etc. The wealthier middleclass, the bankers and industrialists were prospering greatly. This widened the gap between the rich and poor. Round the same time, there was further material progress registered.

Railways were built while the production of French wine increased two fold, coal - four fold and machinery tenfold. Thus the situation was most annoying to the working classes who were not only poor, but also poor in a period of prosperity. The only contribution the government seemed to make to the matter was to break up strikes by bloodshed, suppress trade unions and political clubs and ignore the ever-increasing demand for an extension of the Franchise. The result of people's discontent was that through out his reign more than six attempts were made on his life, the most spectacular being in 1836, when a bullet grazed his chin. The idea behind was that people were tired of his rule, which had come to be monarchical.

To appease the French memories of Napoleon, the Napoleonic flag was adopted while the body of Napoleon I was exhumed from St. Helena and returned to France for the official state burial. A monument - the "Arc de Triomphe" was constructed in commemoration of the great emperor's achievements. The Bonapartists nevertheless were dissatisfied by the inglorious and humiliating regime of Louis Philippe. They remained a serious threat to Phillippe's reign until his downfall in 1848. The champion of their cause was a nephew to the emperor, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte who organised two unsuccessful attempts to capture power in France (1836 and 1840) during Phillippe's reign.

In 1831, troubles broke out in various parts of the country. In Paris, republican demonstrations broke out. In Lyons, political and economic unrest prevailed in the silk manufacturing industry about the questions of scale and working conditions. All this meant the need for social and economic change. The legitimists (Royalists) were dissatisfied with Louis ascension to the throne of France. Backed by

the nobility and the clergy, they were committed to restoring a Bourbon and stood as the defenders of a hereditary monarchy but were unable to mount an effective challenge to Louis Philippe. In 1832, the Duchess de Berty, mother of the Bourbon heir - the Duc de Bordeaux attempted to incite a royalist rising against Louis Philippe but this was not so serious. She was arrested and imprisoned. In spite of this failure, the legitimist cause continued to attract clerics and aristocrats who could not accept a constitutional monarchy. Thus, Louis Philippe was slowly losing grip on his power.

To deal with growing opposition, Louis resorted to conservative means i.e. suppression which caused further disappointment. In April 1834 there was opposition in parliament over a new electoral law restricting the rights of association among parliamentarians. This caused more fighting and repression caused many more casualties than the 600 of 1831.

Although the charter of 1830 had supposedly put an end to press censorship, it was not long before the king and his ministers were once again insisting on press restrictions. New press laws were introduced in 1832, 1833, 1834 and 1835 making it difficult for opposition papers to operate without facing fines, confiscations and even prison terms. Some republican newspapers were forced to close down.

The Bourgeoisie monarchy had a very small electorate. Still less than three percent of adult Frenchmen were entitled to participate in National elections. The masses believed that if the Franchise was widened to include at least all the middleclass, the views of the distressed would be heard and perhaps a change be effected. In other words, the demands of the people had come to be expressed in terms of the vote. Unfortunately all the efforts put in to bring about reforms by constitutional means were frustrated by the Bourgeoisie who formed Louis' government.

Louis and his minister Guizot delayed to sanction an electoral reform and Guizot's answer to those who wanted an extension of the Franchise was "Get rich and qualify automatically" The parliamentary system had never really functioned under Louis Philippe and the exact extent of the King's power was rather vague. The Bourgeoisie themselves began to question the degree of control Louis wanted to exercise over the assembly for between 1840-47, his nominees to parliament rose from 142 to 193 out of 459. During the 1840's, numerous electoral reform bills came before the chamber of deputies each proposing a moderate extension of the Franchise to produce a broader middleclass electorate. However the king remained unconvinced of such a need and Guizot echoed his resistance- "I cannot find among us today, in the actual state of society, any real and serious motive, any motive worthy of a free and sensible country to justify the proposed electoral reform"

Frustrated by their failure to make a headway in the assembly, the reformers took to holding extra-parliamentary meetings in banqueting halls (reform banquets). Here they were able to debate the reform issue and publicize their cause. Thus, with the opposition in parliament itself, it would not be long before Louis Philippe is overthrown.

Guizot maintained himself in power by a system of bribery and though he was supported throughout the years 1840-1848 by a parliamentary majority, he was opposed by most of the country.

Government posts, pensions, business contracts (especially with the new railways) were distributed among members of parliament.

In his domestic policy, it was only in education that Philippe's government made headway.

During the period 1832-48 (Soult's, Thiers' and later Guizot's ministries)

a comprehensive system of education law was passed by which every commune of over 6000 inhabitants had a state secondary school. Teacher training colleges were also established. The reforms however impressed a few wealthy Frenchmen that supported Louis government but the rest of the people in the countryside looked at the reforms reservedly for they lacked the means to make use of such opportunities.

People were also disappointed by Louis' foreign policy of peace with the rest of Europe and over subservience to Britain.

### **LOUIS PHILLIPE'S FOREIGN POLICY 1830-48**

To many Frenchmen, the French foreign policy 1830-48 was generally a failure on grounds that their aspirations were not fulfilled. By tradition, the Frenchmen were accustomed to the glories of military conquest and their country posed as an international and influential power in Europe especially during Napoleon's reign. Such supremacy did not survive the might of other great powers in 1815 when France faced a humiliating and ignominious defeat at Waterloo. Since then, nationalistic sentiments were aroused amongst the Frenchmen for the revival of French glory in Europe and revenge of the humiliation of 1815.

As the competition with other countries in various fields for example trade, science and intellectualism was given a boost, the nationalists became even more concerned. Most of the French intellectuals, engineers and scientists had been trained in Britain and wanted France too achieve as much as Britain had done. France therefore developed the egoism which forced nationalists to venture into anything for the sake of competition and international supremacy. The liberals wanted Louis Philippe to stand as a champion of the oppressed nationalities of Europe (Italians, Poles, Croats etc) and to repudiate the settlement of 1815 i.e an aggressive foreign policy (this explains why the Bonapartists were to remain a threat to those in power).

Contrary to French nationalistic and liberal aspirations, Louis Philippe pursued the pacific policy (peace with the rest of Europe) for fear of losing his newly won throne. He had not secured support of the hereditary monarchies of Europe and so owed his position to a successful publicity campaign and cooperation with Europe, lest, the powers would unite and restore Charles X to the throne.

Accordingly, his conduct in foreign affairs was restrained and France posed no danger to international peace and stability. He worked for the improvement of commerce and trade relations with Britain and never to re-assert France as a continental power. This enabled France to secure the support of Britain,

Austria, Russia and Prussia and to maintain general peace in Europe. However, the pacific policy greatly damaged Louis Philippe's reputation among the Frenchmen. The interests of the nationalists and liberals were not satisfied and this accounts for his fall in 1848. The following episodes are examined in French foreign policy during the period 1830-48.

### **The Belgian revolution 1830**

Louis Philippe failed to make the French influence felt in the Belgian struggle for independence. The Belgians rose up in 1830 against Dutch rule in an emphatic rejection of the 1815 settlement imposed on them by the great powers at Vienna. They resented the use of Dutch as the official language and other government policies which were unfair to the Belgians (refer to chapter V). The rebellion started in Naples and the secret society spread. Dutch troops -were resisted and Belgium declared herself independent in 1830. Louis Philippe decided not to get involved and diplomatic victory went in favour of Britain which annoyed the Bonapartists, Liberals and nationalists. The worst of it was Louis Philippe's refusal to accept his son become King of new constitutional Belgian state as the Belgians had proposed. Palmerstone of Great Britain made his nomination of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg who ascended the throne. There was general feeling in France that the King was dull and weak and had been out manoeuvred by Palmerstone in a bargain for international power and fame. Lafayette who ventured to force Louis Philippe into participation was forced to resign in 1831.

Later in 1831 when the Dutch troops attacked Belgium, the allied powers selected Louis Philippe to defend Belgium. This he did successfully and was thus able to claim part of his reputation (that France had aided Belgian independence) Nevertheless, he was only going as far as Britain allowed him, thus undermining the position of France as an independent and powerful state. Eventually, the matter of Belgian independence was settled in 1839 by the London treaty, which was accepted by the Dutch King.

### **Poland and Italy (1830)**

In 1830, Louis Philippe refused to intervene in the Polish revolt where he was expected to participate by the glory seekers and the liberals. He did nothing to assist the Poles in their revolt against the Russians. He also did nothing to assist the Italians in their agitation against the Austrians. Though the Pacific policy had good intentions, the nationalistic and liberal interests if not served were to be condemned on Louis and his counselors.

### **Spain and Portugal:**

In 1836, Louis refused to participate in the Spanish civil war. Thiers who wanted to support the liberal side in the war was forced by the King to resign. Louis would not let Thiers risk a more adventurous foreign policy that would sour relations between France and the rest of Europe. So while Louis Philippe was busy winning support for his power outside France, he was slowly but steadily losing it



at home (i.e. in France itself).

In 1834 a quadruple alliance of Britain, Portugal, Spain and France was able to bring liberal forces to power in Spain and Portugal by overthrowing despots (absolutes). But this did not please the liberals at home because Louis Philippe was only acting as a liberal outside but a conservative at home (France). He was the old bottle to carry the new wine.

Spanish marriages 1846.

In 1846, Spanish marriages brought further trouble. Both the Queen of Spain Isabella and her sister Infanta were unmarried. France and Britain eagerly presented candidates for the successful candidate it would mean prestige and international fame. England supported the German Prince (who was related to Queen Victoria) while Louis Philippe presented his son. Because of the conflicting interests, a compromise was finally reached that the Queen should marry her cousin and the Queen's sister should marry Louis Philippe's but only after the heir to the throne had been born. This was accepted by both Guizot and Louis but of course this was again subservience to Britain. Realising this, Guizot and Louis secretly arranged the marriages of the Spanish ladies on the same day i.e. Isabella to an old nobleman rumoured to be impotent and Infanta was likely to produce a boy who would thus inherit the throne) to a son of Louis Philippe. Thus Palmerston had lost in the bargain while France rang with applause. In response, Britain smarted and withdrew her friendship, never to come to France's rescue when hit by internal mutinies as manifest in 1848. Thus France's old friend had been lost which annoyed the merchants and industrialists.

### **The near east (Syrian question (1839-40))**

Louis Philippe's involvement in the affairs of the Turkish Empire (to which Syria was part) humiliated France and damaged Louis' reputation. Egypt one of the dominions of the Turkish Empire was entrusted to Mehmet Ali as governor. Egypt was also a traditional sphere of influence of France and most of its departments and projects developed with the help of French funds and personnel. Due to conflicts between Mehmet Ali of Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey (Muhammad II) over who should rule Syria, war broke out in 1831 between the two. Apart from France, other powers mainly Britain and Russia rapidly supported the Sultan of Turkey against Mehmet Ali. France on the other hand due to public opinion (which was in favour of Ali) supported Egypt. Britain worked with Russia to defeat the Egyptians. At the height of the crisis, France was isolated and unable to defend her interests. Thiers wanted to go ahead with the venture but Louis, a cautious man refused to go too far and forced Thiers to resign. But in doing so, he burdened himself with humiliation of a resounding diplomatic defeat which contributed to Louis Philippe's downfall. People criticized him for his double-mindedness, lack of political foresight and stigma in his policies.

In 1840 when Thiers resigned, Guizot of the conservative party came to office and pursued a conservative and pacific policy. His motto was "peace and no reforms". The first reflection of the pacific policy was the agreement to which he was a signatory with Britain about the Turkish Empire. He said

“Let us not talk of our country having to conquer territory to wage great wars, to undertake bold deeds of Vengeance.

If France is free, rich, powerful, wise, we need not complain “.

Such a policy was contrary to the aspirations of the Frenchmen and the emergence of Guizot therefore was not a triumph but disaster to Louis Phillipe.

### **Tahiti**

Between 1843-44, the friendship with Britain was threatened again with matters concerning the island of Tahiti claimed by both England and France. In 1834, a British mission that had been sent to Tahiti was arrested and imprisoned by the French. There followed an immediate outcry in England for the release of the people. Eventually Louis Phillipe agreed to release them and pay compensation for the wrong France had done. This humiliated the French who hated Louis and Guizot's subservience to Britain. In all these cases, Louis betrayed the nationalistic aspirations of the Frenchmen.

### **The Swiss question:**

A civil war broke out in Switzerland between the conservative Catholics and the Protestant liberals. Britain secretly supported the protestants but France feared helping the Catholics. Philippe feared to annoy Britain and liberals at home. The Catholics of France condemned Philippe's government for failing to help fellow Catholics while the nationalists were displeased by Philippe's Pacific policy.

### **Algeria**

This is the only area where Louis Philippe devoted considerable effort to carving out an Empire and gain prestige. The project began during Charles X's reign. Steady colonization was encouraged and by 1847, around 50,000 French citizens had established themselves in Algeria. Unfortunately, the project failed to awaken any patriotic pride among the glory seekers for it was not without heavy costs of life and money and as such, instead of adding honour to the royal family, the venture just associated the government with unpopular military adventures.

By 1847 therefore, the French foreign policy had greatly weakened Louis Phillips's government inspite of its advantages. It sustained Louis Philippe's leadership in Europe for 18 years through diplomacy and peace with Europe but deprived it of internal support and eventually led to Philippe's downfall.

### **OTHER CHALLENGES TO LOUIS PHILLIPE:**

The fall of Louis Phillipe was made easier by the presence of three forces in the French society- Socialism, Bonapartism and Republicanism whose rhymes appealed to the majority and promised hope to French men.

## **Socialism:**

Socialism was one of the increasingly attractive alternatives to the retarded regime of Louis Phillipe. It was spread since 1828 by a series of brilliant French writers like Proudhon, Leroux and Louis Blanc. With ideologies of equality and fair distribution of wealth, it attracted the attention of the poor, soldiers, workers and all those who had been denied a share in political power. The only reform the government had so far introduced was to limit the working age for children. Louis Blanc in his book "organisation du Travail" excited a sense of revolt by discussing the way society could better be organized and also promising through socialism what Louis Phillipe failed to do. He argued that the whole unemployment problem would be solved when the state becomes an employer in addition to being a profit maker. His phrase the "right to work" became a demand of the poorer classes who saw in socialism not only a means of avoiding unemployment problems but also a method of winning for themselves a much fairer and greater share in the wealth of the country. While this was still theoretical, the German Marx and Max Angeles were maturing the radical and non- conciliatory socialism known as communism, which fermented a revolutionary spirit in France.

## **Bonapartism.**

Another force providing an alternative programme and sparking off revolution was Bonapartism i.e. the belief in the glories of Napoleon I. Bonapartism had spread in France due to the role played by the nephew of the emperor-Louis Napoleon Bonaparte who had spread the view that Napoleon's dictatorship had been circumstantial and temporary and that if conditions had allowed him to continue, he was to organize the economy and government to suit the interests of the people. While in exile at St. Helena, Napoleon himself edited a book about his career showing that his constant warfare was more or less accidental. Such ideas excited the minds of the disappointed population in the hope that the situation would change if Napoleon's relatives were given chance to lead France.

Bonapartism was strengthened by Louis Phillipe in his attempt to cool down the French memories of Napoleon. He for example returned the body of Napoleon I to France and constructed the Arc de Triomphe in commemoration of Napoleon I's achievements and opened the museum of conquests at Versailles. The Manouvriers were however unsuccessful. They just provided opponents of Louis Phillipe [he platform to challenge his government. In the building (Arc de Triomphe), Patriots e.g. Louis Blanc pinned writings and paintings in praise of Napoleon I (Napoleonic legend had taken root). Since Bonapartism was associated with Republicanism, the promotion of this legend, which was also evident in the adoption of the Napoleonic tri-color flag, made the revolution non-distant. Yet Guizot and Louis lacked the imaginativeness and foresight to think of curbing these developments.

## **Republicanism**

Another alternative to the regime of Louis Phillipe was Republicanism. The Republicans did not constitute a political party but their ideas and objectives represented a political alternative to a

monarchy. Republicanism appealed to large sections of the poorer classes especially in towns. It seemed to offer social justice and to address the problems of the middleclass. Its leaders were from the middleclass who wanted to adopt the revolutionary method, as was the case in 1793. Republicans were the most serious threat to Louis Phillipe and were responsible for a number of assassination **attempts on the King.**

### **Economic distress.**

Discontent was fueled by the bad harvests of 1846-47 leading to greater shortage of food and higher prices than before yet Guizot and Louis policy stuck on the laissez- faire doctrine (leave things alone). The poor classes were hit harder by this development, which eroded the remaining support for Louis Phillipe among the poor classes. The food crisis caused frustration and desperation among the already grieved people who organized themselves to change the status quo.

### **The revolution of 1848.**

The spark for the revolution was provided by the famine crisis resulting from the bad harvests of 1846-47. The grieved masses resorted to organizing a series of reform banquets (public dinners) at which a series of talks were made on the extension of the franchise and other reforms. Bonapartism, Republicanism, and socialism were the major areas of discussion at these banquets. The middle class people were excluded from these meetings, thus a class conflict between the poor and the rich had developed. A belief that the king was no longer a constitutional monarch developed among the people and since no organized voting had taken place for a long time, a view spread that Guizot had maintained himself in power through bribery and corruption and that all the pensions were being paid to the Bourgeoisie supporting Guizot.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1848, a great Reform banquet was announced in Paris but was banned before it was held. Demonstrations followed in favour of widening the franchise. The middleclass also joined the demonstrators against the government. The king now dismissed Guizot against whom (according to Louis demonstrations had been organized) but by then it was too late. A mere dismissal of Guizot was not enough concession for the disappointment caused by his government throughout the eighteen years.

On 23 February 1848, the National guard was ordered to fire at the demonstrators which inflamed them. The soldiers expressed their sympathy with the demonstrating crowd and so encouraged it. On the 24 February 1848, Louis reviewed the National Guard but was given a cool reception. This convinced Louis that he had lost support even among the middleclass and so could not remain in power by force. He is a man that hated bloodshed and so he abdicated in favour of his grandson and thereafter went to England. The republicans ignored Louis Philippe's grandson and declared France a republic. Thus for the second time, France had become a republic and the monarchy came to an end.

The regime of Louis Philippe failed mainly because its real services in keeping peace for 18 years and in improving industry and commerce were not generally appreciated. The Bourgeoisie monarchy had a very small electorate (Narrow franchise) and lacked a popular political base. Few French men regarded Louis Philippe as their natural leader but most had accepted him resignedly. This was caused by his failure to tackle a persistent economic, social and political crisis. It was suggested that Louis Philippe lost his throne not so much because of what he did but because of what he failed to do. The King seemed unwilling to make alternations to the constitutional settlement of 1830 and associated himself with a small section of the population, which resulted into a prolonged period of immobility frustrating to those who wished for change. The government did almost nothing for the workers, it was corrupt and followed the footsteps of Britain.

The Nationalists who wanted glory were bored of his regime for being oversubservient to Britain and too cautious to speed up French glory abroad. There was no success in foreign affairs and therefore nothing to divert people's attention from the immediate problems at home. The ministry of Guizot had barred progress and one republican poet Larmatine commenting about the same said "If that were all the genius required of a statesman charged with the direction of affairs, there would be no need for statesmen-a milestone would do just as well". To many French men, it became clear that the first step to progress was to remove the milestone ministry from power as Guizot's government was rapidly nicknamed.

#### **FACTORS FOR THE DOWNFALL OF LOUIS PHILLIPE.**

Louis Phillipe fell from power mainly as a result of his failure to tackle the worsening economic social and political crisis and to lead an enterprising foreign policy. The following factors explain Phillipe's down fall-some were his own making while some were beyond his own making.

Phillipe's practical dictatorship provoked forces that over threw him for example he rigidly censored the press (through the press laws of 1832, 1833, 1834 and 1835) contrary to the 1830 constitutional provision and French liberty. This earned him opposition from liberal journalists. Further still he imposed the law of "discussion" by which Frenchmen were not to discuss any other political party except the one in power. He even restricted the rights of association amongst deputies, which annoyed most of the liberals.

His association with the middle class people a small section of the French society alienated him from all social groups in France. He did almost nothing to improve the welfare of the workers, which greatly undermined his position.

His regime was characterized by corruption and many other scandals. Government pensions and projects were awarded to the Bourgeoisie supporting Louis Phillipe's government. Between 1840 and 1848, the King and his chief minister Guizot increasingly played an active role in government and overshadowed the chamber of deputies. Guizot maintained himself in power through bribery and corruption while Louis Phillipe increased his influence over the chamber during the same time. This

was unacceptable to Frenchmen.

Louis Philippe failed to curb the growing economic crisis in the country resulting from industrialization. Industrialization exposed the horrors of factory life. The government was insensitive to the poor conditions and demands of the workers who were protesting against the poor conditions of work, low wages etc. Thus between 1830-1840, there were several workers riots led by the socialists in the different towns of France.

The Homeliness of his behaviour made him lose his popularity and honour as King. His social habits i.e. ordinary dressing were criticised by even his friends the middleclass. They were not attractive and expected of a King especially when compared with earlier Kings such as Louis XVI and Napoleon Bonaparte. In addition to this, the King was not respected because he was fairly old and quite ugly. French artists commonly ridiculed him as “a n ugly William pear “.

The reforms Louis Phillipe introduced in 1830 especially in the constitution were considered inadequate by the Liberals and Republicans. Moreover his regime-was punctuated by conservative policies for example press censorship was re-introduced in 1832, 1833 and was not lifted through out Louis' reign.

Phillipe's regime stuck to a narrow Franchise. Less than a million of adult Frenchmen were qualifying to vote out of a population of about thirty five million people. Louis ignored the growing parliamentary demand of widening the franchise by lowering the qualification age and money. This increased discontent and led to political frustration among the middleclass.

Louis Phillipe neglected the Bourgeoisie of the movement party. These ones contemplated a plan of further democratic and social reforms in France and that France should pose as a champion of the oppressed nationalities of the world such as the Belgians and Poles in their struggle for liberty. Louis Phillipe relied on the Resistance party of the conservative middle class when choosing his ministers and therefore lost the support of the moderate middleclass. The benefits of prosperity were not spread fairly in society.

The appointment of Guizot as his chief minister in 1840 greatly undermined his position as King. Guizot was arrogant and insensitive to the demands of the different sections of the French society. He infuriated the workers by repulsing their demands for the extension of the Franchise and pursuing the Laissez Faire policy.

Governments brutal response to the opposition caused more unrest for Louis Phillipe's reign i.e. the press was censored, trade unions were banned while demonstrations and riots were often put down by gunfire. Consequently, Frenchmen withdrew their support for Louis Phillipe.

Louis Phillipe conflicted with important sections of the French people in his foreign policy. Most



Frenchmen wanted Louis Phillipe to pursue a vigorous foreign policy in order to boost French national glory abroad and reverse the outcome of the Vienna settlement 1815. Unfortunately Louis Phillipe pursued a cautious and peaceful foreign policy and always followed the footsteps of Britain which offended French national pride.

When the Belgians revolted in 1830 against Dutch rule imposed on them by the Vienna settlement, they asked for French help to their cause to which Louis Phillipe refused. The King even declined the offer for his son becoming king of Belgium after a warning from the British foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston. His not getting involved annoyed the liberals and glory seekers who later worked to undermine his power.

Similar revolutions occurred in Poland and Italy and these two countries appealed for French help to their cause to which Phillipe refused for fear of bitter reaction from Austria, Prussia and Russia. He equally ignored Italian revolutionaries purposely to avoid conflicts with Austria. Although his intention was justifiable, they accused him of cowardice and denounced him as the weakest of the French rulers. He was hated by the liberals, republicans and Bonapartists who always struggled to effect his downfall, which came in 1848.

His affairs with Mehmet Ali of Egypt contributed to his fall. France offered help to Mehmet Ali who conflicted with the sultan of Turkey over the control of Syria in 1839-44. The other great powers i.e. Russia and Britain supported the sultan. At the height of the crisis, France was humiliated and isolated. The powers organized the 1840 London conference to discuss the Syrian question without France as the enemy. Philippe realizing danger, withdrew from the venture and compromised the interests of his countrymen.

Louis strained relations with Britain over the Tahiti Island which was claimed by both countries, and the Spanish marriages. Louis organized the marriages of the Spanish ladies the Queen to Britain's candidate and her sister to the son of Louis Philippe) on the same day and offended the British public opinion. The British withdrew their support for France which affected the French middle class businessmen.

The work of political propagandists i.e. socialists led by Louis Blanc attracted the attention of the poor and disabled when they preached equal distribution of wealth and improvement in people's living conditions. Bonapartists spread the gospel and legacy of Napoleon I and attracted the glory seekers mainly. The Republicans were tired of Monarchical rule. The conflicts among the different political factions-socialists, Republicans, Bonapartists and monarchists partly made him a victim of circumstances. There were so many divisions in society and Louis Phillipe could not satisfy all of them.

The economic crisis 1846-7, which featured poor harvest and increase in population, frustrated the French who began to look for an alternative. There was massive unemployment and inflation in

society. Reform banquets ended the long history of disappointment. After these banquets, Frenchmen organized a popular revolt in 1848, which overthrew Louis Phillippe, and France was declared a Republic

### **Revision Questions**

1. Account for the rise of Louis Philippe to power in 1830.
2. Why did the French welcome Louis Philippe in 1830 but rejected him in 1848?
3. To what extent was the downfall of Louis Philippe largely as a result of his domestic policy?
4. To what extent was Louis Philippe responsible for his own downfall in 1848?
5. Account for the survival of the Orleans monarchy between 1830-1848.
6. How did Louis Philippe consolidate himself to power in France 1830 – 1848?
7. What problems did Orleans monarchy face in France between 1830 – 1848?
8. “The downfall of Louis Philippe by 1848 was expected”. Discuss.
9. “The 18 years of Louis Philippe’s rule in France were years of disappointment” Discuss.
10. Why and how did Loius Philippe loose his throne in 1848.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE METTERNICH SYSTEM IN EUROPE 1830 – 1848

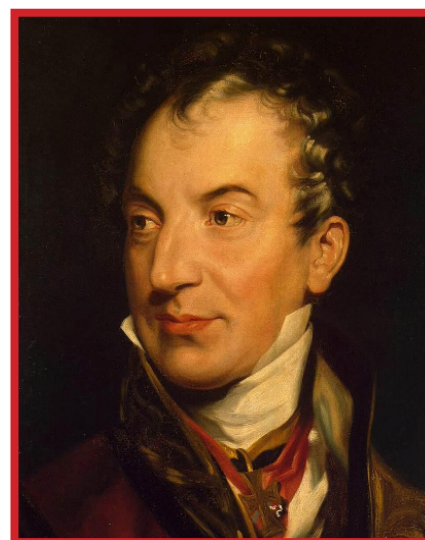
Prince Metternich was born on 11th, May, 1773 at Coblenz, West of River Rhine in Austrian Empire. His Education was carried out in the University of Strasbourg and Mainz. In 1792, Metternich fled his motherland (Germany) due to, French invading forces (first coalition) and went to Austria as a refugee.

Fortunately he was embraced in Austria and three years later he married the daughter of the Chief Minister, Maria Theresa the Heiress of Prince Kaunitz. This marriage brought him to prominence at Hapsburg Court (Palace) and owing to this aristocratic connection he was able to be appointed to serve in high diplomatic position in Austria.

Between 1802 –1806, Prince Metternich served as the Austrian Ambassador to Dresden, 1803 – 1806 he served as an ambassador to Paris. In 1809, Metternich was appointed to the position of permanent Austrian Foreign Secretary Until 1821 when he was finally elevated to the post of a Chancellor due to his credits in the coordination of the Congress System.

Between 1809-1848, Prince Metternich played a leading role in the creation of peace in Europe that had been destabilized by the revolutionary wars and Napoleonic aggression.

The results of his efforts as the Chairman of Vienna congress, which hatched the congress system that held constant congressional meetings to solve the periodic problems as they could emerge on the continent of Europe, greatly earned him a great fame in the history of Europe.



*Prince Metternich*

This is why the period 1815-1848 is commonly referred to as the “Metternich Age” or “the Metternich system”. As a youth, Metternich witnessed the activities of the French revolutionary army during the famous Italian campaign of 1796. From here, he learnt to hate and despise liberal and nationalistic revolutionary ideas originating from France and spreading to the rest of Europe. He sensitized Austrians against Napoleonic leadership who participated greatly in 1813 battle of nations (4th coalition) and 1815 battle of Waterloo against Napoleon I.

Prince Metternich was named as “an iron Chancellor” because his Austrian rule 1815 – 1848 was achieved by use of an iron hand. He was also called “the rock of order” because of the desperate attempts he employed to maintain law and order in the continent of Europe. This also earned him the title of “the policeman of Europe” in the period 1815 – 1848.

Prince Metternich commented to the revolutionary ideals of the French revolution as;  
“a volcano that must be extinguished and as a poisonous drug that must be deposed”.

This is why much of his time, Metternich system endeavoured to suppress the spread of liberal and nationalistic ideas across the continent of Europe. It was through such conservative policies that he came to be named as “a coachman of Europe” i.e. he was overseer of European events in the period 1815 – 1848.

Prince Metternich enforced his ideas through manipulating the congress system. When it collapsed by 1830, Metternich influenced events in Europe by cooperating with the Austrian King Francis Joseph I and by 1848 he had registered successes in creation of a strong army and a spy network system that fastened heterogeneous empire of Austria, Super imposed himself as a chairman of both Vienna settlement and congress system because congress system was formed at Vienna the main town of Austria his home country.

Throughout his career prince, Metternich hated nationalism and liberalism. This was because his empire of Austrian was a heterogeneous state comprising of many vassal states of different races customs and culture. These would easily struggle for their independence once they had been penetrated with seeds of nationalism and liberalism. Main vassal states of Austrian included Italians in Lombardy and Venetia, Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia plus the Magyars of Hungary among others.

## **THE METTERNICH’S CONSOLIDATION TO POWER**

He convinced his emperor Francis I so that their policies become one. He was very good in pursuing diplomatic affairs. In Metternich, Emperor Francis I saw a devoted leader with charismatic personality who deserved a lot of power. It is because of this that the emperor surrendered all the powers of the state to Prince Metternich. Because of his diplomatic skills he brought closer Tzar Alexander I of Russia, Frederick William III and IV of Prussia, Charles X of France and Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont. He used these leaders as his puppets in Austria and beyond.

Prince Metternich employed the divide and rule policy in order to administer his empire and consolidate himself to power. He disunited people in Austrian Empire. He divided 39 Germany states into 2 so that the first part was directly ruled from Vienna while the rest were semi-autonomous. The Italians were also divided so that Venetia and Lombardy were directly under the Austrian empire while the rest were indirectly administered through the appointed agents by Austrian prince.

The use of spy network system; He developed a competent system that kept him informed of all attempts in his empire to end the Austrian dominance. This spy network system destroyed the carbonari movement in Italy and other groups of secret agency. He enforced the spies by use of Austrian army. Whispering and murmuring about the revolution in Austrian empire was impossible. One woman lamented that;

“My daughter cannot sneeze and Metternich fails to here”

i.e. the spy network system employed by Prince Metternich was quite sensitive. He was always informed of any danger in Austrian giant empire before it could erupt.

His Censorship of the press and control of communication system. In order to make sure that no dangerous written materials entered his empire, there was only one post office based at Vienna the capital city of Austria. All the parcels and letters leaving and entering Austrian empire had to be opened and read. All the newspapers in Austrian empire were banned except those advocating for Metternich system.

Metternich also applied a strict education system. This helped to prolong his stay in power. At all educational levels, the syllabus disregarded all the liberal subjects such as history, philosophy, psychology, literature among others. All lecturers and teachers were made to take an oath of allegiance to Metternich system.

His emperor Francis I supported this education system saying;

“I want not scholars but good citizens. Whoever teaches must do so according to my will and whoever keeps liberal ideas going must go or I will let him go”

His attempts to remain “the rock of order” in Europe. He sent military expeditions to suppress rebellions throughout the empire and beyond. The carbonari and young Italy movement in Italy were all crushed militarily. Between 1821 – 1822 the revolutions in Naples and Spain were all defeated. Ousted Kings in 1821 were restored by the Metternich army.

Metternich used the liquidation policy of his opponents. This included Imprisonment and punishment of anti-Austrian people in his empire. All those within the empire of Austria who attempted to challenge the Metternich orders were killed, imprisoned or exiled. Through this method Metternich eliminated all his opponents thus consolidating himself to power.

Metternich relied on religious intolerance to consolidate himself to power. As a staunch catholic, he made catholic a state religion of Austria once again. Other sects of faith were marginalized which attracted all the Catholics into his programmes. His activities were supported by all near by Catholic states like west and southern Germany, France and Italian states led by Papal States. The Catholics were placed above others in a society that was multi-religious and multi-ethnic.

Congress system was also exploited by Prince Metternich to consolidate himself to power. Austria hosted the Vienna settlement and Prince Metternich acted as its chairman from where the idea to form the congress system was hatched. He actively participated in all the congresses up to 1822 in the congress of Verona. The Metternich policies were able to cause an impact in the leadership of Europe.

His contribution to the defeat of Napoleon. He successfully laid strategies to isolate Napoleon I from

the rest of Europe by 1813. For example, he destroyed the temporary alliance of Austria, Russia with Napoleon I. He later urged his country Austria to join a coalition with Russia, Prussia and Holland to fight Napoleon I in 1813 battle of nations. He was exiled in the island of Elba this made Metternich popular in Austria and beyond as he was among chief organizers of 4th coalition against Napoleon

He maintained the policy of heavy taxation in Austria. This was to make the possible opponents economically weak. He demanded heavy tributes from Austrian dominated states especially Italy and Germany. This made him able to keep these states economically weak, backward and unable to stage military challenge to Austria.

He used of suppressive policies as for example the Carlsbad decrees were used in Germany in 1819 to contain liberal demonstrations of Anti-Austrian rule among Germany students. These Germans had murdered an ant-liberal Russian journalist in Austria named Kotzebue Precisely Carlsbad decrees referred to a bunch of reactionary laws that limited immigration and emigration in Germany. It silenced the freedom of speech by abolishing all student movements, strict censorship of the press, liberal and nationalistic professors were exiled out of Germany. The education inspectors were employed to ensure that all universities and other schools operated in the interest of the (Metternich system).

### **ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRINCE METTERNICH (1815 – 1848)**

He is rated as an initiator of the congress system, he is credited because the congress system maintained period of peace in Europe for over 30 years. He was the first assumed chairman of the congress system. Until 1854 outbreak of Crimean war, Europe had no major war that involved major European powers like Britain and France. Well, Europe had witnessed various uprisings in 1820, 1830 and 1848 but most of them involved weaker European states and they were easily suppressed without spreading to the whole of Europe.

He protected Austria from revolutionary ideas. He diplomatically preserved the heterogeneous Austrian Empire against nationalism and liberal forces. He used suppressive, oppressive control of the press, denied nationalists parliamentary reforms and freedom. He did this by enforcing Police machinery and installing a strong spy network system. This kept Austrian Empire intact from the nationalistic and liberal threats of the vassal states.

He was influential in calling of 1818 Aix-la-chapelle congress. Prince Metternich convinced the members of congress system to include France after the downfall of Napoleon I who was very destructive and aggressive but not France as a country. Members agreed to treat France fairly and the congress of Aix-la-chapelle was convened leading to formation of quintuple alliance from quadruple Alliance.

He managed to keep Italy and Germany disunited. Up to 1848 they struggled to shake off Austrian Leadership but they failed. Metternich forces defeated Germany demonstrations in 1819, Prussian



revolt in 1848, in Italy Metternich army suppressed 1822 Carbonari movement, 1831 Young movement and 1848 revolutions in Italy. Perhaps, if Prince Metternich had not left power in 1848, German and Italy would have been unified later than 1871 and 1870 respectively.

He conditioned European powers to adopt his conservative policies. He exaggerated the threats of Nationalism and liberalism to instill fear and panic for erosion of their independence if they did not block the spread of nationalism and liberal ideas into their countries. Basically, Metternich did this for his own goals to protect the collapse of Austria. If vassal states could assert their own independence. Such tactics qualified him as “a coachman of Europe”.

He initiated legitimate policy in Congress of Vienna. He supported and re-inforced the idea of restoring old rulers of Europe in 1814. These had been overthrown by French revolutionary force and Napoleon I. This was suggested by Bishop Talleyrand a French foreign secretary who represented France as an observer in 1814/1815 Vienna settlement.

He succeeded in suppression of Austrian annexed states. During the Metternich age, he succeeded in transforming greater parts of Europe into despotism. For example in entire Germany and Austrian Empire, Metternich enforced his Carlsbad Decree by censoring the press, restricted the freedom of speech, banned liberal and Nationalism associations, policies which were adopted and implemented by rest of Europe. Metternich did this by use of a strong spy network and a highly mechanized police force.

He compiled the congress Act in 1814/15. This comprised of 121 articles and he did the work just in 48 hours much as he was assisted by the British foreign Secretary – Lord Castlereagh, but most influential ideas were suggested by him and this is why he was considered instrumental in establishment of the congress document. This document had guidelines for provision of lasting peace in Europe and it was recognized by European states up to 1830.

He made Vienna a centre of communication in Europe. By use of diplomacy and persuasion, he convinced the European leaders to use Vienna as a centre of Communication for correspondences outside and within European continent, to block the Mobility of liberal and Nationalistic ideas across the continent of Europe, this strategy was quite paramount. All the letters coming in and outside Europe were opened, read and re-sealed at Vienna before sending them to their final destination. Those with poisonous message were withheld and reported to Prince Metternich.

His role in the defeat of Napoleon I. He successfully laid strategies to isolate Napoleon I from the rest of Europe by 1813. For example he destroyed the temporary Austrian and Russian Alliance with Napoleon I. He later convinced the King of Austria to join the 4th Coalition with Russia, Prussia and Holland to fight Napoleon I in 1813 which led to the first exile of Napoleon I in 1813 to Elba Island. After Napoleon I, Prince Metternich became influential in politics of Europe

He was praised for his peace process in European politics. Prince Metternich is credited for his intervention in European revolts after 1815. For example he restored the legitimate leaders, who were being overthrown by their own subjects in 1821 Spain and Naples. He intervened in 1830 revolutions in Italy and Germany States. The 1848 revolutions in the same countries were also curtailed by Prince Metternich forces. This is why many scholars referred to him as “a policeman of Europe” while others named as the “Rock of order”.

He offered his Austrian forces to create peace in Europe. This was because the congress system had no army of its own and silencing of rebellions was always voluntary action of Metternich forces as for example in 1819 he suppressed a revolution of Germany students and thereafter he issued Carlsbad decrees. In 1820-1821 he suppressed revolutions in Spain and Naples while in 1831 he suppressed the Young Italy Movements.

He was vital in Germany unification. Prince Metternich contributed positively towards the Germany unification. In 1815 he reduced 280 Germany States into only 39 states. He also had one parliament known as Frankfurt Assembly. These 39 states formed the Germany confederation which became future Germany unification. They also formed a customs union known as Zollverein.

Prince Metternich was a Linguistic Politician. At one time in Europe he boasted that;

“I can write to Paris in French, to London in English and to St. Petersburg in Russian Language”

he was a cosmopolitan by nature as he was well learned, well traveled, a basis that made him to be highly gifted in language skills. He had been an Austrian Ambassador in Dresden, Berlin and Paris. As a coachman of European affairs he was able to speak and grasp political circumstances across the continent of Europe.

## **FAILURES OF PRINCE METTERNICH**

He monopolized the Congress affairs. He personalized the events and affairs of the congress system from the start up to the end. His self interests made other delegates like Lord Canning of the British also to develop the self interests which led to the conflicts leading to its collapse in 1830.

Therefore the failure of congress system by 1830 also marked the tentative collapse of Prince Metternich.

His failure to block the spread of revolutionary ideas. He failed to control the mobility of liberal and Nationalistic ideas across the continent of Europe. This was witnessed by constant outbreak of revolts across the continent after 1815. For example in 1820 Spain and 1821 Naples, 1830, and 1848 in Piedmont of Italy. His censure for the teaching of liberal subjects in Austrian schools, colleges and universities could not work. Students and their lecturers continued studying History, literature, Political science etc.

He neglected the economic development. In his Metternich system, he had only emphasized political conservatism without economic development. This was a failure because in course of time the worsened social, economic conditions after 1840, they provoked the masses to riot against their ruling parties e.g. the 1846-47 weather and economic crisis in Europe were partly caused by Prince Metternich who claimed to administer the whole of Europe.

His failure to control the mobility of liberal ideas; He failed to permanently contain the forces of Nationalism and liberalism in Europe. By 1848, those revolutionary forces had grown so much that Prince Metternich single handedly could not contain the situation in European affected states which eventually led to his downfall.

Prince Metternich also failed to give freedom of press, association and other forms of liberty to the people of the forged Austrian empire. He enforced censorship of the press. He imposed strict censorship of communication as for example he made Vienna the capital city of Austria as a headquarter for Post Office of European States. Telephone calls made in Europe were all intercepted at Vienna before their destinies. All parcels, letters and other documents entering and leaving the Empire of Austria were opened and re-sealed if they had no poisonous information. This work was done by spy agents of Prince Metternich.

He kept Italy and Germany in a disunited form until 1871. His overthrow in 1848 gave these states a chance to unify their kingdoms. He arrested, imprisoned and exiled thousands of Italians who advocated for their national unification e.g. Giuseppe Mazzini. There was no religious freedom in his empire during his reign. He was a devoted catholic who forced everybody to become a catholic and yet the Austrian Empire was a cosmopolitan state (Heterogeneous) that had a composition of Protestants orthodox, Muslims among others. In his political appointments, he considered Catholics first.

He attempted to block the teaching of liberal and revolutionary ideas. Prince Metternich interfered with the Education System of Austrian Empire. He formed a closer supervision of university students and their lecturers. They were made to swear an oath of allegiance. Promising never to teach liberal unwanted nationalistic subjects like political science, history, psychology and literature. Lecturers of these subjects had to lose their jobs in the Austrian Empire.

He failed to work properly with his Emperor. Metternich failed to influence Emperor Francis I to carry out good administrative policies. There was no true centralized administration in Austria. Different races in Austria were semi-autonomous which made it impossible to be jointly administered by one government. Constant revolutions in need of their independence as race were witnessed e.g. Hungary, Italy and Germany among others.

Not all rightful leaders were restored to power; He failed to restore all the legitimate leaders back to power in Europe. The case of Finland, Belgium and Denmark was not handled in fashion of France, Spain and Naples. Moreover those restored were quite unpopular and quickly they were revolted

against as for instance 1820-21 in Spain and Naples.

There was no religious freedom in his empire during his reign; He was a devoted catholic who forced every body to become a catholic and yet the Austrian Empire was a cosmopolitan state. Heterogeneous that had a composition of protestant orthodox, Moslems among others. In his political appointments he considered the Catholics first.

## **FACTORS FOR THE DOWNFALL OF PRINCE METTERNICH**

Austrian Empire was a brain child of the congress system and Prince Metternich became famous because of the leadership role he played at Vienna settlement where the congress system was hatched. When the congress system collapsed in 1830, there was no any other force to maintain the arrangements of the Vienna Settlement.

The death of Emperor Francis I of Austria. He was a compromising statesman in the vision of Prince Metternich. He led Metternich to the Success with his suppressive system of Administration. Emperor Ferdinand I who replaced Francis I could not cooperate very well with Prince Metternich. Rise of Nationalism against Prince Metternich in 1848 could not be stopped by Emperor Ferdinand thus leading to his flight to England for exile.

Emergence of new political figures in Europe. This also contributed to the downfall of Prince Metternich. The new personalities were opposed to despotism and monarchism, which made them more popular in Europe. Such new figures included, Von Moltek (the General of Bismarck) while in Italy, Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi were very influential and determined to overthrow the Austrian foreign rule in their countries.

The success of Feb. 1848 revolution in France. Orleans Monarchy that led to the overthrow of Louis Philippe greatly contributed to the downfall of Prince Metternich. The news about the downfall of Louis Philippe reached Austria on 1st March 1848 and on 15th March 1848 Prince Metternich was overthrown. He fled to England for exile until 1851 when he returned to Austria as a common citizen.

The size of Austrian Empire. It was too big to be controlled by one person prince Metternich especially after death of Emperor Joseph Francis I. His ambition had as well spread his Metternich system to the rest of Europe as he one time remarked;

“Although I have ruled Europe, I have never governed Austria”.

Ideally he meant that he had more achievements in the rest of Europe than Austria itself.

By 1848 Austrian Empire controlled much of central Europe including states like Germany and Italian States. Because of such size, central effective administration could not be realized. When he tried to use force his reputation suffered more leading to his downfall by 1848.

The success of revolution in France. This accelerated the downfall of Prince Metternich. As for example the 1789, the 1830 and Feb. 1848 revolutions were all successful in their objectives. The 1830 July revolution success in France inspired the rise of 1830 revolutions in Italy, Poland and Belgium. Therefore the 1848 revolutions in Austria, against Prince Metternich was inspired by the success of previous revolutions in Europe especially France.

The emergency of liberal Pope Pius IX in 1848. He encouraged liberalism throughout the Italian states. He preached against Metternich suppressive system and greatly detested foreign dictatorial measures in Italy. Such anti-Metternich propaganda spread in most Austrian controlled states leading to the downfall of Prince Metternich by 1848.

The Rise of new political figures in the politics of Europe; This is another factor for the downfall of Prince Metternich. Men like Otto Von Bismarck, C.C. Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi were in Italy while in Austria – Hungary Louis Kossuth came to power. All these personalities were opposed to despotism, conservatism and monarchism which was being supported by Prince Metternich and hence his downfall in 1848.

The role played by foreign powers; These offered troops and mercenaries to fight on the side of Austrian rule. Young Italy movement and the carbonari nationalists from Italy were both offered protection in Britain. Poverty and financial bankruptcy of Austrian Empire. This was another cause for the downfall of Prince Metternich. Austrian spies and army to maintain the Metternich age all exhausted the Austrian treasury and economy leading to the downfall of Prince Metternich in 1848.

Mistreatment of European Nationalists. Harsh treatment he subjected to the victims of liberal and revolutionary movements. He employed the instruments of terror and plunder to peoples of Austrian Vassal states who tried to spread liberal and national movements against Austrian rule. He established a strong Metternich army and spy network system that became ruthless to Germans and Italians who attempted to struggle for their independence. The survivors of this mistreatment could not support the Metternich system any more and hence his downfall.

Economic hardships that hit Austria between 1846- 1848. Natural calamities like diseases such as cholera and dysentery added to the exhausted economy by conservative policies of Prince Metternich which resulted into inflation, unemployment, scarcity of essential goods, low wages and therefore low standards of living throughout Europe. Such economic hardships made people more violent and hence the downfall of Prince Metternich in 1848.

## **Revision Questions**

1. To what extent can Prince Metternich be regarded as “a coachman of Europe” in the period 1815-1848?
2. Assess the achievements of Prince Metternich in the history of Europe between 1815-1848 in Europe.
3. Account for the downfall of Prince Metternich in the history of Europe by 1848.
4. “Metternich instrument measures to curb the spread of revolutionary forces in Europe lead to his downfall”. Discuss.
5. Why did Prince Metternich stay in power for a long time?
6. Assess the significance of Prince Metternich in the history of Europe 1815-1848.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE

In 1848, the streets of most European capital cities were once again filled by angry mobs who were in a revolutionary situation. This is what has been termed by historians as the 1848 revolutions in Europe.

These revolutions started from Palermo the capital of Sicily in Italy on January 12th 1848. The revolutions then spread to France on 22nd February 1848.

They then spread into Austria on 1st March 1848. Here, revolutions spread into the Austrian possessions of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia.

The German states of Prussia, Württemberg, Hanover, Bavaria and Baden were also affected, Switzerland, and the Turkish territories, of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia also witnessed upheavals.

It was the first two revolutions, that of Palermo and that of France, that touched off a series of revolutions, all over Europe. The greatest political achievement in Europe was that it ended the rule of Metternich and secured the overthrow of the Metternich system.

Countries affected by the 1848 revolution in Europe

France

The 1848 revolution in France is also known as the February revolution. This revolution had many causes.

The first cause of the 1848 revolution in France was the demand for democracy. Many moderates demanded an extension of the franchise and the laws doing away with the corrupt practices by which the government controlled elections.

Another cause was the disgust with the corruption of Louis Philippe and his close associates who strove to enrich themselves as fast as possible at public expense.

The other cause was the discontent of Catholics who did not like the anti-clerical bias of this citizen king, Louis Philippe. He had appointed as his chief minister the Protestant Guizot and allowed him to discriminate against Catholic schools.

There was also the spread of socialism through the ranks of the industrial workers. The economic hardships of 1847 made many workers to convert to socialism of Louis Blanc. Louis Blanc's scheme was for national workshops to give employment and prosperity for all.

The king's intimacy with the Bourgeoisie at the expense of the rest of the people caused discontent in France. Louis Philippe placed business at the top of everything, thus alienating the rest of the French community.

His capitalist supporters were determined that France should not get involved in any war, fearing that a war would destroy their trade and investment. They consequently refused to accept any French involvement in the Polish revolution against the Russians or the Italian revolution against Austria. This non-interference denied France foreign glory and adventure, annoying the patriotic Frenchmen who longed for national glory and for the restoration of France to the formation of leadership among the powers of Europe.

The opposition of the patriotic Republicans, monarchists, and socialists also sparked off the 1848 revolutions. The moderates were demanding electoral reform, the Republicans were hoping to establish a democratic republic while the socialist wished to have a socialist reorganization of the country's industrial system. In 1847, these political groups organized a campaign of demonstrations and political banquets, which were meant to awaken the king to the needs of the people especially, reforms.

When the government reacted by banning the banquets scheduled for 22nd February 1848, barricades were put all over the streets of Paris and two days later Louis Philippe was forced to abdicate. The revolution in France inspired many other reactions in the European states. Within a few weeks people in the Italian states, the German states, and in Austria openly challenged their autocratic governments.

In Austria revolts were touched off on March 13th 1848. Mobs of workers and students rioted in Vienna. The troops refused to fire upon the rebels and, in defeat, Metternich fled to England. The emperor, seeing danger looming, promised a constitution for the Austrians of German extraction. He, however, did not include the Hungarian and Italian subjects in his empire.

Just after the emperor had given a liberal constitution to the Germanic Austrians, the Hungarians took this advantage of chaos in Vienna to establish a liberal government. In April 1848 under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, they proclaimed the independence of the Hungarian Republic.

However, both these revolutions were short-lived. They both soon got involved in nationalistic conflicts internally. By 1849 the emperor of Austria had succeeded in toppling the Hungarian republic and doing away with the Austrian constitution which he had granted. It was only the exception of the peasants from the feudal dues to the Nobles that was not brought back.

In the German states.

Within just a week's occurrence of a revolution in Vienna, it spread to the states of Germany. From 1815 the German states together with Austria had made the thirty-eight members of the Germanic confederation. Many princes guarded their semi-independence status jealously. However, among

many others there was a growing desire for the unification of the Germanic states. The businessmen urged the unification on the behalf that trade would flourish. Nationalists also demanded it on the grounds of cultural and racial unity. Due to these aspects, the revolution of 1848 in Germany had the dual character of demand for the unification . The issue of the German states had the dual character of demand for liberal government and demand for the unification. The issue of the German states was complicated by the fact that there were non – German minorities living in German states. Such people included the Poles, Czechs, Slovenes, Italians and Dutch in the new constituted and autonomous Germany.

Also there were Germans living outside the German states under the Hapsburg rule in Austria. Others were in Danish Schleswig and Holstein, in Posen , in Russian Poland and in European Russia. The Frankfurt parliament decided to offer the crown of the new nation to the weak willed monarch Frederick William IV of Prussia. Frederick William IV refused to accept the crown for fear of antagonizing Austria. He also refused because he was reluctant to have anything to do with revolutionary machinery. He refused to accept a “crown from the gutter.” The attempt to create a German national thus collapsed with Frederick William IV unwillingness to lead. The Frankfurt assembly soon dispersed with nothing to show for its efforts in the unifications.

### **In the Italian states**

Italy before 1848 was a group of small independent states. The most important of these states was the kingdom of Piedmont/Sardinia in the North, the papal states in the central of the Italian peninsula, and the two Sicilies in the south. The Austrians held the former republics of Lombardy and Venetia. The Hapsburg dependencies ruled in Tuscany, Parma and Modena. The revolutionary spirit swept and one ruler after another granted democratic reforms. The campaign to expel the Austrians from the Italian peninsula in 1848 started with revolts organized in the territories under the Hapsburg domination. In 1848 the revolts were organized in the territories under the Hapsburg domination. An army of liberation marched from Sardinia to help the rebels. However this attempt ended in failure. From 1848 August the Hapsburg armies fought and finally defeated each of the revolutions. The Austrian success was attributed to the various Italian groups identification with their local concerns. These groups lacked coordination and central organization. Such was the case with the Piedmontese, Tuscans, Venetians, Romans and Neapolitans who kept on identifying with their local interests.

### **Causes of the 1848 revolutions in Europe**

The 1848 revolutions in Europe were caused by the arrangements made by the statesmen of Europe at the Vienna settlement of 1815 which was very unjust and unfair to the small states of Europe at Vienna in 1815. This was the Vienna settlement of 1815 which was very unjust and unfair to the small states of Europe in two ways:

Firstly it restored legitimate rulers like Louis XVIII and Charles X in France, Ferdinand I in Naples, Ferdinand VII in Spain, the pope in the papal states etc. Most of the restored rulers were very bad

rulers in that they were dictatorial, autocratic, oppressive and exploitative in their ways . They were the worst rulers in Europe. Some of the states in Europe stages the 1848 revolutions in an attempt to remove from power these unpopular rulers. Secondly, the Vienna settlement of 1815 ignored the interests of the small nations wished to remain independent. The Vienna settlement of 1815 put may of these small states under their big neighbours to tally ignoring the small nations interests. Some of the inhabitants of central Europe, therefore, rose up in 1848 to restore their lost independence. The people of Europe revolted in 1848 against their rulers demanding for domestic reforms. They wanted reforms in the constitutions of their countries; they wanted expanded franchise, freedom of speech and freedom of the press. This was the case in Prussia against Fredrick William I and against Louis Philippe of France etc.

Growth of Nationalism in some states of Europe and the desire for independence sparked off the 1848 revolutions in Europe. The French revolutionary spirit and Napoleonic influences had spreak the slogans of liberty, equality and Fraternity through out Europe, these influences inspired the oppressed small states in Europe of revolt against their oppressors. In the Italian states the patriots wanted to get rid of Austrian rule and have a united Italy. In the Germen states, the people revolted because they wanted to throw away Austrian rule and gain their unification. Bohemia, Hungary and Galacia revolted to get their independence from Austria.

The year of 1848 was the beginning of industrialization in some parts of Europe. Industrialization brought with it the evils of rural urban migration , unemployment , poor working conditions, child labour etc. the rulers of Europe did not do much to improve on these bad conditions of the working class. The revolutions of 1848 in Europe were meant to remind the rulers of Europe that economic development like industrialization should go hand in hand with the improvement of the welfare of the workers and the ordinary masses.

The rise of socialism and republicanism contributed to the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions in Europe. These were new ideologies which suggested alternative system of government. These ideologies were very appealing to the poorer masses. Socialism advocated for people right to vote, equal distribution of wealth, social justice and political equality. On the other hand, republicanism provided an alternative mode of government to the ancient monarchies. Republicans emphasized peoples freedoms, peoples right to make their laws, and to elect their parliaments. Whenever the oppressed peasants and workers kept getting such ideals, the more they got determined to get rid of their oppressors. It was this that led to the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions in France, Hungary, Germany states, the Italian states and Austria.

The presence of the middle class intellectuals facilitated the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions in Europe. Poets like Lamartine, journalists such as Kosuth and Mazzini historians like Palacky provided the leadership and the inspiration for the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions like those in the Germen states were referred to as the revolutions of the intellectuals.

The earlier revolutions in Europe were a major inspiration in the outbreak of the revolutions of 1848. The 1789 French revolution brought about the ideas of liberty, equality, and Fraternity. It was this which gave the inspiration to the people of Europe in 1830 and 1848 to revolt. After the earlier revolts the masses in Europe were filled with restlessness and they started demanding for parliamentary representation, democracy, self determination, to exploitation and sufferings of the people. Much of the problems affecting the people of central Europe were the same as those that had affected the people of France and Belgium in those years. In 1848 the people of central Europe did exactly what the people of France did in 1789 and 1839 and what the Belgians did in 1830

The Metternich system contributed greatly to the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions in Europe. In 1815 Metternich assumed a dominant position in Europe. He initiated the unpopular Metternich system which rotated around- a strict spy net work, massacres, imprisonment, and the suppression of all sorts of liberties and freedoms. He used the Carlsbad decrees 1819 to crush liberalism and democracy in the German and Italian states which forced the people to rise against the Metternich system in 1848. Population growth in Europe was partly to blame for the upheavals in Europe in 1848. For instance during the 1st half of the 19th century, the population of Austria increased by 30 percent . That of Hungary was growing even faster than that . Unfortunately this population increase was not accompanied by increase in production and increase in employment opportunities. The governments of central Europe failed to plan for this rapid increase in population growth. This rapid population growth led to rural urban migration of people looking for food and employment. The poor, unemployed hungry people became restless and chaotic . Even the few employed people suffered poor working conditions low wages, congestion in factories and poor living conditions. It was these conditions which caused uprisings in Austria, France Switzerland and etc

The formation of secret societies played a big role in the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions in Europe. In Hungary Louis Kosuth formed the socialist secret movement. In France Louis Blanc formed the socialist movement. In Italy there was the young Italy movement and the carbonari movement. These secret societies instigated revolutions in the different parts of Europe in 1848.

Natural calamities including epidemic diseases like small pox, cholera, typhoid, and plague caused a lot of suffering to the people of Europe. These diseases started from china in 1844 and had spread into central Europe by 1847. In addition to the diseases, bad weather, poor harvests and inflation caused hardships to the people. There was unemployment caused by the new production methods and rural urban migration. There were food shortages caused by prolonged winter period ( the poor potato harvest of 1847) yet the monarchical government of Europe provided practical solution to these hardships . These problems caused the jobless and the hungry masses of Europe to organize themselves against the heartless rulers of Europe at that time.

The news of the downfall of Louis Philippe in France in February 1848, led to the outbreak of revolutions elsewhere in Europe. The news of Louis Philippe abdication inspired revolutions in the Italian states, in the German states and in Austria. Every where in central Europe people were inspired

by the desire for political liberty. Some states revolted hoping to get assistance from France due to her edict of fraternity. With the fall of Louis Philippe in February in France, followed the fall of Metternich in April in 1848. The fall of Metternich gave revolutionary hope and courage to the oppressed masses of central Europe to revolt without fear.

### **THE EFFECTS OF THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS.**

Conflicts in most cases and in loss of life between the opposing forces. This was the case in the Italian states and in Hungary where the revolutionaries found themselves confronted by Austrian military. There was destruction of property. This was in terms of personal property, and public property like roads, railroads bridges, houses ect which destroyed by both sides of the opposing forces. The 1848 revolutions in Europe brought about the downfall of Prince Metternich in Austria. On March 12th 1848 the students and professors and on 13th March there was a conflict between the mob and the troops. When the troops joined the revolutionaries, Metternich resigned and fled to England. Metternich's flight marked the triumph of revolutionaries against the forces of conservatism. The fall and flight of Metternich meant that a tide of change was sweeping across Europe. If Metternich the strongest symbol of reaction, the man who had censored the press, destroyed the parliaments' of the people, and imprisoned the revolutionaries of central Europe could be disposed of, then it was possible for the other deposits also to go.

With Prince Metternich out of the way, the Metternich system could not last long as it was seriously weakened. The Metternich system was the system where the great powers cooperated to maintain conservative forces in power through force.

New leaders emerged in some states of Europe. For France Louis Napoleon Bonaparte came to power. New System of government were adopted in some countries of Europe. In France, the second republic was established replacing the monarchical governance which had been there the orleanists. Some conservative leaders were overthrown. In France Louis philippe was over thrown. In his place came Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as president. In Austria Metternich was over thrown.

The 1848 revolution led to the spread of liberalism and Nationalism in Europe. In the Italian states liberal constitutions were granted in Piedmont, Sicily and Tuscany. In Prussia a new constitution was promulgated. The same applied to Bavaria. Though short lived, these reforms were a positive step in the right direction.

These revolutions were a big lesson to the patriots of Italy and Germany. The failure of the 1848 revolutions in the Italian and German states made the later patriots to correct the wrong approaches their predecessors had taken to bring about the unification. Cavour saw the need for foreign military assistance, which Mazzini did not like. Indeed cavour's participation in the Crimean war on the side of Britain, France and Turkey against Russia secured him French military assistance. Feudalism was ended in some countries, serfdom was abolished for good. This was one of the permanent achievements of the 1848 revolutions in Europe. All classes of revolutions in Europe. All classes of people in Europe



were granted the opportunity to own land without any rent obligations. This increased competition in production and as a result there was growth of capitalism in Europe.

The conservative forces were seriously threatened. In Austria, Prince Metternich was overthrown, in Sicily Ferdinand II was removed from power and in Rome Pope Pius IX was overthrown by the Republicans. Although some conservative rulers were brought back to power later, their power was greatly weakened by the 1848 revolutions

The failure of the 1848 revolutions in some countries and the restoration of the old order led to harsher treatment of the revolutionaries by the surviving and the restored governments in Europe. In Hungary the rebels and their rebel leader Kossuth were exiled or imprisoned. This was meant to deter them from disturbing and destabilising their country.

Reforms were carried out in some countries that were affected by the 1848 revolutions. In France, the downfall of Louis Philippe helped the provisional government under Louis Blanc and Lamartine to undertake reforms. For example, national workshops to cater for the unemployed group of people were held. This helped to absorb and provide employment for many unemployed people in France. Later when Louis Napoleon Bonaparte III came to power in France he undertook economic reforms that improved the life of the people. There were also reforms in Prussia, Piedmont and Sardinia.

These 1848 revolutions led to the rise of new dynamic personalities on the political scene of Europe. Men like Camillo di Cavour; Otto von Bismarck, Victor Emmanuel II became involved in the politics of Europe. Their dynamic roles led to the unification of the Italian states and German states later. The characteristics of the 1848 revolutions.

The 1848 revolutions in Europe had some features that characterized them. Most of them failed apart from that in France. These revolutions did not succeed and in some parts they succeeded but were later crushed. There were various reasons why they failed. The reasons included, lack of foreign military support, lack of foresighted leaders, lack of mass support, disunity of the leadership and many other factors.

These revolutions aimed at the destruction of the arrangements of the Vienna settlement of 1815. The Vienna arrangement of 1815 had ignored the principle of Nationality of the small states of Europe it had ignored the wishes of the people by returning the overthrown monarchs of Europe and had come up with personalities like Metternich, who and his Metternich system, oppressed the masses in Europe. These revolutions were aimed at destroying this bad arrangement of Vienna 1815. These revolutions lacked foreign support. There were various reasons why they lacked foreign support. In some countries the organizers did not welcome foreign support. This was the case in the Italian states before 1850. These revolutions took place simultaneously. This denied them the opportunity to get help from one another. This was the case with France. She was involved in her own problems in 1848 that she could not help the other revolting states after her February 1848 revolution.

These revolutions were urban based. They concentrated in the major cities and towns. In France it took place in Paris and Versailles. In Austria it was centred in Vienna. In Hungary it was based in Budapest. In Prussia it was centred in Berlin. In Piedmont they were in Turin and Milan. This relying only on urban centres denied them the support from the rural areas where the majority of the affected people lived.

The economies of most of the affected countries were agro based. The economies were agrarian in nature, therefore backward, this was the case in the German states, in the Italian states, in Switzerland in France, in Hungary in Transylvania, in Wallachia, and Moldavia.

The leadership of these revolutions was middle class- intellectual in nature. In the German states, the 1848 revolutions were led by university students and lecturers. In Hungary, they were led by a journalist and poet called Kosuth. In the Italian states, they were led by Mazzini and Gioberti. For this reason some scholars referred to the 1848 revolutions as intellectual revolutions of 1848.

Most of these revolutions were inspired by earlier revolutions. There was the American war of Independence of 1776, the French revolution of 1789, the Greek war of Independence of 1821-1831 the July revolution of 1830 in France and the Belgian revolutions inspired the 1848 revolutions in Europe. The majority of these revolutions were a result of liberalism and desire for nationalism in Europe. This was the case with the Italian and German states.

### **WHY THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE FAILED.**

The 1848 revolutions in Europe failed everywhere apart from France. There were various reasons for the failure of the 1848 revolutions.

The 1848 revolutions in Europe failed due to lack of proper, practical, foresighted leadership among the revolutionaries. The leadership of these revolts was in the hands of intellectuals who were not practical revolutionaries. They wasted a lot of valuable time debating useless issues instead of addressing the real issues of the leadership of the revolutionary wars. Their ideas could not be understood by the ordinary masses. Such men included Mazzini, Gioberti, and Balbo in Italy, Kosuth in Hungary etc had the ideas but lacked the practical power to implement them.

The 1848 revolutions lacked mass support. They had a limited appeal, the reasons advanced by the authors of these revolutions were not wide spread. The main idea was about Nationalism and yet the masses were not yet well educated about the advantages of Nationalism. Each individual small state in Germany, Italy and Hungary was under their own leadership. These leaders opposed nationalism and liberal reforms demanded by the revolutionaries. These small leaders feared to lose their political power, Therefore they opposed all efforts to unite the small states. That way they worked against the 1848 revolutions leading to the 1848 their failure.

These revolutions lacked foreign assistance. There were two reasons why foreign assistance was lacking. First of all, the 1848 revolutions took place at the same time. The revolutionary groups could therefore not assist one another as each was involved in their own struggles. France which would have come in to help was itself involved in the revolution that removed Louis Philippe from Power. Secondly the revolutionary leaders at that time did not regard the need and importance of foreign assistance in their political struggles. Mazzini of Italy, for example, treated the Italian struggles as a struggle by the Italians.

The different revolutionaries and groups were disunited. They lacked coordination in their activities. They lacked a common plan against their enemies. They could not act together against their enemies.

The revolutions of 1848 failed due to the might of the Austrian army. Austria at that time acted as the international policeman of Europe, Austria was very strong and could handle militarily any revolts anywhere in Europe. Though Metternich had been overthrown, the Emperor of Austria Ferdinand managed to contain the situation, under Austrians brave commanders, Austria was able to crush the disorganized revolutionary groups by 1849.

The conservativeness of the Catholic Church contributed to the failure of the 1848 revolts. The Catholic Church opposed all revolutions because the pope, the holy father of all the Catholics feared the spiritual punishments from God if they disobeyed the Pope. Others feared to fight Austria a Catholic state. To make matters worse, Pope Pius IX who had been liberal between 1846-48 changed his mind in 1849. He was against fighting Austria a Catholic state. This change of mind by Pope Pius IX weakened the revolutionaries leading to the failure of the 1848 revolutions in Europe.

The composition of these revolutions was middle class. The middle class formed the backbone of these revolts. These men lacked the practical skills in military training. These people were more theoretical than practical, which worked against the success of the 1848 revolutions in Europe.

### **Revision Questions**

1. Examine the causes and the consequences of the 1848 Revolutions in central Europe.
2. “The Metternich system was responsible for the outbreak of 1848 revolutions in Europe”.

#### **Discuss**

3. How successful were the 1848 revolutions in central Europe?
4. Account for the failure of 1848 revolutions in Central Europe.

5. Examine the common characteristics of 1848 Revolutions in Europe.
6. To what extent was liberalism responsible for the outbreak of 1848 Revolutions in Europe?
7. Account for the outbreak of 1848 Revolutions in France.
8. Discuss the causes and the possible consequences for the 1848 revolutions in Austria.
9. Consider the causes and the factors for the failure of 1848 revolutions in Europe.
10. Why were some European countries not involved in the 1848 revolutions?

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY UP TO 1870**

Italy by 1815 comprised of several states which were neither united nor independent the richest and most popular region, including Milan (Lombardy) Venice (Venetia) and Trieste was part of the Austrian empire and was governed by German officials dispatched from Vienna. South of this Austria, territory was of the Roman Catholic Church (Rome Bologna etc) administered by the pope. Southern Italy, including Naples and the island of Sicily, constituted the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies administered by Bourbon kings and defended at critical moments by Austrian troops. Only one state in all, the kingdom of Sardinia was absolutely independent of foreign control. It embraced the north-western corner of the mainland (Genoa and Piedmont) in addition to the island of Sardinia. Besides the divisions autocracy and foreign domination flourished in all of them. The states neither had a written constitution nor popular participation. In spite of the divisions and the lack of national independence the people remained Italian and still valued their rich and glorious history. This gave rise to a nationalistic and revolutionary struggle between 1815 and 1870 with the aim of establishing national unity, independence and democracy i.e. the Risorgimento or resurgence, to this struggle, Prince Metternich of Austria strongly opposed and remarked

“Italy was merely a geographical expression but not a single state”

Metternich stifled the risorgiments exploiting the division of the Italian nationalists thereof and most of the initial attempts failed.

### **THE WORK OF NAPOLEON I**

The first major political changes in line with national reform through temporary were those made by Napoleon I the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (Italian and Egyptian campaigns 1796-1798) wiped out the old Italian divisions, reorganized the peninsula into one with modern institutions and disciplined administration. He reduced the states from 11 to 3 improved communication, trade and commerce, the Alps and Apennine Mountains were built and internal trade barriers were removed. Ultimately however, as in all territories he conquered, Napoleon incited resentments by his repressive police system and arbitrary arrest and taxes. He robbed the Italians of their liberty when he imposed the continental system and looted their most precious / works of art. Nevertheless as the child of the French revolution, he inspired many, of the more educated Italians with a strong desire for political progress.

### **THE 1815 SETTLEMENT**

Napoleonic reforms in Italy were trumped under foot at Vienna when the old divisions were revived in attempt to redraw the map of Europe. In all more than dozen states were recognized namely;

Naples and sicily, papal states, Modena, parma , Tuscany, Lombardy and venetia ( Under Austrian control) the kingdom of Sardinia in the north. Old rulers were restored all of whom had direct links with Austria. Most of them were poverty stricken, infested with brigands and ruled with cruelty and inefficiency by the rulers for example Ferdinand I of Naples. To the shocking outcome of the Vienna arrangements in Italy, Guiseppe Mazzini remarked.

Through out Italy, one stroke of the pen has crased all our liberties, reforms and hope.

The subjection of Italy to Austrian influence at Vienna and the restoration of Bourbon rulers ruined the earlier hopes of Italian liberation developed toward the ouster of napoleon I in 1814 it nevertheless kept the spirit of Italian nationalism alive.

### **THE CARBONARI AND THEIR REVOLTS IN NAPLES, PIEDMONT 1820 AND PAPAL STATE, 1830**

No sooner had the ink of the Vienna settlement actually dried than a wave of revolutionary explosion hint by secret societies as the champions of reform. Notable among these societies was the carbonairi started by charcoal burners but later joined by political reformers. It was an international organization but its strongest base was in Naples with its catch word “freedom” in 1820 following a successful revolution in Spain, the carbonari in Naples rebelled and managed with ease to force Ferdinand I, the restored Bourbon king to enact a new constitution. The revolutionaries, though failed to get popular support and were quickly suppressed by Austria king / eaders in sicily including the scholars Michele Amari, were forced into exile during the decades that followed.

In the same year (1820) a similar outbreak occurred in piedmont. The revolution carried hoped to secure a constitution from the elderly king victor Emmanuel I. The carbonaris also tried to link the movement with the revolt against the Austrian in Lombardy. Victor Emmanuel I abdicated was temporarily replaced by Charles Albert II in line to the throne, who agreed to grant a constitution. However the constitutional hopes vanished when Austria intervened and quickly suppressed the uprising including the one in Lombardy where her hold was firmer than ever.

Similar tremors occurred in other parts of Italy in 1830 following the success of the 1830 revolutions in France and Belgium. Modern a parma and Papal States came out in rebellion of the carbonaries. Pope Gregory XVI asked for Austrian help, which was given at no cost. By 1831 the Papal States were occupied by the white coats (Austrian troops). Order was restored and the authority of the pope was re-established, Thus it now became clear that the local uncoordinated carbonari uprising would make no headway against the forces of absolutism. Austria was too mighty to be upset by mere revolutionaries. Nevertheless, the insurrections put to legant the popular enthusiasm for national unity, independence, and constitutional liberties.



## **GIUSEPPE MAZZINI AND YOUNG ITALY (1805-72)**

Three names feature prominently in the struggle for Italian unification – Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi, all of whom were subjects of the king of Sardinia. Of these, Garibaldi was the soldier, Cavour the architect and Mazzini the prophet of Italian unification. A native of Genoa and the son of a university professor, Giuseppe Mazzini was born in 1805. From his childhood, he was incensed by the woes and misery of his country – in fact he always wore black as a sign of mourning for it. He joined the carbonari and participated in the revolutionary activity of 1820 and 30 for the sake of national freedom and glory.

He was arrested and imprisoned for conspiracy and then forced into exile in Marseille after 1830. When a more liberal king, Charles Albert ascended the throne of Piedmont-Sardinia, Mazzini assumed the leadership role of the movement for national freedom. He founded a new secret society – Young Italy in an effort to improve on the work of the Carbonari that had been suppressed by Austria. With eloquence and passion, he told his countrymen that they must make patriotism their religion and have unbounded faith in the destiny and future greatness of Italy. He appealed not only to middle class men but all Italians and emphasized the benefits of education, self sacrifice and rebellion. He believed in the establishment of democracy, freedom and a united republican Italy though such ideas were still unpopular; He condemned the Vienna settlement for having robbed the Italians of their liberty.

Through Young Italy Mazzini preached for the collapse of petty Italian governments (restored rulers), the expulsion of Austria from the Italian peninsula and setting up a republic in Italy. His schemes failed because they were not well supported and also due to the military strength of Austria. Due to his revolutionary activities he was exiled from France too, to Switzerland. While in Switzerland, his next home Mazzini organized insurrections in Piedmont in 1833 and planned to invade Savoy which collapsed before he was fired. He then fled from Switzerland to England and Young Italy was disbanded in 1836. He requested King Charles Albert in 1831 to take the lead in the unification struggle but the King was hesitant. In 1848 Mazzini together with Garibaldi set up a republic in Rome (with Mazzini as president) after unseating the Pope in Europe. This more failed when France intervened to protect the Pope. The Pope recovered his seat and the Roman republic was overthrown. Though practically not very successful, Mazzini's zeal and sincerity awakened a patriotic ardour in Italy and kept alive the spirit of revolution among the youth. His missionary work greatly fostered the desire for unity and freedom among Italians.

## **CHARLES ALBERT (1831-48)**

In 1831, another step was moved in the struggle for reform. A new liberal king Charles Albert ascended the throne of Piedmont-Sardinia. He introduced constitutional governance based on the English model and promised to offer assistance to Lombardy in her search for freedom from Austria. This prepared Piedmont for her central and leadership role in the struggle for national unity and independence.

A LIBERAL POPE PIUS IX 1846.

A moment of importance in the making of Italy came in 1846 when a liberal pope Pius IX ascended the throne in the Papal States. He won himself a popular reputation by granting an amnesty to hundreds of political prisoners in the Papal States followed by reforms in administration, the law and education he freed the press in 1847. This liberal policy of the pope was bound to make Italians expect more of him than he could give. Popular enthusiasm for the pope rose to greater heights and the reform movement spread to other parts of Italy. Prince Metternich of Austria – the anti reform general was alarmed;-

“We were prepared for everything except a liberal pope”

Some Italians such as Abbe for a great union in Italy. Not under Sardinia out under the papacy. Later however, when the pope was asked to assist in the fight against Austria, he changed his mind and turned anti-liberal, nevertheless the reform movement by this time had affected a very big part of Italy and could not be reversed.

## **REVOLUTIONS OF 1848-49**

The Fall of Louis Philippe in France in 1848. Led to a wave of revolt in the Italian peninsula. Discontent was fuelled by the Economic crisis of 1846- 47 and the liberalizing policy of Pope Pius IX. Food shortages in both urban and rural areas – following the bad harvest of 1846 -47 led to high prices and stagnation of wages which fuelled discontent. The main interests in the states were constitutional liberties, national unity and independence from Austria. In the Austrian province of Lombardy, the citizens of Milan boycotted Tobacco smoking and playing the lottery to deny Austria the associated tax revenue ( the Tobacco riots in Milan 1848) In February 1848 there were revolts in Tuscany after which Ferdinand granted the Tuscans a constitution Ferdinand of the two Sicilies granted a constitution as well as releasing political prisoners on 21st February, Pope Pius IX granted a constitution to the Papal States. The Austrians were driven out of Venetia and Lombardy. Revolutions spread to Parma and Modena. So at this time, conditions seemed to be favouring the Italian nationalists. The influence of the people at this time proved vital to turn the trend of events. The Pope (Pius IX) turned against Austria and turned against the nationalist movements who then began to crumble.

Piedmont Sardinia who had declared war against Austria was decisively defeated at Custoza by Marshal Josef Radetzky and the Austrians recovered Lombardy. The Roman Republic set up by Mazzini was overthrown and Pope Pius IX restored to his throne. Other republics – Piedmont Venetia, Tuscany had all collapsed by 1849 and the situation in Italy had returned to that of 1815. Thus general failure seemed to be the feature of the 1848 revolutions in Italy contributing significantly to the delay of Italian unification. In spite of that, the revolutions of 1848 brought to an end the Metternich system, led to emergence of new leadership, Victor Emmanuel II in Piedmont – Sardinia i.e. was more practical than Charles Albert) and kept the desire for national unification and independence alive.

## **FACTORS THAT HINDERED ITALIAN UNIFICATION BY 1850**

By 1850, the supporter of the Risorgimento had made no permanent progress in the struggle for national unity and independence. This was due to the following:

Austria (who owned part of Italy) was opposed to Italian liberalism and nationalism she feared Italian unification would help antagonise the multi – racial Austrian empire in addition to weakening her influence in central Europe. Austrian directly rules Lombardy and venetia and indirectly ruled Parma, Modena and Tuscany through the restored Bourbon rulers and deprived them of the need for national unity.

Besides, her military superiority was primarily responsible for the suppression of the 1820 1830, 1848 revolution in Italy and the decisive military defeat of piedmont – Sardinia at Custoza which it thwarted all unification efforts by 1850.

Prince Metternich of Austria was a problem, Metternich described Italy as a mere geographical expression and not single state. He saw no need for Italians getting united. Through his conservative system, Metternich instituted a strict spy network, secret police system and harsh press restrictions. He disassociated himself from the liberal pope Pius IX and stood firmly for the old order of absolute monarchs. His harsh policies were responsible for the failure of the initial attempts to liberate Italy.

Though widespread concern had developed about the autocracy of Italian monarchs and that many had seen the need for concerted effort to liberate Italy, there was no universally accepted ideology and common plan on the kind of union, they were to have. Some wanted a united country under a monarch but every ruler in his small entity opposed this since such unity would lead to forced retirement many wanted a federation of Italian states under the pope. In his book moral and civil primacy of the Italian states under the pope. In his book moral and civil primacy of the Italians published in 1843, Grobner opted for a federation under the pope but fervent patriots opposed this grounds that the Papal States were the worst administered, states. Others like Mazzini and Garibaldi advocated for the establishment of a Republic in a united Italy, but the monarchists opposed it. The divisions were always exploited by Austria to suppress the movement.

The papal factor was a problem. The pope was opposed to Italian unification and his influence was divisive. He feared inflation would reduce his political and spiritual powers. He was not ready to declare war against a catholic state Austria. The liberal pope Pius IX who ascended the papacy in 1846 and excited many Italians with his reforms turned anti- liberal by 1849 which weakened the nationalist movement many Italians especially the rural peasantry ceased joining a struggle to which the pope was opposed fearing to be ex-communicated by God, They still respected the traditional role of Austria in Italy and remained loyal to it.

Foreign intervention was responsible for the suppression of the 1848 revolutions in Italy. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, in order to curry favour with Catholics in France, sent to Rome a French military force, which overthrew Mazzini's Republic and reinstated pope Pius IX. Russia offered 200,000 to Austria to deal with revolutions in the remaining part of Italy. It was impossible for a mighty power France and Russia, to succumb to disjointed Italian revolutionaries.

The lack of foreign assistance equally crippled the movements. Suspicion and selfish interests kept the major powers of Europe off the Italian nationalist movement. France in 1848 had just fallen to the 1848 revolution that brought Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to power. Napoleon in effort to win catholic support sided with Austria against the revolutionaries. Britain still pursued the policy of non- intervention while many Italians such as Mazzini – were unconvinced of the need for foreign assistance he believed that Italians possessed with them the ability to lead their own national revival. Due to the absence of foreign assistance, the Italian revolutionaries were quickly suppressed by Austria.

The struggle was characterized by a weak national feeling, when Piedmont started a war with Austria, other Italian states didn't take any action to help her. Localized interest such as the need for constitutions establish a republic to improve living conditions corrupted the struggle and deprived it of a wider nationalistic character this weakness accounts for the suppression of the 1820, 30 and 48 revolutions and the military defeat of Piedmont in 1848.

The Vienna settlement 1815 restored the old divisions in Italy and subjected them to despotic Bourbon rule and the traditional influence of Austria i.e the Kingdom of Piedmont – Sardinia in the North, Lombardy and Venetia (directly under Austria) the central Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany were left independent but under Austrian domination, the papal states under the pope and Naples and Sicily in the south. The divisions were rigidly maintained to prevent Italian unification.

Italy lacked a sound economic base to sustain political schemes for unification she was predominantly agrarian with negligible levels of industrialization and commerce. The influence of the conservative nobles was very strong. She lacked a sizeable middleclass to lead the struggle. Roads and railways were limited and her trade was limited by tariff restrictions which crippled the nationalist movement. To compound the misery there was a different pattern of development between northern and southern Italy. The north was prosperous with thriving cities while the south was barren poor with high levels of illiteracy. This hindered genuine cooperation between the regions for the sake of national unity.

The absence of charismatic and practical leadership before 1850 hindered the unification. The initial leaders such as Mazzini, Garibaldi and Balbo were too idealistic and divided in ideology to steer the movement to success. The restored Bourbon rulers such as Ferdinand I of Naples were hostile to national unity in Italy because this would reduce their power and influence king Charles Albert of Piedmont declined the offer of leading the unification struggle. Practical leaders such as Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II were to emerge after 1850 and thus the struggle was postponed to that period.

The Italian revolutions of 1820's 30 and 1848 were weak due to poor mobilization, narrow membership (town centred) . They were predominantly middleclass in composition. They lacked the support of the peasants who in addition suffered from wide spread illiteracy. They preferred remaining under Austrian control to accepting the new anticipated union.

The above problems were to be seriously addressed by the nationalists if the struggle was to gain meaningful success later on.

## **THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY 1850-70**

The initial attempts to unify Italy passed in vain. One part of the Italian peninsular however had moved a step towards liberty. The constitution granted by Charles Albert in Piedmont/Sardinia was upheld. More than that the 1848 revolutions had brought to an end prince Metternich of Austria and kept alive the enthusiasm for national unity and independence a young and more liberal king Victor Emmanuel II had ascended the throne of Sardinia in 1848. He was the sort of king who could command national respect. He gained support as a leader of the national mission believing in constitutional monarchism introduced by his father. The most interesting development in the early stages of his burning task was the transformation of Piedmont into a modern state preparing it for the leadership role in the unification struggle. This he did through his enterprising chief minister Count Cavour.

## **COUNT CAMILLO CAVOUR (1810-61)**

In the year after Victor Emmanuel's accession to the throne of Sardinia a certain Count Cavour became his minister of agriculture, industry and commerce. Cavour was born as an aristocrat at Turin in 1810. He became prime minister and foreign affairs minister of Sardinia in 1852 he had served in the army as a trained soldier and once conflicted with the authorities for his open support for the 1830 French revolution.

Cavour was perhaps the greatest of the makers of modern Italy. Unlike Mazzini and Garibaldi, Cavour was a statesman who realized that in order to achieve Italian unity and independence, Piedmont had to be transformed in addition to acquiring international recognition and support. This is echoed in one of his speeches as prime minister:- The problems of the Austria dominance and the papal power cannot be solved by unpopular revolts, nor the unsupported efforts of a comparatively minor state, the king of Sardinia, but only by international cooperation.

European diplomacy and war such beliefs shaped his political career and framework for the completion of Italian unification.



**COUNT CAMILO CAVOUR**

By 1847, he had helped to start a newspaper in Piedmont, *Il Risorgimento* (Resurrection) to advocate for national unity and independence. He had acquired from his early studies and travel marked admiration for England. As prime minister, he loyally supported the constitution of 1848 under which the government of Sardinia closely resembled that of England- a king who reigned but did not rule, a ministry, nominally appointed by the king but really responsible to the parliament, a senate / consisting of appointed nobles and dignitaries; and a chamber of deputies, elected by property owners who could read and write and who paid fairly high taxes. Like England too, Sardinia had guarantees of individual liberties and these liberties Cavour scrupulously respected.

In the economy no less than in politics Cavour took England as the model for Sardinia. He labored incessantly to promote the prosperity for the bourgeoisie. Restrictions on commerce and industry were removed, commercial treaties entered into with other countries (Britain, France, and Belgium). The policy of free trade substituted that of protective tariffs. He encouraged the use of the latest techniques of farming and reformed the taxation system, roads, canals and railways were constructed. In religious matters, Cavour sought to lessen the political influence of the Catholic Church, which he thought, was hostile to his patriotic plans. He suggested separation of the state and the church and suppressed all monastic orders this reduced the divisive influence of the Roman Catholic Church. As a result of the above reforms the kingdom of Sardinia acquired the essential equipment for the coming conflicts.

### **THE CRIMEAN WAR, 1855-56**

With consummate diplomatic skill, Cavour proceeded to isolate Austria and to win for Sardinia the favour of Napoleon III of France. In 1855, this caused Sardinia to join France and England in the Crimean war against Russia. By then the Sardinian army had been modernized with the latest techniques, equipment and their strength was to be tested. At the height of the conflict (Paris conference 1856) Sardinia was allowed to present the Italian question for discussion. No substantial gains were made apart from sympathy) but Cavour was able to make important personal contacts especially with the French emperor Napoleon III. He became committed to making an alliance with France.

The alliance between Sardinia and France moved faster when on January 14, 1858 an Italian nationalist Felice Orsini attempted to assassinate Napoleon III. Orsini did take plea against his murder sentence but instead appealed to Napoleon to aid the forces of Italian nationalism. A member of the carbonari in his youth, Napoleon was now convinced that it was his destiny to do something for Italy. He agreed to strike a deal with Cavour.

### **THE PLOMBIERES PACT 1858.**

In the summer of 1858 Cavour met with Napoleon III at Plombières and the two signed a secret agreement known as the pact of Plombières. Cavour and Napoleon III agreed to a joint war against Austria. Piedmont would gain the Austrian territories in Italy (Lombardy, Venetia) and some territories



of the former venetian common wealth in the Adriatic, as well as the duchies of Parma and Modena while France would be rewarded with Piedmont transalpine territories of Nice and Savoy. Central and southern Italy were to remain independent. Austria had to be seen as the aggressor, for France's help to be justified Cavour was to provoke the Austrians into aggression by encouraging revolutionary activity in Lombardy.

### **THE AUSTRO-SARDINIAN (ITALIAN) WAR OF 1859.**

The first attempt to unify Italy had, failed in 1849. Ten years later, everything, was in readiness for a second great attempt and this was Cavour's work .

In 1859 Austria alarmed by Piedmont's military build ups and inspired insurrections in Lombardy and other parts declared war against Sardinia prompting France to intervene as earlier agreed. French troops crossed the Alps to join those of Victor Emmanuel II. While the allies invaded Lombardy, popular uprising occurred in Tuscany, Parma and Modena and in the Papal States. The Dukes fled and Cavour took over the government of the three Duchies and a part of the papal states (Romagna). By the end of the summer of 1859, the Franco- Sardinian armies had won great victories against Austria at Magenta and Solferino. The Austrians were driven out of Lombardy and Back into Venetia.

### **THE PEACE OF VILLAGRANCA**

Unfortunately at this state, Napoleon III who had no desire to see Piedmont extending into central Italy and worried of Catholic opposition at home and in Europe and also worried of the Prussian armies now advancing on the Rhine unilaterally concluded an armistice with the Austrians at Villafranca on July 8th, 1859, ignoring the Plombières pact. By this treaty, the rulers of the states of Parma, Modena and Tuscany were to be restored, Venetia was to remain Austrian and an Italian federation under the Pope was to be formed much to the dissatisfaction of Italian nationalists. Napoleon even kept a French garrison of Rome to safeguard the Pope and then withdrew from Italy Cavour furious at the Villafranca peace treaty resigned and contemplated suicide as he saw Italians being cheated of complete victory. In his desperation he even urged Victor Emmanuel II to continue the war without France's help a piece of advice the King very sensibly rejected.

Nevertheless, Villafranca a little changed the political geography of Italy. Piedmont was expanded to include Lombardy. Italians could also take comfort from developments in central Italy and the defeat of Austria (military) in 1859.

### **ANNEXATION OF THE CENTRAL DUCHIES AND ROMAGNA**

In August, Parma, Modena Tuscany and Romagna formed a united government under Farini following the exiling of their dukes and in the midst of Cavour's difficulties. They requested Piedmont to annex them. Enthusiasm to join Piedmont had been hastened by the work of the National Society formed in 1857. In January 1860 Cavour returned as prime minister and offered Nice and Savoy to Napoleon

III in return for the states of central Italy. Plebiscites were arranged in the three duchies of (Parma Modena and Tuscany) and the majority voted in favour of joining Piedmont-Sardinia. In April 1860 Nice and Savoy were transferred to France as agreed.

### **NAPLES AND SICILY**

The people of Naples and Sicily (the two Sicilies) had been moved by Sardinian success and were now willing to join her. Revolutions broke out in 1860 against the liberal governments aided by Cavour and Garibaldi.

### **GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI .**

In May 1860, a new phase in the unification began when Garibaldi sought to display his military tactics. He was born in Nice in 1807 and through trade he had been introduced to Italians. He participated in carbonari activities and insurrections organized by Mazzini against anti-liberal governments. He offered his services in 1847 to defend the liberal pope and the Roman republic set up by Mazzini in 1848. The failure of the initial attempts to unify Italy committed Garibaldi to exile in South America where he gained skills and experience in guerrilla warfare.

In 1854 Garibaldi returned to Italy and bought an island near Sardinia, Caprera from where he organized a small group of volunteer soldiers known as the Thousand Red Shirts. It is this group that liberated southern Italy. When he met Cavour in 1856, he accepted to forfeit his republican thinking in favour of Italian unity under a monarch Victor Emmanuel.

In May 1860 Garibaldi led his Thousand volunteer patriots by boat to Sicily where he was welcomed as a heroic liberator from the tyranny of the Bourbons. Crossing over to the mainland, he occupied the city of Naples and routed the army of the king of the two Sicilies. Within five months, Garibaldi had conquered all southern Italy. He had plans of liberating Rome from French control but Cavour in fear of war with France sent a Piedmontese army to intercept Garibaldi. Before the worst came, a plebiscite was arranged in Naples and the majority favoured a union with Piedmont. Garibaldi accepted and handed over his conquests to King Victor Emmanuel II. The kingdom of Italy was proclaimed in March 1861 and unification was now almost complete.

### **ANNEXATION OF VENETIA AND ROME 1866-70**

The Austro-Prussian war of 1866 in which Austria was defeated enabled Italy to annex Venetia confirmed by the Treaty of Prague 1866. This followed diplomatic cooperation between Italy and Prussia. The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war 1870-71 forced France out of Rome and the Italians proclaimed it as the new capital. This by 1870, Italy had been totally united but Cavour died in 1861 before seeing the completion of his noble task.

## **FACTORS THAT FACILITATED THE UNIFICATION OF ITALIAN STATES: BY 1870**

### **The unification process was more successful after 1850 because of the following:-**

The European diplomatic system (congress system) had collapsed and had left Austria isolated especially after the Crimean war 1854-56. France and Britain were now more sympathetic to liberal and national institutions and favoured the upset of Austrians power in Italy and Germany. The Holy alliance had finally come to an end and Russia was now on bad terms with Austria due to the failure on the part Austria to show solidarity with Russia in the Crimean war. Austria had therefore to deal with the Italian nationalists alone.

The collapse of Metternich and his system in 1848 paved way for Italian unification Metternich's spirited opposition to liberalism and nationalism and his secret police network had crippled the risorgimento for nearly three decades. With the fall of the metternichic 1848, the nationalists for the opportunity to engage Austria when she was in a far weaker position than before.

The emergence of a leading state, the kingdom of Sardinia in 1848 and the subsequent reforms thereafter contributed significantly to the unification of Italy. Piedmont Sardinia was modernized politically, economically and militarily after 1850 by count camillo cavour and victor Emmanuel II. It is because of this that piedmont played a central role in the unification process and successfully completed the task by 1870.

The role of foreign powers such as France, Britain, Russia and Prussia cannot be underestimated. These powers assisted piedmont Sardinia in her unification efforts either directly or indirectly, morally, diplomatically or militarily after 1850. Britain and France had trade links with Sardinia after 1850. France offered direct military assistance in Sardinian war against Austria in 1859 following the piedmontese of central Italy in 1860 and rejected a French proposal to block Garibaldi's assault on Naples in July 1860. Prussia helped piedmont to liberate venetia and Rome from Austria and France respectively when she fought and defeated those countries between 1866-70 while Russia played a neutral role after 1850.

Also worthy to mention was the charismatic leadership of victor Emmanuel II the king of Sardinia since 1848 and count camillo cavour the architect of Italian unification. Victor Emmanuel was more committed to the unification of Italy than his predecessors and collaborate unsolicitedly with cavour's unification strategies. Cavour was the mastermind of the whole process after 1850. It was their sound leadership that brought the struggle to a permanent and meaningful conclusion.

The role of other Italian nationalists such as Mazzini, Garibaldi, Felice Orsini, Charles Albert and the liberal pope deserves mention. Mazzini was the prophet and converted many Italians to the nationalist struggle while Garibaldi was the soldier of the unification. He helped liberate Naples and Sicily using

his red shirts. The liberal policy of Charles Albert and pope pius IX affected a very big part of Italy by initiating liberal reforms, Felice orsini attempted to assassinate Napoleon III and lured him to the unification struggle in 1858.

The 1848 revolutions in Italy brought to light the popular enthusiasm for national unity and onstitutional liberties. They ended the Metternich era, reaveled the shortcomings of the nationalists and above all brought new characters victor Emmanuel and cavour to the political scene of piedmont Sardinia which cleared the way for national independence.

Finally the high spirit of Italian nationalism after 1850 explains the success of the struggle, it was responsible for shrewd zeal of Italians towards national unity and independence this was due to effective mobilization through newspapers public rallies and the work of the national society formed in 1857.

All the above factors were at play, in the unification process. None worked isolation of others. The degree of contribution varies from factors to factor.

### **Revision Questions**

1. Assess the role played by Count Camillo Cavour in the unification of Italy by 1870.
2. Examine the problems that hindered Italian unification and how were they solved after 1850?
3. Describe the stages of Italian unification up to 1870.
4. "Without foreign aid Italian unification would have remained a dream" Discuss.
5. Compare the unification of Italy and Germany up to 1871.
6. To what extent was the Character of Felix Orsini responsible for the unification of Italy by 1870?
7. "The 1870-1871 Franco-Prussian war made the Unification of Italy inevitable". Discuss
8. "Lack of an internal base delayed the unification of Italy up to 1870"Discuss.
9. Examine the factors that facilitated the unification of Italy up to 1870.
10. To what extent were Italian liberation movements responsible for the unification of Italy?

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **THE UNIFICATION OF GERMAN STATES 1815-70**

Germany like Italy was not a united state by 1815. But unlike Italy, it possessed a form of loose national union known as the German confederation. The 300 states of the former Holy Roman empire were reduced in number to 39 by the Vienna settlement of 1815 and turned into the confederation union by 1815, though these states were disunited the spirit of nationalism had taken root to spearhead the struggle for German unification. This followed the reforms Napoleon introduced in Germany and the spirited struggle the Germans waged against French domination at Leipzig 1813. The formal unification of the state into an integrated nation officially occurred on 18th January 1871.

### **THE WORK OF NAPOLEON I**

Napoleon Bonaparte contributed to the rise of German nationalism. He destroyed the remains of the Holy Roman empire (Comprising of large German states like Prussia Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Saxony and over three hundred small ones) as turned the northern ones into the confederation of the Rhine under his supremacy. Over this arrangement, he chose his relatives to be kings. He transformed the union by introducing French legal system, constitutional and parliamentary rule which excited the Germans. Unfortunately however, Napoleon crossed German pride when he subjected them to excessive taxation, the rule of his brothers, the continental system and endless warfare which inflicted horrible atrocities to the German people. It no wonder therefore that the Germans contributed significantly to the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 in the cause of national liberation.

### **THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT 1815.**

The victory of the Germans at Leipzig was short lived as their gains were trampled under foot at Vienna. No attempt was made to revive the Holy Roman Empire but attempts were made to strengthen Austria. Austria was determined not to see the growth of a powerful northern rival, to take over her role as the leader of Germany. The over 300 states were bogged down into 39 by the Vienna settlement and turned into a loose union, the German confederation under Austrian presidency. The union was kept deliberately as weak as possible. Its diet (parliament) consisted purely of ambassadors of various states, not representatives elected by the people. In addition to bring president of the confederation, Austria controlled Italian states of Lombardy, Venetia, Hungary, Bohemia, Transylvania, Croatia and Vienna. As such Germany was controlled, by a power whose chief interests were not in Germany at all. In addition the Diet had representatives of other non-German states that controlled Germany states (Britain in Hanover, Denmark in Holstein and Holland in Luxembourg). These too remained opposed to German unity and independence. Prussia the relatively independent state was still weak and her leaders were still hostile to German unity.

The above weaknesses of the German confederation disappointed German nationalists who had hoped for a greater measure of national union. They detested the Vienna settlement and over determined to repudiate it. As such the period that followed the signing of the Vienna settlement was that of liberalism and patriotic movements in Germany in the pursuit of unity, independence and constitutional liberties. Though the leaders of the confederation had been asked to grant constitutions to their subjects, only four leaders implemented this, consequently German liberalism grew in strength year after year. It led to the formation of student patriotic movements such as the Burschen schafén which had sprung up in sixteen of the German universities.

### **THE WARTBURG FESTIVAL 1817 AND THE CARLSBAD**

IN October 1817 the German students, of Jena University (approximately 500 in number) demonstrated at Wartburg in the pretext of commemorating the 300th anniversary of the church and the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. The students also intended to form a closer union among German university students. They expressed their nationalism, burnt reactionary books and in 1819 murdered Kotzebue. A reactionary Russian journalist who was regarded as poisoning the mind of Alexander I (Czar of Russia) against liberalism. At once Metternich who was alarmed by the wave of student violence seized the opportunity. He won over Alexander completely from the last of his liberalism and then pounced on German liberalism he secured endorsement by the confederation Diet a series of laws designed to intimidate students and silence all political agitation. Drawn up by Metternich and nine of the leading states at Carlsbad, they were known as the Carlsbad decrees, 1819. By them, student associations were banned strict press censorship was set up everywhere, university teaching was put under strict government inspection, investigators of recent activities were chosen, political meetings were forbidden, professors were dismissed, liberal leaders sentenced to years of imprisonment. Metternich enforced these decrees rigidly by employing a severe spy and secret police networks and victims were either imprisoned or exiled. Consequently, the German liberal and nationalist movement fell into decline for about thirty years. Unexpectedly however, instead of extinguishing the flames of liberalism and nationalism the Carlsbad decrees made the fire burn more brightly but this was in the late 1840s. The Carlsbad decrees saved the German confederation the revolutionary outburst of the 1820's and 30s.

### **THE ZOLLVEREIGN 1818**

As early as 1818 Prussia the most prominent of the German states created a uniform customs arrangement by abolishing internal customs (tariffs) and had attracted German states north of the main rival to join it. The customs (tariffs) and had attracted German states north of the Main river to join it. The customs union, known as the Zollverein, consisted of 18 states in just sixteen years it was, an alternative step to substitute a political union that had so far failed with an economic one. By 1844, states like Bavaria, Saxony had joined the Zollverein and in 1853 Hanover joined. But Austria refused and wanted to use it as an excuse for opposing Prussia as a result of the union, a network of



roads, railways was established in the northern German states, The union led to an era of revolutionary explosion industrial expansion and greater population mobility. This created a firm foundation for a political union to be established later on.

### **FREDRICK WILLIAM IV AND THE REVIVAL OF GERMAN LIBERALISM**

The changes of the thrones of Austria and Prussia in these years were important in the cause of German liberalism in 1835, Emperor Francis I very conservative, with much respect for Metternich died, and were succeeded by Ferdinand. Ferdinand was weak and unable to contain the pressure of German liberalism in Prussia too, the greatly respected oldman Fredrick William III a rigidly ardent ally of Metternich died in 1840 and was succeeded by Fredrick William IV who caused a great revival of German liberalism. By this time, the Austrians and Germans had got so fed up with the Metternich system that they excitedly applauded the above changes. Unlike his predecessor (father) Fredrick Williams IV was ready to accept reforms in the Prussian monarchy. Though not a believer in modern parliaments, he was forced to grant liberal concessions which provided for freedom of speech press, representative government and trial by jury. He dressed himself in revolutionary colors and appointed middle –class ministers. He however did not believe in the constitution limiting his monarchical powers. In fact his attitude towards German liberalism changed when he realized the liberal demands were far beyond what he desired. He for example declined the offer to head the struggle for Germans unity and independence from Austria. He said

***“Germany without Austria will be worse than a face without a nose”***

Inspite of the above liberal challenges the liberal revival in Prussia influenced the thinking of may patriotic Germans and influenced other German states to reforms, Fredrick William IV put Prussia on the road for economic prosperity. Under the Zollverein scheme, William undertook several developments. New roads were built, a modern postal system initiated railways constructed, steam power introduced, great developments in education such as the founding of polytechnics and schools. Prussia equipped herself as a modern state and this enabled her to play a central and leading role in the unification struggle.

### **THE 1848 REVOLUTIONS**

The fall of Louis Philippe in France in 1848 caused a wave of revolutionary spirit that spread to Austria, the German confederation, and elsewhere in Europe. The major demands in the confederation were constitutional liberty, German unity and independence, the latter two being the more pronounced opinions a clear indication that nationalism had spread in Germany. In support of the above demands, a wave of public rallies and revolts occurred especially in Berlin and these had to be dispersed by police or troops, more stream for the revolutionaries came from Vienna when news reached that Metternich the international police man against reform in his 40 years experiences had fallen and fled to exile. These conditions forced Fredrick William IV to free the press, call the Prussian united Diet to draft a liberal constitution, remove the troops from Berlin and thereafter allow several other concessions. Movement aimed at achieving German unity and allowed for the formation of the National Guard and

to wear the colours of the Holy Roman Empire (Reddish, blackish and goodish) whenever they were going for a procession. For the meantime the revolutionaries were supreme in Prussia with the King promising nearly everything demanded.

### **THE VORPARLAMENT.**

In other German states, popular movements occurred with little resistance and the rulers were forced to grant their subjects constitutions or atleast appointed liberal ministers. The revolutionaries also demanded a greater measure of German national union By 5th march 1848, fifty reading liberals, shiefly from south Germany, met and debated plans for summoning a preliminary parliament vorparlament to discuss and establish a constitution for all Germany, state governments and the German diet feared to oppose such a scheme. So on 31st march 1848, the vorporlament, consisting of 600 members met at Frankfurt. This was another clear indication that Austrian and Prussian monarchies had seriously weakened and the revolutionaries were heading for success.

### **THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AT FRANKFURT**

When the union parliament met at Frankfurt (146 representatives from Prussia and only two from Austria) of the total membership) an order was made to hold elections for a real parliament largely representative of Germany as a whole. The national assembly as the body came to be called had met by may also at Frankfurt and consisted of 831 members many of whom were lawyers, state officials, land owners and working class citizens. The assembly drew up a draft constitution for a united Germany. However the decision was opposed the German unification. Later it was decided that Austria, which had many non- Germans beleft out, but Austria was not ready to leave a confederation in which she was dominat and such a scheme was not supported by Fredrick William IV of Prussia. In addition in march 1849, the Assembly decided to offer the leadership of the empire to Fredirck William IV who also declined the offer. He replied that he could not accept a crown without the coasent of the actual states (Princes) He feared the opposition of other Germen princes and the military intervention of Austria and Russia. He also held a fundamental distate for the idea of accepting a crown from a popularly elected parliament. He could not accept a crown of clay he said. The constitution was not approved by Austria Prussia, Saxony, winterburg and Bavaria. It was only accepted by the 28 smaller states, on the whole, the National assembly ended in partial failure. It failed to achieve its goals of a voluntary union an indication that voluntary means would not bring about German unity and independence. The Prussian and Austrian delegates were withdrawn and the Frankfurt parliament dispersed in June 1849. Meanwhile Prussian troops (Royalist forces) were used to put down subsequent insurrections in Germany. The revolution arries failed because they were inexperienced in practical work. Inspite of the failure, the movements for reform that had started in Prussia continued after June 1849. In December 1842, Fredrick William IV called the Prussian united Diet later known as the constituent assembly to draw up a constitution, little was achieved in this as the king disagreed with the assembly over electoral laws, in the end the old constitution was revised and Prussia became a constitutional state.

## **THE PRUSSIAN LEAGUE 1848**

Before the end of 1848 Prussia made an attempt to move forward. William invited the kings of Germany to form a closer union under Prussian leadership. Saxony and Hanover accepted and the three formed the League of three kings. It was expected through its advantages (trade under the Zollverein) to attract many. Most small states refused to join fearing to be dominated by the big powers. Besides when another meeting was held at Erfurt, Saxony and Hanover abandoned the Prussian league and formed the league of four with Bavaria and Württemberg an indication that the German states were still disunited and non-committal to the unification struggle.

## **THE OLMUTZ SUBMISSION 1850**

The final blow to the 1848 revolutions in Germany was the OLMUTZ treaty 1851 following political events in Hesse one of the states of Germany. Towards the end of 1849 the leaders of the Hesse-Cassel, abolished the constitution granted by Prussia. People revolted and called for Prussian help. Austria, who had looked at the Prussian league with disfavour and having recovered from the 1848 revolutions, moved fast and declared her support for the Hessian rule. An army of 200,000 men was mobilized to support him against Prussia. Frederick William IV of Prussia who had resolved not to fight Austria easily submitted to the Austrian demands at Olmutz. By the treaty of Olmutz, 1850 Prussia gave up her support for the Hessian people, abandoned the Prussian league and revival of the original German confederation dictated by Austria.

As such, despite popular protests and even republican uprisings in some places, the German confederation was revived in 1851 precisely as it had been in 1815 Germany fell back into disunion and division under autocratic and illiberal governments. In 1851, she still lacked democracy and national unity

## **FACTORS FOR THE DELAY OF GERMAN UNIFICATION BY 1850.**

The initial attempts to bring about German unity and independence 1815-50 ended in almost total failure in spite of the committed efforts of the nationalists. This was due to a number of factors.

There was no unanimity over who should be the head of the German confederation. Austria, the then head had so many interests outside the confederation which were so strong that Prussia and many other Germans would not accept that arrangements yet Prussia herself was not strong enough to take the lead. The dispute was exploited by Austria to maintain hold on Germany.

Many leaders of the various states in Germany especially the bigger ones like Prussia and Bavaria were hostile to a strong union in Germany for it would lead to the weakening of their power or forced retirement. They therefore opposed any measure that threatened their position as leaders and preferred remaining under Austrian patronage. A case in point is Frederick William IV who declined an offer of heading a united Germany proposed by the Frankfurt Assembly in 1849. He would not wear a crown

of shame as he quickly called it.

Germany was a victim of foreign control for many years. Since 1805 much of the mainland was controlled by France. Napoleon I had destroyed the remains of the Holy Roman Empire and turned the northern German states into the confederation of the Rhine under his leadership. When Napoleon was defeated the German states were turned into the German confederation and subjected to Austrian presidency. Austria was opposed to any unification efforts and was militarily supreme. She suppressed the 1848 revolutions in Germany and subjected Prussia to the Olmutz humiliation of 1850 which kept the German states divided. In addition to French and Austrian control, other foreign powers Britain and Denmark controlled the German states of Hanover and Holstein respectively and stood in the way of German unification.

Metternich and his system were still a problem. The system stood to protect the old order of despotic rule against any reform measure and nationalist aspiration. Metternich suppressed German liberalism for nearly thirty years since 1815 through the Carlsbad decrees 1819, by which the press was strictly censored, political meetings forbidden, university education was put under strict government inspection, student associations banned, liberal leaders excluded from the German confederation and many sentenced to years of imprisonment and other restrictions of communication and movement. This undoubtedly determined the slow trend of political movements in Germany.

By the year 1848, Germany as a whole was economically backward. The industrial revolution which had led to some important developments in Belgium and France had not made any progress in Germany. She remained basically agricultural and resources were always wasted by the burdens of feudalism. The poor plebeians were the majority and were burdened by the segregation of feudalism. Transport and communication were poor. Such widespread poverty and economic misery obstructed nationalism in Germany.

The appeal for nationalism was still at its lowest in Germany by 1848 due to limited mobilization. Local nationalism still took centre stage. Big states like Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony feared to be dominated by one another while the smaller states feared to be dominated by the big ones. It was for this reason that the revolutionary assembly at Frankfurt 1848 and the proposed Prussian league. Such divisions were exploited by Austria to stifle the liberal movement in Germany.

Practical leaders like Bismarck had not emerged by 1850. The struggle was dominated by university students and teachers who were inexperienced in practical work. The revolutionary assembly at Frankfurt comprised of idealists who were too theoretical; they wasted too much time in debates and failed to make use of the opportunity when Austria had grown weak. The opportunity was lost and attempts to achieve a voluntary union failed.

The revolutionaries in Germany lacked foreign assistance by 1850 and had to deal with Austria alone. France from whom much help was expected due to her revolutionary tradition was disturbed by

the 1830 and 1848 revolution and feared to get involved in a campaign that would affect catholic interests. Britain still pursued the isolation policy and controlled a portion of Germany while Russia still an Austrian ally. So none of them picked interest in helping Germany by 1850.

Military weakness was a feature of every nationalist rising in 1848 and Germany was no exception. The Germany revolutionary were still too weak to weaken the Austrian and Prussian monarchies and more so without the help of foreign powers. Consequently, Prussia militarily suppressed the insurrections of 1848 in Berlin and other cities while Austria did so in other areas. It is military weakness that compelled the German revolutionaries to accept the humiliating treaty of Olmütz imposed on Germany by Austria.

Religious conflicts and sensitivity of the Catholic Church delayed the unification the southern states which had a lot of Catholics who greatly respected the traditional role of Austria in Germany. They favoured a united Germany under Austrians leadership while the northern states with many Protestants looked at Prussia as their potential head this sharp difference in religious ideology crippled the nationalist movement and gave Austria an upper hand.

## **THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY 1850-70**

In spite of the above-mentioned challenges, the struggle for German unification continued after 1850, encouraged by the developments so far registered. Prussia had become a constitutional state and Prince Metternich of Austria, the international police officer against reform had fallen and exited power. This was a step in the struggle. The Prussian king (Frederick William IV) achieved a lot of material progress and wealth for Prussia after 1850. He promoted industrialization in the Ruhr and Silesia regions while the coal and iron deposits were worked on. The Zollverein started by Prussia in 1818 was expanded further in 1853 when Hanover joined and it was renewed for twelve years. It was partly because of this economic development that the nationalists headed for success.

### **THE RISE OF BISMARCK “The mad Junker”**

The unification of Germany became a practical reality in a relatively shorter period with the advent of Otto von Bismarck by 1871; he had become a national hero winning the respect and admiration of large sections of the German society, though such a destiny seemed far from likely in the first 32 years of his life.

Bismarck was born in 1815 to an unremarkable Junker, a member of the influential class of Prussian landlords. He had received university education and a reputation as a successful farmer and Prussian patriot. His birth determined his views and principles. He believed in the absolute power of the government and the army. He therefore despised and hated liberal ideas and the parliament. He strongly hated Austria and although he believed in the plan of a united Germany, this had to be achieved by the extension of Prussian power over the rest of Germany. In 1847, he became deputy in the Prussian united diet which set in motion his illustrious political career. During the revolutionary movements

of 1848-49, he missed no opportunity to display his deep – seated convictions that autocracy was the best form of government, Between 1859-62, he was the ambassador of Prussia to Russia and shortly before 1862 with the king ( William struggling to get positive proposals for his army reforms, through the Prussian parliament, Bismarck was recalled and asked to serve as prime minister to replace the meaning liberal chief minister Adolph Hohenlohe it was from this high office that he embarked on his mission of national aggrandizement for Prussia.

Bismarck believed that the unification was not to be a product of discussion and consensus and that it could not be maintained by liberal principles and parliaments but by the use of force. He said in one of his speeches as prime minister.

“In the not too distant future, we shall have to fight for over existence against Austria --- it is not within over power to avoid that since the course of events in Germany has no other solution

“ --- The great question of the day will not be decided by the speech and majority resolution, there in lay the weakness of 1848-49 but by blood and iron “

He however also believed that before force was applied Prussia had to be modernized and had also to secure foreign backing.

## **WILLIAM I**

In 1857, Fredrick William IV was declared officially insane and regency was established under William IV finally deed in 1861, William I, became the king of Prussia the new king made further progress in line with unification .Though distasteful to liberalism in all its forms, William I was interested in the unification . He was an experienced soldier who fought in earlier wars for example the war of liberation 1813 against Napoleon I. He was committed to modernizing the Prussian army and appointed two keen military minds, von Roon – Minister of war and von molke – chief of the general staff with a strong belief – that Prussia was the right country to lead the unification more money was now to be spent on training soldiers , conscription, buying and manufacturing ammunities for example a field gun with a castle steel baurel was made . The number of soldiers recruited into the army annually was increased and the period of military service was increased from the customary two three years with another four years in reserve. Unfortunately however, the military schemes were strongly opposed by a fairly liberal majority in parliament the frustration almost forcing the king to resign. The impending disaster was saved by the appointment of Bismarck as prime minister by King William I.

Bismarck was a strong man under whose control Prussia was preceded to do away with liberalism in favour of unity and national glory. He influenced the king, to tear his earlier written resignation and then take affirm stand against the liberals he said.

“Germany doesn’t look to Prussia liberalism but to its power-----“

Bismarck realized that his first step to creating a great Prussia was to crush liberal opposition to army reforms. The king was encouraged to carry the reforms further a midst anti- liberal measures taken



by Bismarck. The press was censored, liberals were removed from official positions and Bismarck's unpopularity reached greater heights, consequently liberal opposition in parliament dwindled into thin air, offering Bismarck in 1863 with chance to benefit the struggle. Austria called a meeting at Frankfurt and put forward a scheme for a new federal constitution and also suggesting a directory of six states of which Prussia would be part. Bismarck rejected the scheme opportunity to embark on other programmes.

Bismarck then backed William's plans of expanding the Prussian army and modernising Prussia. The state grew in strength under Bismarck's guidance with its strong army devoted civil service, its advanced educational reforms, and its expanding commerce. These changes were necessary for Prussia to play a central role in the struggle.

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

While universal military service was being enforced within Prussia, Bismarck directed his foreign policy towards a future struggle between Austria and Prussia for the leadership of Germany. He placed the czar of Russia Alexander II under obligations to Prussia by offering to help him suppress the Polish rebellion of 1863 he duped Napoleon III by hinting that France might obtain compensation if Prussia were given a free hand in Germany. He placed the czar of Russia Alexander II under obligations to Prussia by offering to help him suppress the Polish rebellion of 1863 He duped Napoleon III by hinting that France might obtain compensation if Prussia were given a free hand in Germany.

## **THE DANISH WAR 1864**

### **The Schleswig – Holstein Questions**

In 1864 Prussia under the able guidance of Bismarck joined Austria in a war against Denmark the bone of contention was the territory Schleswig- Holstein in north western Germany which were populated mainly by Germans but governed by the King of Denmark. By the London treaty 1852, the Danish king was to rule the Duchies separately and not to incorporate them in the kingdom of Denmark. When the king died in 1863. There was the German prince of Augusten berg their was the German prince of Austen berg and not the Duke of Gluckburg that had been suggested by the international arbitration the new king annexed the Duchies and violated the treaty of London the German revolutionists appealed to Bismarck for help. Austria accepted to join Prussia for she would not leave the matter to Prussia alone.

By the Danish war of 1864 Denmark was defeated by a joint Austro – Prussian force and forced to denounce her claims on the Duchies. By the treaty of Vienna, 1864, the provinces were then placed under joint custody of Austria and Prussia much to the displeasure of Bismarck. This led to acute tension between Austria and Prussia the conflict was resolved by the convention of Gastein August 1865, which placed Holstein under Austria and Schleswig under Prussia. Thus, Prussia had liberated Schleswig from Denmark, which was the first major step in the unification process.

## **THE SEVEN WEEKS WAR AT SADOWA (War with Austria)**

Bismarck had all along viewed Austria as a major barrier against German unification. He therefore used the Schleswig-Holstein to get Austria out of the way, The international community had already been influenced in his favour. Russia had become an ally after the Polish revolt of 1863 the Bazarzewicz treaty was signed in 1865 in which France agreed to keep neutral in the event of war between Prussia and Austria: Napoleon III was promised territorial compensation in the Rhineland in return. With Italy, a treaty of cooperation was signed in 1866 in which Prussia agreed to Italian annexation of Venetia in case Austria was defeated. Prussia had the advantage of a large well equipped, disciplined and ably led army. Austria who was alarmed by the above developments (particularly the growing strength of Prussia) quickly mobilized her troops and appealed to the Diet or the confederation for help. Bismarck declared the confederation dissolved occupied Holstein and declared war on Austria. In the battle that followed, the battle of Sadowa 1866, Austria was defeated together her German allies Saxony Hanover were occupied by Prussian forces.

By the treaty of Prague, August 1866 Austria was forced to give up Venetia for parliament, to agree to the annexation of Schleswig Holstein by Prussia and to acknowledge the ending of the German confederation which was replaced by a North German confederation comprising of all the German states north of river Main in a union dominated by Prussia. Prussian influence extended to southern German states (Brunswick Anhalt who were attracted by the military glory Prussia had won). Austria was completely detached from Germany. The King of Prussia was made the head of the new federation.

## **FINAL STAGE WAR WITH FRANCE 1870-71**

The victory of Prussia in the seven weeks war soured relations with France since France did not wish to see a new emerging power in central Europe. Bismarck was determined to fight France as the remaining barrier to the total unification of Germany. By means of unscrupulous diplomacy, Bismarck lured France to the battlefield. The southern German states had between 1867-70 been drawn into union with the north fearing to fall victim of French aggression. Bismarck refused to honour French claims of compensation after the Austro – Prussian war and instead published them in the newspapers. Napoleon asked for land in the Rhineland first was Belgium then Luxembourg, which Bismarck rejected. This diplomatically isolated France from the major powers of Europe, which had interests in the Rhine lands, and war became inevitable.

In preparation for war, the economy was strengthened and strong army was created. France was now diplomatically isolated and humiliated in response to all this France declared war on Prussia July 1870- The south German states made common cause with the north in fighting the French at Sedan. France was defeated and subjected to the peace treaty of Frankfurt 1871 by which the German empire was proclaimed, French provinces of Alsace – Lorraine were annexed to an army of occupation in addition to paying 200 million pounds war indemnity, of German unification.

## CAUSES OF THE FRANCO - PRUSSIAN WAR.

France resented the reemergence of a strong power in central Europe to challenge her. She felt her supremacy had declined at the battle of Sadowa 1866 with the rise of a new power France so Frenchmen started to call for revenge of Sadowa. In order to achieve this Napoleon III argued that Germany was divided into three independent parts and that he would do every thing possible to prevent their union Napoleon III felt his prestige to his people had frozen with the rise of Prussia. He had been blindfolded by Bismarck to support a scheme that substantially his power and influence. So as a return to the prestige he was fortifying, he demanded from Bismarck the cession of territories as compensation like Belgium which Bismarck rejected.

Bismarck's unscrupulous methods of publishing French claims in the newspapers and portraying Napoleon III as the enemy of Europe incited French nationalism and hostility, The territories Napoleon demanded for belonged to other European powers for example Belgium to Britain and Palestine to Bavaria, As such , Napoleon was viewed by those countries as their enemy.

Being a glory seeker Napoleon also wanted to use the same opportunity to recover from the losses incurred in the previous campaigns. His shortsightedness in the Italian campaign 1859 and the Austro-Prussian war 1866 had led to rise of Italy and Prussia as powerful states much to the displeasure of France. Napoleon had also suffered a great military defeat in Mexico 1864-7 . This largely affected his support at home, the Franco- Prussian war was an opportunity for him to once again capture peoples support and restore his prestige especially among the Catholics whom he had annoyed by fighting and weakening Austria in 1859. The victories Prussia had won in the Danish war 1864 and the battle of Sadowa 1866 put her in a better position to fight France and complete German unification. She was encouraged to declare war on France by the military glory won the previous campaigns Prussian prestige increased to a position in which she was ready for war against France.

The great Prussian nationalism and burning desire to complete German unification made war with France inevitable. By 1870 the Prussians and Germans unianiously agreed to fight – France for the sake of total national unity and independence. The southern states combined with the northern to contain French aggression they were all attracted to the military glory achieved by Prussia.

The violation of the Biarritz treaty 1865 by Bismarck provoked France to declare war. Signed between France and Prussia in Preparation for the Austro Prussian war 1866, the treaty promised Napoleon territory in the Rhinlands, which was not honoured by Bismarck at the end of the war. This hurt both French prestige and that of Napoleon III.

France was a traditional enemy of Prussia since 1760, a combined force of European powers (France inclusive) defeated Prussia and divided it into four regions later from 1789, France led a struggle for the spread of liberal revolutionary ideas to which Bismarck was strongly opposed. To intensify this enmity, Prussia joined

hands with czar Alexander II to suppress the Polish rebellion of 1863 which displeased France. The immediate factor was the Spanish succession conflict. In 1868, the Spanish autocratic monarchy was replaced by a constitutional monarchy and the new king was to be chosen from seven candidates nominated by different European governments. Prussia candidate, prince Leopold of Hohenzoller Sigmaringen was the successful candidate, which displeased France that had lost in the bargain. Napoleon III then sent his ambassador in Prussia Benedetti to inform king William I that France was not accepting Leopold's ascension to the Spanish throne and that the name had to be withdrawn. The name was not withdrawn but just before the war Leopold withdrew his name. But still Benedetti called for a formal pledge that king William will never approve of any Hohenzollern candidature to the Spanish throne. King William refused when a report of this dialogue (known as E.M.S. interview) was passed on to Bismarck in Berlin, it was published blaming France for being undiplomatic in the interview. National sentiments were raised in both countries claiming that their leaders had been insulted this no doubt led to the declaration of war between France and Prussia.

## **RESULTS OF THE WAR.**

It led to the completion of German unification following the military defeat of France by Prussia. The Frankfurt treaty was signed in 1871 by which the German empire was proclaimed under Kaiser William I. The empire acquired two mineralized provinces of Alsace-Lorraine (were rich in coal and iron) the treaty also subjected France to an army of occupation and 200 millions pounds war indemnity this crippled the French – economy and made it difficult for her to wage a war of revenge in the early years.

France suffered defeat and humiliation and the French emperor was taken captive by the Prussian forces. She lost her position as a great power in central Europe to Germany this hurt French nationalism so much that another war was to be fought in future in the course of revenge by the Frenchmen.

Napoleonic rule was brought to an end for the second time in similar circumstances of foreign aggression. The second French empire ended and was replaced by the third French Republic. It also marked the end of monarchism in the political history of France.

Germany imposed herself as the master of central Europe and the champion of European affairs having defeated two powerful states Austria and France. Political affairs of Europe were now controlled from Berlin and German interest was at the forefront. Germany diplomatically isolated France from other powers of Europe between 1871 and 1890 contained the pressure in the Balkans (between Austria and Russia) and maintained general European peace.

Bismarck became an international figure. He became a great statesman as the mastermind of German unification through his blood and iron policy he acquired the position of chancellor in a unified Germany but his role in Europe went far beyond that position. He became the international arbiter to mediate in international conflicts like the Balkans and was the chairman of most diplomatic meetings

held in Europe during his reign as chancellor of Germany.

The defeat and humiliation to France in 1870-71 drove France to the colonial field. French nationalists came to believe that the best way to recover from that shock was to colonise. They rushed for colonies in north Africa- Tunisia , Algeria, Morocco in short therefore , the Franco- Prussian, war contributed significantly to the scramble and partition of Africa.

The war led to enormous loss of both France and Prussia the surrender of the French forces at Metz, Sedan, and Strasbourg and other cities was done after a heavy cost. Balloons, transport, carriers and artillery weapons were destroyed in the process, in addition to losing many lives.

## **FACTORS THAT FAVOURED GERMAN UNIFICATION**

By 1860, the congress system, used as a bulwark against nationalism and liberalism had collapsed and the Germans quickly took advantage of this. Concerted effort by the European powers against Prussia by this time was impossible. England was on bad terms with France, Russia and Austria , Russia was on bad terms with England and Austria, Napoleon III and Russia were on good terms with each other but on bad terms with every body else. Austria was diplomatically isolated from the rest of Europe. It is this situation that Prussia exploited to bring about the unification of Germany.

The emergence of Prussia as the leader of the unification greatly enhanced the struggle and led to its success by 1870. Prussia played the central role and most of the preparations efforts for the unification process were initiated in Prussia it is Prussia that fought and defeated Denmark 1864 Austria 1866 and France 1870 which sealed the process of German unification.

Otto von Bismarck played a vital role in this campaign due to his charismatic leadership. He made fundamental political, social, economic reforms in Prussia that enabled her to lead the unification struggle. He also maneuvered and influenced the international situation in favour of German unification and independence. Other powers like Britain, Russia and France were persuaded to collaborate with the unification process at different levels.

The role of William I, King Prussia from 1861 cannot be underestimated William was a professional soldier with a rich military experience. He helped in modernizing the Prussian army. He appointed von Roon and von Moltke in military positions to facilitate his reform in the army.

Foreign assistance assisted greatly in the weakening and isolation of Austria. Britain and France were opposed to Russia autocracy, her long term ally abandoned her after the Crimean war because Austria did not show solidarity with Russia in that war. Prussia fought Denmark in 1864 with Austrian help, fought Austria in 1866 with British, French and Russian cooperation and France in 1870 with Italian, Austrian and British cooperation. Fought France without their help, the road to unification should have been a difficult one.

The political social, economic and military reforms in Prussia after 1850 significantly led to the unification, Prussia became a modern state with a strong government, economy and the army. This enabled / her to lead the struggle for German unification attracting the support of the German nationalists. Credit goes to Bismarck who masterminded the reforms.

Fredrick William IV contributed a little to the unification by initiating constitutional governance in Prussia and modernizing the Prussian economy. He expanded the road and railway network and promoted industrialization, which benefited the German middle class.

Metternich and his system, which had been stumbling blocks in the unification struggle, were brought to an end by the 1848 revolution. Metternich had muzzled German nationalism with his carlsbad decrees of 1819 but his exit in 1848 provided the nationalists breathing space. The 1848 revolutions in addition had fundamental lessons to guide the nationalists with.

The economic union, Zollvereing created by Prussia in 1818 led to an revolutionary explosion in German that was needed to steer the movement to success. By 1853, big states like hanover had joined. It acted as a basis for political unity to be achieved later.

Intellectual growth and mass mobilization were the foundation of the growth of German nationalism. Notable among the great Prussian intellectual were kant schiler and Goethe. Through their philosophical writings, they aroused nationalistic feelings among the Germans. To complement this were the Germans such as language and culture and the recollections of the greatness of the holy Rroman empire to which they belonged.

Napoleonic rule in Germans and the reforms associated with it- initiated the course of German unification; Napoleon destroyed the holy Roman empire and created the confederation of the Rhine. He introduced constitutional governance in the German states and incited nationalism with the excess of his regime.

They were the above factors combined that led to the success of German unification by 1870. They were actually an answer to the problems earlier identified in the course of the unification.

### **Revision Questions**

1. Account for the delay of Italian unity up to 1850.
2. Examine the factors that favoured Italian unity up to 1870.
3. “Without Cavour the unification of Italy would not have been achieved by 1870” Discuss.
4. Examine the factors that hindered the unification of Germany before 1860.



5. To what extent was the Germany unity achieved through the policy of blood and iron?
6. “Without Otto Von Bismarck, the unification of Germany would have been impossible by 1870” Discuss.
7. Compare the unification of Germany and Italy up to 1871.
8. Examine the causes and the consequences of Franco- Prussian War of 1870-71.
9. Consider the obstacles that hindered Germany unity up to 1860 and how were they solved?
10. Examine the impact of Germany Unification to international order up to 1914.

## **THE GERMAN EMPIRE (1871-90)**

### **(BISMARCK’ S GERMANY)**

#### **DOMESTIC POLICY**

Bismarck had managed to bring about the unification of Germany as a geographical unit; he failed to bring about the internal unification of the people. He opted to use the policy of divide and rule in order to contain the ambitious and rival groups in the German society then. he was inconsistent in dealing with the major political forces of he time and kept moving from one alternative to another. There was no long standing stigma on to which his actions could be based. His actions depended on who supported him and at what time.

In domestic policy, he was overwhelmed by problems that threatened to distabilise the young empire. They included disunity resulting from states and state princes who hated the new union, backward economy, the Roman Catholic Church which resisted Protestant domination in the new union, growth of liberalism and socialism and foreign nationalities with in the German empire. The leaders were bent on restraining these forces from causing a major blow to the infant empire. In many cases, he failed to totally uproot the problems and instead resorted to political intrigue using the divide and rule policy. Such a policy reduced the magnitude and intensity of a problem rather than eliminating it completely.



**OTTO VON BISMARCK**

He established a federal union in Germany, which left the states with a great deal of self-governance and gave them the impression that they were participating in the administration of the empire. This waved off the would be opposition to the imperial authority. It however deprived the new empire of a strong union that would bring the German people closer to one another. Constitutional reforms were accomplished by 1873. Credit goes to Bismarck for this achievement. The reforms however left Prussia dominant, which was a source of discontent. Nevertheless, the constitution enabled Bismarck to influence the affairs of the German Empire up to 1890.

Administrative powers were vested in the hands of the Kaiser (emperor) i.e. William I who reigned from 1860-88 and was Bismarck's right hand man. William I was succeeded by his son Frederick III in 1888 who ruled for only three months. Frederick III was succeeded by William II in 1888 who was destined to be the last German emperor. According to the constitution, the Kaiser was the head of the union and succession to this post was hereditary. This enabled the Kaiser to have firm control on the empire. He for example had the right to appoint all the chief officials of the empire and was the commander in chief of the armed forces. However, this led to dictatorship and was resented by state princes. The princes however lacked the military capability to challenge Prussia and were divided which enabled Prussia to continue dominating them.

The constitution established two imperial administrative councils; namely the Bundesrat (upper house) representing state rulers (i.e. delegates to this assembly were serving as ambassadors). This was assisted by the Reichstag (the lower house) representing the popular will of the masses giving them the impression that their interests and views were represented in government. This helped the empire to survive instances of rebellion up to 1918 (there was peace in the empire to the credit of Bismarck). The councils also enabled Prussia to dominate and firmly control the empire.

Bismarck strengthened the post of chancellor i.e., he was the representative of the emperor in all affairs of the empire and was answerable to the emperor alone. This post Bismarck created for himself especially during the reign of William I who generally accepted his political guidance in the affairs of the empire and Prussia in particular.

The Prussian army was strengthened and prepared for any eventuality. Training and equipping of soldiers were undertaken and the army was modernized to compete favourably with other first class European countries.

The strength of the Prussian army swerved off any possible break up of the empire through violence.

The princes in southern Germany who struggled to restore their power through negotiation and discussion were weakened by disunity in their ranks. Bismarck isolated and wakened the princes exploiting the jealousies of the princes towards one another and using the policy of divide and rule especially when major issues were discussed in the Bundesrat. Nevertheless, the princes continued to be a substantial cause of unrest in the empire until 1918.

There was the problem of the minority nationalities i.e. foreigners like French people, Danes among others who were searching for independence. These were however weakened by the divide and rule policy since they were not effectively united. They were few, scattered and with too little in common to get united in a strong force to challenge the imperial authority. With the help of the German majority in the empire and Prussian influence in the Bundesrat, the interests of the foreign minorities within the empire were suppressed.

### **The Kulturkampf (attack on the Church):**

The Roman Catholic Church became a serious disruptive force in the newly created empire. Many of the German confederation states had been largely catholic states and had at one time been in the 1-loly Roman Empire. The successive defeats of the Catholic states of Austria, France,. Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria etc during the unification process had turned the empire into a Protestant entity, which greatly disappointed the Catholics. Secondly, the Vatican state in order to maintain and safeguard the Pope's spiritual power (following his loss of territory to the new Italian state) proclaimed the Dogma of Papal infallibility and all Catholics in Rome had accepted it. The dogma stated that the Pope had divine powers in defining faith and morals to be held by the church and thus infallible and unchallengeable.

According to the Dogma, morals were to be defined by the church, churches were not to be under state control, education was to be controlled by the church and states were to allow complete freedom of worship. The majority of the German Catholics supported the pope in the matter and in order to defend their cause formed a political party known as the Centre party. They spread propaganda against Protestantism in the empire and even secured representation in government. A section of the Catholics however, mainly university professors and students refused to accept the dogma. They broke away from the main church to become what was called the Old Catholics.

The Roman Catholic Church issued sanctions against the Old Catholics i.e. they were ex-communicated. Bismarck opposed the dogma for he was himself a strong protestant and could not allow the Church to even control education. He therefore declared war (campaign) on the Catholics of the Centre party and in this campaign, which was known as Kulturkampf (cultural or civilization struggle), he was supported by the national liberals led by Rudolf Von Barringsen and the Old Catholics. The campaign severed when Bismarck issued the may laws in 1873, 74 and 75 passed by a minister called Fall. By these laws, all ecclesiastical education and instruction was put under state control, public ex-communication by Roman catholic priests was forbidden, church appointments were to be under state control, civil marriages were made compulsory, publications of the church were censored, and in 1876, priests were forbidden to inspect schools. The German envoy in Vatican was withdrawn as a sign of disassociation. All Bishops and priests not abiding by the laws were to be imprisoned or deposed. The campaign however made the Roman Catholic Church in Germany more powerful than

ever before. The church fought back with more tenacity and all the Bishops and even half the parish priests preferred prison or deposition to acceptance of the state laws and were even supported by their congregations.

In 1876, 9 bishops and 1400 priests were in prison and at one time, every Prussian bishop was in prison or had fled and ¼ of the Prussian parishes were without an approved priest. Thus despite the persecution, catholic opposition went on increasing especially in the southern states which had a large number of Catholics. The policy of Kulturkampf was therefore a failure and was instead making Bismarck unpopular. Bismarck realizing his mistake, decided to change his mind (inconsistency) this was because he was facing an eminent danger of growing socialism and worsening foreign situation and was now having no potential allies to deal with these problems. The national liberals had also turned against him over the policy of protective tariffs.

Due to the above reasons, Bismarck relaxed the policy of Kulturkampf i.e. the campaign against Catholics was stopped and Bismarck opened negotiations with the Vatican to end hostilities. This was after the coming to power of a more conciliatory and diplomatic Pope Leo XIII in 1878. According to the new understanding, the church was given its old independence while the state retained the right to inspect schools. It was this new policy that improved the relationship between Bismarck and the Roman Catholics. The Catholics now helped him to deal with other problems e.g. socialism and liberalism.

### **The anti-Socialism campaign:**

Another serious problem, which Bismarck failed to suppress, was Socialism. Socialism developed as an answer to the suffering and economic stress people had been subjected to by industrialization. Bismarck was opposed to socialism because he was a great private landowner as opposed to public land ownership, which the socialists advocated for. Bismarck therefore waged a campaign on the socialists (persecuted them like the Catholics). A repressive anti-socialist law was passed by which meetings, publications, and propaganda of socialism were forbidden.

Bismarck however failed to subject the socialists to government control. Socialism thrived on persecution. Strikes and civil war raged the country mainly promoted by a group of socialists known as the Social Democrats and the socialist restrictions proved to be a failure. Bismarck realizing, that repression had failed changed his policy (inconsistency). He now decided to allow small doses of socialism in order to control the major one. In this new arrangement, conditions of living of the poor were improved and insurance schemes granted i.e. insurance against sickness for industrial workers 1883, accident insurance 1884, and pensions for old age or incapacity in 1889.

The small doses however did not stop the progress of socialism. Socialist literature poured into Germany from Switzerland. The Social Democratic Party formed a highly effective underground movement and socialists expelled from their homes went into the countryside to continue with their

propaganda. Between 1889 -1990, the socialists increased their representation in the Reichstag from 9- 35. Thus, Bismarck's campaign against the socialists was a failure. It only succeeded in creating more enemies for Bismarck including the national liberals.

### **Economic Growth in Germany:**

Bismarck promoted industrialization in Germany. The tariff system instituted to protect young German industries brought about a notable recovery and marked a period of industrial expansion in Germany. Germany soon passed France and Great Britain as a producer of iron and steel. The coalfield of Ruhr was opened, textile and steel industries started. All this was to the credit of Bismarck. The policy of protectionism however, created for him bad blood with the national liberals who opposed Bismarck's policy until he left office in 1890, though they were weakened by disunity in their ranks. A common currency and banking system were established, while railways and postal systems were also put in place. The merchant marine came to be second only to that of Britain.

Finally, Bismarck successfully maintained the empire as a geographical unit through the years 1871 - 1890 until when it was, shattered by World War I. But he failed to bring about the internal unification of Germany. He failed to unite the different groups. He only widened the gap between them because of his policy of divide and rule, using one group against the other at a time i.e. the French against the Danes, Prussia against other states. The empire lacked symbols of national unity save Bismarck's statues until 1890.

The political system remained undemocratic. Prussia remained dominant and the Kaiser had much political power. Political conflicts were rampant in the empire due to the confusion that was associated with the administration e.g. government officials had double loyalties. The limitations of the chancellor were not clear i.e. was he responsible to the Kaiser as King of Prussia or emperor of Germany?

The industrial progress enjoyed during Bismarck's time was not accompanied by a fair and just economic policy. Conditions of living of the workers remained indescribably poor. Bismarck failed to improve the conditions of living of the labouring poor, and their hope turned to socialism.

### **BISMARCK'S CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

Bismarck's major concern was in foreign affairs where his policy remained consistent and credit worthy. Three major areas threatened the existence of the empire in its infancy. i.e. France's desire to recover her territories Alsace Lorraine and greatness after the humiliation of 1870 - 1, crisis in the Balkans (Eastern question) 1875 - 76, mainly between Russia and Austria Hungary and the colonial question (scramble and partition) mainly in Africa.

During his term of office, Bismarck tried to wave off or postpone war which would otherwise have been fought in the period and for that reason, he is described a man of peace. His tools remained largely diplomacy and an alliance of conservative monarchies in Europe, Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

He was assisted by a stable domestic, political, and economic position. i.e. there was relative peace at home. His major objectives in foreign affairs were:- Keep France isolated i.e. prevent her from making an alliance with any Power lest she could become strong enough to revenge on Germany for the defeat of 1870 - 1871, increase German prestige in Europe i.e. German supremacy i.e. Berlin was to become the centre of European diplomacy to settle European problems, keep in alliance with Austria and Russia and prevent war between the two over the Eastern question i.e. war would distort the balance of power and threaten German security.



**OTTO VON BISMARCK**

He had a problem in achieving this because these powers had far rivaling interests in the region (Balkans). They were incompatible enemies; prevent the increase of Russian power and prestige in the Balkans, which would be a menace to German prestige and security and preservation of European peace in general, which would preserve the status quo already established in the international balance of power. In the above arrangement, Bismarck realized that the preservation of peace was the most certain and least costly means of safeguarding the state he had created.

### **Frankfurt Treaty 1871:**

He entered into a peace treaty with France in 1871, the Frankfurt treaty, which glorified Germany and confirmed the establishment of the German empire in Europe. According to this treaty, France was humiliated and forced to lose her territories of Alsace and Lorraine. The treaty in addition weakened France and made it difficult for her to fight a war of revenge against Germany in the nearest possible time. (France was weakened by charging her a heavy war indemnity and imposing on her an army of occupation).

### **Dreikaiserbund, 1872:**

In effort to keep France isolated and to achieve German supremacy and also his, Bismarck established a sort of Metternichian Concert of Europe among the conservative powers-Austria, Russia and Prussia; i.e. he revived the holy alliance. He convinced the three states to form the league of three emperors (Francis Joseph of Austria, William I of Germany, Alexandra II of Russia) called the Dreikaiserbund 1872 based on mutual understanding, general friendship and cooperation of the powers involved. All the three feared war in Europe and the threat of socialism and revolution against conservative monarchs. It is such fears that held them together so that they would fight them more strongly than individual countries would.

Credit goes to Bismarck, for this league managed to bring together two incompatible enemies (Russia and Austria) who had conflicting interests in the Balkans and for the mean time, war was avoided in



the Balkans (man of peace). The league also kept France isolated from Austria and Russia. As the league was headed by Germany, it promoted Germany supremacy in Europe. But the league left out Britain and Italy which could easily be identified as enemies and could join hands with France. This however did not happen for there were political barriers between France (a republic) and Britain and Italy (monarchies).

### **Military Threats against France (The war of Nerves).**

Shortly later however, the Dreikaiserbund proved to be weak over two remarkable events of the period i.e. France's rapid recovery from the defeat of 1870 - 71. The 200million pounds war indemnity was paid off in just two years. France pulled herself together and embarked on an arms programme quickly which shocked Bismarck who had thought that France's recovery would take a long time. In order to stop France from taking this direction, Bismarck threatened war in 1875. In this, he was unsuccessful because the threats received sharp bitterness from Britain and Russia. They would not allow the balance of power to be completely up set by the further weakening of France.

Bismarck found himself dealing with three powers not one including Russia, a member of the Dreikaiserbund. Just as he knew the moment for attack, he also knew the moment for retreat. So he retreated and peace was preserved (a man of peace). Bismarck was disappointed by the attitude of Russia over this incident and realized that the Dreikaiserbund league was not very reliable because the interests of the members were not identical.

### **The crisis in the Balkans (1875 - 8):**

Bismarck played the role of mediation in the Balkan crisis. In 1875 and 1876, revolts against Turkish rule led by Bulgaria broke out through out the Balkan peninsular (the Bulgarian revolts). Turkey put down the uprisings with a lot of brutality. Bismarck butchered the rebels as usual (i.e.Bulgarian massacres) which attracted the attention of the great powers especially Russia; the self styled sympathizer and redeemer. All the great powers of Europe, but especially Russia and Austria Hungary had interests in this region. Russia wanted to control Constantinople and the Straits, for Austria, which was now excluded from Germany and Italy, the Balkans, were the remaining avenue for the extension of her influence. Great Britain and France feared Russian expansion; while Germany though not interested in the region, feared war between Russia and Austria and also feared Russian expansion.

Russia quickly expressed her sympathies for the Balkan people as usual and in 1876, Czar Alexander II asked Bismarck whether Germany would remain neutral in the war between Russia and Austria Hungary. Bismarck suggested a diplomatic and peaceful partition of the Balkans and warned that if they did go to war, he would intervene to prevent either power from gaining a decisive victory i.e. he would not allow any one of them to completely destroy the other, he wanted the status quo to remain unchanged, because it was favourable to Germany. The warning scared Russia and war didn't occur in 1875, though the enmity with Russia was cultivated.

Russia could not contain this rather unfavorable situation permanently. She in 1876 secretly approached Austria and forged a deal with her i.e. Austria was allowed to occupy the Balkan principalities of Bosnia — Herzegovina in return for her neutrality in the event of war between Russia and Turkey. After this arrangement, Russia and Bulgaria declared war on Turkey in 1877. The Russians defeated the Turks in March 1878 and imposed the treaty of San Stefano march 1878. By this treaty, Serbia and Montenegro were to be enlarged and to be independent of Turkey. Russia was to regain her lost part of Bessarabia from Rumania and Rumania was to be compensated with a barren strip of Turkish territory. Bosnia and Herzegovina were now to gain independence (and not to be given to Austria as earlier agreed).

The most important provision of the treaty of San Stefano was the creation of a large Bulgarian state (big Bulgaria) stretching from the Black sea to the mountains of Albania to the west, and from R.Danube to the Aegean sea. This state was to be under Russia's influence. The treaty was a big blow to Britain and Austria for to Russia it provided an outlet to the Mediterranean, which had for long been opposed. The treaty also offended French interests in the region. The great powers therefore especially Britain and Austria opposed big Bulgaria. Bismarck realizing danger (war which he feared most), called a conference in Berlin in 1878, supported by the Austrian foreign minister who issued an invitation to Russia to resolve the Balkan disputes. The Russians who were already exhausted by the conflict with Turkey were obliged to accept or face war against a European coalition.

## **FACTORS THAT FAVOURED GERMAN UNIFICATION**

At Berlin, Bismarck played the role of honest broker (the role of an arbitrator or mediator) between Russia on one hand and Britain and Austria Hungary on the other. It's because of this that Bismarck is credited for the achievements of this congress while also its shortcomings are to be blamed on him. The conference was held between 13th June to 13th July 1878. Great Britain was represented by its prime secretary Lord Salisbury, Russia by its chancellor Prince Gorchakov and his ambassador to London, Count Peter Shivalov, the Habsburg monarchy (Austria), France and Italy by their foreign ministers Count Andrassy, William Henry Waddington and count Corti respectively. The location of the conference in Berlin was an indication of the importance of the German empire in European affairs. Bismarck was elected its president and was the head of the congress in more than name. He dominated the meetings and set the pace and principles of the negotiations.

## **TERMS OF THE TREATY OF BERLIN (1878)**

1. Big Bulgaria was reduced in size. It was divided into three parts; namely:
  - (a) Bulgaria proper (the largest) was to be a separate province under Turkey's Sovereignty (Overlordship). But Russia was given the right to use it as a satellite.
  - (b) The second part, which was south of the Balkan Mountains, was to be called Eastern Rumelia i.e. to be distinct in name from Russia's Bulgaria. It was placed under the administration of the Turkish Governor General. But a reform of the government was to be carried out by the

European commission.

- (c) The rest of Bulgaria including the territory bordering the Aegean Sea was left under Turkish rule.
- 2. Rumania, Russia's ally in the war against Turkey lost to Russia the fertile province of Bessarabia and control of the mouth of Danube receiving in exchange a barren strip of territory from Turkey.
- 3. The three Balkan states of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania, which were hitherto still under Turkish Overlordship, were granted full independence from Turkey, but they lost some territory they had received from the San Stefano treaty.
- 4. Among the great powers, Austria was given the right to occupy (but not to annex) the Turkish provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 5. Russia received in addition to Bessarabia and Danube's mouth, Batum, Kars, and Ardahan at the eastern end of the Black sea and control of what was left of Bulgaria.
- 6. Britain received Cyprus.
- 7. France was secretly given permission to take Tunis which was still nominally part of the Turkish Empire.
- 8. The Italian delegates came home with clean but empty hands and were stoned in the streets by the Fervid Italian Patriots.

The conference manifested fundamental achievements for Bismarck. The Russian expansion to the Balkans was restrained when Big Bulgaria was reduced in sizes i.e. Russia was only allowed to use Bulgaria proper as a satellite, while the remaining part of Bulgaria was left under Turkish rule. Thus Britain, Austria and Germany were relieved of the dangers of Russian expansion i.e. it threatened their national security and the balance of power in Europe. So credit goes to Bismarck for war was avoided in this region (a man of peace).

However, Russia frustrated by this development, i.e. loss of influence in the Balkans was to be a source of trouble for Bismarck later. Russia was disappointed not by Britain and Austria, her real enemies in the recent crisis, but much by Germany a false friend. Consequently, the Russian commitment to the Dreikaiserbund declined and her hopes were drawn nearer to France who was equally isolated. The greatest achievement of the Berlin conference was the suspension of war in Europe. The congress made a watershed i.e. it had been preceded by 30 years of conflict. It was followed by 34 years of peace.

Not a shot was fired in Europe until 1912 and this was mainly the work of Bismarck who seemed to be a man of peace during those years. But it was evident in 1878 that the powers would once again clash on policies. The congress was however criticised for not bringing total peace. Civil war raged in many parts of the Turkish empire for example there was a wholesale massacre of the people of Armenia in 1896 while Turkey fought Greece in 1897. In 1885 Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria united to form big Bulgaria while Russia fortified Batum. All these developments violated the peace of Berlin.

Territorial gains were made by the great powers at the expense of Turkey i.e. Russia received Bessarabia, Kars, Ardahan, Danube's mouth and control of part of Bulgaria, Austria was given the right to occupy Bosnia Herzegovina, France was secretly given chance to take Tunis while Britain received Cyprus. However, Italy received no territory and felt that she had been treated unjustly. This was to fuel Italian nationalism seeking for compensation elsewhere and it is this that influenced her to participate in world war I. Germany received no territory from Berlin, but was relieved of the burden of engaging in a costly and dangerous conflict where Germany interests were not at stake or of choosing between Austria and Russia in Eastern Europe.

The preservation of peace was in itself the major gain for Germany. Moreover, German prestige was increased for all the successes of the congress were attributed to Germany, the honest broker. The pan-Slavism movement received a serious check. The occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria stood in the way of the union of Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro. Austria blocked Slav nationalism in the Balkans for some time to come. However, the extension of Austrian rule in the Balkans i.e. over Bosnia Herzegovina inspired bitter nationalism that resulted into the murder of the Austrian prince Franz Ferdinand by a Bosnian student, an event that sparked off world war I. Austrian rule in the Balkans also sparked off a spirited rivalry between Austria Hungary and Serbia and such was hardly in the interest of peace. This also severed hostilities between Austria Hungary and Russia and these were the immediate causes of World War I.

The treaty of Berlin led to the rise of new nations from the ruins of the Turkish empire. Pan-Slavism failed to solve the problems of the Balkans but nationalism proved more successful. Rumania became a kingdom in 1881 and Serbia in 1882. In 1908 Ferdinand was proclaimed the Czar of Bulgaria and in 1910 Nicholas became the first King of Montenegro. However, the success of nationalism in these countries led to conflict between them and the great powers e.g. between Serbia and Austria which led to the outbreak of World War I.

The Berlin conference helped Germany to keep France isolated i.e. the possibility of getting an ally as would be made easier by the conflict seemed to have vanished with the resolutions of Berlin. However, this kept the demand for revenge alive in France, which was not at all in the interest of peace.

The Berlin Congress promoted international co-operation among European states. Though protective tariffs remained everywhere except Britain, international trade was otherwise free. Passports disappeared except in Russia and Turkey. If a man in London decided at nine o'clock in the morning to go to Rome or Vienna, he could leave at 10 am without either passport or traveller's cheques. Europe had never known such peace and unity before.

The Berlin congress suspended the extinction of the Turkish Empire by recovering for her what she had lost at San Stefano. However, Turkey was not pleased much by such recovery. The protection given to her was inadequate since many Turkish dominions were declared independent: i.e. Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania. While others were given to big powers e.g. Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria

Hungary and Cyprus to Britain. Turkey considered Britain and Austria self-styled friends who had become robbers.

More unfortunately, the Congress of Berlin alienated Russia from Germany and subsequently weakened the Dreikaiserbund league. Russia felt that she had been let down by the two allies in the Dreikaiserbund, Austria and Germany whom she had expected to help her. She was annoyed mainly by Germany because of her politics of intrigue. In 1878, the Czar warned Bismarck that war might follow if Bismarck is to continue thwarting the desires of Russia. In Russia like in Germany nationalistic sentiments were raised in favour of war. Thus, Bismarck had contributed to the prevention of a general European war, but had paid a heavy price for it.

### **The Dual Alliance 1879:**

Bismarck worried and shocked by the above Russian responses hastened to form a Stronger alliance, the Dual alliance 1879). It was formed as a security measure (against the possibilities of war or an attack from either Russia or France. Austria and Germany were to assist one another in case of an attack. The alliance had fundamental benefits for Bismarck and Germany i.e. it put the Austrian foreign policy under Bismarck's control (Austria could not make any decision in her foreign affairs without the approval of Germany i.e. it promoted German supremacy in Europe, reduced the dangers of an Austrian alliance with Russia and France (kept France and Russia isolated from Austria). Above all, it waved off Russian and France's attack on Germany. It also checked Austrian aggression in Eastern Europe and therefore preserved European peace. It however cultivated hatred among the powers and laid foundation for the formation of the Franco — Russian alliance.

### **The 2nd Dreikaiserbund, 1881.**

Bismarck could not risk letting Russia into the hands of France. He therefore persuaded Russia to renew the Dreikaiserbund which was done in 1881. In the new arrangement, a formal treaty was signed with definite obligations. Most important of the terms of this new treaty was the stipulations that if one member of the league was at war with a 4th power except Turkey, the other two were to remain neutral. This provision safeguarded all members against hostile coalitions and preserved European peace. The western Balkans was recognized as an Austrian and the Eastern Balkans as a Russian sphere of influence.

However, the treaty did not end tensions between Russia and Austria nor did it settle all the problems of Eastern Europe, but it was better than no league at all, since it provided the basis for negotiation among the imperial powers in the event of a crisis. The treaty had added that in regard to the partition of Turkey, a formal arrangement had to be agreed on before hand, but the partition scheme was never to be because Austria feared the increase of Russian power in the Balkans. Secretly however while the Russian power was restrained in the Balkans, the Austrian position was strengthened though no formal annexation was done by Austria. All this put aside, the Dreikaiserbund of 1881, helped

to suspend war in the Balkans and Europe for the meantime, but not to avert it. It also kept France isolated.

### **The tripple alliance, 1882'**

In 1882, the Dual alliance of Austria and Germany was expanded to include Italy and it became the Tripple alliance 1882. It was a defensive alliance in which the powers agreed to help each other in case one of them was attacked by a 4th power understood to be France either or Russia. Earlier on, Bismarck had encouraged France to acquire colonies in North Africa to compensate for the loss of Alsace Lorraine and divert its attention from Germany. In 1881, the French minister (foreign) Jules Ferry signed the treaty of Bardo establishing a protectorate over Tunis; which was also an Italian territory of interest. Italy was compelled to look for an ally and Bismarck offered this without any cost. Italy therefore joined the alliance with Germany and Austria. This network of alliances helped Bismarck to maintain peace in Europe, keep France isolated and therefore promote German supremacy in Europe.

This network was later extended to include Rumania, which between 1883 and 1888 signed separate defensive treaties with all the Triple alliance powers. However, Bismarck did not consider the possible alliance of France with Britain, which was a loophole in his system. He also left Europe divided and with clearly marked enemies which led to war later though Bismarck was out of office then.

### **BISMARCK AND COLONISATION (prestige and wealth for Germany)**

At first, Bismarck was opposed to imperialism and colonialism. In 1870, he is quoted to have said, "Colonies are not worth the bones of a single Germany soldier."

Bismarck had sensed danger in the colonial policy i.e. colonies would bring Germany into rivalry with Britain and once this happened, war would not be avoided while France would no longer be isolated. There was also need for a strong navy. However, after being convinced by the colonial school and also due to the pressure from merchants and nationalists, Bismarck was converted to the idea of Germany becoming an imperial power in order to open up opportunities for German traders, sources of raw materials and markets for German manufactured goods.

In connection with this early 1884, he suggested to the British government that in return for Germany's continued diplomatic support in Egypt and elsewhere Britain should allow Germany to gain control over Heligoland which was a strategic base off the German coast in the North sea and agree to Germany's acquisition of overseas territories. 'The colonial race however led to conflicts among the great powers and threatened the man of peace, Bismarck e.g. there were conflicts between France and Britain over Egypt in 1882, between France and Italy over Tunis 1881, Germany and Britain in East Africa and South. West Africa in early 1880's. Bismarck took the initiative to settle the disputes through dialogue.



### **The Berlin conference 1884 - 1885.**

In the Berlin conference 1884 - 5, Bismarck again played the role of honest broker. As a result of this congress, colonial disputes mainly in Africa were suspended and peace preserved. In addition, Germany secured recognition of its colonies in Africa i.e. Cameroon, Togo, Tanganyika, South West Africa (Namibia) and part of the New Guinea.

Germany also secured Franco— German entente but this was short-lived. The congress suspended war in Europe and kept France isolated.

The Balkan crisis 1885: The Balkans caused further trouble for Bismarck. Bulgaria and East Rumeria decided to get united to form big Bulgaria again. This was supported by Russia, but opposed by other powers because the union would be a violation of Berlin and favoured Russian expansion. Due to the growing tension, however the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia was accepted in 1886 but even then international tension did not die down. The Bulgarian government refused to accept Russia's influence over them. The Russians came to believe that Austria and Germany were responsible for this attitude of the Bulgarians. The frustrated Russians were nearly joining hands with France.

Bismarck realizing the above danger carried out a series of negotiations with the mighty powers (Britain Austria and Italy) in the years 1886 — 87. The results of the negotiations were the Mediterranean agreements 1887, which provided for preservation of the status quo in the Mediterranean, Turkey and the Balkans. Italy was to support British policy in Egypt and Britain was to support Italian policy in North Africa. These agreements provided the basis for co-operation, and suspended war in Europe for more than a decade. They also kept France isolated.

### **The Re-insurance treaty, 1887**

After the Mediterranean agreements in which Bismarck normalized relations with other powers i.e. Britain Italy and Austria and also created safe guards for the Balkans, he made hastily concessions to Russia. And though Russia refused to re-new the Dreikaiserbund league, she agreed to the signing of a secret treaty with Germany the Re -insurance treaty 1887 to last for three years. In this treaty, Germany promised to support the Russian position in the Balkans i.e. over Bulgaria, but after blocking her with the Mediterranean agreements. The Re - insurance treaty reduced the chances of a Franco - Russian alliance and kept Europe at peace.

Thus, the foreign policy of Bismarck seemed to be triumphant in the period 1871 -90 i.e. there was no war between Austria and Russia during Bismarck's term of office. Bismarck also kept France isolated and managed to check Russian expansion and preserved the peace of Europe in general consistently, but by doing all this, he created opportunity for the future formation of the Franco - Russian alliance and later Tripple Entente 1907 of France, Russia and Britain. Bismarck ignored the need for British co-operation and also failed to bridge the gap between Germany and France. He simply widened it using his policies of intrigue, Bismarck also was held responsible for the transfer of Bosnia Herzegovina to Austrian rule in the Berlin conference of 1878, which sparked off World War I in the cause of

nationalism. He also failed to consolidate his friendship with Russia and eventually Russia had to draw nearer France and Britain. The effects of the above problems were to be realized after this man's term of office.

In 1890, Bismarck had just opened negotiation for the re-newel of the Re -insurance treaty when he was dismissed. Caprivi his successor was merely a figurehead and simply discontinued Bismarck's work. So after 1890, only the Tripple alliance of Germany, Austria - Hungary and Italy existed but a clean way had been created for the formation of Franco - Russian alliance. The Dual alliance between Prussia and Russia was no more.

### **Revision questions**

- 1) Examine the domestic policies of Otto Von Bismarck of Germany 1871-1890.
- 2) How did Bismarck consolidate himself to power by 1890?
- 3) To what extent were the foreign policies of Bismarck between 1870-1890 for Germany and Germany alone?
- 4) Discuss the external policies of Otto Von Bismarck of Germany in 1871-1890 periods.
- 5) Account for the downfall of Otto Von Bismarck by 1898.
- 6) Why was Germany defeated in the World War I.
- 7) "The struggle against opposition parties led to the downfall of Otto Von Bismarck"  
Discuss.
- 8) Examine the internal and foreign policies of Germany Empire between 1870-1890.
- 9) Discuss the effects for the resignation of Otto Von Bismarck of 1890 in the history of Europe.
- 10) How successful was Otto Von Bismarck in his foreign policies of 1870-1890.

## CHAPTER TEN

### THE EASTERN QUESTION – 1821-1878

The Eastern question refers to the struggle in the Eastern part of the world (Asia) during which various European powers clashed over the control of Turkish Empire. The Eastern question had a number of phases;

- i. The Greek war of Independence of 1821-1833.
- ii. The Syrian question of 1831-1841.
- iii. The Crimean war of 1854-1856.
- iv. The Berlin Congress of 1878-1914.

The Turkish Empire (Ottoman) was a Muslim Asiatic race that dominated politics of Europe and Asia after the downfall of Roman Empire in 1453A.D. Turkey immediately conquered Constantinople and made it her capital in 1453A.D. Turkey began expanding widely and by 17th century it had extended from Crimean Island in Russia to Austria in Central Europe, North African states of Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. By 19th century, Ottoman Empire covered an area in the 3 continents of Asia, Europe and Africa.

Turkish Empire was multi-racial, multi-linguistic, multi-religious, the largest and the wealthiest empire that affected the collapse of the Roman Empire in the 14th Century. This kind of composition later became disadvantageous for Turkey to struggle for their independence that culminated into the collapse of Turkish Empire as many small states under her influence were struggling to become independent.

By 19th century due to its size, heterogeneous, population with different Nationalities, it faced a natural decline and other powers had to out compete it militarily, politically, socially and economically. Her strength on central Europe was taken over by Austrian empire. This is why in 1833 the Tsar Nicholas I of Russia suggested to prince Metternich of Austria that “Turkey was the sickman of Europe” it can no longer stand on its own and therefore fit to be divided and shared by strong powers of the time like Russia and Austria.

Prince Metternich rejected this idea. This was because the conquest and expansion process used by Turkey to attain that size was the same style used by Austria to acquire her size and strengths by 19th century period. Therefore Prince Metternich predicted that after the down fall of Turkey the same forces will be used to influence the decline of Austria. It is against such a background that Metternich rejected the idea of dis-integrating Twiney.

Precisely the term Eastern Question refers to the 19th century decline of Turkey and the response of European powers towards this decline i.e. Different powers had different attitudes towards the declining process of Turkey for example Vassal states tried to break away from Turkish rule e.g. Korea had succeeded in 1805, Egypt in 1820 and this encouraged the rise of Greek war of Independence in 1821.

Mean while Russia wanted to be the next strongest Empire in Europe after the collapse of Ottoman Empire. Russia wanted to monopolize trade in the Balkans Peninsular from the hands of the French and the British. This made British and France to desire for Independence of Turkey protected so that Russian Intentions could not be fulfilled. It was this kind of situation that led to 1854-56 Crimean war and the 1878 Berlin Congress.

### **THE REASONS WHY TURKEY WAS REGARDED “AS A SICK MAN OF EUROPE” BY 1833**

This can as well be considered as the factors for decline of Ottoman Empire. Turkey experienced growth and expansion around 14th – 17th century, but later in the 19th century it began to decline due to many factors. These among others include;

One of the greatest factors that led to the collapse of the Ottoman empire was its large size. The size of the Turkish Empire. It was too huge to be controlled from one centre- Constantinople. Turkish Empire extended from Crimea in Asia to Austria in Europe and covered large part of North African Maghreb region. It covered the area within the 3 continents of Africa, Asia and Europe. Growth of Nationalism in Europe also accounted for the decline of Turkey; In the 18th and 19th century period Turkey experienced several Nationalistic movements from its vassal states for example Serbia succeeded in 1805, Egypt succeeded in 1820, and Greece in 1833 among others. The success of such movements resulted into reduced influence and power of Turkey in Europe.

Around 1456 when Turkey had grown, it had trade monopoly that it later lost in the 19th century. It had established itself into a Strong Empire; it was the greater commercial and sea trading nation. She dominated trade across the Mediterranean and the Baltic Sea. However after the industrial revolution of 1750 in Britain, Britain monopolized the sea trade, sent many ships and merchants across world waters which affected the economy of Turkey. By 19th century period it had lost this trade opportunity in favour of British.

The Sultan was dictatorial, oppressive and demanded a lot from the leaders of the conquered states. These in turn became brutal and oppressive to their subjects. Their methods of tax collection carried out senseless massacres on the orders of sultan e.g. the 1822 massacres at Korea and chaos. Such oppressive administration geared these conquered states to struggle for their self-rule, which contributed to the decline of Turkish Empire.

Corruption and inefficiency of the Turkish administration was another factor that led to the collapse of the Turkish Empire.

Turkish administration was corrupt and inefficient. Turkey was highly maladministered. The Moslem administration employed by Ottoman Empire encouraged bribery, swindling and embezzlement of state funds. The result was that little of the collected taxes would reach the Turkish treasury. The government of Turkey soon became bankrupt and hence “the sick man of Europe”.

The weakness of Turkey was a result of the interests which other powers had in Turkey for instance She was a resourceful country and later this affected her independence. Countries like; Britain, France, Russia and Austria constantly interrupted Turkish trade and administration. They all had different interests towards Turkey and monopolize trade opportunities in the Balkan peninsular. For example, Britain and France wanted Turkey to remain independent so as to maintain their trading relations in Far East e.t.c.

Religious persecution in Turkey also led to her decline. The Empire was multi-religious with many orthodox, Christians and Moslems. The rulers of the empire were mainly Moslems while their subjects were largely Christians. The two religious groups always clashed with each other which created an excuse for foreign Christian powers to intervene in the affairs of Ottorman Empire. For example in 1853, Russia invaded and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia Turkish provinces in pretext of saving suffering Christians. This created a spark to the outbreak of Crimean war of 1854-56.

Lack of political cohesion in Turkey also contributed towards the decline of Turkish Empire. It was an empire composed of many different races and nationalities that needed an effective administration with a strong a base at the centre. Before 17th century establishment of Constantinople, Turkey had no base to supervise its integrity.

The collapse of Turkish military strength, Gradual military decline for Turkey began around 18th century. Her war advances towards Europe were being checked by the Austrian forces. It was the decline of her economy that led to the decline of her army. She became unable to effectively control the vassal states because of declining military strength.

The Emergency of the strong middle class in Turkey; These groups demanded for democratic reforms with proper established constitution and parliament like that of Britain. Therefore, the accumulated demands of the middle class in Turkey partly contributed to her decline. The middle class comprised of the industrialists, money lender intellectuals among others, these people sharply enforced the dictatorial and exploitative Turkish administration.

Further more the outbreak of the Greek war of independence also contributed to her decline. At the climax of the war in 1826, the Turkish Sultan requested Mehemet Ali of Egypt through his Son Ali Pasha and it was provided in 1826. In exchange of this help, the Sultan of Egypt was to receive provinces of Morea and Syria from Turkey. Unfortunately, the war ended in defeat of Turkey in 1831. This conditioned the Sultan of Turkey to deny Egypt these pledges, which provided a background for the outbreak of 1831-41 Syrian Question. The 1826 Turko-Egyptian agreement later led to several

political upheavals in the Turkish empire.

The historical cultural pride in Egypt. Their civilization was famous in the whole world. The revival of the ancient Greek literature between the 18th and 19th centuries, this aroused the Greek National spirit (Nationalism). The Study of the ancient glories of their ancestors gave the Greeks encouragement and hope. They came to realize that the Greeks were once leaders of world civilization. Therefore the desire to restore Greek pride led to the outbreak of Greek war of independence of 1821-1831 thus leading to the decline of Turkey.

### **THE CONSEQUENCES FOR GROWING WEAKNESS OF TURKEY**

There were increased European interests in Empire of Turkey. When the giant countries of the time realized the impending collapse of Turkish Empire, they all competed to snatch the remains of Turkey. This resulted into the Crimean war of 1854-56, the 1878 Berlin Congress and later the outbreak of the World War I. The successive break away of Turkish Vassal states; at the beginning of the 19th Century, North African countries like Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Algeria became independent of Turkey. Greece got her independence in 1833. Many other dominated states followed suit.

The break up of so many revolts within Turkish Empire. For example Greek war of independence of 1821-1831, the Syrian question of 1831-41 Morea and Romania of the 1875, the Crimean war of 1854-56 and finally the outbreak of 1914 World War I. Her economy was also affected; The standard of living of Turks declined sharply. This directly affected the social services like educational facilities and medical care. Turkey became the least in the standards of living compared to other powers especially Austria, Germany, France, and Britain by 1890.

It led to the collapse of the congress system. The outbreak of Greek war of independence in 1821 led to calling of the congress of Verona in 1822 where members developed divided interests on the question of Greek war of independence. This clearly left the concert of Europe divided and by 1830 Congress system was no more. Some congress members such as Britain supported Greek war of ..... While others such as Austria were against the revolt.

For along time and throughout the eastern question Russia was interested in the collapse of Turkey. Russia's imperial greed equally contributed to the collapse of the Turkish empire. Russia wanted to monopolize and control precious commercial centers and waters in Turkey which for long time were in hands of the British and the French e.g the Balkan and Baltic seas. This Russian intention made her fight on the side of Greece.

In 1821-1831 Greek war of independence, in 1833 Tzar Nicholas I named Turkey as "a Sickman of Europe" and proposed to prince Metternich that it should be divided between Russian and Austria under the pretext of protecting suffering Christians in 1853 Russia invaded and occupied Wallachia and Moldavia provinces in Turkey which led to the outbreak of 1854-56 Crimean war etc. The



growing weakness of the Turkish Empire led to Russia's desire to save the suffering Christians. The growing weakness of Turkey made Russia to sacrifice her army and funds to save the life of suffering Christians in Turkey. Much as Turkey was a Moslem dominated state, in her 14-17th century territorial annexation. She had occupied and controlled states like Wallachia, Bosnia, Moldavia, and Herzegovina among others which had Christians. These were tortured and mistreated by Turkish Moslems, which made Russia invade Wallachia and Moldavia in 1853 and attack Bulgaria in 1875.

France set up a military base in the Balkans; France using an excuse of protecting the independence of Turkish Empire, she established her base in the Balkan peninsular. This was because France aimed at repulsing Russian forces that wanted to take over the Ottoman Empire and her surrounding oceans. France also aimed at protecting the Catholics in the area plus the holy shrines of Palestine and Bethlehem.

Austria – Hungary had strategic economic interests in Turkey; these were being eyed by Russia e.g. Bohemia and Bessarabia. Therefore, the decline of Turkey made Russia to move ahead and annex the strategic economic positions of Austria – Hungary in central Europe. It made Russia violate the terms of 1856 Paris peace treaty; this was a treaty that concluded the famous 1854-56 Crimean war. In this war, Russia was defeated by Allied forces and the Paris peace treaty was signed in the interest of Allied powers. Many of its clauses barred Russia from invading Turkey once again. But because of decline of Turkey, Russia re- attacked Turkey in 1875.

### **THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1821-1831**

The Greek race came as a result of intermarriage between the original inhabitants of Cyprus, Crete and the people of present eastern Greece. In 1456 BC the Greeks were conquered by Romans until 1453 BC when the Roman Empire collapsed. In 1453 BC Turkey took over the position of the Roman Empire as a world power and began dominating all the territories that were formerly dominated by Roman Empire. Until 1833 Greece was still under leadership of Turkey. The Greek war of independence began in 1821 and ended in 1831 with the defeat of Turkey. Note: Formal independence of Greece was granted in 1833 with witness delegates from Britain, France, Austria and Russia.

### **FACTORS THAT DELAYED THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE UP TO 1821:**

Before the 18th Century, Turkey had strong leaders who managed to control the vassal states effectively. Turkish leaders were highly strict. In this way they managed to minimize every possibility for occurrence of a rebellion and consequently people were controlled from the rebellion. It is against this background that the Turkish Administration hence delaying the Greek war of independence.

Existence of liberty and freedom in the Greek administration. At first the Greek people had freedom of worship, press and association. This assisted them to build a strong political and commercial empire. This liberty assisted the Greek to make contacts world wide. This assisted them in the struggle for their

independence. Therefore had the Greeks have probably rebelled against the Turkish administration earlier than 1821

They had different social classes and therefore shared little in common. The Greeks were divided in various classes as for example they had peasants, clergymen and brigades in central linkage delayed the formation of independence struggle against the Ottoman Empire. Between 14th- 17th Century Turkey had a strong administration so in this period; Turkey was effectively administered with a high network of spies aided by strong military machinery. This force scared the Greek civilians to break up. Therefore, a strong military force delayed the formation of a national movement in Greece.

The influence of congress system also delayed the independence of Turkey. Up to 1822 the congress system was still strong to control events all over Europe. After 1815, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Britain agreed to constantly meet in the concert of Europe named as the congress System. This was to solve European problems as they rose. This scared the Greek from revolting against Turkey.

The Greeks were given liberty over their education system. They read and studied to the level of philosophers. They became famous in the whole world as “Great Thinkers” / intellectuals for instance Socrates and Plato and Aristotle. This literacy freedom made them relax from planning nationalistic movements against Turkish administrators. Thus it is important to note that the Greeks did not see any serious reason why they would have demanded for their independence since they have the liberty over the education system

The Greek people were exempted from military service. This made them to remain dormant in terms of military knowledge, which weakened them, further. They were neglected from military service and therefore deprived a background for the formation of national movement.

The fashion of other dominated states by Turkey was another factor that delayed the independence of the Greek was of independence. Most of them were comfortably quiet over the Turkish rule. They were being overtaxed, segregated and they could not react against the Turkish rule. Therefore such example of humbly dominated states delayed the rise of Greek war of independence. Since there was no state that Greece would have emulated to declare a revolution against the administration of the Turkish Muslims.

Compared to the general population of Turkish Empire, the Greek were very few. They faced Numerical disadvantage, which delayed their independence. Therefore Turkey had many soldiers compared to Greece by 17th Century period. But in 19th Century the Greek had increased in number in 1821 they waged a war against the Ottoman Empire. Related to this, before 1821 the Greek had no one to sacrifice his life and lead them in struggle against the Turkish rule. Lack of committed leadership greatly affected the speed for the independence of Turkey. But in 1821 Hypislandi rose up and led the Greek war of independence, which succeeded in 1831.

## **FACTORS THAT DELAYED THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE UP TO 1821:**

The Greek civilisation was one of the greatest factors that inspired the Greeks to declare a revolution against Turkish rulers in 1822. Greece is known as the origin of modern civilization from where Olympic Games were organized, Arithmetic, and modern architecture all started in Greece. The ancient glory of Greece was another factor that completed the Greeks to demand for their independence. As a result, Greek people were proud even after their colonization by Turkish Empire, they remained superior in the aspects of civilization, which gave them the impetus to fight for their independence in 1821 hence the Greek war of independence.

The growth of nationalism and liberation in Europe was another significant factor that led to the outbreak of the Greek war of independence. By 1821, nobody in Europe wanted to be ruled by another country. The growth of nationalism in the 19th century greatly aided the rise for Greek war of the independence. They all preferred democratic constitutional governments like that of British and therefore this wind of change had spread to Greece leading to the 1822 outbreak of Greek war of independence.

The oppressive nature of Turkish administrators. On many occasions, the Turkish Moslems looked down upon the Greek Christians considering them as infidels (pagans). Therefore the Turkish attempted to forcefully convert the Greeks into Moslems which they detested leading to the outbreak of Greek war of independence. They viewed this as a sign of denying them a right of worship and hence the struggle for their independence.

The exploitative nature of Turkish rulers also led to the outbreak of the Greek war of independence. The Greeks were compelled to pay very many taxes eg. Kharaji, capitation poll tax and land tax among others. All these left the Greeks very poor which annoyed them leading to the outbreak of the revolt. The land and commercial taxes were paid directly to the office of the Sultan of Turkey. Therefore, tax burdens contributed to the outbreak of 1821 Greek war of independence.

The establishment of Heteria Phillike (the Association of friends) can be undermined when looking at factors that led to the outbreak of the Greek war of independence. This was a secret society formed by Greeks. In 1814, this association was founded by Greeks at Odessa with its major aim of liberating them from tax burdens. The Heteria Phillike intensified the campaigns in parts of Greece attracting many people leading to 1821 Greek war of independence.

The revival of the ancient Greek literature in the 18th Century contributed much to the outbreak of the war of independence. The study of past glories of the ancestors gave hope and courage to the Greeks to rebel against their Turkish masters. This was further influenced by the emergence of large elite class among the Greeks which provided leadership and confidence in the revolts against the Ottoman rule (Turkish). It is therefore against this background that the Greek war of independence became

inevitable in 1821 since there were able leaders to lead the revolution.

The success of the previous revolutions. For example the American war of independence of 1775-1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. They greatly inspired the Greeks in the liberation war against the Turkish rule. The spread of the French Revolutionary ideas of equality, democracy, Fraternity and Freedom of Association in Greece also contributed to the outbreak of the Greek war of independence.

Russia's sympathy to the Greeks played a fundamental role in the outbreak of the Greek war of independence. Tzar Nicholas I of Russia encouraged the Greeks to revolt. Russia for a long time was interested in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in order as to monopolize the economic opportunities in the Balkan Penninsular. Russia greatly supported Greece in her war against Turkey. The break up of vassal states, would leave Turkey weak and unable to resist Russian annexation and this provided for tile grounds for outbreak of the 1821 Greek war of independence.

The internal problems in Turkey for example violence in Jennina and Egypt gave the Greeks orpportunities to revolt. Ali Pasha the Sultan of Jenina wanted to break up from Mehemet Ali of Egypt. The Sultan of Turkey had to increase his security measures in Jennina and Egypt. This gave Greece a chance to rise up against Turkey because of the reduced military machinery in their territory.

The collapse of the Congress system by 1830 also facilitated the outbreak of the Greek war of independence. By 1821 the congressional powers had began disintegrating because of self seekers. The Greek war of independence led to calling congress of Verona in 1822 where members emerged divided upon the legality for this war. This confusion was exploited by Greece to wage war against their Turkish masters. The collapse of the congress system meant that, the great powers of Europe could no longer silence revolts on the continental Europe jointly.

The rise of the dedicated leader Alexander Hypislanti. For along time the Greeks had lacked leadership for their independence struggle although the causes had accumulated in large numbers. In 1821 Hypislanti identified himself with the leadership of the struggle and he was immediately appointed by other nationals to lead the revolution. Indeed he did it successfully.

The decline of Turkish power by 1821 contribution much to the outbreak of the greek war of independence. Turkey started declining around the 18th century and by 1821, she was so weak that her former military might could not be recognized any more. The Greeks took this as an opportunity to struggle for their independence. The Turkish masters could no longer be in position to control all states to rise and demand for their independence and Greece was one of them.

## **EFFECTS FOR GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1821-1833**

The Greek war of independence led to massive destruction of life and property; The war began in 1821 and ended in 1831 and its formal independence was granted in 1833. It involved many countries especially the powers of the time like Russia, Turkey, Greece and Egypt. In the battle of Navarino of 1827, many Egyptians and Turkish warships were sunk eroding the lives of many fighters. Infrastructures such as roads and buildings were also Bombarded during the war.

Greece became independent in 1833; its celebrate leader was Otto Bavaria who was crowned in 1833 with defined boundaries demarcated from Turkish empire. This marked the victory of the Greece nationalism and liberation from the autocratic Turkish rule. After 1833 peaceful autonomy existed in Greece with developed trade and commerce, administration, encient civilization and Greek culture was revived in Greece. The Greeks were helped by the French and the British who exerted pressure on the sultan of Turkey (ottoman Empire) who later granted Greece her independence

It further led to the spread of nationalism to other Balkan states for instance Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Syria among others. These exerted pressure for independence from Turkey. It increased the tide of Balkan nationalism that later contributed to the outbreak of the World War I in 1914. Different oppressed nationalities in the Ottoman Empire were inspired by the Greece war to twin political tables against sultan of Turkey for total independence.

The Greek war of independence increased Russia's influence in the Ottoman Empire which led to the signing the treaty of Adnanople in 1829. This was concluded between Russia and Turkey in the course of Greek war of independence. Russia had defeated Turkey and took over the Turkish territory of Kars and Akrooms. This treaty gave Russia a chance to advance on the Balkan peninsular on the side of Greece which later culminated into intensified conflicts in the Ottoman Empire tht gave birth to the outbreak of the Great war of 1914.

It led to complete downfall of congress system. This was witnessed in the course of Greek war of independence. Confusion and divisions began in 1822 at the congress of Verona. This was convened by the delegates to discuss the question of the Greek war of independence. Some supported it, while others were against it. Further congresses like the 1825 congress of St. Petersburg and 1827 congress of London were marginalized because the major countries had parted from the congress system after 1822.

The Greek was of independence also. It led to further instabilities in the Balkans. It aroused other elements of nationalism in the Balkans in struggle for their independence. Other states that revolted included Morea, Crete, Bulgarians, Albanians, Romanians and later serbs which caused a spark to the outbreak of world war 1. The nationalities in these small states wre encouraged by the Greek was to also wage revolutions against the fultan of their independence.

The success of Greek war of independence. It inspired other revolutions in Europe for example the outbreak of July 1830 revolution in France, Belgium revolution, revolts in Italy, Poland and Germany states. Much as they had genuine grievances, the success of Greek war of independence increased their determination to revolt against their masters. The nationalists demanding for that rights and freedoms, they would finally be granted their independence.

It led to the phase II of Eastern question. This was Syrian question of 1831-41. This was a conflict between the sultan of Turkey and Mahemet Ali of Egypt. In 1826 at the climax Greek war of independence the Turkish sultan solicited for support from Egypt. Mehemet Ali agreed and sent it through his son Ibrahim Pasha on condition that after the war Egypt will be rewarded with territories like Morea, Crete and Syria. But when Turkey lost the war to Greece in 1831, the Sultan refused to handover the promised territories to Egypt. Mehemet Ali forcefully occupied Syria which caused the Syrian question of 1831-41. Crete, Bulgarians, Albanians, Romanians and later Serbs which caused a spark to the outbreak of World War I.

The war led to the further mistreatment of Christians. It led to increased religious persecution of Christian minorities in Ottoman Empire by Moslem Turks. When the Greek war broke out in 1821, about 27,000 Christians in Greece were killed in 1822 in the famous chios massacre in Angene Island and Morean massacre. This left the subject races in a dirty scaring insecure situation that generated much unrest in Ottoman Empire. During the course of the war, the Turkish Muslims carried out indiscriminate killing of the minority Christians in different provinces in the Ottoman Empire lowered powers of Turkey further. The success of Greek war of independence made Turkey more sicker and challenged by European powers. This is why Tzar Nicholas I of Russia in 1833 named Turkey as; "the Sickman of Europe" Turkey was weakened more because it used to exploit Greece as her vassal state e.g in payment of taxes and recruitment of soldiers. Therefore the Greek war of independence lowered the powers of Turkey and made it a laughing stalk in Europe.

The war exposed the selfish interests of European powers. For example Austria was against the break up of Greece because this would inspire subject states in Austria also to rise up for self rule. Britain and France who had earlier advocated for non intervention principle in this, war they supported Turkey for their strategic naval and economic interests to defeat Greece and block Russian interests in Balkans. It was due to these selfish interests of the great European powers that world war 1 had to be ignited by the Balkan crisis which had been caused by the European great powers.



## **PHASE II OF EASTERN QUESTION**

### **THE SYRIAN QUESTION OF 1831-41**

#### **Its background was laid in 1821-1831**

The Syrian question refers to the territorial confusion between the sultan of Turkey. Mohamood Hamidu II and Mehemit Ali of Egypt. It was the 2nd phase of the Eastern question.

In the period between 1833-39, the sultan of Turkey asked for assistance in the Greek war of independence. In this war, in 1825 the Sultan of Turkey requested for a military help from Mehemet Ali of Egypt. Before Mehemet Ali could offer this help, an agreement had to be made in which Egypt was to get the whole of Morea, Crete, Syria and Damascus from Turkey after the war.

Unfortunately the Sultan of Turkey Mohmood Hamidu II refused to handover the territories to Egypt. The war had ended in defeat of Turkey. In 1831 Mehemeti Ali Commanded his son Ibrahim Pasha to attack and conquer Syria from the control of Turkey which he did. Turkey was not ready to allow Egypt dominate Syria permanently. In preparation for war Sultan appealed for help from Russia that had been her enemy. The treaty of 1833 Unkiar sellese was signed. This was to pick Russia from the opposition group since Russia had supported the Greek war of independence. It was a treaty of friendship in which Russia promised to defend Turkey against the Egyptians in exchange of Russia taking over the control of Baltic Sea channels of trade especially Dardenelles and Bosphorous. Russia was exclusively allowed to sail her warships across these waters, but not any other country especially Britain and France.

Busy trying to recover Syria from Egypt's control. Meanwhile Mehemet Ali of Egypt had appealed for assistance from France which Louis Philippe declined to offer due to his demoralizing attitude towards the foreign policy. The Chief Minister Adolf Theiers took it upon himself and cooperated with the French soldiers and gave support to Egypt in the Syrian question. In 1840 this Minister had to be dismissed by King Louis Philippe who did not want to co-operate with Egypt in this Syrian question agenda.

An opportunity for Britain to revise the terms of Unkiar Skellesi treaty came when the conflict erupted into a serious war and Egypt was defeated by a combination of Turkish and Russian forces in 1839. In this war Britain also joined the side of France with Egypt. The purpose of this was to avoid expected French monopoly of Balkans trade after Egyptian defeat of Turkey. At the same time Britain wanted to block Russian intentions in the Balkans in case Egypt had been defeated.

Therefore the Prime Minister of Britain Palmerstone at the end of Syrian war in 1840, he called a conference in London comprising of European powers to solve the Syrian question and give Britain a chance to access her commercial interests in the far east of the world.

## **THE LONDON CONVENTION OF 1840**

This was purely to settle the Syrian question a conflict between the Sultan of Turkey and Mehemet Ali of Egypt over the control of Syria. Meanwhile Britain offered to mediate in this conflict in order to maintain her trade monopoly in the Balkan Peninsular that she feared could be taken by Russia or France. This convention was attended by delegates from Britain, Russia, Austria and Turkey. France was excluded because Adolf Thiers had no neutral position in the conflict as he has supported Egypt even without permission from Louis Philippe which costed him his post in French Government.

### **TERMS OF THE CONVENTION**

- i) Mehemet Ali was requested to end hostilities and make peace with the Sultan of Turkey, Hamidu II.
- ii) Mehemet Ali was offered the southern half of Syria and other half taken back to Turkey.
- iii) The sultan of Turkey had to agree to the above terms within three days or else be crushed by the big powers.
- iv) Mehemet Ali was given the title of Pasha of Egypt on hereditary basis and forcefully made to surrender the northern part of Syria to Turkey.
- v) Louis Philippe reacted to this discrimination by fellow great powers in the 1840 London convention by forcing his Minister Adolf Thiers to resign. Thiers had unilaterally allowed French soldiers to assist Egypt without permission from Louis Philippe. It was this French involvement that led to her neglect by great powers in London convention of 1840.
- vi) The conflict between Britain and Russia over the control of trade in the Balkan peninsular were referred to another convention known as the “The Straits Convention of 1841”

### **THE STRAITS CONVENTION OF 1841.**

Basically this convention aimed at revising the terms of Unkiar Skellessi treaty signed in July 1833 between Russia and Turkey at the disgrace of British interests in the Balkan Peninsular i.e the treaty served to discriminate the economic interest of the British as Russia was given an upper hand to control the main trade channels in the Balkan peninsular.

The British Prime Minister Palmerstone succeeded in calling this convention because the Sultan of Turkey had been grateful for the support rendered to him by Palmerstone in the 1840 London Convention where the interests of Turkey were favoured against those of Mehemet Ali. For example through his emphasis the Sultan of Turkey was able to gain the territory north of Syria and the whole of Create. As a token of appreciation the 1841 treaty revised the terms of Unkiar Skellessi treaty of July 1833 in favour of Britain. For example;

- i) The Sultan of Turkey agreed to close the channels of Bosphorous and Dardenelles to all ships in times of war and open it in times of peace.

- ii) The previous agreement for exclusive control of these channels by Russia was cancelled.
- iii) It was now Turkey to resume her traditional authority over the control of these trade areas at the benefit of all Asian and European countries. The Signatories to the straits convention included Britain, Russia, Austria, France and Turkey.

## **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYRIAN QUESTION TO EUROPEAN POWERS**

It resulted into resignation of Adolf Thiers in France. He was a foreign Minister in Orleans monarchy. Thiers had committed an insubordination Act to the King of France Louis Philippe when he commanded the French soldiers into Syrian Question on the side of Egypt without his consent. Louis Philippe had detested helping Egypt because of his cowardice character in foreign affairs where he wanted to favour Britain and his middle class based in Balkans by not fighting on the side of Egypt to destroy economic activities in the area.

It left European powers divided further. The rest of European states turned against France for her military help offered to an African country Egypt. The action of France done on personal attention of Adolf Thiers was against the interest of European powers. This is why in the London conference of 1840, France was not invited. But after resignation of Adolf Thiers in 1840, France was invited to attend the 1841 straits convention. It was majorly the support that France rendered to Egypt that created the rift between France and other European powers.

It facilitated the disintegration of Turkey. Many European powers had interests in the Balkans Peninsular and Syrian occupation by Mehemeti Ali made France, Russia and Britain to get an excuse of getting closer to Turkey and serve their economic interests of controlling Balkan waters. It was this crisis that later resulted into Crimean war of 1854-56. Had it not been the Syrian question, probably Turkey would have retained some of her states and serious disintegration would have taken long.

Britain registered a great diplomatic victory over Russia. This was because Palmerstone the Prime Minister of Britain was able to revise the unfair treaty of July 1833- the Unkiar Skellesi that had offered Russia an upperhand in the control of the Balkan Peninsular and discriminate British trade activities in the area. By hosting the 1840 London convention Palmerstone had become a friend of the Sultan of Turkey. In the straits convention of 1841 British interests in Balkans were Paramount and Russian influence ended there.

The Syrian question was important to Turkey. Through the London treaty of 1840, Turkey regained some territories that she had lost to Egypt in 1831. For example it recovered the northern Syria and Crete which had been occupied by force by Egypt in 1831. Never the less, the King of Egypt acquired a formal permission to control southern Syria because it was being supported by some European countries in regard to the 1826 agreement he had made with the Sultan of Turkey.

Russia on her part registered terrible loss from the Syrian question did not get what she had anticipated in the Syrian question by fighting on the side of Turkey. In the settlement of 1840 London convention Russia was not considered. It was just invited to participate in the convention that settled the Syrian question between Turkey and Egypt. This left Russia in a total loss since she had participated with a lot of expectations.

Directly France never gained much from the Syrian question. she was considered as a traitor of European states by fighting on the side of Egypt. It was not invited to attend the 1840 London convention that solved the Syrian question. Nevertheless it was invited in 1841 straits convention that made British oust Russia in the control of Balkan trade.

There was loss of life and property. This was serious on the side of Egypt with her supporters. Their warships were sunk, soldiers killed in immeasurable amounts than those of Turkey and her allies – Russia and Britain. This later determined the victory of Turkey in the Syrian question. The sophisticated weapons used by Turkey and her Allies caused a lot property destruction and untold loss of lives of the Egyptians and non Egyptians.

Status of Britain was uplifted. The London convention of 1840 further strengthened the supremacy of Britain as an international figure. It marked the end of the 2nd phase of the Eastern question that had began in 1831. At the same time Egypt an African state that had been undermined challenged superior western countries for some years before it was defeated in 1839. The British were credited for defence and protection of Turkish independence and his blocked the Egyptian and Russian intentions that aimed at domination and destruction of Turkish Empire. British trade in Balkans progressed highly after 1840.

### **PHASE III OF THE EASTERN QUESTION**

#### **THE CRIMEAN WAR OF 1854 -56**

The Crimean war was the 3rd and most explosive phase of the eastern question. It broke out in 1854 -56 from the island of Crimea. Powers which participated included Russia against Allied forces of British, Turkey, France and Piedmont (Italy). It was one of the most useless wars ever fought without clear objectives and principles. The Crimean war was sparked off by Russian invasion and occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia provinces in Turkey in 1853. Powers ordered Russia to retreat and she refused thus creating a spark to the war.

Russia used a pretext of protecting Christians in Wallachia and Moldavia provinces to attack Turkey. In 1853 many Christians and orthodox slaves' population were murdered by Turkish Moslems. Russia exploited this opportunity to invade Turkey and monopolize trade businesses in the area. This threatened British and French trade monopoly in the area. They ordered Russia to retreat and when she refused, that created a spark towards the outbreak of Crimean war.

#### **CAUSES OF CRIMEAN WAR**

The Russian aggression of the Turkish Empire was a major contributing factor to the outbreak of the crime war. For a longtime Russia had intentions of colonizing parts of Turkish Empire. In 1833 Tzar Nicholas I of Russia suggested to Prince Metternich of Austria that "Turkey is a sick man of Europe" and it should be divided between two strong powers of Europe i.e. Russia and Austria. Prince Metternich refused this idea. This was because state formation process of Austria was similar to that of Turkey and Metternich realized that collapse of Turkey would as well influence the collapse of Austria. Russian intentions became a reality in 1853 occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia leading to Crimean war.

Massive religious persecutions in Turkish Empire also led to the break of the cremean war of 1854-1856. Within Turkish Empire, there were Christians and Moslems. The rulers were predominantly Moslems while their subjects were mainly Christians. Several Christian persecutions took place in 1821 leading to Greek war of independence. In 1853 many more were killed in Wallachia and Moldavia leading to its occupation by Russia to protect the survivors. Russia therefore attacked Turkey claiming the guardianship of all orthodox Christians in Europe.

The question of guardianship of Jerusalem and Bethlehem was another cause for war . In 1740, the right of guardianship of these holy places was given to France. But unfortunately France failed to protect them.As a result in 1774 Russia was given a right to protect these holy places after signing the treaty of Kutchuk Kainadji. Russia was nearer to these holy places and had many orthodox Christians suffering in Europe. This made Russia tighten her grip on the pretext that it wanted ensure the security of Othodox Christians and the slave race that were being massacred by the Turkish Muslems.

Personal conflicts between Napoleon III and Tzar Nicholas I of Russia were another cause for war. Nicholas I had deliberately refused to recognize Napoleon III as an emperor in Europe. Instead of traditional respect among European leaders who call themselves as “My brother” Tzar Nicholas I wrote a letter to Napoleon III and addressed him as “My Friend”. Tzar Nicholas I did this because in reference to 1815 Vienna settlement the Bonapartists were banned from ruling France any more. This provocation was another cause for the outbreak of Crimean war.

The Crimean war was also caused by France’s desire to revenge Russia on Moscow campaign damages of 1812. She also fought to revenge European states for the neglect of France in 1840 London convention. Napoleon III inspired this revenge to attract popularity from the Catholics, Bonapartists and liberals in France. Therefore by doing this, France provoked Russia leading to the outbreak of Crimean war. This is because Russia felt she was too strong to be overpowered by a mere France’s. Russian forceful occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia led to the occurrence of the Crimean war. These two Christian dominated provinces of Turkey prompted other powers namely Britain and France to fight Russia. Russia wanted to protect the suffering Christians in these provinces under the cover of taking over the control of Balkan trade. This was sharply opposed by other powers who mobilized against her hence to cause the Crimean war.

The desire to protect British commercial interests. This also resulted into 1854-56 Crimean war. The ambitions of Tzar Nicholas I to break the Turkish Empire made Britain acquire courage of preserving the Turkish integrity so as to safeguard her commercial interests in the region. It should be remembered that Britain had for a long time been interested in the Balkan region for economic reasons that is why it supported Turkey and called on other countries such as France and Piedmont to support them hence to cause the Crimean war.

Another factor that caused Crimean war was the public interests in France and Britain. There was growing Russiaophobia especially in Britain against the Russian intentions in the Balkans under the guise of protecting the Slav population and the suffering Christians in the Balkan Peninsula. Britain and France were opposed to this because the Poles and the Hungarians were suffering under the Russian domination. Therefore Russia was not a right country to take charge of the suffering Christians in the Turkish Empire.

The growing weakness of Turkey was another factor that contributed to the outbreak of the Crimean war. Throughout the 19th century period, Turkish power was at the pace of decline. She had a lot of administrative problems which compelled many of her vassal states to break away in demand for self rule. This attracted a number of European powers with opposing interests over the fate of Turkey. These conflicts resulted into the Crimean war. Within in Turkey herself, there were other internal wars and conflicts as some of the vassal states wanted to become autonomous. This weakened Turkey further making her susceptible to external aggression.



The 1854-56 Crimean war was also caused by the violation of 1841 straits convention by Russia. This became one of the immediate causes for the outbreak of Crimean war. Russia scared British and French interests on the Holy places. Secondly she went on to station her troops around the Black sea in 1853 and began shelling the Anglo- French forces at Sinope. This was against the terms of 1841 straits convention. This seriously annoyed France and Britain who retaliated by mobilizing their forces and declaring war on Russia hence the beginning of the Crimean war on Russia hence the beginning of the Crimean war.

The collapse of the congress system and Metternich system by 1850 also led to the war. After 1822 the concert of European powers formed in 1815 was only protected by Metternich forces and principles. Therefore the downfall of congress system by 1830 and Prince Metternich in 1848 made the 1854-56 Crimean war inevitable. Russian greed for the remains of Turkey could only be solved by the outbreak of Crimean war of 1854 due to lack of an international body that could have peacefully and amicably handled the Turko-Russian conflict instead of resorting to the war that was even useless and did not have any meaning.

The impact of industrial revolution in Europe can be left touched. Economic imperialism in Balkan peninsular originating from European countries – Britain and France was another cause for Crimean war of 1854-56. By 1854, European markets had flooded with industrial revolution goods and needed virgin land for market and source of raw materials which resulted into the clash between Russia, Britain and France in the Balkans. Therefore the European rivalry for these trade opportunities in the Balkan peninsular resulted into 1854-56 Crimean war.

### **COURSE OF CRIMEAN WAR OF 1854-56**

The immediate cause to the war was 1853 Russian occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia under the cover of protecting suffering Christians. Britain and France through the Sultan of Turkey, they ordered Russia to evacuate these two provinces. Russia hesitated which made allied forces to station their troops in Dardenelle eager to fight Russia. This move never scared Russia and she refused to pull out of Balkans. On 4th October 1853 Omar Pasha the Commander of Turkish army declared war on Russia. Russia immediately responded by attacking Turkish warships at Sinope.

In response British and France sent their troops to Bosphorus in black sea and instructed Russia to retreat back to their base at Sebastopol. Russia refused and this made Britain and France to declare war on Russia on 27th March 1854 which marked the start of armed hostility between Russia and allied forces.

The determined forces of British and French decided to attack and destroy Russia at their base of Sebastopol. This shook the Russian forces and they immediately pulled out of Moldavia and Wallachia. Never the less the war had to continue. The principal reason of attacking Russia had been solved now but the allied members had to continue with the war up to 1856 in order to destroy Tzar Nicholas II completely.

In September 1854 the allied army invaded and occupied the Crimean Island. After sometime they moved to the north of Sebastopol and defeated the Russian troops at river Alma. Thereafter they bombarded Sebastopol and it was quite organized they failed to annex it from Russia once again. The allied troops in 1855 re-organised and Sebastopol base of Russian forces was finally captured in September 1855 and this marked victory of allied forces over Russian army in the Balkans. With this challenge Russia had to comply and denounce the war. The Paris peace treaty of 1856 was signed in a conference chaired by Napoleon III. This concluded the war.

### **THE TERMS OF PARIS PEACE TREATY OF 1856**

This aimed at providing permanent solutions to conflicting parties in the Crimean war of 1854-56.

- i) The black sea was neutralized i.e. both Turkey and Russia were forbidden to have warships on it.
  - ii) The Russian demands for protection of Christians in Turkish Empire were dismissed.
  - iii) The sultan of Turkey promised to provide fair treatment to the Christians in his empire. Christians were to have equal rights and privileges with the Moslems.
  - iv) Moldavia and Wallachia provinces were taken from Russia and offered independence with separate leadership from Turkey.
  - v) Serbia was also to have her independence under the close supervision of Turkey.
- Therefore on paper, the Allies (Britain, France, Turkey and later Italy) appeared to have won the war since they were highly favoured by the terms of the treaty that concluded the Crimean war.

### **THE EFFECTS OF 1854-56 CRIMEAN WAR**

The Crimean war that started in 1854-56 caused massive killings, loss of life and property. This affected both sides of the warring powers. France lost almost 300,000 lives while Britain lost 6,000 people. Many thousands of Italians and Turkish soldiers were also claimed by the war especially in the trenches of Crimean Island. Hospital facilities got flooded with casualties, several warships were sunk, homesteads destroyed, farms and industries faced a total destruction in the war.

It led to establishment of Red Cross International Organisation. The war disaster led to the formation of International group of volunteers to save the war victims. In 1856 the International Red Cross Organisation was formed with its headquarters at Geneva (Switzerland). It began as a voluntary organization to assist the victims of the Crimean war. Today its one of the leading humanitarian organizations in the world. Therefore had it not been the Crimean war, the formation of the Red Cross International Organisation would not have realized at a time it did.

It made Russia carry out massive reforms. The war effects on Russia compelled the Russian Government to carry out large scale social -economic reforms. Tsar Nicholas II became unpopular and the masses threatened to overthrow the government. To save his face from the annoyed Russians, he reformed the arms industry, medical centres, manufacturing, plants, and infrastructure and increased

the production of essential goods.

After the Crimean war, the European powers realized that war was no longer a solution to conflicts. The two groups discovered that war is not a solution to misunderstandings. They both regretted the immeasurable losses they encountered because of useless war fought on unclear principles. Persistent Diplomatic negotiations were advocated for instead of destructive wars. It is against this background that the idea of diplomacy in conflict resolution started becoming fashionable and the European continent.

The war led to 1856 signing of Paris Peace Treaty. This among other issues it removed the Russian influence from the Balkan peninsula. Therefore the Russian Military base in Balkan Peninsula at Sebastopol was destroyed. The Straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus were declared closed to all warships in times of peace and were opened to all interested powers in the international trade.

The war led to independence of Wallachia and Moldavia which had been under foreign domination for long. This instigated the rise of nationalism among other Turkish dominated states. They all struggled for independence following the break away of Turkish Vassal states on the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856. The Crimean war that were under the autocratic Turkish administration which compelled them to declare revolts for their independence.

Hopes for unification of Italy were realized. Using Piedmontese army, Count Camillo Cavour of Italy participated in Crimean war on the side of the Allied forces. After the Defeat of Russia and in signing of Paris peace treaty in 1856, Allied powers pledged to assist in Italian struggle for unification. In 1859, France helped in the liberation of Lombardy from Austria although it snatched Savoy and Nice territories from Italy as a reward.

It marked the end of the congress system in the affairs of Europe. This is so because from 1815-1854 no any other major wars, that was fought on European continent between the major powers. Therefore peace was maintained in Europe for almost 40 years regardless of the minor rebellions e.g. the 1830 revolutions, Syrian question of 181-1841 which never called for the involvement of major European powers at any time.

It laid a foundation for modern nursing and midwifery medical services. This is so because in the Crimean war, Florence Nightingale took charge of the wounded victims in attempt to scale down the increasing death cases in Crimean war. After this, she mobilized all the people in this exercise and formed the first nursing profession in the world. In 1857 she discovered quinine as a malaria drug.

The war led to the formation of other treaties in Balkan region. This is because it never provided a lasting solution to the Balkan crisis e.g. In March 1878 the treaty of San Stefano was signed while in Nov. 1878 Berlin Congress was held. All these aimed at solving the aftermath crisis of Crimean war.

## **THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OUT BREAK OF THE CRIMEAN WAR 1854-1856.**

Responsibility of any war means the blame attached to each country towards the out break of the war. In concern with the Crimean war of 1854-56, Russia, Britain, France and Turkey should be assessed to account for the contribution made by each country towards the out break of the war.

Piedmontse (Italy) does not share the responsibility for this war and if she contributed, then it was very small. Sardinia participated simply because she wanted to solicit support from Britain and France after the Crimean war for the unification of Italy. Ideally Italy was not in bad terms with Russia and not very close to Turkey. Besides this, Piedmontse joined the war late in 1855 when the war was about to end.

### **1. THE ROLE PLAYED BY RUSSIA:**

**Russia was the greatest cause of the Crimean war;**

- (i) Her invasion of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1853 was the immediate cause of the war is responsible to blame because of her claim to protect all Orthodox Christians. Russia claimed to be the guardian of all Orthodox Christians and that is why she intervened in the Turkish Empire several times to stop Christian persecution.
- (ii) Russia was also interested in the protection of the slave population all over the world. Most of these were of Russian origin and they were scattered in Much of Turkish Empire. The political persecution of slave race across Turkish Empire called for Russian Intervention.
- (iii) Russia also aimed at monopolizing commerce in South-Western water of Balkan peninsular and the Baltic Sea e.g. Russia had in 1833 Treaty of Unkiar-Skellesi requested Turkey to close the straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorous to all ships except those of Russia. This interest pulled Russia into Crimean war because other powers were also interested in these waters.
- (iv) Russia opened fire at warships of Britain and France at Sinope first trying to threaten and occupy Wallachia and Moldavia permanently.
- (v) Russia is responsible because through the Crimean war, it wanted to safe guard the war of revenge from France due to 1812 Moscow campaign.

### **2) RESPONSIBILITY OF FRANCE:**

- (i) Napoleon III who had just declared the 2nd French empire; wanted to improve on the foreign policy of his country regardless of its usefulness.
- (ii) France aimed at revenge- on Russia for the disastrous defeat of Napoleon I by Alexander I of Russia in the Moscow Campaign.

**NOTE:**

In the interests of peace, Napoleon III could not have fought of revenge for his uncles defeat in 1812 Moscow campaign when he was already dead and after a period of about 40 years. More over in Moscow Campaign of 1812, Russia was innocent; its his uncle, Napoleon I who had boundless ambitions that made him risk invading Russia in 1812.

(iii) Napoleon III insisted on controlling the holy places of Bethlehem and Jerusalem. This made France to be blamed for the war. At first France surrendered the guardianship of the holy places to Russia in 1740. Therefore, there was no need for France to appear on scene again claiming the rightful control of the holy places.

(iv) Furthermore, France participated in the war because Tsar Nicholas I of Russia had refused to respect him as one of European Emperors; In a letter to Napoleon III, Tsar Nicholas I addressed him as “my Dear Friend” instead of the traditional way “my Brother” Does this justify the war?

(v) Furthermore in 1815, Vienna settlement, European powers put it clear that no one from Bonaparte family, should ever rule France again. But in 1852, Napoleon III came to power from the Bonaparte family. This Tanta mounted to violation of 1815 terms of Vienna settlement. Therefore Tsar Nicholas I was right to deny recognition to Napoleon III as the diplomatic titles of European emperors deserved.

(vi) France ventured into this war because she did not want a strong neighbour. She therefore fought Russia as a way of weakening her and makes it difficult for Russia to emerge as a strong and influential in politics of Europe than France herself.

**3) RESPONSIBILITY OF BRITAIN**

(i) Britain aimed at the preservation of Turkish Independence; the only blame was that, she selfishly aimed at dominating trade in the Turkish Empire.

(ii) The actions of British Ambassador in Turkey; Stratford Radcliff worsened the relationship between Britain, Russia and Turkey. He encouraged the Sultan to stand firm against Russian proposal of controlling holy places. In July 1853, Russia decided to occupy Wallachia and Moldavia the two dominated Christian territories in Turkey. Strafford responded by assembling British soldiers into Balkans to fight against Russian intentions.

(iii) Britain invited other powers to join the war especially France and Turkey. British spread anti-Russia propaganda, accused Russia of being dictatorial and denying the Poles, and Hungarians their liberty and independence.

(iv) British propaganda made many European countries determined to fight against Russia.

#### **4) THE ROLE OF TURKEY (SULTAN HAMIDU II)**

(i) It was Turkey that carried out the religious massacres in Walachia and Moldavia. Much as Turkey fought an offensive war, she was greatly blamed for this. This provided an excuse for Russia to invade and annex the above provinces in 1853 that provided a spark to 1854-1856 Crimean war.

(ii) Turkey also refused to grant independence to her vassal states; for example, if Wallachia and Moldavia had had their independence before 1853, Russia's annexation of those provinces would not have occurred. Turkish Moslems who persecuted Christians in 1853 would not have been in Wallachia and Moldavia.

(iii) Turkey can also be blamed for becoming a sickman of Europe. By 19th century Turkey had failed to effectively administer her empire. Several revolts broke out and succeeded. Turkey failed to wipe out corruption in her empire and as a result, there was economic decline. Russia, France and Britain were all attracted to come and share the collapsing empire.

(iv) Turkish unclear principles over the rightful protection of the holy places. In 1740 an opportunity was offered to France but she failed, in 1774 Kutchuk Kainadji treaty was signed under which Russia assumed full control of the holy places. But in 1853, the Sultan of Turkey handed this control of holy places to France which annoyed Russia leading to the war.

(v) The Turkish concessions to Russia in 1833 annoyed Britain and consequently dragged her into the conflict with Russia. The Sultan of Turkey in a desperate need for military assistance against Egypt in the Syrian question of 1831 -1841, the Sultan signed the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi of 1833 with Russia. This interfered with the British interests in the Balkans therefore, between 1833 up to 1854, Britain worked hard to beat off Russian interests in the Balkans. Its climax was the out break of 1854 Crimean war.

In the final analysis all countries that participated in 1854 - 1856 Crimean war should be blamed but the country that contributed most was Russia which insisted to annex Turkey despite of several threats and warnings from the allied powers.

#### **PHASE IV OF EASTERN QUESTION**

In imitation of Wallachia and Moldavia successes, other vassal states revolted against Turkish rule. In 1875, a revolt started in Bosnia and spread to Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria. In Bulgaria alone more than 100 senior Turkish Government Officers were killed. In response to these, Sultan Abdul Hamidu II of Turkey became very repressive.

In 1876, many villages in Bulgaria and other parts of the empire were burnt down and the Turkish army killed all the remaining prisoners. Some of these had surrendered to Turkey after she promised fair treatment to Christians and slave nationals.



The death/massacre of about 3000 people by order of Sultan Hamid II alarmed the European Powers interested in the Balkans namely Germany, Britain, Russia and France.

The Sultan responded to this Fresh concern of European states in this empire by vowing never to pay back the borrowed money by his government to European powers.

He also expressed the attitude of not respecting the 1856 Paris peace treaty as he continued to mistreat and murder Christians and slaves in his empire. To the above problems, the prime minister of Britain Disraeli called a conference at Constantinople

### **TERMS OF THE CONSTANTINOPLE CONFERENCE OF 1876**

Turkey was forced to pay back the European borrowed loans. Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina were to have their independence since Turkey refused to abide with the protective terms of the 1856 Paris Peace Treaty. In response to the above terms of Constantinople conference, the Sultan of Turkey promised to be humorous.

The sultan was forced to reform his administration. Plans to adopt a democratic government and a constitution throughout the empire were shown to the European powers. This forced European powers to drop the terms of the Constantinople conference due to such diplomatic maneuvers, but the Sultan could not provide solutions to the suffering Christians.

European powers relaxed their intentions in Balkans. European demands in Turkey were dropped. However, of controversy, religious persecutions continued in the Turkish Empire. In 1876, a meeting was held in London where an Ultimatum was passed on Turkey to stop mistreating the Christian and slave nationals immediately. This gave Russia a pretext of invading Turkey and was joined by forces of Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro. Turkey was quickly defeated and she now sued for peace in 1878 in the Treaty of San Stefano signed with Russia.

### **THE TERMS OF MARCH 1878 SAN STEFANO TREATY.**

The terms were dictated by Russia to Turkey so that Russian interests in the Turkish Empire got maximum defense. These terms included;

- (i) Bosnia and Herzegovina were to become independent states.
- (ii) The Republic of Romania was to become independent.
- (iii) Russia was to acquire Besarabia from Turkey.
- (iv) Big Bulgaria was created and was to be supervised by Russia for at least 10 years. The treaty of San Stefano deepened the Balkan crisis further e.g., Britain felt threatened by Russia's supreme positions in Bulgarian affairs. Bulgaria was related to Russia, this would serve to give Russia an

upper hand in the Balkan affairs that would in turn jeopardize the economic interests of Britain in the region.

(v) Russia's control over Bulgaria would make her dominate the empire of Turkey and stop the rest of countries of Europe from trading in the area. Therefore, Britain, France and Austria- Hungary demanded for the revision of the terms of San Stefano treaty.

(vi) Bismarck of Germany responded by calling the November 1878 Berlin Congress. The sole purpose was to revise the terms of March 1878 San Stefano treaty and all the affected European powers attended.

### **THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF NOVEMBER 1878**

This was held in the capital city of Germany under the chair of Bismarck the Chancellor of Germany. It was the 4th phase and the last version of the Eastern question. The personalities who attended included

- The prime minister of Britain Disraeli.
- The British Foreign Secretary Lord Salisbury.
- Corte of Italy.
- Chancellor Andrassy of Austria-Hungary.
- Russia was represented by Gortschakoff.
- 

### **AIMS OF 1878 BERLIN CONGRESS.**

- i. To solve the Balkan Crisis which was largely a result of unfair treatment of Christian population by the Sultan of Turkey?
- ii. To revise the terms of San Stefano treaty that had created Big Bulgaria and made it a puppet state to Russia.
- iii. Bismarck aimed at averting the war that was likely to break out in the Balkan region between Britain with Austria-Hungary against Russia.

### **NOTE:**

Although some European states had gained through the signing of Berlin Congress, others had lost a great deal, which resulted into the outbreak of 1914-1918 World War I.

iv. Bismarck wanted to increase the foreign glory of Germany, which had just been created in 1871. He also wanted to put himself among the statesmen of the time.

v. He aimed at giving Independence to the nations of Turkish Empire that were struggling for their independence e.g. Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria and Montenegro. This would check on the endless Balkan crisis.

vi. To reduce the size of Bulgaria created by Russia in the San Stefano treaty. All the territories added on to small Bulgaria in March 1878 had to be given back their independence. This would check on the aggressive nature of Russia.

vii. It aimed at ending the diplomatic conflicts between Britain and Russia upon their commercial interests in the Balkan peninsular. Almost in all the phases of the Eastern question, Britain and Russia featured struggling to monopolize trade in Turkish Empire.

### **THE EFFECTS OF NOVEMBER 1878 BERLIN CONGRESS.**

Like all the treaties of the Eastern question, the Berlin Congress of 1878 did not create a lasting solution to the conflicts of the Balkans. It is on record that Berlin Congress complicated the events in the Balkans further leading to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Much as the Berlin congress was majorly concerned with solving the Balken crisis, it did not achieve this objective. It instead worsened the situation in the Balken peninsula.

The treaty of San Stefano was revised because of the Berlin Congress. Big Bulgaria was divided into three parts destroying the size it had acquired in March 1878 at San Stefano treaty. The treaty implied the defeat of Russian prestige since all its treaty was destroyed. Russia's ambitions in the Balkans were greatly undermined. After 1878, Turkey was recognized as a sovereign state. Russia withdrew from central Europe and concentrated her interests in the Asia Minor.

The Three Emperors League of 1873 came to the end. Berlin Congress of 1878 gave a significant blow to the Dreikaiserbund treaty of 1873 i.e. the league of three emperors- Germany, Russia and Austria/Hungary. The three had come together under the influence of Bismarck, trying to isolate France by befriending all the strong states of Europe; unfortunately, this league was destroyed in 1878 November Berlin Conference when Bismarck supported all its terms that worked to reduce the influence of Russia in the Balkans. This was affected in the revision of San Stefano treaty.

Britain and Turkey became enemies. Berlin Congress marked the end of the old time relationship between Britain and Turkey. For many years, Britain had been emphasizing the sustenance of Turkish Independence that was to be destroyed by Russian Emperor. In 1878, Berlin Congress, Britain snatched Cyprus from Turkey that disappointed the Sultan. This is why in World War I Britain could not fight on the same side with Turkey.

The Berlin congress of 1878 led to the creation of Dual Alliance in 1879. The Berlin Congress of 1878 gave birth to the Dual alliance of 1879 between Germany and Austria – Hungary. This came after the destruction of the first Dreikaiserbund treaty of 1873 when Russia developed enmity with Bismarck in the terms of Berlin Congress that mistreated Russia under the dictates of Bismarck in his capital Berlin. Dual Alliance concretized the relationship between Germany and Austria-Hungary that became evident in the World War I.

It was a nucleus for the spark of World War I. In November 1878 Berlin Congress, Austria-Hungary was given a right to control most of the Turkish provinces and naval states so as to break down her size for easy management e.g. it was given a right to control Serbia and in 1908, it added on the neighbouring province of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This later became a spark to the outbreak of World War I on 28th June 1914. World War I began when a Serbian nationalist killed an Austrian heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand Archduke with his wife Sophie on their state visit to Serbia. With the Aide of Alliance camps, this led to the World War I.

Berlin Congress enabled Bismarck to Isolate France Further. Bismarck exploited the Italo-French, crisis to achieve its primary aim of isolating France. At Berlin Congress of 1878, Bismarck secretly encouraged France to take over Tunisia which had been developed by Italy. With this Germany wanted to bring France closer so as to forget her plans of revenge against Germany. Italy had so many investments in Tunisia, a lot of her nationals and many infrastructural developments. Therefore, Berlin Conference served to cause conflict between France and Italy in Africa over the colonization of Tunisia.

The 1878 led to the prominence of Bismarck in the field of international politics. Bismarck became an International figure. At the Congress of Berlin, Bismarck was able to elevate himself as a man of peace and Berlin the capital city of Germany became a centre of International diplomacy and conflict resolution after 1878. For example, the imperial rivalries in colonization of Africa were resolved in the 1884/1885 Berlin Conference and it was as well chaired by Bismarck,

The 1878 Berlin Congress divided the States in the Balkan Peninsular. States in Balkan region were divided up. The terms of Berlin Congress made the countries interested in Turkish Empire emerge out of the congress divided. For example, Russia had been challenged by the revision of her favourite agreement of San Stefano treaty of March 1878. Russia totally lost her political touch with Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Germany. This gave a chance to the Sultan of Turkey, to massacre more Christians that are innocent in his Empire.

It led to growth of Nationalism among Germans. The achievements of Germany led by Bismarck at Berlin helped to increase the strength of Pan-Germanism. This made the young Germany stronger in European affairs. Her leader Kaiser William II used this pride and became an aggressor of other European powers thus leading to the outbreak of World War I in June 1914. The Berlin congress of 1878 therefore increased the pride and influence of Germany on the continent of Europe which later made her stubborn to the extent creating war hysteria amongst European states.

It provided a period of peace in Europe. The Berlin Congress of November 1878 guaranteed a period of peace in Europe at least for 30 years (1908). Up to this, time no any major war that had broken out although Europe witnessed many other minor conflicts among the states. It controlled peace in Europe up to the outbreak of 1914 World War I. Therefore, the peace that Europe experienced from 1878 to 1908 was as a result of the Berlin congress of 1878.

In conclusion, therefore the Berlin Congress of 1878 consolidated the Alliance System started by Bismarck of Germany trying to isolate France. It led to the breakdown of the concert of Europe by leaving powers in Europe divided further. It fastened the rise of Nationalism in Far East by ignoring the independence of Serbia, Herzegovina and Bosnia thus making the region a spark to the outbreak of World War I. However, this trend of affairs led yielded the disastrous war which came into effect in 1914 as Europe was already divided into camps and countries could no longer trust one another.

### **Revision Questions:-**

1. Why was Turkey regarded as a sickman of Europe?
2. Why and how did events in the Balkans threaten European peace between 1815-1878?
3. Why and how did the Greeks revolt against their Turkish Masters?
4. "The Greek struggle for independence was politically under the mask of religion" Discuss
5. Examine the significance of Syrian Question of 1832-1842 in the history of Europe.
6. Account for the calling of Nov. 1878 Berlin Congress and show its effects on history of Europe.
7. A portion of the responsibility for the out breaks of 1854-56 Crimean war.
8. "Nov. 1878 Berlin Congress was inevitable" Discuss
9. Examine the characteristics of Crimean war of 1854-56.
10. Account for the success of Allied powers against Russia in the Crimean war of 1854-56.

## **CHAPTER ELEVEN**

### **WORLD WAR I AND ITS IMPACT (1914-1918)**

#### **BACKGROUND**

World War I or First World was a major war centred on Europe that began in the summer of 1914, therefore world war I was an international conflict that involved all the world's great powers assembled in two opposing alliances the Triple Entente (Allies) comprising of Britain, Russia, France who were later joined by Italy and U.S.A and the Triple Alliance (central powers) consisting of Germany, Austria Hungary and Turkey. These powers were later joined by the territories under their influence.

More than 70 million military personnel, including 60 million Europeans were mobilized in one of the largest wars in history. This war was the most explosive and bloodiest war mankind had experienced up to that time. The great war the first war to dislocate the international economies that had grown in the 19th century. It was the first so sophisticated and organized general conflict between the powerful states of the 20th century. It started off in the Balkans region an area that for quite a long time had become a centre of clashes amongst European powers because their interests had been threatened in one way or the other. The result of this was increased suspicion and hatred that resulted in a great explosion in August 1914 that caused a lot of uncountable destruction in terms of human life and property in the world.

#### **CAUSES OF WORLD WAR I**

The causes of this war are too complex and international to such an extent that no single factor can adequately give an explanation for the outbreak of this great war. Therefore the explosion of this war was a result of a combination of many factors which include the following:-

Alliance system is the one of the greatest factors that led to the outbreak of world war I.

The alliance system was initiated by Bismark in 1873 in his attempt to isolate France so that she does not wage a war of revenge after her defeat in the France- Prussian war where she lost Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. By 1890 there existed Triple Alliance of Austria – Hungary, Germany and Italy that came into existence in 1882. After the fall of Bismark, the France- Russian alliance was concluded in 1893, the Anglo – Japanese alliance in 1902, the Entente cordiale in 1904 all which combined in 1907 to form the triple Entente of France, Britain, and Russia. Against this background by 1914, Europe was divided into two hostile camps of the Triple alliance and the Triple Entente ready to fight each other any time given the opportunity which came with the assassination of the Austrian Arch duke that made the two camps start off the war. The alliance system contributed to the outbreak of World War I in the following ways;



The alliance system divided the world into two hostile camps that could easily go for war. That is the camp of Germany, Austria–Hungary and Italy (Tripple Alliance) against that of Britain, France and Russia (Tripple Entente). This sharp division amongst the European powers only waited for the opportunity and when it cam after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his wife, the two hostile camps went to war against each other hence the alliance being responsible for the outbreak of world war I

The alliance renewed a sense of self restraint which had all along restricted countries from war. All along European states had a sense of fear that had held them from engaging into wars. Due to the alliance system, countries felt stronger enough due the assurance of the support from the respective camps. That is why a small state like Serbia could not feat to a kill the Austrian Archduke which sparked off World War I.

The alliance system enhanced arms race that had started as an individual national policy. Because of the alliance system European states started investing heavily in arms manufacturer on a competitive basis since every camp wanted to be militarily stronger than the other. The manufacture of dangerous weapons and massive investment in arms prepared the two hostile camps for a war hence the alliance system being responsible for the outbreak of World War I.

Because of the alliance system, European counties became more reckless in dealing with international matters and they could even fight over minor issues that did not concern them directly for example owing to the alliance system, Germany got involved in an affair between Austria Hungary and sorbia from where the World War I started. Therefore had it have probably remained neutral in the Austro serbin conflict which sparked off world war I.

The alliance system created suspicion and mistrust among the European powers which divided Europe into two fighting camps. The European countries became suspicious of one another due to the two hostile camps that had been created. By 1914, owing to the suspicion and mistrust among the European powers, countries had already taken sides and that is why an Austrian Serbian conflict had to drag the whole world into war known as World War I.

The alliance system gave no room for compromise in case of a conflict. By dividing Europe into two hostile camps, the alliance system made every European power feel duty bound to protect the interests of the camp in which it belonged. There was no room for countries to sit and negotiate on peaceful conflict resolution. This is why the murder of the Austrian Archduke was not peacefully handled but was left in the hands of individual stated that decided to resolve it through war hence causing World War I.

The alliance system intensified conflicts of interest among the European powers. Due to the alliance system, European countries developed enormous conflicts of interests especially in the field of

territorial acquisition which led clashes and conflicts amongst these powers. The collision was based on the fact that each power had a camp where it elonged and hence had no fear. For example Russian had colonial interests in the Balkan where she collided with Austria and because of the alliance system when the Sarajevo double murder took place Russia and Austrian went to war in the Balkan from where World War I started.

The alliance system magnified small disputes hence to cause World War I. The murder of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife was a small dispute between Austria and Serbia which would not have caused a global war. Due to the alliance system the conflict small as it was caused World War I because Austria refused diplomacy while Serbia refused to meet the demands of the ultimatum that was given to her on 23rd, July, 1914 by Austria all of which precipitated the outbreak of World War I.

Another factor that caused world war I was Arms race / Militarism. The arms race refers to the competition in the manufacture of fire arms. The increasing international conflicts arising from clashes in Africa, the Balkan region and the far east due to nationalism and imperialism made the European powers engage in the manufacture of fire arms which prepared them for war. The arms race was imitated by Germany under emperor Kaiser William II. In his attempt to challenge Britain's naval supremacy. Because of this, powerful and destructive weapons were manufactured at a higher rate for example Germany competed with Britain in the Manufacture of dreadnaught ships which causes a lot of concern among the British patriots. The vigorous manufacture of such fire arms put the European powers at stand by position.

Czar Nicholas II of Russia after fore seeing the danger the arms race might cause, he called for disarmament conferences at Hague in 1899-1907. Unfortunately, they were fruitless. Britain never welcome the idea because disarmament would change her position as a world naval power of the time. Germany also refused and regarded disarmament conference as a move to keep her militarily weak in relation to Britain. The failure of disarmament conferences increased the manufacture of firearms because by 1914 Germany had about nine dreadnaught ships while Britain had eighteen. Therefore arms race contributed to the outbreak of world. War I in the following ways;

By arms race, Europe was busy preparing for war. This is because by 1914 most of the European powers had enough weapons to move to the front line. Germany for example deepened the canals, constructed new ones and the fleet of gun boats was continuously improved. Other European powers such as Britain, Russia among others did not sit back to watch, but also participated. Therefore the arms race is blamed for preparing European powers for war who just waited for an opportunity and when it came, these powers easily went to war hence World War I.

The arms race created universal suspicion, fear, and hatred among European powers that led to war. It created a situation where every European power country was on the defensive side. This suspicion, fear and hatred was much witnessed between Germany and Britain who were seriously competing

in arms manufacture and when an opportunity came they went to war on the opposite sides. This universal suspicion created by arms race precipitated arms race.

The arms race strengthened the alliances that had emerged on the European continent. The two alliance camps of the Tripple Alliance comprising of powers like Germany, Austria- Hungary and Italy and the Tripple Entente involving countries of Britain, France, and Russia would not have probably caused World War I if they were not strengthened and supported by the arms race. The alliances made the European powers feel strong which led to competition in the arms manufacture that later led to war. Therefore it is the arms race which strengthened the alliances and made World War I inevitable.

With the increasing level of armaments the Europeans powers became eager to test their weapons. The arms race made the powers eager to test their newly manufactured weapons which twined Europe into a timing bomb ready to explode but only waiting for an opportunity and when it came in 1914, the powers went to war so that they can test their newly manufactured weapons hence world war I.

Arms race made Germany confident to challenge other powers. As a result of the arms race, Germany became confident to challenge Britain and other powers and also had the same confidence to challenge Germany. Therefore the arms race brought confidence among the European states who waited for a time to show their military strengths and when the Austro – Serbian conflict broke out chance for challenging one another had come which led to the outbreak of world war I.

The arms race gave market to the press to popularize the strength of every country against another. This created tension and friction among the European powers which made them increase arms manufacture with a desire to challenge one another and when chance came, different powers had to go to the front line so that they can see who has more arms than the other hence the arms being responsible for the outbreak of World War I.

Further more, the European Imperialism / Economic imperialism was another cause of world war I. The world history during 19th and 20th centuries was characterized by the struggle for markets, sources of raw materials and fields for investment of surplus capital and for settlement. This economic imperialism led to economic rivalries among European powers. These rivalries ex acerbated nationalistic feelings and led to endless friction among the great powers. The European powers competed for colonies for trade commerce, investment to mention but a few which resulted into conflicts that made World War I inevitable in 1914.

Largely European imperialism contributed to the outbreak of world war in the following ways. European imperialism led to the stiff competition for raw materials, areas for investments, employment opportunities which resulted into protectionism, suspicion and mistrust that contributed to the outbreak of World War I. This is because the conflicts among the European powers in Africa the Balkan region and the far East for economic reasons which sparked off world war I.

European imperialism resulted into colonial ambitions which necessitated increased armaments that made World War I inevitable. This is because as powers conflicted for economic motives, they had to strengthen themselves by manufacturing strong weapons that could make them supercede their competitors. It is the arms that were manufactured for economic motives that were used in World War I.

European imperialism led to territorial ambitions that resulted into the development of advanced weapons by the European powers with the aim of protecting their newly acquired territories. Territorial ambitions resulted into crises like the Moroccan crisis, Afghanistari crisis, Agadir crisis, Fashoda crisis among others which created a lot of Jealousy mistrust and suspicion, strengthening of militarism among others. By the time the opportunity came in 1914, European powers were already prepared for war.

Because of European imperialism, the relationship between Germany and Britain became sour which made world war I. As the two powers conflicted for areas of investment. Raw materials, markets, settlement among others, protectionism, armaments and militarism became the order of the day which caused suspicion and mistrust among the European powers, and with the Austro-Serbian conflict, the two powers had to go to war hence the outbreak of World War I.

The growth of European nationalism was another factor that contributed to the outbreak of world war I. By 1914, the spirit of nationalism or the emotional desire for unity and political independence in Europe had reached climax. The second half of the 19th century witnessed a great change in Europe because it brought about new state such as Germany and Italy that became unified in 1870 and 1871 respectively. Belgium had secured her independence and neutrality in 1839 all because of nationalism. Turkey was seriously disintegrating as most of her vassal states were struggling to acquire their independence. This disintegrated European balance of power principle that had been put in place by the Vienna Congress and this led to the outbreak of World War I in the following ways;

Because of the growth of nationalism in Europe, there was emergence of Italian and German states which caused stiff competition in Europe socially, politically, economically and militarily that led to the outbreak of world war I. After the unification of Germany, she felt a national pride to spearhead her influence on other powers which was rejected by Britain, France and Russia hence to cause conflicts of national pride led to the outbreak of World War I.

It was the Serbian nationalism that clashed with Austrian imperialism that sparked off World War I. Serbia had taken up the move to unite all the Serbs in the diaspora including those ones in Austria. This made her assassinate the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand and his wife which led to the outbreak of World War I hence nationalism being responsible for the outbreak of World War I.

Because of the growth of nationalism in Europe, many European powers clashed over colonial interests for example Austria and Russia in the Balkan region, Germany and Britain in South Africa and East- Africa, Italy and France in Tunisia , Britain and France in Egypt and Sudan among many with an aim of national interests. This increased tension and Jealousy among the European powers who only waited for an opportunity to strike which with the Austro- Serbian conflicts that caused World War I.

The clashes as a result of nationalism made European powers form alliances and counter alliances. For example Austria joined Germany in 1879 after clashing with Russia in the Balkan region, Italy went to the side of Austria and Germany after clashing with France over Tunisia among others. Therefore nationalistic clashes increased the rate of forming alliances which divided Europe into hostile fighting camps and when an opportunity came, the two camps went to war against one another.

In defence of national interests, the European powers increased the rate of arms manufacture. For example Germany as a way to defend her independence against France and Britain, she started the arms race and when powers joined the race, Europe was prepared for war, but waited for an opportunity that came on 28th June 1914 with the murder of Austrian Archduke. European powers invested heavily in the arms manufacture in order to safeguard their national interests.

Nationalism increased the spirit for militarism in Europe which led to the outbreak of world war I. For example Germany after her unification, she recruited and increased the training period of her soldiers so that she can make her self strong and defend her independence as a super power while Britain, France, and Russia militarized to check Germany pride. By militarism, European powers were making themselves ready for war defence of their nationalism and when an opportunity came, the very soldiers that had been protecting national interests found themselves at the battle field.

The Franco - Prussian war of 1870 -1871 over Lorraine and Alsace territories is one of the factors that contributed to the outbreak of the World War I. Many of the direct origins of World War I can be seen in the results and consequences of the Franco- Prussian war. This conflict brought the establishment of a powerful and dynamic Germany, causing what was seen as a displacement or unbalancing of power. This new and prosperous nation had the industrial and military potential to threaten Europe, and particularly the already established European powers. Germany's nationalism, its natural resources, its economic strengths and its ambitions sparked off colonial and military rivalries with other nations particularly the Anglo – Germany naval arms race hence leading to the outbreak of world war I by Germany.

The character of Kaiser William II who took over the Germany throne was by no means unequal to Bismark in both diplomacy and state man ship. William II Became the Kaiser ( emperor) of Germany in 1888 and Germany foreign policy under went a radical change. Difference of opinion between Kaiser William II and external affairs that in 1890 Bismark had to resign. Kaiser William II was

intelligent but his intelligence, was badly by mis handling the Germany and other European powers. He was quite emotional in pursuing Germany interests at the expense of other powers which resulted into world war I in the following ways;-

Kaiser William II blocked all the European attempts to solve European conflicts through peaceful negotiations which makes him responsible for the outbreak of world war I. For example he is the one who failed the disarmament conferences at Hague between 1899-1907 which aimed at limiting the manufacture of arms among powers. With such a failure, the arms race was unchecked which prepared the powers for war and only waited for an opportunity which came in 1914 with the murder of Austrian Archduke.

He is blamed for initiating the arms race with a desire to challenge the British naval supremacy which had been unchallenged throughout the 19th century. Kaiser started investing heavily in the manufacture of sophisticated weapons like dreadnaughts and other weapons. This changed by Britain who also invested a lot in the arms manufacture which made other European powers to follow suit hence preparing for world war I.

He is the initiator of military chauvinism by making compulsory military recruitment, prolonged period in military service and increased a period of training as a way to build strong army that can defeat his neighbours. This increased suspicion, hatred and conflicts among the European powers who also resorted / to militarism hence preparing for world war I because of Kaisers initiation of militarism.

It was Kaisers political ambitions that gave way to the formation of the Triple Entente comprising of countries such as Germany, Austro- Hungary and Italy which came to compete with the Triple Alliance of Britain, France, and Russia hence to divide Europe into two hostile fighting camps. Therefore had it not been the political ambitions of Kaiser William II, the Triple Entente would not have been formed and the Austro- Serbian conflict would not have caused World War I.

It was because of Kaisers conflicting political ideologies that made Europe to lose a statesman like Bismarck who had earlier on peacefully solved European problems. Such conflicts led to the resignation of Bismarck in 1890 which resulted into political chaos, breakdown of European diplomacy that left the Austro- Serbian conflict not peacefully settled which resulted into World War I. Kaiser brought a lot of confusion in Germany which compelled Bismarck to resign hence leaving a political vacuum behind.

The Balkan crisis is another factor that led to the outbreak of world war I. It was in the Balkan Peninsula that the great war of 1918- 18 began. In 1908, there was a revolution in Turkey led by the Young Turkey movement. The revolutionaries were against the despotic rule of Abdul Hamid II. They demanded a constitution that was liberal and succeeded in forcing the sultan to grant a democratic parliamentary system of government. This act of nationalism amongst other races promoted and



facilitated the breaking up of ottoman empire as wars were intensified between 1911 and 1912. The Balkan wars drastically reduced the ottoman empire .Out of these wars, Serbia emerged victorious and confident which inspired her into an ambition to unite all the remaining serbs in the region under her rule against Turkey and Austria .This resulted into conflicts between Serbia on one side and Austria and Turkey on the other side that led to the outbreak of world war I in the following ways: The Balkan crisis increased tension between Serbia and Austria – Hungary – which later culminated into World War I. Russia also opposed the Austria annexation of Busnia and Herzegovina and started preparing for war in support of Serbia because technically, the two territories belonged to Russia in terms of race and population Serbia cemented on Russians support and the support of other members of the Tripple entente to reject Austrian ultimatum which led to world war I as a move for Serbia to safeguard her interests .

Balkan crisis acted as a curtain raisers for the world tragedy of 1914-18 the clash of interests of the great powers in the Balkan peninsula was the most outstanding cause of the first world war. Austria had conflicted with Serbia over Bosnia-Herzegovina . The Pan- slav movement was waiting for a single moment to declare war since they had been promised support by Russia and the Kaiser of Germany had promised support to Austria. This kind of trend drove European powers to war after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke on 28th, June 1914.

The Balkan crisis revealed the anti-serbian attitude of Austria. Austria followed a most uncompromising attitude towards the ambitions of Serbia and her best to block the expansion. It was at her instance that powers erected Albania as an autonomous state in order to prevent Serbia from obtaining an outlet to the sea. Austria compelled Serbia to evacuate various Adriatic towns which the Serbians had conquered from the Turks. This anti – Serbian attitude of Austria was as a result of the balkanization unabated until it caused world war I in 1914.

The fall of Bismarck equally contributed to the outbreak of world war I. Bismarck was a German chancellor since January 1871 when the German empire was declared. In 1890, due to the disagreements with Kaiser William II resigned hence his fall from the German and European affairs. His fall has been advanced among the factors that contributed to the outbreak of World War I in the following ways;-

The fall of Bismarck made Britain, France and Russia to conclude the Tripple Entente in 1907 as a counter alliance to the Tripple Alliance of Germany Austria – Hungary and Italy that divided Europe into two hostile fighting camps which lived under suspicion, fear and mistrust but only waited for an opportunity for war. Therefore had it not been the fall of Bismarck, the Tripple Entente would not have been formed and the Austro- Serbian war would not have led to world war I.

The fall of Bismarck made Germany to start arms race which was followed by other powers. Kaiser William II who was left as the only chief manager of German affairs who undertook an aggressive policy, invested heavily in arms manufacture which made other powers start arms race and by 1914,

all powers had prepared for war. Therefore, the fall of Bismarck left Germany without a technical advisor which made it start the arms race without predicting the consequences of which the outbreak of world war I was one of them.

The fall of Bismarck robbed Europe of capable statesmen who would solve international conflicts. Because of this, major and micro issues were left in the hands of ambitious leaders and individual states which led to world war I. Had Bismarck lived beyond 1914, may be he would have mediated between Serbia and Austria after the murder of the Austrian Archduke. However, the fall of Bismarck left the matter in the hands of Serbia and Austria who handled it recklessly only to lead to World War I.

Bismarck's fall from power created enmity between Germany and Russia which made Russia to ally with France and later Britain which strengthened Russia under the guise of protecting the orthodox Christians in the Balkan region after the murder of the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand and his wife. Therefore had Bismarck lived beyond 1914, probably Russia would have remained in the alliance with Germany and World War I would have been avoided.

The Anglo- Germany rivalry was another cause for the outbreak of world war I. This rivalry refers to the social, economic and military conflicts between Germany and Britain after the unification of Germany up to the outbreak of world war I. This caused World War I in the following ways:-

The Anglo – Germany rivalry led to the formation of triple Entente which was to fight Triple Alliance. This is because Britain became scared of the Triple Alliance after conflicting with Germany which made her look for allies and in 1907 concluded the Triple Entente with France and Russia. Unfortunately, this divided Europe into two hostile fighting camps which prepared Europe for war and when an opportunity came, the two powers went to war against one another hence World War I. Anglo – Germany rivalry increased political imperialism that led to the outbreak of World War I. As the two powers conflicted for colonies in East Africa, South Africa among others. Their conflicts became severe that they could not reconcile and when they conflicted in the Balkan region especially on Germany's plan to construct the Berlin – Baghdad railway and dominate trade in east, this caused world war I which was accelerated by the murder of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie.

Anglo – Germany rivalry increased the spirit of militarism hence preparing for world war I. This is because after Germany conflicting with Britain she started militarism which made Britain to do the same and when other European followed them, the situation became worse leading to the outbreak of world war I. Militarism therefore created fertile ground for world war I. The conflict between Germany and England made the two states compete in the field of militarism which made world war I inevitable.

It was the Anglo- Germany rivalry that led to the beginning and strengthening of the arms race as the two powers competed in the arms manufacture where no one wanted to be challenged. Due to this, by

1914, Germany had about nine dreadnaught ships while Britain had eighteen, this made the situation ripe enough for the war and when an opportunity came World War I broke out since all the conditions were favourable for the war.

Anglo-Germany made Kaiser William II of Germany to fail disarmament conferences that had been summoned by Czar Nicholas II of Russia at Hague in 1899-1907 which created room for World War I. This is because Germany considered disarmament conferences as a move to keep her militarily inferior to Britain which she was not ready for, but enhanced the arms manufacture that made other powers to do likewise hence preparing for World War I.

Anglo-German rivalry made Germany to attack France on 3rd, August 1914 through Belgium well knowing that she was violating the neutrality of Belgium which was declared by Britain through the 1839 London treaty. This made Britain declare war on Germany on 4th, August 1914 hence World War I. This is because Britain wanted to defend the London treaty which Germany was calling a mere scrap of paper not worth Britain's defending. From then therefore World War I became inevitable because of Anglo-German rivalry.

The development of nationalism, imperialism, armament and technology influenced European powers to be in favour of war. This military chauvinism greatly led to the outbreak of World War I. Some powers wished to challenge others militarily and politically for example Germany took up the task of preaching not only the inevitability of the war, but even its desirability. This was re-enforced by the theory of evolution as advanced by Charles Darwin that war is the highest form of stage of struggle. Such ideas led to an increase in military training, compulsory military conscription, mass recruitment and increased period of military service. The armies of many European powers were enlarged to the tune of millions. For example by 1914, Russia alone had four millions soldiers, Germany and France 3.5 million soldiers among others. Therefore through military chauvinism, strong and large armies were created which prepared power for war.

The European public opinion was another factor. By 1914, the European public opinion was in favour of war than peace. This is because the industrialists had invested a lot of capital in the arms race which was by now not fetching them any profit because the arms were just in stores. These wanted war so that they can sell off the manufactured arms and get profits. Other powers wanted to challenge each other and see who is stronger than the other. The soldiers that had been trained preached the desirability for war because they had been idle for long and wanted to test themselves on the battle field. Therefore the public opinion in Europe by 1914 was in favour of the war,

Press Propaganda greatly contributed to the outbreak of the World War I. In many European countries—especially Germany and Britain, the press exaggerated the strength of the home country which threatened other countries. Therefore basing on what the press was writing many powers wanted to go to the battle field so that they can see who is stronger than the other. With the Austro-Serbian conflict World War I had to break out due to press propaganda.

Lack of an international peace keeping body also contributed to the outbreak of World War I. By 1914, Europe lacked an international body that could keep and maintain peace through negotiations rather than war. There was no institution of international nature which could make efforts to avoid the possibility of the war. This is because the congress system had collapsed which left the European affairs in the hands of individual states that observed European affairs according to their convenience. Every power considered itself to be sovereign and did not regard itself to be bound by its international commitments. For example Austria decided to handle the murder of her arch duke on her own with selfish interests from where World War I started.

Lack of capable statesmen to avert the outbreak of war made world war I inevitable. By 1914, Europe lacked capable statesman who were peace oriented. Most of them wanted to spear head individual interests at the expense of international affairs. For example Kaiser William II of Germany, Georges Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of Britain among others wanted to spearhead the interests of their countries at the expense of continental affairs. If men like Bismarck, Metternich, still present by 1914, they would have settled the Austro- Serbian conflict peacefully. Their absence left the conflict in the hand of ambitious leaders who solved it in favour of war hence the outbreak of World War I.

World war I was also caused by the practice of secret diplomacy. This worsened the international relations in Europe and by 1914, all kinds of corruption and double dealing were evident among the powers. Forgery lying and corruption reigned in every foreign office throughout the world. The double dealing style led to Bismarck's negotiation of the Reinsurance treaty and Italy nullification of the Triple Alliance. This practice of secret diplomacy which manifested its self in all kinds of corruption and double dealing led to endless friction among the powers which later culminated into World War I.

The Sarajevo incident or the double murder also known as the Black Sunday was the final spark of World War I. On 28th June 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie were assassinated by a Bosnian student Gavrilo Princip as they were being driven over the bridge to Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia. Although this incident took place in Bosnia it was committed by a Serb and hence Serbia was condemned. To most Austrians, this was the chance they wanted to drive the last nail in the Serbian coffin. The Vienna government considered the assassination of the archduke and his wife as a provocation for war by Serbia and from then the European powers mainly Germany, Russia and Austria started mobilizing their forces in preparation for a war. Therefore war hysteria engulfed Europe after the murder of the archduke and when Austria declared war on Serbia, other powers joined hence World War I to begin.

The Serbian poor response towards Austrian ultimatum. Following the assassination of the Archduke and his wife, the ministerial council of Austria sent an ultimatum on 23rd, July 1914 which contained three demands to be met within 48 hours and failure to do so would result into war. The demands stated that;

Serbia should suppress all societies organizing Austria, Serbia should dismiss all officials whom Austria objected and the third one was that the Austrian police and officials were to enter Serbia and ensure that the two demands are carried out. Serbia under the support of Russia proposed that the ultimatum be sent to the international court of justice at Hague which was rejected by Austria and on 28th July 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia as Russia organized her forces to defence Serbia and Germany to defend Austria which precipitated world war I.

## **EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR I**

World War I sometimes referred to as the Great war had far reaching effects which were both immediate and long term in nature. It affected the world in various ways. Almost all areas of the world were affected including even the unconcerned and innocent areas like Africa. The effects of World War I like any other war affected human life in all aspects of social, political and economic sphere both negatively and positively. They include the following:-

Loss of lives and Property was witnessed as a result of the war . The Great war of 1914-18 led to the loss of life and property. World War I was the most explosive and bloodies war in human history. A lot of people died both soldiers and non soldiers. People of all ages and social classes perished during the war including even innocent travelers. Some cities and towns were demolished for example Bilgrade was shelled by Austria and some French towns were destroyed by Germany bombardments. It is noted that per minute four people would die and nine would be wounded. It is estimated that forty million people were killed and other wounded and became disabled for life while others were claimed by diseases.

World war I led to the defeat and collapse of the Germany Empire .World War I led to the defeat of Germany and her total collapse. When Germany was fully defeated in 1918 together with her allies, Kaiser William II abdicated the throne and went into exile in Holland. This marked the collapse of the Germany Empire which had become a strong political, economic, and military power in Europe. The economic mighty and proper military organization of the allied members of the Tripple Entente made Germany and her weak allies be defeated which led to its total collapse.

The great war of 1914-18 facilitated the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917 and Czar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate. This is in turn encouraged the growth of communism which came into direct confrontation with capitalism which was being practiced by Great Britain, France among others . The rise of communism led to the formation of union of soviet socialist republics which came with its demise in 1991. Communism came with its own beliefs and philosophies like state control of resources, market restrictions among others all of which were opposed to the capitalists belidfs of profit maximization, consumer sovereignty among others.

World war I led to the division of the old Austria – Hungary monarchy and Turkey immediately after the surrendering of Austria on 4th November 1918. Hungary became independent hence the

disintegration Austria. Austria which had been the most despotic monarchy became a republic . In turkey, new states emerged and became independent of the sultans rule. Such states include Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia among others. Therefore World War I increased the spirit of nationalism among those states which made them break away from their former masters.

Independence to various subject nationalities was witnessed after the end of world war I. The great war led to the independence of various states . It is widely believed that world war I aroused a sense of nationalism among the nationalities of the small states. For example Poland that had been under Russian influence for a long time became independent Bosnia Herzegovina also got her independence among others. Therefore World War I gave courage to the nationalities that had been under foreign rule to rise and demand their independence which they got after the war.

Stepping up of nationalism among Africans is another impact of the 1914 -18 Great war. With the end of Great War of 1914-18, nationalism was highly stepped up especially among the African who had gone to fight a war that neither belonged to them nor of their own interest. The ex-servicemen were among the first people in Africa to instigate for their independence. This was due to the fact that they had gained experience and when they returned home, they were willing to offer a hand and they prepared to rebel against their colonial masters.

World war I led to economic decline among European states. World war I was the most expensive war the world has ever had in terms of costs. It led to the worst economic conditions in Europe as a lot of industries and factories were seriously destroyed . This led to economic crisis in the whole of Europe with exception of Russia. The European powers invested heavily in the arms race leaving aside other vital sectors of the economy. They suffered because commerce was not promoted for example Britain was faced with a problem of balance of payment deficit. All these economic hardships led to the economic depression in Europe as powers experienced high unemployment levels, financial crisis, low purchasing powers, famine, poor terms of trade among others.

Signing of the Versailles settlement also came as a result of world war I. World war I led to the signing of the Versailles settlement. The end of world war I marked the signing of various treaties with the defeated powers for example the Versailles treaty with Germany where she suffered payment of war indemnity, army of occupation, and loss of colonies the treaty of St. German with Austria – Hungary where she was highly reduced in size and population from 31 million to 6.5 million people, among others treaties which gave birth to Versailles settlements which was meant to please the victors and punish the vanquished.

Formation of the league of Nations. The Great war of 1914-18 led to the formation of the league of Nations with its headquarters of Geneva as an international organization to ensure global order, stability, peace and preservation of member countries independence. The covenant of the league of nations was incorporated in the Versailles peace settlement of 1919. In this way, every signatory whether the victors or the vanquished agreed to the establishment of this permanent machinery which



was to maintain international peace and reconciliation among member states. Therefore League of Nations was formed to heal the wounds of World War I and lay a firm foundation for peace in future.

The rise of dictators in Europe was another effect of the Great war. World war I gave birth to notorious dictators in Europe . The chaos, suffering and dislocation that people experienced during and after the war made them lose trust in their governments. This was mainly experienced in Italy, Germany among others. In Germany, there was birth of Nazism under Adolf Hitler while in Italy, Mussolini gained ground with his fascism. These characters were to disorganize the world in the near future, as they became dictators and under tool aggressive policies that later led to the outbreak of World War II.

Laying a ground for the outbreak of World War II. World War I laid a ground for the World War II in a number of ways. The European powers that participated in World War I and lost got a spirit of revenge and worked tirelessly to revenge those that had defeated them. Matters were made worse by the Versailles settlement of 1919 that severely and unrealistically punished Germany and her allies. Germany as per the settlement was to pay a heavy war indemnity suffer the army of occupation, lose her colonies among others. These penalties annoyed Germany who only waited for the opportunity to revenge. World war I also gave rise to dictators such as Hitler and Mussolini who under took aggressive foreign policies that culminated into world war II.

Emergence of U.S.A as a super power. World War I led to the emergence of U.S.A as a world super power. U.S.A that joined World War I to defence her former colonial master, Britain gained a lot from the war. It took the advantage to build a strong economy, advanced science and technology which made her to develop more than any European state. She gave loans to European states with high interest rates and this was very conducive for her economy to grow faster hence emerging as a world super power.

Emergence of humanitarian organizations. The great war resulted into the emergence of humanitarian and peace international organizations for example the women international movement that started in Britain, the international labour organization (ILO) and the international committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) . These organizations came in to alleviate the problems that had been caused by war. Today some of these organizations play a key role in helping world communities.

## **THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I**

This mainly concerned the role of different countries towards the outbreak of world war 1. World War I started officially in 1914 and ended in November 1918. It involved most of the European countries and their colonies. The prominent of these included; Austria- Hungary, Germany, Russia, Britain, France, Serbia, Italy and U.S.A among others. Therefore all the mentioned are responsible for the

outbreak of world war 1. But the degree to which each contributed varied. This means no single country that should be blamed alone.

### **THE ROLE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.**

Austrian-Hungary imperialism and her desire to dominate Serbia clashed with Serbian nationalism which led to the murder of the Austrian- Archduke and his wife hence to spark off world war I. Because of this therefore, Austria is held responsible for cuasing a spark to the outbreak of World War I. Austria – Hungary had long been interested in the Balkans and that is why it strongly condemned Serbia even though Serbia had committed a diplomatic crime.

Austria was opposed to Russian influence in the Balkan region which led to the clash of imperialistic interests between Austria and Russia over Serbia that twined the Austro- Serbian conflict into World War I. Therefore had it not been Austrian imperialism which clashed with Russian imperialism in the Balkan region, probably world war I would not have broken out in 1914. Therefore had it not been the clash of interests between Austria –Hungary and Russia in the Balkan Peninsular, probably world war I would not have taken place.

It was Austrian recklessness that made her start off world war I. After receiving a blank cheque from Germany as on assurance of Germanys military support Austria became reckless in handling murder of the Archduke which led to world war I. This is because if she was not reckless, Austria would have referred the matter to the international court of Justice and the roar would have been avoided at the time.

Austria is responsible because she refused to take heed to the advice of the Serbia envoy in Vienna to cancel Ferdinand's visit to Bosnia. This is to say Serbia was already aware that serbs were organizing against Austria which would cause trouble. As much as the envoy informed the Vienna government about it, Austria did not take heed. Failure to follow the advice of the Serbian envoy loy Austria made the Archduke to go on with his visit from where he met his death which was interpreted as a provocation for war hence Austria sparking off world war I.

Austria is responsible for entering into alliance with Germany in 1879 which started as a dual alliance and became the Tripple alliance in 1882 when they were joined by Italy. After this alliance, the Tripple Entente was also formed which became a counter alliance hence to divide Europe into two hostile fighting camps and when the opportunity came Austria cementing on the support of the Tripple alliance declared war on Serbia hence to start off world war I.

Austria is responsible for outbreak of world war I because her archduke visited Sarajevo without body guards which was a great risk at the time when nationalism had reached climax in Serbia and the serbs were trying to defend their independence against Austrian imperialism it was out of this situation that the Archduke was assassinated hence to give an a cassion for the war. If the Austiran Archduke and

his wife were heavily guarded they would not be assassinated by the Serbian national and hence world war would not have been sparked off.

Austria is also responsible for sending an impossible ultimatum to Serbia well knowing that Serbia will reject it since it was demanding Serbia to give up her independence to Austria. The third demand of the ultimatum started that the Austrian police and officials to enter Serbia and ensure that the two demands are met within 48 hours and when Serbia rejected, Austria opened fire hence starting off World War I. The conditions of the ultimatum could not be managed by any country since they were too complicated and humiliating and degrading. This made Serbia refuse them leading to the explosion of the Great war.

Austrian dominant position over Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the Berlin conference of 1878 also makes her responsible for the outbreak of World War I. This is because since that time, Austria decided to hold on six million Serbs which increased pan-Slavish discontent hence to create avenues for World War I because Serbia wanted to liberate the six million Serbs under Austria. This resulted into the murder of the Austrian Archduke that sparked off World War I.

### **THE ROLE OF GERMANY;**

Germany has been blamed for starting the alliance system which divided Europe into two hostile fighting suspicious and antagonistic camps. She started with the dual alliance in 1879 with Austria which became the Triple Alliance in 1882 when Italy joined Austria and Germany. This made France, Britain and Russia in 1907 to conclude the Triple Entente. Because of the alliance system started by Germany, by 1914 Europe was already dividing into fighting camps only waiting for the occasion and when it came, World War I broke out.

Germany is held responsible because of the idea of rival and military superiority which was followed by other powers hence to prepare purpose for World War I. It is Germany that started military chauvinism which resulted into creating stronger and large armies that became hungry for war and when the Austrian Archduke was assassinated all European powers had strong and large armies to fight each other. World War I would have probably been either avoided or postponed if European powers had not created large armies as a scenario that precipitated World War I.

Germany started the arms race from where dangerous weapons were manufactured hence preparing European powers for war. Had not Germany initiated the Arms race under the guise of protecting her integrity which other powers picked up to defend themselves against Germany, world war would not have taken place in 1914. Germany under Kaiser William II carries a blame for World War I because of failing the disarmament of conference in 1899 and 1907 at Hague. These conferences aimed at checking the arms race in Europe. After her refusal to disarm and limit the arms manufacture, other powers started competing with Germany in arms race hence preparing Europe for World War I.

It is because of Germany support to Austria that made Austria become reckless in handling international matters especially the murder of her Archduke. Germany sent to Austria a blank cheque which assured her of military support in the event of war. This made Austria to handle the matter in a reckless made her to start World War I. Therefore had it not been Germany's support to Austria, Austria would not have become confident to declare war on Serbia an incident that led to World War I.

It was Germany imperialism and nationalism that made Germany conflict with other powers in Africa, the far East, and the Balkan region that makes her responsible for the outbreak of World War I. Following the unification of Germany in January 1871, competition for overseas colonies started which intensified into colonial race in the 1880s where many powers conflicted, such conflicts were experienced in the Balkan region where World War I started.

It was Germany's plan to construct the Berlin- Baghdad railway and dominate trade in the East that makes her responsible for the outbreak of world war I. This is because countries such as France, Britain, and Russia viewed this as Germany's imperialism which they wanted to control and their move to do so indirectly resulted into World War I as Germany was not willing to give up her move of constructing the high way.

Germany is also blamed for having caused World War I because of demanding France to remain neutral after declaring war on Russia on 1st, August 1914, unfortunately, this was rejected by France which made Germany to declare war on France and they were joined by their alliance members, World War I had to break out. Had Germany not requested France's neutrality in her war with Russia, then France would have probably taken to know about this war.

Germany is responsible for the outbreak of World War I because of violating the 1839 London treaty which declared Belgium a neutral country in the whole country. This she did on 3rd, August, 1914 when she declared war on France through Belgium hence to Britain into the war as a move to defend the London treaty which Germany was calling a mere piece of paper not worth Britain's defending.

Role of Russia;

It was the Russian imperialism that clashed with the Austria imperialism in the Balkan region which makes Russia responsible for the outbreak of World War I. All along Russia wanted to have an upper hand in the Balkans unfortunately, she was thrown out of the Balkan region by the Berlin conference of 1878. However she did not give up but continued through supporting Serbia against Austria that twined the Austro- Serbian conflict into World War I because Germany also came in to support Austria against Serbia and Russia.

It was Russia that encouraged Serbia to reject the Austrian Ultimatum which rejection made Austria declare war on Serbia on 28th, July, 1914 hence starting off World War I. Therefore had it not been Russia to encourage Serbia to reject the Ultimatum probably Serbia would have accepted all the demands of the ultimatum and World War I would have been avoided. But Russia's support made

Serbia stubborn forcing her to reject the Austian ultimatum.

It was Russia's enmity eventually with Germany and Austria that makes Russia responsible for the outbreak of world war I. Since the 1878 Berlin conference, Russia had been at loggerheads with Austria and Germany which enmity increased after the downfall of Bismarck who had tried to bridge the gap where ever there was confusion. This is why Russia decided to support Serbia against Germany and Austria after the murder of the Austrian Archduke hence to start off World War I.

Russia is also responsible because she was the first country to mobilize her forces immediately after the murder of the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand and his wife by Serbia and when she was told to demobilize, she refused which made Germany to mobilize her forces and declare war on Russia hence leading to the outbreak of World war I. Had Russia kept a neutral position in the Austro-Serbian conflict, probably Germany would not have attacked her and world war I would not have occurred. Russia was a member of the Triple Entente which came into existence in 1907 and started conflicting with the Triple Alliance as each camp was to fighting to dominate European affairs. Europe was divided into two hostile fighting camps and when an opportunity came, Russia was seen on the front line against the Triple Alliance and she was joined by her alliance members, World War I had to take place being fought on two antagonistic parallel lines.

Russia's leadership and patronage of the panslav movement in the Balkan region made her support Serbia which turned the Austro- Serbian conflict into world war I. Since in the Balkan region, there was a pan slav race and orthodox christians. Russia had to support Serbia which made he mobilize her forces in defence of Serbia and the Balkan states hence contributing to the outbreak of world war I as other powers joined to check on Russia's imperialism.

Russia was involved in military chauvinism, arms race and colonial race where she competed with Germany so that she can maintain her position as a great power in Europe. By doing this, she was preparing herself for war against Germany and when an opportunity came, she used those forces and arms to declare war on Germany hence the outbreak of World War I. If Russia had not manufactured a lot weapons trained a number of solidiers, she would not have caused disastrous war.

## **ROLE OF BRITAIN;**

Britain was responsible for the outbreak of World War I because she wished to maintain her military and naval supremacy which made her compete with Germany in the arms race and militarism. It is out this competition that dangerous weapons were manufactured and strong armies developed which prepared European powers for war only to wait for an opportunity which came in 1914.

Britain was the greatest imperialist in Africa, the far east among others before the second half of 19th century unfortunately, towards the close of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century she was threatened by other powers especially Germany who wanted to take over there far east colonial possessions and competed with her in the east and south Africa. This created conflicts between

Germany and Britain which later worsened to the extent of causing World War I as the only way to check Germanys advance on the British colonial possessions.

It was Britain's desire to check on the activities and strength of other European powers that increased Germany aggression in Europe which makes her responsible for the outbreak of World War I. For example in her move, she convinced France to conclude the Entente cordial in 1904 which was an alliance of Britain and France. The entente cordial was concluded after Germany's refusal to sign a treaty with Britain. France convinced Russia to conclude after Germanys refusal to sign a treaty with Britain. France convinced Russia to conclude the Tripple Entente which was against Germany aggression. Britain greatly supported disarmament conferences so that Germany aggression can be checked. This was rejected by the Germany who went a head with aggression that led to the outbreak of World War I.

Britain was a member of the triple Entente which became a counter alliance to the triple alliance of Austria- Hungary, Germany and Italy. The two alliance camps brought hostility, suspicions and antagonism among the powers of Europe. With the two camps competing with other, world war was inevitable since Europe was already divided into two hostile camps who waited for war to begin officially.

Britain's press propaganda threatened Germany to be in favour of war than peace this is because the press in Britain tried to show that Britain was militarily stronger than all other European countries. This made Germany to embark on arms race and serious military training while unknowing preparing for a global war under the guise of challenging Britain.

Britain's desire to defence the London treaty of 1939 made her declare war on Germany on 4ith August, 1914 hence World War I. This was her move to defence a mere scrap of papers as described by Germany nationals after Germany had declared war on France through Belgium which was a neutral country as per the 1839 London treaty hence world war I.

### **ROLE OF FRANCE ;**

In her desire to revenge on Germany and because of the defeat during the France- Prussian war where she lost Alsace and Lorraine, France becomes responsible for the outbreak of world war I. France had been looking forward for the opportunity to revenge on Germany and recover her two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. That is why when Germany declared war on Russia, France refused to remain neutral as requested by Germany in the Austro Serbian conflict which made Germany to declare war on France and World war I went on .

France is also blamed for starting an alliance against the triple Alliance. She started the France-Russian alliance in 1893, then the Entente cordial of 1904 and finally convinced Russia to come to terms with Britain which led to the conclusion of the Tripple Entente in 1907. Therefore it is France that encouraged the division of Europe into two hostile camps which went to war against each other in 1914.



France was also involved in the colonial conflicts like in Tunisia in 1881, Morocco 1906, Agadir 1911 among others. These colonial conflicts led to the formation of the Triple Alliance, and even powers such as Germany started seeing France as an enemy. This is probably why Germany provoked her into war by demanding her neutrality which she rejected and Germany declared war on her hence the outbreak of World War I.

France's quick recovery after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 proved a great threat to Germany and created room for World War I. This quick recovery made Germany to make alliance so that she can defend herself against France. Unfortunately this divided Europe into two hostile camps and by 1914, World War I was inevitable since the antagonistic camps were ready to kick off the war.

France's refusal to remain neutral in the Germany-Russian war also holds her responsible for the outbreak of World War I. France refused to keep a neutral position when Germany declared war on Russia and requested her to remain neutral which proposal France rejected. Upon her refusal, Germany declared war on her through Belgium which captured the attention of Britain leading to the outbreak of World War I.

### **ROLE OF SERBIA;**

She was an ally of the Triple Entente which made her to feel strong despite the fact that she was a small state. Because of this, cementing on the support of the Triple Entente, she rejected the Austrian ultimatum yet she was responsible for the murder of the Austrian Archduke which sparked off World War I.

The Sarajevo double murder makes Serbia responsible for the outbreak of world war I. On 28th June, 1914, the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand and his wife were murdered by a Serbian national they were crossing the bridge to Sarajevo. This incident sparked off world war I. Hadn't Serbia assassinated the Austrian Archduke and his wife, war would not have broken out at a time it did. Therefore Serbia is blamed because of the murder that sparked off World War I.

Serbian nationalism became a threat to Austrian imperialism in the Balkan regions and Austrian nationalism at home. This is because Serbia was trying to unite all the Serbs in the Balkan region including the 6 million Serbs who had been given to Austria during the Berlin conference at home, the murder of the Archduke deprived her of a prince hence political confusion as a way to safeguard Austria imperialism and nationalism at home, Austria declared war on Serbia hence to start off world war I.

Serbia's aggressive attitudes towards Austria and Germany also makes her responsible for the outbreak of world war I. The aggressive behaviour of Serbia created tension that led to world war I. This is evidenced by the murder of the Austrian Archduke and the refusal of the ultimatum all of which resulted into the outbreak of world war I. However, it is important to recall that Serbia's aggression was being backed by other powers which made Serbia even more aggressive hence to cause world war I.

## **Role of Italy;**

Italy did not contribute to the outbreak of World War I, but fought from 1915 on the side of the Triple Entente members. This was mainly because Germany after Bismarck tried to marginalize Italy and that is why she joined the war against Germany. If Kaiser William II. Had held a grip on Italy, probably Italy would not have joined the war or would have remained on side of Germany. Italy also wanted to be considered at the end of the war in sharing the spoils of the war as per London pact and hence she had to join the war on the side of allied powers.

## **Role of U.S.A**

U.S.A joined the war later in 1917 to defend her colonial master Britain and protect her economic interests in Europe which were being threatened by Germany. She also wanted to safeguard and recover her loans that she had given the allied powers. By intervening in the war, USA thought she would recover all her money she had loaned to the European states.

## **REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF CENTRAL POWERS IN THE WORLD WAR I.**

The defeat of the central powers also known as the triple Alliance members who included Germany, Austria – Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria among others in the Great War which started in 1914 and ended in 1918 had a number of factors that contributed to it. The central powers were defeated by the Triple Entente members of Britain, France, Russia and their close allies who included Japan, Belgium, Greece, India among others. Their defeat was due to a number of factors which included the following:-

Russia's withdrawal from World War I led to the defeat of the central powers in World War I. The unbearable conditions at home caused by the Bolshevik revolution led by Lenin coupled with the worst military hardships of any nation during world war I especially the increased war pressure mounted by Germany on the Eastern front made Russia withdraw from World war I. However, this was mis- interpreted by the central powers especially who thought that the war had been won. On contrary, Britain, U.S.A France and their allies increased their impetus in the war as they started seriously offensive attacks against Germany and her allies which later led to their defeat. Therefore the withdrawal of Russia from the World War I created a false impression and laxity that the war was in favour of Germany and her allies which the allied powers exploited to defeat them.

American support to the Entente Members undermined the powers of the central powers leading to their defeat. U.S.A Intervenes in the World War I to help her former master, Britain and to secure her moneys which she had given the allied powers in form of loans. The coming in of U.S.A duly declared war on Germany in April, 1917 to check on the unrestricted war, of the U- boats Germany had mounted on the allied powers ( the Triple Entente members) When the U.S.A joined

the Entente members, things started to stand against Germany and her allies. She started suffering reverses and the soldiers in Germany were determined to overthrow the government.

The eventual surrendering of some members of the central powers contributed to their defeat in WWI. The central powers started surrendering one by one. For example Bulgaria surrendered in September 1918 and on 31st October 1918, Turkey surrendered unconditionally while Austria ceased fire on 4th November 1918 and on 9th November Kaiser William II abdicated the throne and went into exile in Holland marking the end of the war and the complete defeat of the central powers. All this was due to the military financial and moral support U.S.A gave to the Entente members.

Numerical advantage of the Entente powers was a contributing factor to the defeat of the central powers. The members of the Triple Entente had more men in terms of population and more so the membership was so big that it comprised of many powers such as Britain, France, Russia, Italy (which joined later) Greece, Canada, Belgium New Zealand, India, a number of Arab Bedouin tribes among others while the central powers were few including powers such as Germany, Austria – Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria among others. Therefore the big number of the Entente members gave them a competing edge as these powers mobilized adequate military personnel and financial resources which facilitated them to defeat the central powers who were very few and had the little resources.

Desertion of the members of the central powers was a serious challenge in the camp of the central powers. The central powers were also defeated in World War I because some members such as Italy deserted the camp. As the war momentum increased Italy deserted the Triple Alliance after signing the London pact of 26th April 1915. According to the pact, Italy was to leave the triple Alliance and join the Triple Entente on the promise that she will have a share in the spoils of the victory. Italy was also to declare war on Germany and Austria- Hungary .

The military weakness of the allies of Germany. Most of the central powers such as Turkey, Bulgaria among others were militarily weak compared to their counterpart entente powers. These allies of Germany had no strong sub- marines, dreadnaught ships, tanks, aeroplanes which the allied had. The allies ( entente) powers had strong weapons such as sub- marines, the Q- boats that would sink the U-boats of Germany, tanks, aeroplane which proved much stronger to what the allied of Germany had.

The moral support given to the allied powers was a big boost to the Allied Powers camp which hence leading to the defeat of the central powers. The Allied powers had moral support due to their claim to fight for democracy. This enabled them to get sympathizers and those who had always wished to see democracy in their countries. Most of the central powers such as Turkey, Austria among others were autocratic and had conservative governments. This made them to be hated by many compared to the allied powers who were given support on the promise of democracy and this led to the defeat of the central powers.

The failure of the Schlieffen plan. The Schlieffen plan that was employed by Germany in the World

War I led to the defeat of the central powers as it could yield any good results. The plan had it that Germany had send near by all her army through Belgium and luxemberg to knock France out of the war hoping that Russia would take long to mobilize However, this theory did not meterialise as Russia mobilized faster and made an offensive attack on the Eastern Front. The plan made Germany vulnerable to attacks from the allied forces hence leading to the defeat of the central powers.

The offensive British Blockade can not be left unmentioned when accounting for the defeat of the central powers in world war I .Due to her naval superiority which she had for a good period of time, Britain managed to establish naval blockades on various water bodies and entry points with an intention of denying food stuffs to Germany. This was a turning point in the Great War as the Germans could no either export or import food stuffs and other necessities. This consequently led to starvation of the Germans as a result of malnutrition and hunger. A number of people lost their lives due to hunger and starvation. This led to defeat of Germany which marked the end of World War I.

## **EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR I**

World War I sometimes referred to as the Great war had far reaching effects which were both immediate and long terms in nature. It affected the world in various ways. Almost all areas of the world were affected including even the unconcerned and innocent areas like Africa. The effects of World War I like any other war affected human life in all aspects of social, political and economic sphere both negatively and positively. They include the following:-

### **NEGATIVE EFFECTS**

Loss of lives and Property was a greatest effect of the Great war of 1914. The great war of 1914-18 led to the loss of life and property. World War I was the most explosive and bloodies war in human history. A lot of people dies both soldiers and non soldiers. People of all ages and social classes perished during the war including even innocent travelers. Some cities and towns were demolished for example Bilgrade was shelled by Austria and some French towns were destroyed by Germany bombardments. It is noted that per minute four people would die and nine would be wounded. It is estimated that forty million people were killed and other wounded and became disabled for life while others were claimed by diseases.

Another effect of world war I was the defeat and collapse of the Germany Empire .World War I led to the defeat of Germany and her total collapse. When Germany was fully defeated in 1918 together with her allies, Kaiswer William II abdicated the throne and went into exile in Holland. This marked the collapse of the Germany Empire which had become a strong political, economic, and military power in Europe. The economic mighty and proper military organization of the allied members of the Tripple Entente made Germany and her weak allies be defeated which led to its total collapse.

The great war of 1914-18 facilitated the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917 and Czar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate. This is twin encouraged the growth of commuluism which came into direct

confrontations with capitalism which was being practiced by Great Britain, France among others . The rise of communism led to the formation of union of soviet socialist republics which came with its demise in 1991. Communism came with its own beliefs and philosophies like state control of resources, marked restrictions among others all of which profit maximization, consumer sovereignty among others. Conflicted with the capitalistic beliefs of

The dis-integration of Turkey and Austria was as a result of world war I. World war I led to the division of the old Austria – Hungary monarchy immediately after the surrendering of Austria on 4th November 1918. Hungary became independent hence the disintegration Austria. Austria which had been the most despotic monarchies became a republic . In turkey, new states emerged and became independent of the sultans rule. Suhc states include Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia among others. Therefore World War I increased the spirit of nationalism among those states which made them break away from their former masters.

Independence to various subject nationalities was realized as a aresult of world war I. The great war led to the independence of various states . It is widely believed that world war I aroused a sense of nationalism among the nationalities of the small states. For example Poland that had been under Russian influence for a long time became independent Bosnia Herzegovina also got her independence among others. Therefore World War I gave courage to the nationalities that had been under foreign rule to rise and demand their independence which they got after the war.

World War I let to the stepping up of nationalism among Africans. With the end of Great War of 1914-18, Nationalism was highly stepped up especially among the African who had gone to fight a war that neither belonged to them nor of their own interest. The ex-servicemen were among the first people in Africa to instigate for their independence. This was due to the fact that they had gained experience and when they returned home, they were willing to offer a hand and they prepared to rebel against their colonial masters.

The Great war of 1914 -1918 led to the economic decline among European states. World war I was the most expensive war the world has ever had in terms of costs. It led to the worst economic conditions in Europe as a lot of industries and factories were seriously destroyed . This led to economic crisis in the whole of Europe with exception of Russia. The European powers invested heavily in the arms race leaving aside other vital sectors of the economy. They suffered because commerce was not promoted for example Britain was faced with a problem of balance of payment deficit. All these economic hardships led to the economic depression in Europe as powers experienced high un employment levels, financial crisis, law purchasing powers, famine, poor terms of trade among others.

Signing of the Versailles settlement was as a result of World War I. World war I led to the signing of the Versailles settlement. The end of world war I marked the signing of various treaties with the defeated powers for example the Versailles treaty with Germany where she suffered of payment of war indemnity, army of occupation, and loss of colonies the treaty of st- German with Austria – Hungary

where she was highly reduced in size and population from 31 million to 6.5 million people, among others treaties which gave birth to Versailles settlements which was meant to please the victors and punish the vanquished.

World war I led to the Formation of the league of Nations. The great war of 1914-18 led to the formation of the league of Nations with its headquarters of Geneva as an international organization of ensure global order, stability, peace and preservation of member countries independence. The covenant of the league of nations was incorporated in the Versailles peace settlement of 1919. In this way, every signatory whether the victors or the vanquished agreed to the establishment of this permanent machinery which was to maintain international peace and reconciliation among member states. Therefore League of Nations was formed to heal the wounds of World War I and lay a firm foundation for peace in future.

The rise of dictators in Europe was another effect of world war I. World war I gave birth to notorious dictators in Europe . The chaos, suffering and dislocation that people experienced during and after the war made them lose trust in their governments. This was mainly experienced in Italy, Germany among others. In Germany, there was birth of Nazism under Adolf Hitler while in Italy, Mussolini gained ground with his fascism. These characters were to disorganize the world in the near future, as they became dictators and under tool aggressive policies that later led to the outbreak of World War II.

Laying a ground for the outbreak of World War II was as a result of world war I. World War I laid a ground for the World War II in a number of ways. The European powers that participated in World War I and lost got a spirit of revenge and worked tirelessly to revenge those that had defeated them. Matters were made worse by the Versailles settlement of 1919 that severely and unrealistically punished Germany and her allies. Germany as per the settlement was to pay a heavy war indemnity suffer the army of occupation, lose her colonies among others. These penalties annoyed Germany who only waited for the opportunity to revenge. World war I also gave rise to dictators such as Hitler and Mussolini who under took aggressive foreign policies that culminated into world war II.

The Great war of 1914 – 18 led to the emergence of U.S.A as a super power. World War I led to the emergence of U.S.A as a world super power. U.S.A that joined World War I to defence her former colonial master, Britain gained a lot from the war. It took the advantage to build a strong economy, advanced science and technology which made her to develop more than any European state. She gave loans to European states with high interest rates and this was very conducive for her economy to grow faster hence emerging as a world super power.

The war led to the emergence of humanitarian organizations. The great war resulted into the emergence of humanitarian and peace international organizations for example the women International movement



that started in Britain, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) .These organizations came in to alleviate the problems that had been caused by war. Today some of these organizations play a key role in helping world communities.

### **Revision Question**

1. How far did the Alliance system cause World War I?
2. “It was the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 that caused the World War I” Discuss.
3. Examine the impact of the World War I on the continent of Europe up to 1970.
4. “It was the character of Kaiser Williams II that led to the outbreak of First World War”  
**Discuss.**
5. To what extent was nationalism responsible for the outbreak of World War I?
6. Account for the defeat of Central Powers in the First World War of 1914-1918.
7. To what extent was World War I a result of economic factors.
8. “The Sarajevo incident in Serbia was responsible for the outbreak of World War I” Discuss
9. Examine the causes and the consequences of World War 1 of 1914-1918.
10. Account for strained relations between European powers in the 1st quarter of 20th century.

## **CHAPTER TWELVE**

### **THE VERSAILLES PEACE SETTLEMENT OF 1919**

THE Versailles peace settlement refers to the particular clauses within the Paris Treaty of 1919 that applied to Germany after she was defeated in World War I. During the Paris conference of 1919, the victor powers (peacemakers) drafted and imposed peace treaties on the defeated powers. Therefore the Versailles peace treaty is one of the post World War I peace settlements through which the victor powers of France, Britain and U.S.A helped to restore peace on the European continent and avoid the outbreak of another war.

By the Versailles settlement, Germany was to accept and sign a treaty or else the victor powers of France, Britain, and U.S.A and their allies would revive war on her. It was presented to the Germans in May 1919 at Versailles in the Hall of Mirrors the very place where the German empire was declared officially in January, 1871. The German government at first objected but when the allied powers threatened to revive war on her, on 20th June, 1919, the German delegates signed the treaty.

However, to the Germans and other analysts, the treaty was unrealistic even though the Germans accepted and signed it. They were therefore bound to reject it at any time which would cause another international crisis. This indicated that it was just meant to postpone hatred between Germany and the victor powers which in 1939 made Germany start off World War II. Therefore the Versailles settlement was based on emotional feelings of the victor powers and not on rational thinking, which made it short lived.

#### **The terms / clauses of the Versailles treaty of 1919**

Disarmament policy was emphasized in this treaty. Germany was to reduce or limit the armaments and the soldiers. The German troops were reduced to only 100,000 troops and she was to have no conscription (compulsory military service) and not to recruit any more soldiers. Germany was not allowed to own any armoured cars, tanks or military aircrafts and she had to maintain only six battle ships for her domestic safety. The Rhine land region was permanently demilitarised which meant that German troops were not allowed to enter the region an indication that it became no man's land. By doing this, the victor powers aimed at weakening Germany militarily so that she does not wage a war of revenge.

War guilty clause was equally discussed. The Versailles treaty blamed Germany for the outbreak of World War I where she was considered as a sole cause of the war. The war guilty clause Article 231 fixed the blame of the outbreak of the war solely on Germany and her allies. Germany was punished by loss of territories, disarmaments, and payment of war reparations.

Territorial adjustments were also done. The big size of Germany was adjusted by making her surrender most of her territories in Europe, Africa and elsewhere. This is because the victor powers who believed that it was due to the big size of Germany that made her cause World War I. Germany was to lose Alsace and Lorraine to France, Eupen, Moresnet and Malmedy to Belgium, North Schleswig to Denmark, West Prussia and Posen to Poland. Danzig the main port of West Prussia was to be a free city under the League of Nations administration because its population was wholly German. Africa's colonies of Tanganyika, Togo, Cameroon, Namibia among others were to be taken away and became "mandates" under the League of Nations supervision.

Decolonisation of states was equally discussed. In the Versailles peace treaty, the victor powers of France, Britain, and U.S.A agreed that some states that had been handed over to Germany by Russia at Brest Litovsk, be taken away from Germany and set up as independent states. Such states include Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, this was an example of self-determination being put into practice as these states were decolonized and became independent.

Reparations /indemnity law was deeply shared. Germany was to pay all the damages the victors suffered during the world war I. She was to pay reparations for all the damages she had caused. The actual amount was not fixed at Versailles but later announced in 1921 after much argument and bargaining and was fixed at 6.5 billion U.S dollars approximated at 6600 million pounds which Germany was to pay in installments to the victor powers in form of ships, chemicals, food stuffs and even cash.

League of Nations was established. One of the terms of the Versailles treaty was that an international organization be formed to help in the maintenance of world peace and hence the victor powers later in January, 1920 formed the League of Nations with the headquarters at Geneva the capital of Switzerland. By Versailles treaty, the League of Nations was mandated with a task of keeping world peace and security.

Creation of the mandated states .By Versailles treaty, the victor powers, which comprised Britain, France and U.S.A decided that Germany was to lose her African colonies were to be taken away and became "mandates" under the League of Nations supervision with France and Britain taking control of them. These colonies included Tanganyika ( now Tanzania), Namibia, Togoland among others.

Creation of the Polish Corridor .Among the terms of Versailles treaty was the creation of Polish Corridor which was to be taken by Poland corridor which was to be taken by Poland to enable her get access to sea and solve the problem of her land lockedness. The Polish Corridor consisted of areas that were Germany territories. Therefore by creating the Polish Corridor and giving it to Poland meant that Germany lost such territories which were of great economic importance.

## **THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE VERSAILLES PEACE SETTLEMENT OF 1919-1920**

The treaty of Versailles with Germany 28th June 1919. This was a post war treaty that was signed between the allied powers and the defeated Germany after World War I on 28th, June, 1919 at Versailles. After the defeat of Germany by the victor powers of Britain, France, and U.S.A Germany

was made to sign a treaty whose clauses / terms were not favourable to her. She first hesitated, but when the powers threatened to renew war on her, she accepted and her delegated signed the treaty on 28th, June, 1919.

(The treaty of St. Germain with Austria September 1919). This treaty was signed in September, 1919 between Austria – Hungary and her allies. In this treaty, Austria recognised the complete independence of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. This treaty reduced Austria to a very small size of 6.5 million people and Austria became a republic. The Austrian army was reduced and she was made to pay a war indemnity just like Germany.

Moreover, by the treaty of St. Germain, Austria lost Bohemia and Moravia, which were wealthy industrial provinces with a population of 10 million people to the new state of Yugoslavia. Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina were given back to Serbia with the addition of Montenegro and hence Serbia to become known as Yugoslavia.

Herzegovina was given to Romania while south tyrol as far as the Brenner pass, Trentino, Istria and Trieste handed over to Italy. However, this was the main reason and promise Italy was given in 1915 that compelled her to defect from her former allies (Germany and her allies) and join the Triple Entente.

According to this treaty, Austria surrendered 71/2 million slaves in Galicia to Poland, 31/2 million Germans were sent to Czechoslovakia. Austria once upon a time a mighty state in Europe lost her political influence and became weak with a small population of about 6.5 million people. It was this territorial weakness that later forced Hitler to annex Austria in 1938 in his bid to create a greater Germany.

The treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria November 1919.

This treaty was signed between Bulgaria and her allies. Bulgaria which had fought on the side of the central powers (Germany and her allies) was equally strangled. By this treaty, Bulgaria gave up all that she had gained in the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and 1914-18, she gave part of Macedonia to a new state of Yugoslavia that had been created by uniting all the southern slaves. Dobrudja was given to Romania while the Thracian coast was given to the Allied powers (Britain, France, and U.S.A) and the Bulgarian army was reduced to 33,000 men only.

It is important to note that as a result of the Neuilly treaty, many Bulgars were left under foreign rule, totalling up to one million people.

The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary in June 1920

This treaty was signed at Buda – Pest the capital of Hungary between the victor powers of Britain, France, and U.S.A and Hungary in June 1920. It took time for the powers to sign this treaty due to the political uncertainties that were in Buda – Pest when the communist rule led by Belekun seized power and was later overthrown. Upon the overthrow of the communist rule, the victor powers

then signed the treaty of Trianon with the new state of Hungary that had been dismembered from Austria. By this treaty, a new state of Czechoslovakia was formed when Hungary ceded Slovakia and Ruthenia. Croatia and Slovenia went to a new state of Yugoslavia while Transylvania and the Banat of Temesvar were given to Romania.

It is important to note that the treaties of St. Germain and Trianon contained the league of Nations. The treaties left both Hungary and Austria in terrible economic problems. Austria lost most her industrial wealth to Czechoslovakia and Poland while Hungary lost some of her richest cornland (Transylvania) and Banat of Temesvar to Romania) Matters worsened when these new states introduced a policy of protectionism that hampered free trade this made industrial recovery of both Austria and Hungary difficult.

### **The treaty of severs with Turkey in August, 1920**

This treaty was signed between the victor powers of Britain, France, and U.S.A and Turkey to discipline her for having fought on the side of the central powers (Germany and her allies). By this treaty, Turkey lost eastern thrace, many Aegean islands and Smyrna to Greece, Adalia and Rhodes were lost to Italy the Dardanelles and Bosphorous, the Black sea straits ( entry points ) clauses were to be permanently open. The sultan of Turkey lost his position in Armenia and Armenia was accordingly granted a status of a republic . Syria became a French mandate while Palestine, Iraq and Trans-jordan became the British mandated territories and Turkey was made to pay a heavy war indemnity.

The treaty of series was a harsh one since it severely affected Turkey as she lost her self – determination and sovereignty to external powers especially Greece. This treaty was immensely rejected by the Turks who did not want to be subjected to foreign rule and in 1923, the Turks chased away the Greeks out Smyrna. This led to the signing of the treaty of Lausanne in 1923 which gave Turkey a sign of relief as she was able to gain some great concessions.

### **THE IMPACT OF VERSAILLES SETTLEMENT ON EUROPE**

The Versailles peace settlement being a total sum of all the treaties of Versailles with Germany St. Germain with Austria, - Trianon with Hungary, Severs with Turkey and Neuilly with Bulgaria had far reaching impact on the Political social, economic societies some of which were positive while others negative.

The Versailles settlement led to the restoration of peace on the European continent. This was done through reviving the era of diplomacy and round table negotiations and weakening Germany politically, economically and militarily. Germany was weakened by the terms of the Versailles treaty which included the war guilt, reparations for the damages caused, disarmament and loss of colonies most of which were of the great economic importance to Germany. Had Germany not been weakened by the Versailles treaty, she would have probably waged a war of revenge immediately and disorganized

European peace. Therefore, peace was restored on the continent of Europe by the victor powers who severely dealt with Germany never to disorganize European peace again. The leading statesmen came out with peaceful resolutions and granted free navigation to all powers on major waters of the world and there was no major conflict and tension.

The formation of the League of Nations was one of the clauses of the Versailles peace treaty of 1919. The victor powers of France, Britain, and U.S.A through the Versailles settlement decided to form the League of Nations whose primary objective was to guarantee peace through collective security and more so promote social, economic co-operation of the European member states. The League of Nations became an international organization advocating for peaceful negotiations, maintenance and preservation of law and order, dissolving conflicts, caring for victims, encouraging the use of diplomacy among others. Although it finally collapsed in 1945, for the short time it existed, managed to settle a number of political as well as social economic problems in Europe for a period of 20 years.

The Versailles settlement led to the independence of several small nationalities that had been subjected to foreign domination. During the conference, political independence was given to several communities that had been under foreign powers. Examples of such communities include Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, and Yugoslavia among others. Therefore the Versailles settlement led to the creation of new states on the continent of Europe. By declaring the nationalities that had been subjected to foreign domination independent, the Versailles settlement tried to prevent future revolutions that would have disorganized European peace.

The Versailles settlement led to the disarmament of Germany. By the Versailles peace treaty of 1919, Germany was made to cut her army to a very small size of only 100,000 troops for the law and order within the country and protection of her frontiers. Restrictions were put on the manufacture of armaments and any other war materials. Import and export of the war materials was banned. Germany had to be occupied by the inspectors of arms. All this was done to ensure total disarmament and keep Germany militarily weak and never to become an abuser of European peace. Therefore, the Versailles settlement disarmed Germany that had been a violator of peace on the continent of Europe.

Establishment of democratic government was another positive aspect of the Versailles settlement. The Versailles settlement established democratic and liberal governments in Europe. Immediately after World War I, Germany was made to sign an armistice in 1918 and Kaiser William II who was forced to abdicate the throne. Consequently the German empire collapsed and a new German republic was declared under democratic governance to rule according to the democratic principles of rule of law, constitutionalism and respect for human rights. The Versailles settlement also reduced the size of Austria to a very small size and declared her a republic under democratic governance hence to put to an end the conservative and autocratic rule the country had suffered. Democratic government was established in Hungary and the newly created states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and America.



The Versailles treaty revived the era of diplomacy on the European continent. The ideas of round table discussions and negotiations were initiated by the Vienna congress and had tried to maintain peace in Europe. However, this idea was dropped due to the weaknesses of the concert of Europe that failed to maintain it. Against this background, European countries resorted to war as the only solutions to their problems which later precipitated world war I. The Versailles settlement which involved a number of treaties signed between different countries enabled these countries to come together and solve their problems amicably on around table without going back to war hence the Versailles settlement reviving diplomacy on the continent of Europe.

The Versailles settlement declared free navigation on big waters like lakes, rivers such as river Danube, and seas such as Black sea and Mediterranean to all European states. This promoted international trade on the continent of Europe as countries started accessing these water ways without any restrictions. This finally resulted into quick economic destruction as evidenced during world war I. Therefore the Versailles settlement declared free navigation the water ways which effectively enhanced the promotion of international trade in Europe.

The Versailles settlement gave birth to the rise of dictators in Europe . Notorious dictators such as Mussolini of Italy, Adolf Hitler of Germany, Franco of Spain, Hiroshito of Japan among others emerged due to the favourable grounds that had been laid by the Versailles peace treaty. The dictators sowed seeds of world war II because they were given a platform of preach against the Versailles settlement. In their bid to do away with the Versailles treaty, they started arms race, formed alliances such as the Berlin – Rome Tokyo axis, attacked other European powers so as to recover their lost territories among others which gave birth to World War II. There fore the Versailles settlement gave rise to dictators in Europe who later led to the outbreak of World War II.

The Versailles settlement produced conditions that yielded economic depression that severely affected European economies. The punishments that were given to the vanquished by the victors through the Versailles settlement deteriorated the economic conditions in those countries. By the Versailles settlement, Germany for example was to surrender most of her territories such as Lorraine and Alsace, Moreshet, Danzig, the polish corridor among others to other European countries especially the victors and their allies . All these territories were of great economic importance to Germany. Worst of all Germany was also meant to pay a heavy war indemnity for the damages in the war. All these made Germany economically weak forcing her to experience economic depression of 1929-1933. The Versailles settlement also introduced hard economic conditions in others European countries such as Hungary Austria among other. These hard and undesirable economic conditions gave birth to economic depression.

The Versailles settlement blindly laid a very favourable foundation for the outbreak of World War II. Much as the Versailles settlement aimed at restoring and maintaining peace on the continent of Europe, the little peace that was achieved did not last long due to the mistakes it made. From the day one, the Versailles settlement sowed seeds of revenge as evidenced by the terms of the settlement

where Germany was unfairly punished which made her long for an opportunity for revenge which was got on the 1st, September, 1939 when Germany attacked Poland to receive the Polish Corridor hence resulting into the outbreak of World war II.

The versailles Settlement also created new states which were defenseless and weak which made them vulnerable to attacks. These states were created at the expense of nationalistic interests of certain races for example Czechoslovakia was a result of a combination of the Czechs and the Slovaks plus the Germans. The gross negation of the nationalistic aspirations of certain races led to mutual conflicts and hatred that later resulted into the outbreak of the Second World War.

The Versailles settlement fragmented the European continent into several political groups in form of new states that were weak and defenseless. New states were created in Europe increasing the number from 19 to 26 states. Among the new states that were created was Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Armenia which were unfortunately created at the expense at the nationalistic interests which led to conflicts in future. Therefore the Versailles settlement led to the fragmentation of Europe by creating new states on the continent.

The Versailles settlement led to the loss of territories by some European powers such as Germany, Bulgaria, Austria, Turkey and Hungary. Germany lost a number of Territories such as the Polish corridor, Danzig, North Schleswig, Alsace and Lorraine, Estonia among others. It also lost her African colonies of Tanganyika, Togo, Namibia, Cameroon and many more. Austria lost Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Bosnia among others. Hungary lost Slovakia, Ruthenia, Croatia, Solvenia among others. Bulgaria lost part of Macedonia Thracian coast, Dobrudja and many more while Turkey lost Thrace, Many Aegean islands, Smyrna, Adalia, Rhodes among others. The lost territories were gained by other powers ( the victors and their allies).

### **Revision Questions**

1. Why did Germany reject the 1919 Versailles Peace Settlement?
2. **To what extent was 1919 Versailles Peace Settlement a Settlement?**
3. **“The 1815 Vienna Settlement was a reflection of 1919 Versailles Peace Settlement”  
Discuss**
4. “The 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty was very unrealistic to bring about a lasting peace in Europe” Discuss.
5. Examine the significance of 1919 Versailles peace settlement in the history of Europe.
6. “The viability of the Versailles Peace Settlement was questionable right from the start” .  
**Discuss.**

7. Account for the failure of 1919 Versailles Peace Settlement to promote peace in Europe.
8. Assess the achievements of the Versailles Peace Settlement between 1919-1939.
9. “The seeds for the out break of World War II were sown in 1919 Versailles peace settlement” **Discuss.**
10. Compare the veinna settlement of 1815 and the Versailles peace settlement of 1919 in the history of Europe.

## **CHAPTER THIRTEEN**

### **THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

The League of Nations is an organization that was founded in 1920 as a result of the treaty of Versailles which ended world war I. It was an intergovernmental organization founded as a result of the Paris peace conference, and the precursor to the United Nations. The league was the first permanent international security organization whose principal mission was to maintain world peace, prevent future wars among nations and make the world safe for democracy” It was accepted by the victor powers and came into existence on 10th January, 1920. It started with 27 members but the number went on increasing .It had its headquarters at Geneva, the capital of Switzerland because Switzerland had been declared a neutral country by the Vienna Settlement of 1815.

The League of Nations was among the fourteen principles of woodrow Wilson, the then American president. When peace negotiations began, in October, 1918, Woodrow insisted that his fourteen points should serve as a basis for signing an armistice. This included the formation of the league of Nations. It is against this background that the league of Nations has been coined the ‘brainchild” of the American president woodrow Wilson.

A covenant of the league of Nations was incorporated in the terms of all of the post war peace treaties in 1919 and 1920. The goals of the league of nations as stated in its covenant, included preventing war through collective security , disarmament, and settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration .other goals included in habitants, trafficking in persons and drugs, arms trade, global health, prisoners of war, protection of minorities in Europe.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

The league of Nations that formerly came into existence on 10th January, 1920 was to look for possible ways of preserving peace after four years of bloody war. The idea was pushed forward during the General settlement (Paris peace conference) and it was an international association of states with various bodies. The founders had several aims /objectives which include the following;

The League of Nations aimed at establishing and maintaining peace in Europe after the bitter experience of the Great War. it was to set up peace keeping guidelines and principles through which it was to prevent war all costs. The World War I had provided important lessons to the statement of Europe and the world at large. As such they did not want to repeat any mistake that could bring about war. Peace was hopes to maintained through collective security.

Economic recovery of Europe was another factor objective of the league of Nations. Well aware of the dangerous impact, World War I had caused on the European economies which included financial

crisis, low purchasing power, destruction of industries and factories, unemployment among others all of which had given birth to economic depression, the founders of the league of Nations wanted to revamp the economic conditions in Europe. Inter- state co-operation was to be encouraged so that member states can trade together and improve commerce. Poor conditions of workers and drug trafficking were also to be stopped by implementing stringent laws against them.

The league of Nations was also aimed at controlling the aggression of the members. Basing on the bitter experience from Germany that had become an aggressor on the European continent reaching to the extent of causing World War I, the league founders wanted to contain every member state in a manner that respects the integrity of other states. Therefore the League of Nations aimed at preserving territorial integrity and independence of all the members' states big and small. In this way, it had to ensure that member states respected free international management of different states and no power was to interfere in the affairs of another state.

Stopping illicit trade was another objective why the League of Nations was founded. There has been an illegal trade which involved trafficking in persons and drugs and arms trade. The situation had been exacerbated by the World War I which disorganized the European economies strategies to deal with such illicit trade where identified including putting in place strict laws against human and drug trafficking, and the sell of arms, improving interstate co-operation among others all of which would help to reduce such illegal trade.

The league of nations also aimed at settling interstate conflicts by resolving both major and minor international disputes diplomatically through international conferences negotiations and mediation when ever possible. Therefore, it was charged with a responsibility. Therefore it was charged with a responsibility of preventing war attempts by the member states. The league intended to solve the interstate conflicts diplomatically on around table without going to war. Interstate conflicts were also be solved by respecting each member country's integrity.

The League of Nations was also founded to protect the independence and territorial integrity of the member states. The independence of states had been abused by the aggressive powers of Europe and this had been a source of conflicts. The League of Nations was generally to safeguard the independence of all the member states by recognizing and respecting every member country's territorial integrity.

The League of Nations was charged a responsibility of enforcing the international law and maintenance of peace and justice. It was to set up guiding principles that were to be respected by all the member states and the state that violated such rules was subjected to either military or economic sanctions through the initiative of collective security. Therefore the league of nations was formed it was to maintain law and order as well as ensuring peace and justice in the world. Protecting the achievements of the Paris Peace Settlement was another objective of the league of nations.

The founders of the League of Nations also wanted to protect the achievement of the paris peace

settlement. The statesmen wanted to ensure the protection of the treaties that were signed by the vanquished. These treaties included the Versailles peace treaty, the treaty of St. Germain, the Trianon treaty among others. These various treaties made an integral part of the League of Nations and hence occasioned its formation in 1920.

## **ORGANS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

In order to fulfill its aims / objectives the League of Nations had principal organs/ bodies that formed the organizations. The main constitutional organs of the league were the general assembly, the council, the permanent secretariat and two essential wings including the International Court of Justice and the International Labour Organization and committees and commissions.

### **The General Assembly**

This organ consisted of representatives of all members of the league. Each state was allowed up to three representatives and one vote. The assembly met in Geneva and after its initial sessions in 1920, sessions were held once a year in September. All independent states were allowed to join. It met only once a year for a period of three weeks and discussed all the matters affecting the world peace. A special session of the assembly might be summoned at the request of a member, provided a majority of the members concurred.

The special functions of the general assembly included the admission of new members, the periodical election of the non-permanent members of the council, the election with the council of the judges of the international court of justice, and the control of the budget. In practice the general assembly had become the general directing force of League activities.

### **The Council**

The league council acted as a type of executive body directing the General assembly's business. It was made up of four permanent members ( Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) and four non-permanent members which were elected by the General Assembly for a three year period. The first four non-permanent members were Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain, The United States was meant to be the fifth permanent member but the U.S senate voted on 19th March 1920 against the ratification of the treaty of Versailles, thus preventing the American participation in the league. The council met as often as required and its powers were similar to those of the general assembly. But because it was more easily convened, it dealt with urgent matters between meetings of the general assembly.

### **The Secretariat**

The permanent secretariat, established at the seat of the League at Geneva, comprised of a body of experts in various spheres under the direction of the general assembly. The principal sections of the secretariat were political, financial and economics, transit, minorities and administration, mandates



disarmament, health, social( opium and traffic in women and children), intellectual co-operation and international bureau, legal and information. Each section was responsible for all official secretarial work related to its particular subject and prepared and organized all meeting and conferences held in that connection. The secretariat was responsible for preparing the agenda for the council and the general assembly and publishing reports of the meetings and other routine matters, effectively acting as a civil service for the league. Co-ordination of the league activities was also another task of the **secretariat**.

### **The international court of justice**

The international court of justice also known as the permanent court of international justice was provided for by the league covenant, but not established by it. The council and general assembly established its constitution. It consisted of 11 judges and four deputy judges, elected for nine years by the council and general assembly.

The main duty of the court was to settle disputes between the states and its headquarters were at the hague in Holland where at the Hague in Holland where the idea had been conceived in 1889. The court might also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or **general assembly. The court was open to all nations of the world under certain broad conditions.**

### **THE COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS**

A mandate is the authority granted to a particular state to supervise on behalf of the league of nations the government of an area annexed from the former colonial masters after the war. The mandatory (the power occupying the mandated territory) had to submit to the commission an annual report on its work done under the mandate.

The plan defined as the mandate system, was adopted by the council of ten” on 30 January 1919 and transmitted to the league of nations mandates were established under article 22 of the covenant of the league of nations and the mandate commission was to supervise the league of nations mandates, and also organized plebiscites in disputed territories so that residents could decide which country they would join

### **The commission for refugees**

This commission was to cater for the interests of the refugees including overseeing their repartitions and when necessary resettlement. At the end of the world war I, there were two–three million ex-prisoners of war dispersed through out Russia, with two years of the commissions foundation , in 1920, it had helped 424,000 of them to return home. The commission established the Nansen passport as a means of identification for stateless people.

### **The slavery commission.**

The slavery commission sought to eradicate slavery and slave trading across the world, and fought forced prostitution.

The main success was through pressing the governments who administered mandated countries to end slavery in those countries. The league through the slavery commission secured a commitment from Ethiopia to end slavery as a condition of membership in 1926, and worked with Liberia to abolish forced labour and inter-tribal slavery.

### **International labour organization (ILO)**

This was created in 1919 on the basis of part XIII of the treaty of Versailles became part of the League's operations. The ILO, although having the same members as the League and subjected to the budget control of the general assembly, was an autonomous organization with its own governing body its own general conference and its own secretariat.

The ILO was to end child labour, increase the rights of women in the work place, and making ship owners liable for accidents involving seamen as well as overseeing the general conditions of work of the workers.

### **The committee on intellectual cooperation**

This committee came into place on the recommendation of the council to devote serious attention to the intellectual work. The League of Nations since its creation had been perturbed by the question of intellectual co-operation which required serious attention.

The work of this committee was to inquire into conditions of intellectual life, give assistance to countries whose intellectual life was endangered, creation of national committees for intellectual co-operation protection of intellectual property, inter-university co-operation, co-ordination of bibliographical work and international interchange of publications, cooperation with international intellectual organizations and international co-operation in archaeological research.

The committee for the study of the legal status of women.

The committee for the study of the legal status of women sought to make an inquiry into the status of women all over the world. It was formed in April 1938, and dissolved in early 1939. Committee members included P. Bastid (France) M. de RUELLE (Belgium) Dorothy Kenyan (U.S.A) among others.

## **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

### **The league of Nations established peace on the European continent.**

As an instrument of peace, the League of Nations preserved and maintained world peace atleast for twenty years. This is because, after its formation, on 20th January 1920 up to 1st September 1939, there was no any major war that involved the highly industrialized and developed countries of the world. This was because it encouraged diplomacy and arbitration of disputes. This means had such disputes been left in the hands of individuals states, they would have caused another war earlier than it come.

### **Settling inter- state conflicts was another great significance of the league.**

The League of Nations settled a number of disputes among different countries. At least forty disputes and conflicts were handled by the league of Nations between 1920 and 1935. They include the Aaland conflict between Sweden and Finland, the boundary dispute between Bulfgaria and Greece, conflict between Peru and Columbia over Leticia, the conflict between the kingdom of Iraq and the Republic of Twikey over the control of the former Ottoman province of Mosul in 1926administred danzing mines between 1920 and 1939, administered the Saar region between 1930 and 1935, encouraged international peace through the 1925 Locarno treaty of Britain, Italy, France, Germanyand Belgium which served to achieve a temporary reconciliation between Germany and her former enemies. It is this treaty that encourages Germany to become a member of the League of Nations between 1926 and 1933.

The league of Nations led to the formation of the international labour organization whose mandate was to end child labour, increase the rights of women in the workplace among others. The formation of the international labour organization led to the improvement of the workers conditions of work. This is because it would negotiate on behalf of the workers to their employers especially the industrialists. This indicates that it tried to bridge the gap between the workers and their employers.

The League of Nations scored success in the judicial matters by establishing an international court of justice at Hague in Holland where many cases were settled peacefully. For example out of 65 cases sent to the court of justice, 32 were offered judgment and 27 advisory opinions. The number kept on increasing until 1937 when members stopped referring cases to the international court of justice. The court also tried to give advisory opinions upon cases referred to it by the member states.

The League of Nations tried to settle social problems especially those dealing with diseases. It set up a technical organization known as the Health organization of deal with the epidemics of cholera, typhus and other related influenza especially from Russia and Holland. In 1925, a central opium board was established to supervise the licensing of importation, exportation and transportation of drugs. It checked the spread of typhus from Russia to other countries and sponsored research on the causes and

cure of leprosy. Because of this, by 1939, the League of Nations had done good work in the health sector. Thus the League of Nations laid a foundation for the formation of world Health organization. The League of Nations addressed the socio economic problems which had resulted from the Great war especially the treatment of prisoners of war. The big number of the prisoners of war that had been produced by World War I totaling to over 2 millions dispersed throughout Russia was effectively handled by the League of Nations. By 1920, the league had helped 425,000 ex- service men to return to their respective homes.

Through the establishment of the slavery commission whose primary objective was to eradicate slave trade and slavery across the world, the League of Nations helped to control slave trade and slavery. This it did by pressing the governments who administered mandated countries to end slavery in those countries. The league secured a commitment from Ethiopia to end slavery as a condition of membership in 1926, and worked with Liberia to abolish forced labour and inter-tribal slavery. It succeeded in gaining the emancipation of 200,000 slaves in Sierra Leone and organized raids against slave traders in its efforts to stop the practice of forced labour in Africa.

The League of Nations tried to control such consumption of narcotic drugs as opium containing drug trafficking which had been a continental problem. It put in place drug trafficking measures to stop the trade in narcotics and other intoxicants the measures included setting up problem committees to deal. The permanent central opium Board established in 1925 was to supervise the licensing the importation, exportation and transportation of drugs including narcotics. In so doing, the League of Nations tried to control the consumption of narcotic drugs.

The League of Nations promoted the social humanitarian and economic welfare especially among the victims of the war like women, children and refugees by providing them with clothes, food, shelter and medicine. This was extended to orphans and widows whose parents and husbands had died in the Great war respectively and the mature people were offered jobs and financial assistance.

The League of Nations made great contributions in the economic re-organization of several states after the Great war. It organized an economic conference in 1920 in Brussels and other world economic conferences through which delegates agreed on free navigation on all big waters such as Mediterranean sea, Black sea and North sea. This led to a smooth flow of international trade and led to the prosperity of some countries. It also granted and supervised loans which helped greatly in the re- construction of some of the countries after the war for example in Austria.

As an instrument of peace, the League of Nations tried to reconcile the victors with the Vanquished at least for the first ten years. For example in 1926, Germany was convinced to join the League. By 1933, Most of the Vanquished (defeated powers) had become members of the League. Other countries like Austria had been given loans to re construct their economies which was a step towards reconciliation. However, the reconciliation achieved could not bring about lasting peace.

The League of Nations promoted aggression through the appeasement agenda. In its attempt to appease the vanquished, the League promoted aggression on the European continent. There was aggression by the Germans, Italians and Japanese. This aggression was caused by the victors who wanted to appease Germany and her allies. The European aggression was spearheaded by the great founders of the League and this culminated into the rise of dictators in Europe such as Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany who disorganized Europe later on by pressing a lot of unnecessary demands to the league.

The League of Nations failed to disarm the victor powers especially, Britain, France, and Russia. The League allowed these powers to re-arm themselves. Reduction in armaments as suggested by Woodrow Wilson in 14 points was not achieved by the League. The League organized disarmament conferences between 1932-34, but all ended without achieving the intended objectives. The victors did not disarm while the vanquished did not want to remain without arms. In 1934, Germany withdrew and this marked the end of the conference and revival of the arms race which drew powers to the start of the World War II.

The League of Nations laid a good foundation for the formation of the United Nations for its because of the failure of the League that UNO was founded. Most of the work done by the league was transferred to the United Nations. The League also put structures in place that came to be used by the United Nations in future. For example, the UNO adopted the same principle organs of the league although added some few. The working procedures and the whole organizational management experience was borrowed from the league.

The institutional weaknesses of the League of Nations led to the outbreak of the Second World War. The failure of the league to form an international army, limited financial resources, failure to disarm the victors, allowing Germany to re-arm herself, giving conducive environment to the dictators, applying unrealistic penalties on Germany that made her develop a spirit of revenge all paved way for the outbreak of world war II since the league was institutionally weak to rectify those weaknesses.

The League of Nations failed to win the membership and active participation of U.S.A. yet she was economically and militarily well off which would have strengthened the league's activities. It should be born in mind that it was the USA who strengthened the allied powers in 1917 and easily enabled them to defeat Germany and her allies. It was the U.S.A under President Woodrow Wilson who founded the idea of forming the League of Nations and even offered loans to the European powers after World War I. Therefore without the U.S.A the League was deprived of economic and military resources needed for maintaining world peace and stability.

The League of Nations failed to create an international army to maintain world peace and check on the actions of the aggressors. Although it was proposed that each member state contributed towards creating a joint army. By 1939 nothing had been done. This made each member to concentrate on creating its own strong national army to defend her interests rather than promoting the spirit of

collective security. This weakened the league of Nations leading to its collapse.

### **Failure to check on the actions of the European dictators**

The League of Nations failed to check on the actions of European dictators and aggressors which speeded up the pace for the outbreak of World War II. For example in 1934, Japan invaded Manchuria, a rich province of China but the League did nothing yet both were members of the League of Nations. The success of Japan encouraged Italy under Mussolini in 1935 to invade Ethiopia who was also a member of the League. The success of Japan and Germany encouraged Hitler to attack the Rhineland's, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. With such invasions where the league did not take any action against the aggressors, People lost trust in it and that is why by 1936, members were no longer referring cases to it. It is the failure to handle the European dictators and aggressors that made the league fail to maintain international peace beyond 1929.

### **CHALLENGES FACED BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

The League of Nations which was started in January 1920 with the aims of maintaining co-operation, disarmament of the members both victors and the vanquished among both victors and the vanquished among others had so many challenges that made it unable to achieve the aims / objectives of its founders. These challenges include;

The League of Nations was associated with the Versailles settlement. This was a serious challenge that faced the league of Nations in that other powers viewed it as an organization of very few countries especially France and Britain who were the victors and gained a lot from the Versailles settlement. This belief discouraged many and was seriously opposed by Germany. It should be remembered that the League covenant was an integral part of the treaties that were signed after the Great war. This fact led many to infer that its main objective was to maintain the Versailles settlement of 1919 while serving the interests of those who had gained from the Versailles. Because of this, the League did not capture massive support which contributed to its collapse.

The League of Nations has small membership of few countries some of which were mainly selfish and did not consider the interests of other states. Even U.S.A which had initiated the idea of forming the League of Nations did not participate in the activities of the League and was not an active member. Matters were made worse when the few members started exiting one by one since there was no policy one by one since there was no policy on entry and exit. For example in 1933, Germany withdrew, in 1934, Russia withdrew and later Italy. This meant that the League had remained with very few members. Most countries did not wish to join the league of Nations because they viewed it as an Anglo – French organization and not an international organization. The limited membership denied the league adequate resources that it had sustained beyond 1939.

The League of Nations took no precautions on membership and even withdrawal which gave an outlet



of many member states to break off at the time they wished without any control. This meant that countries were free to join and withdraw from the League of Nations without any precautions. There was no common policy on membership except the consensus that all independent states were eligible to be members of the league. This made countries to join and withdraw without being checked as evidenced by Germany in 1933. This made the League of Nations to lose weight and decisiveness in action.

The League of Nations lacked military force to enforce its resolutions hence failing the idea of collective security. Failure to have its own army made the European aggressors go unpunished and their activities were uncontrolled which gave them an opportunity to disorganize peace in Europe. Without an international army, the idea of collective security since there was no moment in history when more than five powers subscribed to the idea. This greatly undermined the European peace which resulted into external aggression, failure of international co-operation among others. The league relied on boycotts (sanctions) to control the behaviour of the member states in Jan, 1923 France occupied the Ruhr and six months later Italy bombed the Greek island of Corfu, but the league did nothing due to lack of army.

The League of Nations had no sufficient funds to finance its activities which made it discriminative and concentrate on humanitarian affairs. The little funds available would mainly cater for France and Britain while they were better off than other European countries including Germany hence creating enmity and being called Anglo-French organization, it is also limited funds that made it fail to suppress the activities of the European dictators which made them prepared for world war I hence failing the League of Nations to meet its aims / objectives.

The League of Nations was never as universal as it was intended to be. It did not even embrace all the great powers. Precisely, the League was dominated by only victor powers while leaving out the defeated and weak powers. That is why it was called a league of France and Britain hence making it lack massive support. The fact that its chairman was Georges Clemenceau of France, it failed to capture the attention of Germany because many Germans believed that France waited to revenge on Germany since her defeat during the Franco-Prussian war. This is why when Hitler became the Prime minister of Germany in 1933, he withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and embarked on activities that made it fail hence to lead to world war I

The league of Nations was also faced with a challenge of varying and opposed political system of some of the member states. Such ideological differences amongst its members like the socialists, democrats, and the capitalists could not make them work together and maintain world peace. This was aggravated by the rise of socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which was competing with capitalism that was common in France and Britain. Consequently, there was failure to reconcile these conflicting political ideologies which made the powers political ideologies which made the powers fail to work together and that is why in 1934 Russia withdrew from the League since she was a socialist and others were capitalists.

The outbreak of the economic depression of 1929-1933 further challenged and weakened the League of Nations hence making it fail to achieve its objectives. Perhaps there was no greater challenge than the 1929 economic depression. During this depression, the League was virtually neglected as most countries concentrated on solving problems at home than attending to international disputes that were not of their concern. As a result of economic depression, the League of Nations became more financially weak and this rendered her incapable to solve the crucial problems of the day. Some countries started withdrawing from the League since it was not offering any solution to the problems caused by the depression. This led to the collapse of the League of Nations as members started leaving it.

The rise of dictators such as Hitler of Germany, Mussolini of Italy, Franco of Spain and Hirohito of Japan was a tricky challenge that the League of Nations faced. These dictators did not see any reason as to why their countries should remain members of the League of Nations while it was suppressing their activities. Such dictators ended up disorganizing European peace in their move to exert their aggression hence failing the League of Nations.

The isolationist policy of U.S.A made her exclude herself from the European affairs despite the fact that it was President Woodrow Wilson of U.S.A who had initiated the formation of the League of Nations and the failure of the founders of the League to convince U.S.A to join the League made it fail to achieve its aims / objectives. The failure of the League of Nations to win membership of U.S.A and her active participation and yet she was economically and militarily strong, deprived the League of a potential member who would have strengthened the League's activities by supplying adequate economic and military resources. Therefore the failure of the League members to win the membership of U.S.A was a big challenge that culminated into the collapse of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations was also faced with a challenge of lacking a common plan / policy to deal with aggressors like Japan, Italy, Germany among others. For example in 1934 when Japan attacked Manchuria, a rich province of China, the League of Nations did nothing. In 1935 when Italy invaded Ethiopia, Germany invaded Austria and in 1938 Germany also invaded Czechoslovakia among others. The League of Nations did nothing on the aggressors. Therefore lack of a common policy to handle world aggressors made the League fail to achieve the aims of its founders.

The creators of the League of Nations deprived it of its real ability to enforce decisions that were both urgent and controversial. For example when the League ruled that the city of Vilnius actually belonged to Lithuania, the Polish government simply refused to abide by the League decision. The French incursion into the Ruhr in 1923, but the League was powerless to punish France or compel a withdrawal. This discouraged the member states from referring their cases to the League, but instead resorted to solving them on an individual basis which gave chance to the dictators to disorganize peace hence the collapse of the League of Nations.

The League structure and rules were ineffective and weak especially equal representation and voting rights. For example a small country like Tunisia was supposed to be represented like a great power

such as Britain or France her former colonial master with whom they had equal voting powers. This became a challenge as the great powers started viewing the league as weak since they could not accept to have equal voting powers with the representative of the small states. This made the great power to become aggressive and even withdraw from the League of Nations

The disarmament policy as adopted by the league founders as a way to reduce armaments and prevent any possibility of war was another challenge that faced the League of Nations. The league found it hard to disarm the victor powers of Britain disarm the victor powers of Britain France, and Russia while it disarmed the vanquished powers of Germany and her allies which made the defeated powers to lose confidence in the League of Nations. This made dictators to embark on militarism and arms as was being done by victor powers. This created room for World War II as powers were militarily prepared.

The appeasement policy which was adopted by the league of Nations became another challenge that the league faced as it weakened it further hence failing to achieve its objectives. The idea of appeasement was adopted by the British prime minister chamberlain on behalf of the League of nations with an aim of appeasing the defeated powers of world war II who had been aggrieved by the post war settlement unfortunately Germany under Hitler could not be appeased since he started making fresh demands that could not be accommodated and ended up disorganizing European peace.

### **Revision Question**

1. Assess the achievements of the League of Nations of 1920-1939.
2. How successful was the League of Nations in the inter-war period (1919-1939)?
3. “The League of Nations failed to live up to the aims of its Founders”Discuss.
4. Why did the League of Nations fail to preserve peace in the inter-war period?
5. To what extent did the League of Nations achieve objectives of its Founders?
6. Examine the successes and failures of League of Nations of 1919-1939.
7. “The strength of renewed aggressors led to the collapse of League of Nations by 1939” Discuss.
8. Compare the Congress system of 1815-1830 and League of Nations of 1919-1939.
9. “The collapse of League of Nations by 1939 was laid in 1919 Versailles peace settlement” . Discuss
10. Account for the formation of League of Nations in 1919.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1917

#### Background

The Russian revolution is the collective term for a series of revolutions in Russia in 1917, which destroyed the Tsarist autocracy and led to the creation of the soviet union under Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It was a series of events that took place during 1917 which entailed two separate revolutions in February and October (with a great deal of political wrangling in between) and which eventually plunged the country into civil war leading to the founding of the communist state. The Tsarist monarchy was deposed and replaced by a provisional government in the first revolution of February 1917 (March in the Gregorian calendar, the older Julian calendar that was in use in Russia at the time). In the second revolution, during October, the provisional government was removed and replaced with a Bolshevik (communist) government.

The February revolution (March 1917) was a revolution focused around Petrograd (now St. Petersburg) in the chaos, members of the imperial parliament or Duma assumed control of the country, forming the Russian provisional government. The army leadership felt they did not have the means to suppress the revolution and Tsar Nicholas II the last Tsar of Russia, abdicated. The workers councils (soviets) which were led by more radical socialist factions, initially permitted the provisional government to rule, but insisted on the prerogative to influence the government and control the various militias. The February revolution took place in the context of heavy military setbacks during the First World War, which left much of the army in a state of mutiny.

A period of dual power ensued, during which the provisional governments held state power while the national network of soviets, led by socialists, had the allegiance of the lower-class citizens and the political left. During this chaotic period, there were frequent mutinies and many strikes. When the provisional government chose to continue fighting the war with Germany, the Bolsheviks and other socialist factions campaigned for the abandonment of the war effort. The Bolsheviks formed workers militias under their control into the Red Guards (later the Red Army) over which they exerted substantial control.

In the October Revolution (November in the Gregorian calendar), the Bolshevik party, led by Vladimir Lenin and the workers soviets overthrew the provisional government in St. Petersburg. The Bolsheviks appointed themselves as leaders of various government ministries and seized control of the countryside, establishing Cheka to quash the dissent. To end the war, the Bolshevik leadership signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany in March 1918.

Civil war erupted between the "Red" (Bolshevik) factions, which was to continue for several years, with the Bolsheviks ultimately victorious. In this way, the revolution paved way for the formation of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). While many historical events occurred in Moscow and St,

Petersburg there was also abroad – based movement in cities through out the state, among national minorities throughout the empire, and in the rural areas, where peasants took over and re-distributed land.

## **CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1917**

The causes of the unrest that swept across the whole of Russia championed by the common people towards the Tsar and aristocratic land owners are too many and complicated to neatly summerise. They ranged from political, social,, and economic sectors of the Russian society. However, these causes were with long term and immediate and worked hand in hand to generate revolutions in 1917. They include the following:-

The effects of World War I is one of the key factors that led to the outbreak of the Russian revolutions in 1917. Russian poor performance on the frontline of World War I greatly contributed to the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution. Russia is said to have lost about 3,500,000 soldiers and had 120,000 casualties to poor training. World War I prompted a Russian outcry directed at Tsar Nicholas II. After the entry of Turkey into World War I on the side of the central powers. In October 1914, Russia was deprived of a major trade route through Turkey which brought a lot of suffering in Russia as people lacked food hence famine to hit the country, trade was severely disrupted and the economic crisis became the order of the day.

Dictatorship of the Tsarist regime is among the greatest factors that yielded the 1917 Russian revolutions. The tsarist monarchy which had ruled Russia for a long period of time was too repressive, autocratic, and dictatorial. Constitutional and parliamentary reforms, freedom of association, press and equality before the law were quite unheard in the Russia during the Tsarist regime. Peasants and workers were regularly detained without trial. Demonstrators were regularly executed on the repressive orders of the Tsar. A case in point was the range over “Bloody Sunday” where the imperial troops fired on peaceful demonstrators indiscriminately.

The children of the poor peasants went to poor schools while the ones from the well- to do families went to better schools where they acquired better quality education. Even when the Duma ( parliament) suggested some reforms, Nicholas II rubbished them as he called them as he called them senseless dreams. Tsar Nicholas II was vehemently quoted saying that, “ I will preserve the principle of autocracy as firmly as my late father” This further annoyed the masses who decided revolt against Tsar Nicholas II and the autocratic / despotic Tsarist monarchy.

The Russia- Japanese war of 1904 – 1905 also contributed to the outbreak of the Russian revolution of 1917. This war was mainly as a result of the expansionist policy of the Tsarist monarchy in the Asian continent and the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway in 1891 and Tsarist monarchy in the Siberian railway in 1891 and Eastern railways in 1903. Russia was defeated by Japan. This left Russia with 90,000 casualties and around 40,000 soldiers in a trap of captivity in the famous battles

of Mukden and Navally in the battle of Tsushima. This was concluded with the signing of harsh treaty of Portsmouth in which Russia was to surrender Mandurua port Arthur, the Peninsular surrounding Japan and Korea.

The negative impact of industrialization contributed to the outbreak of the 1917 Russian revolution. The rapid industrialization of Russia resulted in urban over crowding and poor conditions for the urban industrial workers as they were working for long hours with very little pay. Between 1890 and 1910, the population of the capital, saint peterburb, swelled from 1,033,600 to 1905,600, with Moscow experiencing similar growth. This created a new proteriat which, due to being crowded together in cities, was much more likely to protest and go on strike than the pleasantly had been in previous times. To make matters worse, the big industries and factories in saint peterburg were not properly lit with extremely poor ventilation. Such conditions were very un fair to the Russian working class. Upon the refusal of Tsar Nicholas II to alleviate situation by improving workers conditions of work, the Russian masses had no any alternative left and hence to resort to a revolution in 1917.

The unfair land distribution policy also conditional the outbreak of the 1917 Russian revolution. In 1906, emancipation act was passed with the intention of liberating peasants from the bondage of selfdown. Hower, this Act was ineffective and almost registered no meaning ful achievements since a heavy redemption fel was suggested as a pre- condition to be set free. This fee was to serve as ex-landlords for losing labour of their former serfs. This left peasants in a state of confusion as they were busy selling off their small plots of land in attempt to meet the lump sum redemption fee which forced them to revolt against such unfair conditions in 1917.

The formation of political parties contributed to the outbreak of 1917 revolution in Russia. The emergency of political parties such as Bolshevik party headed by Lenin, Menshevik party led by Trosky among other parties played a great role in bringing about the Russian revolution in 1917. These political parties criticized the Tsarist regime and mobilized the masses against the government of Tsar Nicholas II. They promised a lot of good things to the masses. The leaders of these parties; Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky were instrumental in the mobilization of the Russian masses into a revolutionary movement. The work of political parties influenced the masses especially the workers to start demanding for better conditions of work which culminated into 1917 Russia revolutions.

The emergence of socialism and communism played a role in the outbreak of the Russian revolution of 1917. Russia, by 1917 had been filled with the gospel of socialism and communism which was being championed and propagated by Lenin and Joseph stalin. The emergence of socialism and communism exposed the injustices of the Tsarist regime which believed in capitalism. The workers came to know their rights and demand for better conditions of work due to the influence of socialism and communism which were against the traditional feudalism that had been in Russia for decades and decades. Peasants started argitating for land distribution and workers put a lot of pressure on government to improve workers put a lot of pressure on governments to improve their working conditions which resulted into the outbreak of a revolution in 1917.



The influence of Rasputin and the Tsarina can not be left behind in discussing the causes of the Russian revolution of 1917. Tsar Nicholas II was always manipulated by his wife, Tsarina Alexandra and Rasputin; a religious advisor (Mok) who overnight became an expert politician Rasputin misguided the Tsar (Nicholas II) and sub-merged all the political decisions. Tsarina and Rasputin became the advisors of Tsar Nicholas II who ill advised him and brought a lot of untold suffering in Russia. For instance when world war I broke out in 1914, they advised the Tsar to go for witchcraft for victory in the war which the king accepted and later became a boomerang on him and Russia in general. In 1916, the Russian political affairs were entirely in the hands of Tsarina and Rasputin who mis-handled them by ill advising the tsar and stopping him from solving peoples problems.

The Russian policy of Russification also contributed to the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917. It has to be noted that Russian language was made official and compulsory language in Finland and Poland, German language was abolished in Lithuania and Estonia. Mistreatment and killing (execution) of the Jews intensified in Russia. For example it was rumoured that a Jewish lady was one of Tsar Alexander II's assassins. Therefore, by killing the Jews, Nicholas II was trying to pay them in the same currency; however, this eroded his popularity among the annexed state and liberal Russians which prepared a fertile ground for the 1917 Russia revolution.

The pre-1917 European revolutions is another factor whose contribution cannot be underestimated in the outbreak for the 1917 Russian revolution. The revolutions that broke out in Russia before 1917 also made a contribution to the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution. These included; the 1789 French revolution, 1830 and 1848 revolutions. These revolutions brought a lot of changes in the political, social, and economic affairs of Europe. For instance, the principles of constitutionalism liberty, equality, nationalism, and fraternity were preached through out the Europe. These challenges the aristocratic, repressive and despotic governments in Europe including the autocratic Tsarist monarch in Russia. This, thus inspired the Russian Masses and gave them the impetus to organize the 1917 Russian / Bolshevik revolution.

The destruction of Ukraine wheat fields also led to the occurrence of the Russian revolution of 1917. The Bombardment of the Ukraine wheat fields which was of great economic importance to Russia, left a lot of be desired. During the course of World War II wheat fields in Ukraine were destroyed by heavy German bombardment. Her infrastructure was left in shambles and in a very sorry state. This left Russia in very difficult economic situations as it complicated the socio- economic spheres of the Russian society. Hence, this state of affairs increased the chances for the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917.

The return of Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin from exile, contributed to the outbreak of the 1917 Russian revolution. After their return, they advocated for the establishment of the socialist regime in favour of the peasants and the socialist workers majority. Indeed, their efforts made the Bolshevik political party become popular all over Russia since it was promising to liberate the peasants and workers who had suffered for a long period of time in the hands of the repressive and despotic Tsarist

monarchy. This was especially, among the peasants who increased their membership by 60% . This inspired Levin who confidently remarked that; “ History will not forgive us if we do not take power now and to delay is a crime” Against this background, on the mid – night of November 6, 1917, the troops of the Bolshevik political party besieged all the places and put the provisional government to an end and on 8, November, 1917, a new government was announced under the leadership of Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

The influence of Nihilists (law less) and hard core personalities and Russia also significantly contributed to the outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917. Nihilists believed so much in the faculty of reasoning seriously advocated for the quick destruction of the Russian political, social, and economic structures which were subjecting Russian masses to suffering .He advocated for the restoration of peace and improved standards of living. It should be remembered the political, social, economic and military problems of the Tsarist regime revolution as people wanted peace and better standards of living which had been advocated by the Nihilists which started from St- Petersburg on March 8, 1917 and spread to the rest of the country. This forced Tsar Nicholas II to abdicate the throne and run to exile. A provisional government was established under the leadership of Prince Lv which was later to be led by Lenin and Joseph Stalin in November, 1917 due to the inherent weaknesses and unabated inefficiencies associated with it.

Corruption and embezzlement of public funds which characterized the Tsarist dynasty partly led to the outbreak of the Russian revolution. The Tsarist regime, especially during the reign of Tsar Nicholas II, corruption and embezzlement of public funds became so rampant. The government officials collected taxes from the masses and used the set up their own projects instead of using the money to cater for the public needs especially infrastructures which had been destroyed by Great war. These corrupt practices of the government officials could not be tolerated by the Russian masses who saw it necessary to revolt in 1917 as the only way to end corruption of the Tsarist regime.

The effects of the bloody / red Sunday were instrumental in facilitating the outbreak of the tragedies that were committed on Sunday January 22, 1905 left a lot to be desired. On this fateful day (Red / bloody Sunday) a crowd of about 200,000 peaceful demonstrators led by a young priest; Father Gapon marched to the winter palace in St. Petersburg to give a petition to Tsar Nicholas II demanding mainly for better working conditions and political freedom. Unfortunately, the guards of Tsar Nicholas II mercilessly fired at them. The Guards killed about 92 and fatally wounded about 333 of the peaceful demonstrators. This violent incident resulted into protests throughout Russia which eroded the credibility of Tsar Nicholas II regime among the masses who got determined to put to an end such as a merciless and uncaring government and when an opportune moment came in 1917, they had to revolt.

Feudalism in Russia is another factor that contributed to the outbreak of the Russian revolution. The economic setting of Russia was based on feudalism where there was a predominantly rich class of the nobles and the clergy owning biggest chunks of land and then the peasants either had no land or

had very small plots of land from where they based their livelihoods. Land was owned by the nobles and the clergy while the peasants could live on the land rented from the rich nobles and the clergy (Landlords). The peasants were squatters on the land of the nobles and clergy and could pay rent to the land lords. However, this was exploitation of the highest order as the landlords kept increasing rent. Therefore, the peasants became annoyed and longed for an opportunity for them to over turn the table. The opportunity came with the Bolsheviks who were promising to reform the land policy and stop exploitation the peasants had been subjected to for along period of time hence to support the Bolsheviks.

## **EFFECTS OF 1917 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

The Russian revolution that occurred in two stages was a land mark in the history of man king in the political, social and economic spheres of the Russian society. This revolution left far reaching effects on the Russian society European continent, and the globe at large, these effects included the following;-

There was massive destruction of property and cheapening of dear human lives. The success of the Russian revolution came with an estimated cost of 15 million lives and billions of materials wealth destroyed. This was as a result of the power struggle between political parties of Mensheviks and popular Bolsheviks. It was due to the struggle between revolutionaries and the loyal supporters of the provisional republican government . This resulted into the strikes and peaceful demonstration organized by peasants and workers. A number of Russian who were fortunate enough fled the country and these quite unlucky perished like mosquitoes in the mid summer season. A lot of property worth billions and billions perished as a result of the 1917 Russian revolution.

Establishment and spread of communism came into force as a result of the Russian revolution of 1917. The success of the revolution gave birth to the establishment of the communist regime (a workers state) in Russia and the spread of communism not only in Russia, but also to other countries . The communist state in Russia was the first of its kind in the history of the country and the world as a whole. It should be remembered that it was mainly due to the communist ideas that the Russian revolution became successful since better working conditions were promised to the workers and peasants were Promised Land reformation. Upon the victory in November 1917, Lenin and Joseph Stalin worked towards establishing soviet union which came into force in 1922 and the ideology of communism spread to all the Russian masses and to other countries in Europe.

The Russian revolution led to the collapse of Tsadom in Russia. It marked an end to the Tsarist dynasty in Russia that had ruled for over 300 years. Tsar Nicholas II abdicated his throne on March 15, 1917 to his brother, Duke micheal who without any benefit of dought declined the offer and left the political power to be taken over by the events of the time thus marking an end to the Tsarist dynasty in Russia. The advent of the provision republic on government was witnessed under prince LVOV with Alexander Kerensky as the minister of war and milyakov, minister of foreign affairs who failed

to restore and maintain sanity in the Russian society thus paving way to be toppled by the Bolsheviks in November, 1917, who formed a communist state under the leadership of Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

The outbreak of the Russian revolution in 1917 led to the exit of Russia from World War I. The Tsarist dynasty and the provisional republic government had been economically, politically and militarily crippled by the endless zeal towards participation in the Great War of 1914-1918. Leon Trotsky, the leader of the provisional government had refused to negotiate with Germany. However, Lenin after capturing the instruments of power took the initiative and promised to end the war. Lenin led Russia and signed a treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany on March 3, 1918 and ended the war hence marking the exit of Russia out of World War I.

The Russian revolution of 1917 greatly conditioned the outbreak of cold war phenomenon which became a period of tension and hostility between the United States of America and the Soviet Union together with their satellite states from the mid-40s to the late 80s. It should be remembered that Russia which previously been a capitalist state was changed into a communist state. Things began to boil between Russia and Western Europe. Mistrust, fear, tension, and suspicion broke out between Russia and USA along with capitalist European powers which did not want communism to spread far and wide. This however, came into open after the Second World War between USSR and USA. Therefore, this left the world divided into two antagonistic ideological camps, the West capitalist bloc led by USA and East communist bloc led by USSR.

The 1917 Russian revolution ended feudalism in Russia. After the successful end of the revolution, land that was predominantly owned by the nobles and clergy was nationalized and re-distributed to the peasants. These were on the eve of the revolution owning nothing or very small plots of land from where they earned their living or based their livelihoods. Thus, it is important to note that, this brought a lot of benefits, for instance, employment opportunities increased, inhuman exploitation of the peasants by the wealthier land lords was brought to an end, famine greatly reduced and rural-urban migration was significantly reduced. This therefore created a state of profound excitement in the Russian community.

The non-Russian nationalities that had been conquered by Russia during the Tsarist dynasty were made part of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and recognized as republics. These nationalities have been subjected to all sorts of injustices up to 1917. These republics included; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Armenia, Byelorussia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Georgia, Turkmen, Uzbekistan, Kirghiz. All these under the umbrella of USSR were granted equal treatment. This was finally legalized in 1923 constitution. This strong bond made USSR to emerge as one of the super powers during and after the Second World War of 1939 – 1945.

The 1917 Russian revolution turned Russia into a martial state. A new secret police known as the Cheka was formed to crack down all those suspected to be against the communist ideology. Tsar Nicholas II and his family became the first victims of this police. The Cheka created high degree of fear,

suspicion and insecurity among the Russian masses. People who opposed communist ideas could be arrested and prosecuted. This led to a period of insecurity as people including the innocent ones could be arrested without any question. Therefore, many people came to like and believe in communism for the fear of being arrested and prosecuted. The Russian revolution led to the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which became one of the world's super powers. In 1922, Lenin and Joseph Stalin formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Owing to that background, Russia was granted a permanent seat in the UN Security Council which seat Russia still holds up to date. Russia's security of a permanent place in the UN Security Council is attributed to the prominence she had gained as a strong communist state.

The Russian revolution of 1917 led to the emergence of future civil wars in Russia. The period between 1917 and 1924 saw civil unrest in Russia caused by a section of the masses that was not contented with the communist regime. It should be remembered that much as the Tsarist monarchy had been buried by the 1917 Russian revolution, there were people who supported and believed in the Tsarist monarchy. These people formed a counter-revolutionary army in the Southern and Northern regions of Russia to defeat the revolutionary regime. The counter-revolutionaries were aided by France and Britain up to the time when they were completely wiped out in 1924. This cost Russia about 3 million people and caused untold suffering and economic stagnation.

The Russian revolution of 1917 contributed to the decolonization of Africa and Asian countries. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and United States of America (USA) emerged as new world super powers after World War II. In the struggle to spread their ideologies, they exerted pressure on the colonial masters to decolonize and set their colonies free. The most distinguished colonial powers included Britain and France which could not contain pressure from the new super powers. Therefore they decided to speed up the decolonization process in Asia, and Africa which made many colonies that had been put under the bondage of colonial rule to be freed and become independent.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 led to the rise of Nazism and fascism in Europe. It provided favourable grounds for the emergence of the fascist regime in Italy under Benito Mussolini and Nazism under Adolf Hitler in Germany. This was because communism that had risen in the success of the 1917 Bolshevik revolutions in Russia which was a great threat to the capitalist powers who did not want communism to advance to other European countries. The supporters of capitalism strongly supported Mussolini and Hitler in their respective countries hence the rise of fascism and Nazism in Europe.

Last but not least the Russian revolution of 1917 contributed to the formation of the Warsaw Pact in 1955. This was intended to bring co-operation and mutual assistance between communist Russia and other communist states. The Warsaw Pact was promulgated to enable communist states strengthen their relations and map out ways of how to deal with the antagonistic capitalist powers. The communist states mainly included Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Albania, Romania, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. The Warsaw Pact was to challenge the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which was established by the Western capitalists led by U.S.A.

## **REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917**

The 1917 Bolshevik (Russian) revolution which was two in one succeeded due to a number of factors which include the following:-

Support of the masses was very instrumental in ensuring the success of 1917 Russian revolution . The extra – ordinary level of unit exhibited Russian was very instrumental in revolution. The Russian revolutionaries under the Bolshevik political party were ready to sacrifice their lives in order to get rid of the despotic regime of Tsar Nicholas II. the revolutionary promised to better the workers conditions of work and re- distribute land to the poor peasants who had suffered from Russian feudalism. This attracted massive support for the Bolsheviks who successfully organized a revolution in 1917. Therefore, it was the extra – ordinary support of the Russian masses that the 1917 Russian revolution became successful.

The weak personality of Tsar Nicholas II also led to the success of the 1917 Russian revolution. The Tsarist dynasty especially during the reign of tsar Nicholas II was weak and could no longer handle the Russian affairs as expected by the Russians. By 1917, the Tsar Nicholas II had become unpopular in Russia. He was deserted by his soldiers, minister, and above all hated by the peasants and workers since he could not handle their demands well. To make matters worse, when the revolution broke out, it brought undisputed confusion. Tsar Nicholas had no choice, but to abdicate the throne in favour of his brother, Duke Michael who resented it. This simplified the work of the revolutionaries who immediately established the short- lived Provisional Republican government thus marking the end of Tsardom in Russia and the success of the Russian revolution of 1917.

The weakness of Tsadom in Russia was a great factor that made the Russian revolution a success in 1917. By 197, the Tsarist dynasty, had become too weak to handle the Russian affairs. It was very repressive, despotic and autocratic and it could not listen to peoples demands. The peasants and workers continued to suffer exploitation by the middle class and the nobles, yet the Tsarist regime especially during the reign of Tsar Nicholas II kept a blind eye to the problem forced the Russian masses to lose confidence in Tsardom and when the revolutionaries came promising improved working conditions and land distribution policies, they easily joined them. The Tsarist regime was also militarily weak and could stand the pressure of the Bolsheviks who were determined to put the last nail to coffin of Tsardom. Therefore the failure of the Tsarist monarchy to solve people problems and handle the Russian affairs well made the Russian masses to support the revolutionaries hence leading to the success of the 1917 Russian revolution.

The role of foreign power was also significant for the success of the 1917 Russian revolution. These powers included Sweden Switzerland, Finland, and Germany. The foreign assistance was seen form of man power, arms, and finance to the revolutionary leaders. The intention of the foreign powers was



to cause instabilities in Russia so that she should withdraw from World War I theatres. For instance Lenin was smuggled by a German train into Russia thus, it should be asserted that, the role of foreign assistance partly conditioned the success of the Bolshevik (Russia) revolution of 1917.

The existence of able revolutionary leaders played a magnificent role in the success of the 1917 Russian revolution. The outstanding revolutionary leaders like, Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Trotsky and Alexander Kerensky enabled the 1917 Russian revolution to become successful. These were so charismatic, patriotic, and ready to sacrifice their idea likes for the Russian masses. These leaders were good mobilizers and managed to convince majority of the Russian masses to join them and fight the despotic Tsarist regime. Soldiers, peasants and workers acted in unison with these leaders as a result of their eloquent and appealing speeches as well as their outstanding organizational abilities thus, the role of revolutionary greatly contributed to the success of the 1917 Russian revolution.

The support from the army can not go unnoticed when analyzing the factors that led to the success of the Russian revolution of 1917. Due to a lot of casualties suffered by the soldiers on frontlines in World War I, the soldiers were compelled to form a lot of mutinies amongst themselves in the theatres of war. Many army men deserted the army and supported the revolutionaries against the Tsarist regime. This left Tsar Nicholas II in corridors of confusion. The deserted soldiers dedicated all their support to the leaders of the revolution. They reached to extent of arresting and murdering the henchmen (yes-men) of Tsar Nicholas II. This dedicated support of the army enabled the organizers of the Russian revolution to push on very well until such a time it became successful.

The impact of World War I greatly contributed to the success of Bolshevik (Russian) revolution. It should be remembered that World War I, caused a lot of suffering and destruction as a result of heavy German bombardments. This created a strong state of destitution in Russia. There was a lot of suffering in Russia caused by the World War I. People especially soldiers made a lot of appeals to the government of Tsar Nicholas II to end the war but all in vain. This however, annoyed majority of the Russian masses whose sons and resources had perished in the on going war which made them give all the necessary support to the revolutionary leaders and it is that necessary support to the revolutionary leaders that later ensured the success of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

The unbearable economic conditions played another role in facilitating the success of the 1917 Bolshevik (Russian) revolution. Economic conditions such as inflation, unemployment, famine, and Tsar Nicholas' despotism made a great contribution to the success of the 1917 Russian revolution. This made the regime of Nicholas II unpopular among the Russian masses. It has to be noted that, even when the provisional government came to power, it also failed to address these burning issues (grievances) in Russia. This made the peasants, workers and soldiers to shift their tentacles (goal posts) from the provisional republican government to the Lenin Bolshevik socialist party hence leading to the success of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Tsar Nicholas II's attempt to end the revolution through use of foreign troops also contributed to

the success of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. The use of foreign troops to suppress the revolution angered many Russian nationals who viewed it as the establishment of foreign rule in Russia. Besides to many Russians the revolution was justifiable since its goal was put to an end the autocratic and despotic Tsarist regime which was mistreating the Russian masses especially the peasants and the workers whose conditions of life were in a very sorry state. This therefore made the Russians masses to fight tirelessly and send back the foreign troops to where they came from. It is said that intervention of foreign troops precipitated or contributed to occurrence of the red Sunday in which innocent civilians lost their lives in the cold blood.

### **Revision Questions.**

1. To what extent did the World War I lead to the outbreak of 1917 Russian Revolution?
2. Account for the success of 1917 Russian Revolution.
3. Account for the outbreak of 1917 Russian Revolution.
4. “It was the personal character to Tsar Nicholas II that led to outbreak of 1917 Russian Revolution”. Discuss.
5. Examine the causes and the consequences of Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.
6. Discuss the results of 1917 Russian revolution.
7. To what extent was Lenin responsible for of 1917 outbreak of Russian Revolution?
8. “Russia’s poor military performance was responsible for the outbreak of the 1917 Russian revolution.”Discuss.
9. “This 1917 Russian revolution was inevitable.” Discuss.
10. Account for the collapse of Tsardom in Russia by 1917.

## **CHAPTER FIFTEEN**

### **THE WEIMER REPUBLIC OF 1918-1934**

The Weimer Republic is the name given by the historians to the parliamentary republic established in 1919 in Germany to replace the imperial form of government it was named after weimer city where the Assembly met to adopt its constitution from 6th February to 11th August 1919. Its official name was Deutsches Reich (sometimes translated as German empire, but reich can also mean realm or federal level of government. The Weimar republic was the government of Germany from 1919-1934. It was proclaimed in 1918 and was born in the throes of military defeat and social revolution. As Germany drew towards defeat in 1918, public opinion turned against Kaiser William II. Having been inspired by the 1917 Russian revolution, the Democrats organized a revolution and overthrew Kaiser William II and forced him to abdicate his throne and went into exile to Holland hence paving way for the establishment of the weimer republic.

Thus, following the flight of Kaiser William II on 9th November, 1918 the Hohenzollern ruling family which had ruled Germany since 1871. came to an end. After the election of 1919 a moderate socialist rule was established at a town of Weimar where the Weimar republican rule was declared with Friedrich Ebert as the first president ruling from 1919 to 1925 who was later succeeded by Hindenburg who ruled from 1925 to 1933. The republican government was established and arranged in such away that the autocratic regime of Kaiser was replaced by a democratic type of rule which was a new tradition in Germany.

### **FACTORS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WEIMER REPUBLIC IN GERMANY IN 1918.**

The Weimar republic that came into existence in 1919 after the fall of Kaiser William II and the Hohenzollern family was established due to a number of factors which were political, social, and economic in nature as indicated below:

The impact of world war I is one of the factors that gave rise to the Weimar republic world war I affected by the allied powers the allied powers by 1918, had destroyed the German economy especially through the offensive British Blockade instituted against her which led to acute shortage of food leading to malnutrition, starvation, inflation and unemployment. All these led to the strikes and demonstrations against Kaiser William II who abdicated and fled to exile in Holland leaving Germans without a leader hence paving way for the Weimar Republic.

The Penalties administered to Germany after her defeat in the World war I which included loss of territories, war reparations, demilitarization among others did not please the Germans who had been tired of the dictatorial rule of Kaiser William II. This made them start agitating for democracy hence

leading the establishment of Weimer Republic. Being backed by the allied powers, the Germans brought to end the Kaisers rule which was based on dictatorship militarism, and aggressive policies which posed a great threat to the allied powers who wanted a puppet government and thus to support the formation of the weimer republic which they thought was weak and would rule basing on democratic principles

The unpopularity of the Monarchy in Germany contributed to the rise of the weimer republic. The monarchy in Germany contributed to the rise of the Weimer Republic. The monarchical government was very unpopular among the Germans. It was dictatorial and suppressive of the people's rights and freedoms. Matters were made worse by the dictatorial and suppressive of the people's rights and freedoms. Matters were made worse by the dictatorial character of Kaiser William II. The Germans wanted a democratic government that would give them the opportunity to enjoy their rights and freedoms especially the political freedoms. The desire to end the tyrannical and dictatorial monarchy that had brought a lot of suffering in Germany led to the calling of the constituent Assembly in November 1919 in which a new constitution was adopted Weimer republic was declared hence marking its formation.

The abdication of Kaiser William II that created power vacuum in Germany led to the establishment of the William II to Holland due the fear of being questioned in the Versailles settlement and even being imprisoned for Germany resulted into the establishment of the Weimer republic. After the end of World War I, the victors powers especially France wanted Kaiser William II hanged which made him abdicate and fly out of Germany, After his flight, most of the Germans advocated for a democratic rule which paved way for the establishment of the Weimer republic.

The rise of Republicanism in Germany contributed much to the establishment of the Weimer republic by 1918, the spirit of republicanism had reached its climax in Germany as a majority of the Germans supported republican rule which resulted into its rise. The Germans were inspired by the French and British republican systems of government to destroy the Germany monarchical government and embrace the republican government. The workers, middle class, soldiers among others had taken lead in demanding for the abdication of Kaiser, even the socialists who supported the war in 1914 also withdrew their support from the Kaiser regime. Therefore the existing government lacked support as many people supported the republican rule hence facilitating the establishment of Weimer republic.

The fear of spread of communism also partly contributed to the establishment of the weimer republic. The middle class together with the workers in Germany were influenced by the 1917 Russia revolution to demand for a communist government in Germany. The formation of Spartacus headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg who were in close contact with the Bolsheviks in Russia revolution. These in turn incited strikes and demonstrations that forced Kaiser William II into exile. This led to a rise of a provisional government which prepared general elections. However, the Spartacus party as a communist partly caused the insecurity to the landlords, the capitalists, businessmen among

others who were forced to dissociate themselves with this party. Thus, they opted for a republican government that would maintain law and order that would protect their wealth thus leading to the establishment of the Weimer republic.

The desire to end the influence of Prussia in Germany partly conditioned the establishment of the Weimer republic. The dominance of Prussia in the political affairs of Germany is a factor that cannot be underrated in examining the factors that led to the rise of the Weimer republic. It is worth noting that right away from 1871-1918, the Prussians dominated all the important political positions in the German empire. This kind of practice left many other states discontented. Worse still, Prussia promoted protestantism as a state religion, this angered most of the German Catholic states especially in the south thus, in order to end the Prussian dominance in Germany the Weimar republic was established.

The examples offered by the earlier revolutions in Western Europe also contributed to the establishment of the Weimer Republic. The earlier revolutions that had taken place in Europe such as the 1789 French revolution, the 1830 revolutions in France, Belgium, Poland, Italian and Germany states, the 1848 revolutions in East and Central Europe plus the 1917 Russian revolution all led to the establishment of the Weimer republic. The revolutions in France had overthrown unpopular regimes, in 1917, the revolution in Russia overthrew the unpopular Czarist regime. Therefore many Germans who wanted change of government because it had become unpopular started a revolution which forced Kaiser William II to abdicate the throne in November, 1918 and a republican rule established which was officially inaugurated in January 1919 hence Germany to be under the Weimer republic until 1933 when Hitler overthrew it and Germany fell under Nazism.

The desire for reconciliation and have peaceful co-existence with the rest of Europe also led to the establishment of the Weimar republic. German aggression had isolated her from the rest of Europe apart from her allies (Bulgaria, Austria, and Turkey). The aggressive policies of Kaiser William II created more enemies for Germany than friends. The government of Kaiser William II had also reduced the rate of development which undermined her position in the international affairs. Thus, in order to bring peace, restore the lost glory and friendship Weimar republic had to establish.

The massive bloodshed and general insecurity in Berlin contributed to the rise and establishment of the Weimar republic. It was insecure in Berlin the capital city of Germany to have a constituent Assembly. Delegates converge there as there was political unrest in the city. This made the delegates to have their assembly held in Weimer town from where the constitution and the republican government were declared under Frederick Ebert, a socialist democratic leader as president hence the establishment of Weimer Republic.

The role of November 11, 1918 armistice cannot be ignored in attempting to examine the factors that led to the establishment of the Weimar republic. The 1918 truce that was signed between victor powers of France, Britain among others with the interim regime under Frederick Ebert, after signing the armistice, the interim regime summoned a constituent assembly in small German town known as Weimar to draft a new constitution since Berlin had been marred by political unrest. Thus, at the end

of the constituent Assembly, Weimer republic was successfully established with Fredrick Ebert as its first president who died in 1925. and was succeeded by von Paul Hinder burg who also dies 1934

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEIMER REPUBLIC**

Right away from the start, Weimer republic was faced by a number of problems but it managed to maintain the throne until 1933 when it was overthrown by Adolf Hitler under the Nazi party. Between 1919- 1933, The Weimer republic managed to make some achievements which include the following;-

The Weimar republic managed to meet the obligation of paying the war indemnity/ reparation as had been spelt out by the Versailles peace settlement. There was payment of war reparations by the Weimar republic especially after the French occupation of the Ruhr region in 1923, stress man (then the chancellor was forced to stop all payments so that he can clear the war reparations to the victor powers. As much as the German nationals suffered through payment of war reparations, Germany managed to clear the war reparations and the create good relations with the victor powers especially France under the Weimer Republic.

The weimer republic facilitated the entry Germany into the League of Nations. It is important to remember that Germany had been left out of the League of Nations since 1920 because of the aggression she had exerted on the European continent. In 1926, the Weimer republic managed secure membership for Germany the League of Nations.

The admission of Germany into the league of nations meant that she had been reconciled with the rest of powers in Europe. This was a big credit to the Weimer republic . Therefore had it not been the efforts of Weimer republic, Germany would not have been allowed in the League of Nations and would have isolated.

It managed to suppress the liberal revolts that were causing unrest and disorder in Germany. The weimer republic suppressed a liberal movement in November 1920 that had been declared by Kapp putsch who wanted to overthrow the republican government. After suppressing the revolt, the government managed to bring back peace and maintain national unity until 1933 when it was overthrown by Adolf Hitler under the Nazi party. There fore the Weimer republic managed to suppress the revolts that would have disturbed peace in Germany.

The weimer republic is credited for signing the treaties of reconciliation with the Victor powers. A number of treaties were signed between Germany and the victor powers of France, Britain among others under the Weimer republic with the intent of reconciling Germany with the rest of the European powers, For example stress man as a foreign minister in 1925 signed a treaty which at least made a relationship between France and Germany friendly . Germany had also earlier signed a truce in November 1918 with the victor powers intending to reconcile Germany with the victor powers.



Therefore these treaties of reconciliation that were signed between Germany and the victor powers enabled Germany to become fully incorporated into the European affairs. This was a big credit to the Weimer republic.

In the field of economic management the Weimer republic is credited for stabilizing the German economy that had been severely hit by economic depression it put in place measures to protect farmers and it continued to buy shares in factories that were hit by the economic depression in order to save the German industries from massive losses and this also helped to usher in a period of economic recovery and transformation in Germany. The Weimer republic also managed to convince the German workers to stop resistance and work for the French who had taken over the Ruhr region as the 1919 Versailles settlement the German workers had refused to work for the French who were exploiting minerals in the Ruhr region on behalf of the League of Nations, but Weimer managed to solve the conflicts. Fortunately in 1925, it managed to remove the French from the Ruhr region and Germany took over which brought about economic recovery in Germany under the Weimer republic.

The Weimer republic signed the Versailles settlement of 1919. This helped to save Germany from the possible re-invasion by the victor powers who had threatened to renew war on her should she refuse to sign the peace treaty whose clauses were not fair to her. The clauses of this treaty which among others included demilitarization, loss of territories, war reparations were tough and therefore Germany was made to sign the treaty by force due to the fear of another war which would have been more disastrous. This the Weimer republic signed the 1919 Versailles peace treaty and saved Germany of the invasion by the victor powers.

### **WEAKNESSES OF THE WEIMER REPUBLIC.**

Although the Weimer republic managed to make some achievements for Germany which include servicing the war indemnity, Securing membership for Germany in the League of Nations, economic transformation among others it had inherent weaknesses that made it fail to achieve a lot for the Germans and these weaknesses include the following:-

The Weimer republic accepted the unfair terms of the Versailles treaty of 1919. The Versailles treaty was not a fair treaty as it severely punished Germany and her allies who included Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria-Hungary. However, it is important to note that the Versailles treaty brought undesirable consequences to the Germans due to its unrealistic terms. By the Versailles peace treaty, Germany was to de-militarise, lose her territorial acquisitions, pay heavy war indemnity of 6.5 million pounds among others. These terms brought a lot of suffering and economic hardships in Germany and the Weimer Republic has been held responsible for such suffering and economic hardships since it accepted to sign the Versailles peace treaty whose terms were both humiliating and unfair to Germany.

Failure to establish law and order in Germany is another factor that is worth mentioning in examining the weaknesses of the Weimer republic. The period of between 1919 and 1934 was a period of chaos and disorder in Germany. Revolts were the order of the day. For example in 1923, there was a liberal

movement led by Kapp putsch who wanted to overthrow a republican government. Although this revolt was suppressed, it brought unrest in Germany during the Weimer's republican rule.

There were also various unabated conflicts between the middle and the workers which were clearly seen after 1920 elections where their interests clashed hence chaos and dis-order. There was also clear strategy to deal or contain the activities of the opposition parties which enable to organize riots and demonstrations hence leading riots and demonstrations hence leading to dis-order and general unrest. Therefore the Weimer republic failed to establish law and order to Germany since it failed to put in place measures that would maintain peace and security.

Weimer Republic failed to control economic crisis in Germany. This crisis had majorly caused by the Great War that began 1914 and ended in 1918. During this war, a lot of germen industries and factories were destroyed and this marked the beginning of economic crisis in Germany. To note also is that the period between 1929 and 1934 the whole Europe was hit by a serious economic slump and Germany was severely affected especially as a result of the unfair terms of the 1919 Versailles peace treaty,

The situation was worsened by the French occupation of the Ruhr region who exploited the minerals on behalf of the League of Nations leaving Germany without any credible source of income. Amidst all this, the weimer republic did not take any significant approach to help save the Germans from such critical economic situations as the Ruhr industrial complex broke down paving way for unemployment, industrials decline and inflation in Germany.

The Weimer Republic also failed to contain / control the influence of Nazism in Germany which put the last nail into its coffin. The Weimer Republic handled the Nazi partly and the stormtroopers" majority of whom were the veterans of world war I under Adolt Hitler with a soft and that gave them a chance to gain the political ground in Germany with their Nazi party. For example in 1923, Hitler organized a coup which was unsuccessful and he was arrested and sentenced 5 years in prison where he enjoyed a lot of freedom and comfort and even wrote books such as My struggle ( Mein Kempf) which became the bible of the Nazi Party and popularized Nazism in Germany. Weimer republic also released Hitler after 9 months which was a big mistake as he started mobilization and later led to the overthrow of the republican government. Therefore Weimer failed to control the influence and spread of Nazism in Germany since there was no strict supervision of the activities of Nazi party.

The Weimer allowed the French occupation of the Ruhr region which was the main industrial complex of Germany and a region with a lot of minerals. By signing the Versailles peace settlement in 1919, the weimer republic was to abide by what ever was dictated to Germany by the victor powers. After realizing that the installments that were being paid by Germany to clear the war indemintiy were far below average, France complained to the League of Nations and in 1923, the French troops occupied the Ruhr region with a mandate of exploiting the minerals on behalf of the league of Nations. However, this led to the breakdown of the Ruhr industrial complex hence resulting in a decline in Germany

industry, mass unemployment, inflation and general suffering of the German nations.

The Weimer Republic also organized elections in 1920 that worsened political unrest in Germany. In 1920, the Weimer Republic carried out election to the Reichstag where the nationalist independent communists and socialists plus the Republicans gained an increased representation. In the Reichstag, they tried to address the unemployment problem and social unrest, but this created problems between the middle class (capitalists) and the workers which tended to make the political and social clashes in Germany more severe hence exacerbating political unrest in the country.

Weimer republic also organized the last general elections in which it was thoroughly defeated by the Naziparty . The weimer republic scheduled the next elections for March 1933, was burnt and communist party was falsely accused where its leading members were arrested, socialist and communist papers were suppressed and brutal attacks on the jews declared. This political unrest gave chance to Nazi party under Hitler to emerge as the only hope for the Germans since the republicans had failed to contain the situation and the communists had been accused of burning the Reichstag. When the elections took place on 5th , March 1933, Nazi party got 341 seats out 647 hence marking the end of the republican rule and the general collapse of the Weimer Republic as well as the beginning of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany.

## **THE REASONS FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE WEIMER REPUBLIC**

The Weimer Republic which came into existence in 1919 could not survive beyond 1934 because right from the start and the factors that led to its collapse from the political land escape emanated from the political, social, and economic aspects of human life and they include the following:-

The rise of Hitler and Nazism in Germany is one of the main reasons that led to the collapse of Weimer Republic. The emergency of Nazism and Adolf Hitler was a turning point to the Weimer republic. Hitlers character and personality oratory power, appeals to the use of violence totally destroyed democracy which led to the collapse of the Weimer republic. He undermined the Weimer republic through spreading propaganda of full employment, creating a strong Germany economy and revival of Germany's past glory by restoring its national pride.

Hitler also promised to over throw the un popular republic and violate the Versailles peace treaty that had brought a lot of suffering to the Germans.

Because of this propaganda, most Germans supported Hitler and denounced the Weimer republican rule. He was seen as the only hope for the disgruntled Germans. Fore example in 1929, Nazi party had 107 seats, but the had 250 seats. Due to the support Nazi party had, it managed to win the 1933 general elections which made Hitler take over as a chancellor and in 1934 as a president which marked the end of the weimer republic and the beginning of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany.

The death of Hinderburg greatly contributed to the collapse of the Weimer republic. The death of

Hindenberg in 1934 robbed Germany of a capable statesman and sealed the fate of the Weimer Republic. His death left a political vacuum which Hitler occupied very quickly and brought to Weimer republic to an end. It was indeed after the death of Hindenburg that Adolf Hitler added the presidential power to his and became both the chancellor and the president. Perhaps had Hindenburg not died, Hitler's rise to presidential power would have been extended beyond 1934. Therefore Weimer Republic did not survive beyond 1934 due to the death of Hindenburg that gave chance to Hitler who put the last nail in its coffin.

Weimer Republic collapsed due to lack of the massive support as it was associated with the unpopular Versailles settlement from the beginning the German masses rejected the Weimer republic because it accepted to sign a humiliating and unfair peace treaty at Versailles in 1919. The Versailles treaty at Versailles in 1919. The Versailles treaty was very unfair to Germany due to its Harsh terms which included demilitarization, loss of territories, war reparations among others. For instance, Germany reduced arms, cleared the war indemnity and reduced her army to only 100,000. In 1919, the general talk throughout Germany was that. The democrats had betrayed the country” Against this background, the Weimer republic became unpopular and could not stand the test of time since majority of the Germans hated it and wanted another government that could fight against the Versailles peace settlement and its unfair terms.

The rise of socialism and communism in Germany also contributed to the collapse of the Weimer republic. The rise of socialism and communism created ideological differences in Germany. The socialists inspired to rebel against their employers as they started demanding for higher pay and better conditions of work which the employers refused to effect. This led to poor industrial relations and later riots and uprisings. For example, the communist uprising in the Ruhr region occupied most of the Germany towns and the Ruhr industrial region using strikes of the communist model and finally spread to other industrial areas where the workers were demanding for better working conditions. When problems, and as much as the strikes were suppressed, they could not make the republic to survive for long.

Lack of a democratic tradition in Germany also contributed to the fall of the Weimer Republic. The Germans had no respect for a democratic government. They were not used to democracy as evidenced from 1870 where Germans had no respect for democratic principles and admired the army as the best institution to produce rightful leaders for Germany. The Germans were used to Prussian dictatorship and Bismarck policy of blood and iron” This is why they dis-respected, undermined, rejected and denounced the Weimer Republic right from that ruled basing on the democratic principles. Therefore, it is right for one to assert that lack of a democratic tradition in Germany contributed to the collapse of the Weimer Republic.

The impact of economic depression is another factor that led to the collapse of the Weimer republic. The economic slump that befell the world between 1929 and 1935 was a heavy blow to the Weimer Republic. It left it weak and incapable in solving poverty, mass unemployment, and financial crisis

in Germany. By 1930, about 4 million Germans were unemployed and the number rose to 6 millions by 1932. This increased opposition to the Weimer to the economic problems that been caused by the economic depression. This gave chance to the opposition groups especially the Nazi party that spread propaganda against the Weimer republic which enabled leading to the increased number of parliament seats hence culminating into the collapse of the weimer republic.

Internal political instability contributed much to the collapse of the Weimer republic there was power struggles amongst the ruling democrats, the liberals the conservative nationalists, communist party the Nazi party among others. This led to instability and the eventual collapse of the republic. This is because the political parties lacked experience on how operate a parliamentary system which resulted into each political party raising its own army as a military wing. This exacerbated political unrest as riots and coups became the order of the day, For example, in 1920 Dr. Kapp Putsch organized a coup to over throw the republican government, but he was unsuccessful, the socialists organized riots in several towns among others all of which caused political instability in Germany hence undermining the credibility of the Weimer republic which made it as they could not be protected thus leading to its downfall.

Weak leadership is another factor worth mentioning in examining the factors that led to the collapse of the Weimer republic. The weakness of the Weimer Republican leaders paved way for the collapse of the Weimer republic. Fredrick Ebert who was the first president of the Republic was dull, inefficient and a weak ruler with no political experience which made him unable to restore peace and stability , His weaknesses led to frequent coup attempts for example in 1920. These coup attempts and demonstrations weakened the republic. He also failed to imprison. Hitler for life on treason charges. Hindeburg messed in 1933 when he appointed Hitler as a chancellor used his army which he used to overthrow the republic in 1933 hence the collapse of the Weimer republic.

The role played by the opposition groups also undermined the survival of Weimer Republic. Opposition groups such as Nazi, communists, socialists, the Catholics centre party among others led to the collapse of the Weimer Republic through spreading propaganda against the republic as well as organizing revolts to overthrow the republic . They criticized and undermined the Weimer Republican government for accepting to sign the Versailles peace treaty and failing to improve the socio- economic conditions of the Germans. These opposition groups used their own armies to perpetuate civil wars and tactical skirmishes in abid to eliminate their opponents. The National Assembly in which all these parties were represented became the fertile ground for chaos and dis-order. Thus, a result, credibility of the Weimer republic was undermined which contributed to its collapse by 1934.

The weimer parliamentary system had a very weak constitution and this partly, contributed to its collapse. For instance, it was organized on a system of proportional represcutation where all the political parties would have a fair representation in parliament. Unfortunately, there existed several political parties which among others included catholic centre party the democrats, the republicans, socialists, Nazi party to mention but a few there was no single partly that could ever win the majority

votes. This hindered progress because there was no single party that could command overall leadership to carry out its national programs. Besides, the political groups lacked experience on how to operate a democratic system and even they always failed to compromise all these gave birth to internal violence that made the Weimar republic unpopular hence leading to its collapse.

The isolation of weimar republic partly led to its collapse. Internationally Weimar republic was isolated from the rest of the European powers rights away from its birth in 1919. This is because it was only limited in the Versailles peace settlement as a criminal 'and that is why it took long for it to secure a German membership in the League of Nations . This denied the republic government diplomatic support that could have sustained its longevity in power far beyond 1934. Therefore Weimar republic was isolated and thus lacked diplomatic support making its collapse inevitable.

The French occupation of the Ruhr region greatly undermined the life span of the Weimar republic. To the Germans, the French occupation of the Ruhr region under the mandate of the League of Nations was foreign invasion and total undermining of the Germany autonomy. In 1923, the French troops invaded and occupied the Ruhr region. They looted Germans industrial resources and produced before they withdrew in 1926. This crippled Germany's economy and the Germans put the whole blame on the Weimar republic government for failing to defend the country. They immediately shifted their loyalty to Hitler and the Nazi party as the only hope for their future. Hitler promoted to create a strong economy to regain Germany's. Supremacy as opposed to the Weimar republic that was not making any tangible progress in reviving Germans economy. Thus, this made the collapse of the Weimar republic inevitable by 1934.

### **Revision Questions**

1. Assess the achievements of Weimar republic between 1919 – 1933.
2. Account for unpopularity of the Weimar Republic between 1919 – 1933.
3. Account for collapse of Germany Weimar Republic by 1933.



## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

### THE WORLD ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

#### Background

The world economic depression also known as the Great Depression was a state of Economic standstill or stagnation which was globally experienced between 1929 and 1935. It was a severe world wide economic slump in the decade preceding World War II. The timing of the Great Depression varied across nations, but in most countries, it started in about 1929 and lasted until the late 1930s. It was the longest most widespread, and deepest depression of the 20th century in the 21st century, the Great Depression is commonly used as an example of how far the world's economy can decline. In 1929, economic slump hit the whole of Europe with exception of Russia.

The depression originated in the U.S, starting with the fall in the stock prices that began around September 4, 1929 and became world news with the stock market crash of October, 24, 1929 (known as Black thursday from there, it quickly spread to almost every country in the world. The world economic depression had divastating effects in virtually every country, rich and poor, personal income, tax revenue, profits and price dropped while international trade plugged by  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{2}{3}$  .

Unemployment rose up for example, it rose to 25% in the U.S In Germany about 10 million people were unemployed while in France and Britain about 3 million cities around the world were hit hard, especially those dependent on heavy industry, construction was virtually halted in many countries. Farming and rural areas suffered as crop prices fell by approximately 60% area dependent on primary sector industries such as crop farming, mining and logging suffered the most. The negative effects of **the Great depression lasted until the start of World War II.**

#### CAUSES OF THE GREAT (WORLD) ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.

The causes of the Great Depression were long term and immediate in character ranging from the political social and economic set ups. They include structural weaknesses and specific events that turned it into a major depression and the manner in which the downturn spread from country to country. Such causes include the following:-

The impact of World War I is a greatest factor that led to the occurrence of the Great economic depression of 1929- 1935. The divastating effects of the Great war of the occurrence of the economic depression during the course of world war I, many industries, crop fields and ship were destroyed. This left world economies in a very sorry state as levels of production drastically went down. To note also is that as world powers prepared for war, they heavily invested in arms manufacture and militarism and neglected priority industries that produced essential commodities. This adversely

affected international trade thus paving way for economic depression. As a result of World War I, people became too poor and unemployed hence economic depression.

The rise of economic nationalism in Europe also contributed to the occurrence of economic slump that hit the world between 1929 and 1935. Economic nationalism made countries like U.S.A adopt the isolationist policy between 1919 and 1939 which cultivated the seeds of the Great depression that unveiled itself between 1929 and 1935. In 1922 U.S.A adopted protectionism by charging high tariffs in imports purposely to protect her domestic industries from international wasteful competition. This was in turn adopted by many European countries and it destroyed the hopes for international trade with all its benefits . Countries could not get rid of their surplus output due to insufficient and ineffective local markets. As a result, economic activities came to a stand still and the general economic stagnation manifested itself.

The clauses of the 1919 Versailles peace treaty especially the war reparation (heavy war indemnity) partly conditioned the outbreak of the Great depression of 1929-1935. Article 232 of the Versailles peace covenant spelt out the heavy war indemnity, the vanquished powers especially were meant to clear as a penalty for have caused world war I. After the end of World War I, the victor powers of Britain, France, and U.S.A imposed a heavy war indemnity of 6.5 million U.S dollars which was accompanied by heavy trade restrictions where Germany was not supposed to import from or export to other European countries. These war reparations made normal business, capital investment, and international trade very difficult and expensive for European countries. As a result, various countries were declared bankrupt which made them impose high tariffs hence economic decline. The inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations contributed to the outbreak of the world economic depression of 1929- 1935. The League of Nations as a world body failed to execute its obligations. It completely failed to execute its obligations. It completely failed to promote economic co-operation or free trade among European powers. It failed to implement the necessary policy that would encourage free trade. This compelled U.S.A to adopt a policy of protectionism which was later copied by the European countries. Countries started imposing heavy tariffs to protect their home industries which resulted into increased production without market. This cleared way for economic depression. The failure of Gold standard system is largely blamed on the league of Nations for failing to put in place better guidelines which would have solved the money supply rigidity which opened doors for economic decline in many countries thus economic depression.

The failure of the Gold system also contributed the Great economic depression of 1929-1935. The Gold standard system a monetary system that being used to determine the money supply in the world economies standard at that particular time since economies had built their countries that had few Gold reserves were at a disadvantage since their money was limited . This drastically reduced the levels of aggregate demand in these countries. The situation twined worse when U.S.A started demanding the payment of the loans contracted from her by mainly Britain and France in terms of Gold. A lot of Gold was taken to U.S.A which reduced money in circulation in countries which were offsetting debts.

Over production of commodities coupled with the low- purchasing power also led to the occurrence

of the world economic depression. After the end of World War I, several countries especially those with capitalist ideology produced a lot of commodities with the intent of having surplus output that would help them get more profits. Some of the producers and fruit growers, coffee growers in Great Britain and wheat growers in America. These producers produced a lot of surplus that could not match with the prevailing market demands, leading to price fluctuations. This resulted in the collapse of industries as farmers stopped production; this led to massive unemployment, poverty and general suffering, all of which were the indicators of economic depression.

The collapse of the world stock exchange market also known as the Wall Street crash/ Great crash was another contributing factor to the outbreak of the world economic depression. On Thursday 24, October 1929, the world stock exchange in the Wall Street in New York crashed and left a lot to be desired. It negatively impacted on the banking sector in the U.S. It should be remembered that between 1929 and 1932, about 4200 financial institutions, especially banks, were closed. People, especially investors who had accounts in the closed banks, suffered serious losses amounting to 40,000 million dollars. This affected their purchasing power and later resulted in the closure of some industries due to loss of market for their products. Unemployment levels increased which finally translated into economic depression.

Reduction in the American loans to the European nations partly led to the occurrence of the world economic depression. As a result of the Wall Street crash in October 1929, there was drying up of American foreign loans since many American investors had lost all of their money to the collapse of the world stock market. Consequently, U.S.A. could no longer lend a lot of money to the European countries, especially those that had been seriously destroyed by World War I. It also went ahead and cut off the short-term loans it had been giving to countries like Germany, and Austria. This adversely impacted on those countries since they had become heavily dependent on American loans to pay their debts and finance their industrial developments and building works. Without American loans, European industries, especially Germany's industries, collapsed, leading to severe unemployment, inflation and other economic hardships, hence economic depression.

The establishment of weak states in Europe by the 1919 Versailles treaty partly contributed to the occurrence of the world economic Depression of 1929-1935. The Versailles peace treaty of 1919 created weak states as a way to punish the vanquished and reward the victors or those who were allies to the allied powers or those who were allied to the allied powers of France, U.S.A and Britain. The states that were created included Czechoslovakia, Poland, Slovenia, Armenia and Serbia. These states, however, were weak militarily, politically and economically. They did not have sound industries that could provide employment opportunities to their citizens. The economies of those states made them rely on foreign loans, especially from U.S.A which had high interests which later failed to pay, this forced U.S.A to cut off the financial assistance to these countries, paving way for the financial crisis, hence economic depression.

The occurrence of political turmoil in Europe during the inter-war period (1919-1939) contributed to

the economic depression. Between 1919 and 1939, Europe experienced a lot of chaos, civil wars and poor international relations. For example in Germany, the Nazi storm Troopers organized by Adolf Hitler, caused a lot of political instabilities as evidenced by the 1925 attempted coup. There developed a severe war in Russia immediately after the downfall of Tsar Nicholas II between the royalists and the communists. The 1917 communist revolution led by Lenin and Joseph Stalin brought division between Russia and the Western capitalist powers led by U.S.A. There were also mis- understandings between trade unions and industrialists as workers were demanding for improved conditions of work. As a result economic activities were brought to standstill and general economic slump manifested itself.

The decline of labour efficiency partly prepared a fertile ground for the outbreak of the Great economic depression of 1929-1935. It is important to point out that during the First World War, a big section of experienced, skilled, capable and efficient labour force (workers) died of heavy bombardments. This caused serious labour shortage in the European business community and availed opportunities to women and children who were significantly inexperienced to work in factories, farms and heavy industries. As a result, shortage of essential communities was witnessed. There was production of poor quality products that could not command demand on the international market. Thus, economic depression was made inevitable.

The policy of total ban on immigration in Europe also made a contribution to the outbreak of the World economic Depression. After the end of First World War, different countries in Europe banned the free movement of people mainly from the poverty stricken countries. This meant the blocking of the free movement of skilled and efficient labour force from regions where it was either unemployed or underemployed to the regions where it could be fully employed. The levels of involuntary unemployment increased and worsened people standards of living hence poverty and all these were indicators of Economic depression.

Poor economic leadership after World War I is also said to have contributed to the Great economic depression that hit the world between 1929-1935. Europe lacked skilled and capable economic leaders to solve economic problems caused by World War I. Even the league of Nations as a world body was financially weak and most of the time bankrupt. There was no economic integration among European powers and where it existed like in Atlantic economic community, the leaders were unable to carry out economic recovery in a bid to revamp their torn- apart economies. This culminated into severe industrial breakdown and financial crisis as industries totally collapsed and banks deteriorated to the worst thus economic depression being manifested.

The high taxation system adopted by various European countries was partly responsible for the outbreak of the world economic depression in 1929. In an attempt to meet the administrative costs, different European countries resorted to over taxation policy. This is twin mad investment climate unfavorable. Many businesses closed due to high taxes and this worsened unemployment levels. People's purchasing power drastically went down since they did not have the money to purchase the

produced commodities thus making economic depression inevitable.

The impact of political and economic announcement made by the famous world politicians also sowed seeds the economic blizzard that hit the world between 1929-1935. Speculation in form of announcements by the famous politicians through respected newspapers like London Times. These announcements which were exaggerated by self seeking pressmen caused panic and economic instability in continental Europe and beyond. For instance, the announcement made after the Thursday October 24, 1929 collapse of the world stock exchange market wall street in New York caused terrible economic hysteria among the investors who began speculating. About 13 million shares were sold at take way prices . Investors rushed to withdraw their money from the banks, reduced on production levels and laid off some their workers. Speculation on the other hand also led to over production which was counteracted by low consumption and low purchasing power hence economic depression stetting in unfair income distribution between the employers and employees partly contributed to the outbreak of the Great economic Depression of 1929-1935.

It has to be noted that between 1923 and 1926, industrial investors realized 72% profits increase while the workers had their wages and salaries increased by only 8% . This misdistribution of income led to the low purchasing power among the workers ( employees) due to low salaries and wages. The industrialists adamantly refused to lower prices which could enable the working group purchase the products. This worsened their living conditions and resulted into the outbreak of the world economic depression by 1929.

The introduction of capital intensive techniques of production was another contributing factor to the outbreak of the world economic depression. The work which was initially done by men could now be per formed by machines. This increased levels of unemployment especially in Germany, France, and Britain. For instance, about 10 million people became unemployed in Germany alone, in Britain and France about 3 million people became unemployed. This resulted into abject poverty and general deterioration of peoples standards of living. This leveled a favourable ground for the great economic depression that hit global economies between 1929-1935.

### **EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION OF 1929-1935.**

The world economic depression that engulfed the world between 1929 and 1935 and severely hit the Americans and Europeans had far reaching effects on the political, social, and social set ups of Europe and America in particular and the world at large. These effects were both short term and long term by orientation as well as being negative and positive in nature as analysed below;-

World economic depression led to the economic hardships of the league of Nations. This was because of the severe decline in the economic activities of the member states. Most of the nations that had subscribed to the league of Nations could not meet their membership obligations ( they could not raise their membership fees) .As a result, the League of Nations lacked the necessary funds to run

its activities as it was hit by the financial crisis. On the same note, due to such inherent weakness, some member countries such as Italy Japan, and Germany were forced to abandon the league and use military approaches to solve their economic hardship which later culminated into the Second World War. This was after realizing the League of Nations could not solve their problems.

The Great economic depression led to the spread of socialism and communism in Europe. This was after countries had realized that it was mainly capitalist countries that experienced economic depression. Due to the unforetold miseries experienced by the masses, democracy and capitalism were resented. Therefore people blamed economic depression on capitalism and democracy and began arguing for communism since it had saved Russia from being hit by the economic blizzard. It should be pointed out that, Russia which had embraced socialism in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin and Joseph Stalin, survived the great economic depression. This was a source of inspiration for some European states like Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to adopt a socialist ideology.

It also led to starvation and death in many countries. The Great economic depression led to the collapse of industries, factories and banks which led to Unemployment and poverty in many countries especially Germany, Britain, U.S.A among others. This left millions and millions of people with low purchasing power hence experiencing famines and starvation. For example in U.S.A around of million people died of starvation originating from the economic depression. To note also is that many farmers lost their farms which resulted into famine and starvation. In Germany millions and millions of people succumbed to starvation and death due to lack of money to purchase food for themselves. World economic depression led to the rise of dictators in the world politics. It led to political changes in Europe and USA to political changes in Europe and USA in favour of dictatorship. People lost confidence in democratic systems of governance and turned their eyes and hopes to militaristic and autocratic systems of governance. These leaders included, Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini who rose to power in 1922 in Italy, Adolf Hitler, 1933 in Germany general France, 1936 in Spain, in USA Franklin Roosevelt defeated president Hoover in the 1932 elections. In Poland the military Junta became autocratic while in Yugoslavia, King Alexander used military force to suppress the uprisings of the employed. In Austria, Japan, and Britain, the existing governments collapsed and the new ones came into place since people were blaming the old regimes for failing to control the depression.

Closure of several banks was witnessed as a result of the economic slump that hit the world between 1929-1935. Citizens in various nations were thrown into panic and in a severe period of speculation due to signs of nuclear future millions of people decided to withdraw their deposits and shares from the banks and this left financial institutions with almost no liquid money (cash) hence leading to their closure. In America alone, from 1929-1932 about 4,200 banks had to close and in 1929 12.9 million shares were sold in one day triple the normal amount which resulted in a stock market crash. In Germany, the Berlin central bank closed, and in Austria, the central bank also closed. People withdrew their money because they were unemployed and wanted something to eat and also they were anticipating severe inflation in future.



The World Economic Depression caused massive unemployment. This was a result of the terrible collapse of production plants like industries and factories. The decline in agricultural sectors and the closure of banks in various countries also exacerbated the problem of unemployment. The employers due to serious deficiency in demand were forced to lay off many of their employees. A good case in point was U.S.A where the number of employed people increased in 1929 from 1.5 millions to 5 millions in 1930 in, 1931 rose to 9 millions and in 1932, rose to 13 millions. In Europe by 1932 over 14 million people were unemployed, Germany leading with 6 millions, Britain 3 millions among others. This brought a lot suffering among the masses as they could not manage to meet their basic requirements of life especially food.

There was abandonment of the system Gold standards in most of the currencies. This was done after realizing that Gold had lost value during the economic Depression period (1929-1935) and the Gold standard system was considered to have had a hand in the outbreak of the World Economic Depression. Various countries started printing money that was not necessarily backed by Gold as it was before. Many countries and businessmen used dollars at a high rate than before since other currencies were backed by Gold. This relatively improved the terms of trade and narrowed the gap between the rich and the poor which had been created by unreliable foreign exchange rates.

World economic depression led a serious fall in the standards of living as a result of high cost of living. Due to high levels of unemployment, people could not meet their basic needs of life especially, food, medical care and shelter. This was basically because they never had money which lowered their purchasing power. For instance, in U.S.A the masses (people) in reserve camps were humorously baptized (nicknamed) as Hoover villas. They got their nickname from the U.S.A president, Hoover who was held for a ransom for the outbreak of the World economic Depression. In Europe, there was total deterioration in standards of living of the people as they could not afford to meet their day to day necessities of life.

The Great Economic Depression led to the collapse of governments. This was a result of people associating those governments with economic depression and all its associated problems. A number of existing governments were brought to end because they were accused of causing the economic depression. In U.S.A the economic depression led to the fall of the Republican Party under president Hoover in the presidential elections of November 1932 which gave rise to Franklin Roosevelt who promised to revamp the U.S economy and improve people's standards of living. In Germany the Weimar Republic was brought to an end and Nazi party under the leadership of Adolf Hitler took over the political mantle. In Austria, Japan, and Britain, the existing governments also collapsed and new ones emerged.

Economic blocks were formed as a result of the 1929-1935 Great Economic Depression. There was formation of economic alliances / economic co-operation with a view of having sound economic bases that could help member states to recover from the shock of the economic blizzard that had

torched their economies. For instance, 1933, OSLO Economic Block was formed by the Scandinavian nations, USA was forced to form a regional co-operation with states south America, the common wealth community was also formed, which united all former colonies of Britain not for political reasons , but for economic reasons. All these economic blocks were created with an ultimate aim of solving the adverse effects of the Great economic depression.

There was increased protectionism as a result of economic depression. As a way to solve economic problems caused by economic depression, each country tried to protect her own market, control inflation, currency value and exchange rates. As a result, many countries raised tariffs, imposed stiff quotas on imports among others. They even sought regional arrangements like that of Scandinavian countries, common wealth countries among others which led to unfair competition and rivalry among many countries. It should be remembered that it was USA that initiated protectionism in 1922 as a way to protect her domestic industries which was copied by other powers and later gained magnitude with the Economic depression.

The world economic depression of 1929-1935 increased popularity of some economists. The rise of distinguished economists like J.M Keynes. He is said to have rationally and logically analyzed the origins of the World Economic Depression. He introduced a theory known as; Keynesian theory of unemployment which is sometimes referred to as cyclical or deficiency in demand unemployment. Keynes maintained that the basic cause of the economic depression was insufficient level of total spending in the economy (aggregate demand deficiency). He therefore suggested solutions such as increased government expenditure which would create employment income, buying securities from the public among others. In his opinion, these measures would improve peoples demand for good and services.

The Great Economic depression (1929-1935) shuttered down international trade. This is because countries imposed high tariffs on imported goods as away to protect their domestic industries and business communities from foreign commodities and from being out competed. This spirit of protectionism, did not favour international trade because prices for imported goods more than doubled while the domestically made goods were made very cheap. This worsened terms of trade and the conditions became unfavourable for international trade as countries mainly focused on their domestic affairs with no care for international relations.

The World economic depression played a vital role in the outbreak of world war II. This is because it facilitated the rise to power of the dictators in Europe who promised to destroy socialism for instance Adolf Hitler, 1933, 1933. These dictators embarked on militarism, formation of alliances to solve the economic problems caused by the economic Depression. Also due to negative effects of the World economic Depression, some powers invaded others for raw materials needed to solve domestic problems. These included Japan that invaded chinise Provinces of machuria (1931) and Johel (1933), Italy under Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935. This inspired Germany under Adolf Hitler to invade Poland to acquire Polish Corridor on September 1, 1939 which sparked off the Second World War since other power joined the war.

## **MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE STATES TO OVERCOME THE EFFECTS OF THE GREAT ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.**

The world economic depression was the economic crisis that was globally experienced. It was characterized by high levels of unemployment low purchasing power, financial crisis, decline in wages and salaries, general breakdown of industries, low productivity, closure of banks among others. This horrifying and colossal economic slump was attempted to be solved by undertaking the following measures;-

Organising world economic conferences in a bid to help countries recover from the economic hardships .In 1933, for example in Geneva, Switzerland an international conference held and was attended by representatives from 66 countries. The main aim of the conference was to map out ways that could help overcome economic depression. The delegates (representatives) tirelessly worked out modalities distinctively to solve the Great economic slump. For instance world currency stabilization, removal of free trade restrictions and harmonizing both import and export tariffs were discussed at length.

Formation of regional economic integration (co-operation) as another measure that was adopted by the affected countries to over come economic depression. Countries that were affected by the economic slump decided to come together and solve problems resulting from the economic depression. This resurrected free trade which had been killed by the selfish economic policies such as isolationist and protectionist policies adopted by some countries. It should be remembered that protectionism had made international trade sour since countries could not freely trade with one another. Economic Blocks such as OSLO for the Scandinavian countries, common wealth community for common wealth nations, USA integrated with south American states among others. Such integration was meant to enable states have joint approaches to the economic depression. This was after realizing democracy had caused the economic crisis (depression) and hence had to resource to autocratic means to deal with the effects of the economic depression. The dictators also imposed quotas on both export and imports as well as high tariffs on imports in order to safeguard their infant local industries. However, these were short-lived solutions which in the long run exacerbated the situation.

European powers stopped the system of gold standard which had contributed to the outbreak of world economic depression. Many countries completely abandoned the gold standard system and printed new moneys into circulation. Regardless of the amount of Gold in reserves, money was printed by the central banks of various nations and circulated to the public. This led to the improved purchasing powers of the masses which resulted into improved standards of living. It is wise therefore, to say that by 1936, the world economic depression was a mere historical event to remember.

Germany violated the harsh and unrealistic Versailles peace treaty that had ruined her economy. Germany under Hitler destroyed the Versailles covenant that had put her economy in a very sorry

state. Hitler out rightly on his rise to power discontinued the payment of war indemnity to the victor powers of France and Britain. The Rhineland's and saar coal fields that had been taken away from Germany were recovered and industrialization programs were rejuvenated which gradually led to industrial development in Germany and as a result, Germanys economy slowly but surely recovered from the economic slump that had left her economy in shambles.

Use of aggressive foreign policy by some countries was also used as an attempt to overcome the negative effects of economic depression. World's powerful powers embarked on a radical foreign policy as solution to the great economic depression. Through this policy, countries hoped to get the necessary raw materials, market for their manufactured goods and areas where to invest their surplus capital a case in point was the 1931 Japanese invasion of the Chinese territory of manchiria. This was put under a man called Puyi who extravagantly exploited cotton and silk resources for Japanese economic benefit .Italy under mussolin was provoked and had to invade Ethiopia the pride of Africa in 1935 and Germany under Hitler invaded Poland tp recover the polish corridor on September, 1, 1939. Such aggressive foreign policies were meant to help those powerful states recover the shock of economic depression.

Adoption of social – economic reforms by various countries was another measure that was adopted by countries to overcome the effects of the world economic depression. Most European states designed social economic policies to address the economic policies to address the economic slump. It is pertinent (important) to point out that industrial and agricultural sectors were improved upon. Trade unions in various countries were given opportunity to execute their activity without any interference from governments. Progressive taxes were levied on the rich to subsidize the poor. This led to the improved general welfare of the households. Therefore the social economic reforms adopted by various nations helped to improve the general wellbeing of the masses.

Intervention by governments was also taken as a measure to deal with the adverse effects of the world economic depression. Countries intervined to help their citizens recover from the economic shock by undertaking pro –people policies. For instance, some countries started controlling some major sectors of the economy in order to regulate the flow of economic activities also, some countries like France, Britain, USA initiated unemployment's relief schemes for their citizens. This was mainly to benefit the unemployed citizens who were above the age of 18 years to enable meet their basic requirements of life and live meaningful lives on earth.

There was restricted borrowing and lending as away to avoid future economic slumps. Countries argued that there was a need to restrict their borrowing and lending since un regulated borrowing and lending had caused economic depression. The money borrowed for investment in productive ventures was simply consumed. USA was forced to stop granting loans and seriously began to ask for the payment of her loans especially those she had advanced to the European countries prior 1929 in order to stabilize her economy. Restricted borrowing was meant to help countries that had been heavily indebted by the U.S Loans not accumulate more debts, but concentrate on their local resources that

would help them develop.

Adoption of the new economic depression theories was witnessed as countries struggled to come out of the economic blizzard that had disastrously hit their economies. Countries ended up adopting some new economic theories like the Keynesian theory of unemployment which was seen as an important theory that would help countries deal with economic depression. Lord J.M Keynes propounded this theory to help countries identify the causes of economic depression as well as the strategies to overcome. The new economic theory (Keynesian theory of unemployment) maintained that the basic cause of the economic depression was aggregate demand deficiency which would be solved by increased government expenditure that would create employment opportunities for the masses.

### REVISION QUESTIONS

1. “The unrealistic terms of the Versailles peace settlement caused the world economic depression of 1929 – 1934”. Discuss.
2. Discuss the consequences of post-world war I economic imperialism.
3. Discuss the causes and provide solution to 1929 – 1933 World Economic Depression.
4. **To what extent was U.S.A responsible for the economic depression of 1929-1934 in Europe?**
5. **What were the causes and the effects of 1929-1934 World Economic Depression?**

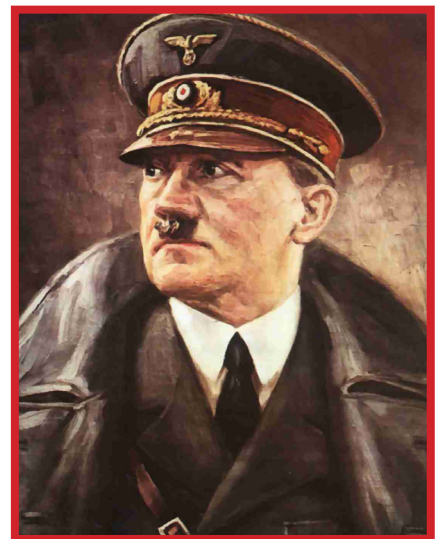
## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### NAZISM IN GERMANY 1920 – 1945

Hitler was born on 20th April 1889 in a city of Braunau. He was a son of minor customs official in Austria. He left Vienna for Germany in 1913 and lived in Munich town. He had ambition to become a fine artist but he was frustrated when he failed to join Vienna academy of fine art and he resorted to painting and designing placards.

Hitler joined the Germany army in 1913 and served in World War I up to 1919 during which he was promoted to the rank of lance corporal. During the war he was wounded twice by British troops attack and was hospitalized in Germany. That's why he missed Versailles Peace treaty. Hitler was very disappointed with the defeat of Germany in World War I. After the war, Hitler with other ex-servicemen, formed the Nazi party (the Germany nationalist workers party). Hitler was opposed to communism and this gained him support of capitalists in Germany. Based at Munich in November 1923 he attempted to make military coup against Weimar republic which aborted. Hitler was captured and imprisoned for a sentence of 5 years although he was soon released after a months.

Adolph Hitler hated other political parties in Germany and while he was in captivity he wrote his famous book named "Mein-Kampf" (my struggle) which became the Nazi hand book. This book circulated to all Nazi supporters and it greatly increased his popularity in Germany. This is why in 1932 presidential elections in Germany Hitler had 13.5million votes while Hindenberg had 9.25million votes. This election revealed the popularity of Hitler and on 30th July 1933 President Hindenberg appointed Hitler as a new chancellor of Germany even without consulting Reichstag. On the death of Hindenberg in 1934 Hitler added on presidential power to himself like Mussolini. He now attained dictatorial power legitimately and became head of state and commander in chief of German armed forces.



**ADOLF HITLER**

### FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF ADOLF HITLER AND NAZI PARTY IN GERMANY

Effects of World War I and the harsh terms of Versailles peace treaty. German was forced to bear the sole responsibility for the outbreak of World War I, was forced to disarm, her troops were reduced to only 100,000 soldiers and made to meet the war costs of victor powers (the war indemnity of 6.6million pounds) Nazi party accused the Weimar republic that accepted such terms on Germany, Nazi promised to denounce the Versailles peace settlement, promised better leadership by Nazi



government. This attracted the middle class, jobless industrialists etc to Nazi party and by 1933 Nazi party had taken charge of German affairs.

Besides ,the weakness of Weimar republic also contributed to the rise of Adolf Hitler and his Nazi party to power. It was lead by former unknown people in history of Germany. Weimar republic was founded on the democratic principles which was hated by German. Germans preferred their historical authoritarian style of leadership. Weimar government failed to secure better terms for Germany in Versailles peace settlement. With these bottlenecks, Nazi party promised better leadership to Germans leading to its rise to power by 1933.

Economic hardships in Germany also led to the rise of Nazi Party. During the Weimar republic Germany was characterized by inflation, poverty, unemployment, scarcity of essential goods etc. Hitler confirmed to Germans that this problem was caused by Versailles peace settlement that left about 6million Germans unemployed. Hitler stressed to Germans how they needed a strong government to denounce the terms of Versailles peace settlement, return German colonies and regain German markets world wide. All classes of people in Germany turned to Nazi party as a solution for their economic problems.

The personality of Nazi chief-Adolf Hitler was another factor that contributed to his rise to power. He was a talented orator. This made other ex-servicemen appoint him as a head of Nazi party in 1920. He mobilized Germans into Nazi party through rallies, provision of Nazi uniform, composing of Nazi matching slogans, coordinating genuine strikes and demonstrations against the Weimar republic. These made German professionals, jobless, ex-servicemen, the industrialists and the middle class to have hopes in Hitler for their suffering.

The economic depression of 1929-34 also known as the economic slump that had started in U.S.A quickly spread in Europe and the most affected country was Germany. Rural-urban migration increased, factories closed, unemployment was so high accompanied by inflation. Germans longed for another military dictator who could improve the economic position of Germany by undertaking many public investments and create more jobs for Germans.

Political divisions in Germany also led to the rise of Nazi Party. The post-war Germany had several political groups each with private army. There was the Nazi, the socialist, communists, the liberals, republicans etc. the population was therefore divided, this led to a lot of social unrest arising from the classes amongst the supporters of the political groups. Nazi party lead by Hitler exploited this divided population to rise to power with minor resistance. He promised law and order which attracted many Germans behind him.

Hitler's writings also contributed to the rise of Nazi party. Nazi formulated 25 point programme calling for German nationalism, elimination of the Jews, territorial expansion, improving of poor and lower middle class. This attracted many people into Nazi party. Secondly while in prison in 1923

Hitler wrote his book “Main Kampf” meaning “my struggle” which promoted the culture of “Aryan Race” and outlined the plans for the 3rd Germany Empire. This promoted Nazi party in Germany. The role of Nazi storm troopers also contributed to the rise of Adolf Hitler to the power. This was a Nazi force led by Ernest Roehm. They were deployed in most parts of Germany to weaken the progress of communist and socialist propaganda. In 1932 parliamentary elections the Nazi storm troops intimidated many voters who opted to vote for Nazi party. Nazi party took the second position with 107 seats. Even his appointment by Hindenburg as a Germany chancellor partly was to stop his forces from further acts of violence.

Hitler was aided by these fellow ex-servicemen to rise to power. They had worked with him in World War I and they knew of his determination. The role of ex-servicemen was quite vital in the rise of Nazi party. They campaigned for Hitler in urban and country side thus winning him popularity in Germany. It was this popularity that enabled Hitler to take the highest political office in Germany. The growth and spread of communism in Germany. The success of 1917 Russia revolution led to the establishment of communist government in Russia. The spread of communism into Russia posed a great threat to property owners in Germany. However after the formation of Nazi party in 1920, Hitler promised to fight communism and protect capitalists. He thus popularity attracted sympathy from the most Germans who supported Hitler to rise to power.

Hitler's poor background also contributed to his determination to rise to power. He was born of commoners, he lost his parents by age of 13 (1902), lacked proper education, had a skill and talent of fine art but he was denied admission in Vienna fine art academy and resorted to painting design work. Because of too much suffering in 1913 he crossed to Germany for survival. He joined army and in 1914-18 World War I he fought on the side of Germany.

Nazi propaganda was another factor which facilitated the rise of Nazi party to power. He was involved in uprooting of communism, critique of Weimar weaknesses, hated the Jews settlement in Germany accusing them of betraying Germany in World War I. It was such direct attack of Germany problems that made him popular and hence his rise to power. This is because most Germans had strong hope in Hitler and his Nazi party as the only solution to their problems. It was against this background that Hitler and his Nazi party rose to power.

### **HITLER'S CONSOLIDATION TO POWER BEFORE 1945.**

Hitler centralized his administration. After 1933, he dissolved the institution of the Weimar republic and created a new government based on Nazi principles of democracy in which he was the highest figure. He appointed the ex-servicemen, friends and close relatives for junior offices in Nazi government. With such an arrangement, Hitler was able to consolidate himself to power for along period of time as he did not have strong opposition.

He dismissed and dissolved all other political parties in Germany. Most leaders of opposition were

either killed or exiled e.g. on 30th July 1934 Ems Roem the leader of socialist party who greatly opposed Hitler was murdered with others. Hitler also turned against the Jews whom he accused of betraying Germany in World War I.

Hitler denounced the terms of Versailles peace settlement. In 1934 he began the exercise of re-arming Germany, he refused to pay balance of war reparations, he strongly criticized the Germany delegates who signed the Versailles peace treaty. Hitler formed strong spy network system. The spies and secret police were formed to sense danger for safety of Nazi government, special prisons were established to deal with anti-Nazi Germans.

Hitler also carried out press censorship as another way of consolidating himself to power. He only permitted the pro-Nazi newspapers, articles and magazines to be circulated in Germany. This checked the growth of internal opposition against Nazi government. Press pressure greatly led to the rise of Nazi party. Hitler's press censorship drastically reduced his opposition and created fear in the minds of those who were anti-Nazi government. In 1935 Hitler collected and burnt all the publications that were against Nazi ideology.

His force silenced the internal and external enemies. He built the strongest army of the time. He transformed the storm troopers into a national army, well trained and highly equipped. The Germany navy, warships and aircrafts were best in Europe by 1939. It was this form of military power that encouraged Adolph Hitler to ignite the spark for World War II in 1939 when he attacked Poland. It should be recalled that by 1940, Hitler had trained and developed the strongest army on the continent of Europe. It is this army that he used to consolidate himself to power.

He revolutionised Germany civil service. New educated skilled supporters of Nazi party were offered jobs in 1933 Nazi government. For instance his friend Goring was made a Prime minister while Goebbels became the Minister for war. Army was overhauled and majority army commanders were members of Nazi party. Hitler changed the national civil service into a "Nazi civil services where jobs were now given, basing one's membership to the Nazi party. Therefore almost all government workers were supporters of the Nazi party

New economic policies were employed in Germany. Nazi government embarked on the problem of unemployment for example, many investment schemes both by government and private investors were put in place. Road construction units and industries were put up partly to increase the employment opportunities. Hitler therefore re-organised the Germany by doing this, he became a darling of many German Citizens

In 1934, Hitler through Nazi grand council, passed the enabling bill. The bill gave Hitler powers to make any changes in the law and the constitution of Germany without consulting his subjects or Reichstag for the next 4 years. This bill enabled Hitler to pass several absolute orders to transform

Germany into Nazi principles. Therefore this law enabled Hitler to make his Nazi party so strong and dominant in the German affairs thus encouraging him to consolidate himself to power.

Hitler Nazified the German children. Parents were discouraged from taking their children to religious founded schools but to public schools. While in these public schools, all children were conditioned to register with Hitler's Youth Group, Association (HYGA). In this association members were taught the Nazi doctrines e.g. boys were taught military work while girls were groomed for motherhood. The children were also taught that Hitler is ever right and their first duty was to obey him. They were told to report their parents who were anti Nazi to secret police.

Hitler brought church under state control. In 1933, he signed a treaty with the Pope and promised not to interfere with the church affairs, the catholic centre party and to leave politics. However later the catholic protested the abolition of catholic youth league that competed with Hitler's youth group association. He responded by imprisoning a number of priests and nuns. The same was done when Protestants refused the appointment of Nazi man as a Bishop and Hitler's mistreatment of Jews. Despite of these odds Hitler went ahead and placed the church under the control of state.

He developed the infrastructure of Germany. A number of motorways, modern railway lines, the bridges, aerospace, schools, hospitals and churches were reconstructed to the level of pre-world war I Germany. This improved commercial activities in Germany. This paved way for the creation of employment opportunities to the people of Germany. Who has been unemployed as a result of world war I and economic depression. This helped to improve on the general welfare of the German masses.

He saved Germany from falling into hands of communism. This had its base in Russia since 1917 and it had greatly threatened the growth of capitalists. One of the major objectives of Nazi party was to block the spread of communism in Germany. He made Germany become aggressive and a military power once again. He established a strong force, trained and equipped it with modern weapons of time. Germany was re-armed again despite of 1919 Versailles peace treaty decision on the disarmament policy of Germany.

## **FACTORS FOR THE DOWNFALL OF ADOLF HITLER AND NAZI GOVERNMENT**

The death of Adolf Hitler in 1945 marked the end of Nazi government in Germany and this followed the defeat of Germany in the World War II. Hitler committed suicide on 30th April 1945 only 2 days after the execution of his friend Benito Mussolini.

### **Reasons for the downfall of Adolph Hitler include;**

The defeat of Germany in World War II was one of the factors that led to the downfall of Adolf

Hitler. He was responsible for the outbreak of World War II after the attack of Poland and in 1939 in attempt to unfold the terms of 1919 Versailles peace treaty. His aggressiveness could not outmatch the strength of allied forces. This was evidenced on the last day of the World War II when the Russian red army invaded and conquered Berlin. Hitler fearing to be captured alive, he committed suicide on 30th April, 1945.

The geographical size of Germany around 1939 was another reason for Hitler's downfall. Germany comprised of Holland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Austria as it was in 1919. This was because Hitler after 1934 began an exercise of regaining some Germany territories for example in 1936 he brought back Yugoslavia to Germany. Therefore the size of Germany had become so large to be administered from one centre-Berlin. This made it inevitable for the conquered states to become uncontrollable which led to internal wars and civil unrest.

Hitler's hatred for the League of Nations also made him lose Germany political grip. This body was created in 1919 to ensure peace in the world after the devastations of World War I. The post-world war I dictators of Europe especially Benito Mussolini and Adolph Hitler greatly despised the status of League of Nations. The main reason for this hatred was the league's contribution in 1919 Versailles treaty that mistreated Germany. Germany had become the member of the League of Nations in 1926 but Hitler on coming to power pulled Germany out of it. Had Hitler respected the League of Nations, he would have probably stayed in power longer than he did.

Destruction of Germany economy in World War II contributed much to the downfall of Hitler. This economy had been reconstructed partly by Weimar republic and Hitler after the destructions of World War I. During World War II the agriculture, trade and industries of Germany were seriously bombarded. The collapse of Fascism in Italy. This was headed by a close friend of Hitler – Benito Mussolini. They had even concluded a treaty of defense called Rome – Berlin Axis. Hitler's renewed aggressiveness in Germany party rested on expected military help from Mussolini. Mussolini was executed by his own soldiers on 28th April 1945 and this marked the downfall of fascism in Italy. After 2 days on 30th April, 1945 Adolf Hitler was also killed. This marked the end of Nazism in Germany.

Hitler's dictatorship at home Other than aggressive foreign policy facilitated downfall. Hitler was equally oppressive internally. He banned other political party activities in Germany. This political diversity intolerance at home created an internal opposition against him. He also killed and exiled most of his opponents; this denied him strong friends and support from home. Hitler's aggressive foreign policy. After 1935 Hitler terrorized and attacked his neighbours like Austria, Czechoslovakia and later Poland in 1939. This earned Hitler more enemies among his neighbours and by 1939 he had been isolated by both local and the international communities.

The exhaustion of Hitler's army is worth mentioning when accounting for Hitler's fall from power. By 1945, Hitler's forces had been weakened by allied forces most of them had been wounded while many others were killed. Exhaustion of Germany army greatly led to the collapse of Nazi Party. Army

supplies in the battle field were also getting, scarce after longtime of fighting. Much of Germany economy had been destroyed and therefore reduced revenues which affected funding of the war.

Loss of Germany colonies greatly contributed to the collapse of Nazi party..The 1919 victor power domination of Germany colonies under the mandate of League of Nations greatly contributed to downfall of Nazi government. Britain and France among others had taken over the control of all Germany colonies e.g. Tanganyika, Namibia, Togo land and Cameroon. Colonies were a source of soldiers and funds to imperial powers. This explains the defeat of Nazi party and Hitler in 1945. The party did not have clear guiding principles that would have helped its leaders in making appropriate decisions and perhaps that is why made a wrong decision of attacking Poland little knowing that the consequences would be undesirable.

Lack of clear principles as a political organization also led to the collapse of the Nazi's party, Nazi party lacked a proper constitution and manifesto. Largely Nazi party rested on decisions of ex-servicemen and some radical men who considered aggression as best option for political problems. Therefore in 1939 they advised Adolf Hitler to invade Poland leading to outbreak of World War II and the eventual defeat of Germany in 1945.

### **Revision Questions**

1. Account for the rise of Nazi party and Adolf Hitler by 1933.
2. To what extent did Versailles peace settlement of 1919 contribute to rise of Adolf Hitler to power by 1933?
3. "The weakness of Weimar Republic largely contributed to the rise of Nazism to power in Germany by 1933" Discuss.
4. How did Adolf Hitler consolidate himself to power in Germany by 1933?
5. Assess the achievements of Adolph Hitler in Germany up to 1945.



## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### FASCISM IN ITALY 1922 – 1945

The founder of Fascism party was Benito Mussolini. He was a son of a black smith born in 1883 at Romagna in Italy. His mother was a school mistress. Like Adolph Hitler, he had a humble background. Before joining Italian army and after school, Mussolini tried to work as a mansion but failed. He became a butcher boy and later a journalist. In 1915 he fought in World War I when Italy joined the war on Allied side. In 1919 after the war, based in Milan city of Italy with members of lower middle class, some industrialists and landowners with the main purpose of defense against the spread of communism into Italy they formed the Fascist party.

The word Fascism is derived from Latin word “fascis” meaning a bundle of rods tied around the axe symbolizing authority in the ancient Roman Empire. It glorified Italian law and order, war efforts, Italian nationalism, state power, neglect of Italy in benefits of world war I and above all opposed to industrial unrest due to spread of communism and socialism ideas in Italy. Before 1914 B. Mussolini was a member of socialist party but later abandoned it because it had refused Italy’s participation in World War I and on the side of triple entente (Allies). After 1919, Mussolini became a vibrant advocate against his socialist party. He won the support of majority Italians due to his efforts to block the entry of communism and socialism from Russia.

Fascism was formed in Milan but by 1921 it had spread to most parts of the country with about 250,000 members most of whom were property owners in Italy like the middle class industrialist and landowners. B. Mussolini exploited the economic hardships in Italy to promote his Fascist party and its ideas. After World War I Italy was denied its promised rewards by the Victor powers as according to treaty of London signed in 1916. This discontent led to the formation of many political parties in Italy all of them were identified according to colour of uniforms for example the blue shirts was for liberals, the grey shirts were for nationalists, the red shirts were for communists while the black shirts were for fascists led by B. Mussolini.

The most violent and betrayal of Italy in 1919 Versailles peace settlement was the black shirt party. To reduce this violence in Italy, king of Italy-Victor Emmanuel III appointed Benito Mussolini on 22nd Oct, 1922 as a prime minister of Italy. Mussolini used this opportunity to popularize himself and become a king of Italy. A week after his appointment to power on 28th Oct, 1922, he ordered a fascist march to Rome from all corners of Italian state. He did not accompany them, the mission was achieved by his deputies and he arrived few hours later in a train and declared himself a



**ADOLF HITLER**

king of Italy in Oct, 1922 after the conquest of Rome and over throw of Victor Emmanuel III from power.

## **FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF FASCISM AND BENITO MUSOLINI TO POWER IN ITALY IN 1922.**

Fascism emerged as a result of neglect of Italy by Victor powers after world war I. World War I was concluded by signing of Versailles peace settlement in which Italy expected the Victor powers to fulfill her 1916 promises in London treaty. These were;

The defection of Italy to Triple Entente led to the rise of fascism and Benito Musolini to power. Originally Italy was a member of triple Alliance but triple entente convinced her to join World War I on her side in 1915. Under this deal, Italy was promised the return of all territories with Italian population to her borders. These included – Trentino, south Tyrol, Istria, Trieste, Dalmatia, Adalia Aagean islands, Albania and Fuime. Unfortunately she only got 4 of these Trientino, Tyrol, Istria and Trieste, the rest were offered to Yugoslavia. This caused a lot of discontent among Italians thus leading to rise of Fascism.

Economic damage of Italy by world war I was another factor that led to the rise of fascism in Italy. This drained Italian resources leaving her economically weak. It therefore became hard for King Victor Emmanuel III's government to carry out necessary reforms like unemployment and inflation. Mussolini based on such weaknesses to denounce the then Italian government. Besides, World War I had claimed about 600,000 Italians. This created a mass support of Fascism party.

Another factor that led to the rise of fascism and Musolini to power was the economic hardships in Italy. Since unification period in 1871, successive governments had failed to solve social economic problems like unemployment, corruption, inflation and urban congestion among others. These generated strikes, socialist workers, and resentment against the government of Victor Emmanuel III. This provided a base for fascist propaganda and popularity.

Failure to establish a democratic government in Italy, paved way for the rise of facism in Italy. King Victor Emmanuel III failed to establish democratic gorvenment in Italy. Constitutional failure in Italy provided an opportunity for the rise of Facism. His government failed to suppress violence much as there were enough armed forces, police and the militia. Mussolini Fascist party exploited this weakness to rise to power in Italy. The character and personality of Benito Mussolini. Just like Adolph Hitler he was a good orator, handled the Italians tactfully in their interests and above all his speeches influenced the decisions of jobless, middle class, industrialists, youth ex-servicemen and the commoners. This lead to his rise to power in Italy.

Disunity among the opposition groups played a major role in the rise of fascism. The ant-fascist groups failed to co-operate with eachother and made no efforts to out-compete Fascist activities in

Italy. The communists and socialists failed to cooperate and uproot the forces of Fascism in Italy. In 1924 parliamentary elections, Fascism won the majority seats in the parliament. Fascism emerged as a result of the spread of communism from Russia. Ever since 1917, the communist ideology had been spreading from Russia and it posed a threat to capitalists and factory owners in Europe. In 1922 his army of black shirts openly clashed with red shirt forces of communist party. This won him majority support of Italian businessmen.

Personal ambitions of Emperor Mussolini was another contributing factor to his rise to power. These were other factors that led to rise of Fascism in Italy. A son of blacksmith and a mistress had humble background. He had identified himself with socialist party by 1909 but later deserted it by 1914 as it opposed Italy's decision to join Allied powers in World War I. At Milan in 1919 this ambition made him organize other groups of people in the formation of fascist party. By 1921 Fascism had spread to main towns of Italy. In 1922 he organized a fascist march to Rome where he was appointed as a prime minister. After 2 weeks this ambition made him overthrow the government of Victor Emmanuel III.

Rise of social distress and crimes in Italy can not be left unmentioned. After World War I there was a lot of blood shed, murder and robbery in Italy because of political party conflicts, the government of Victor Emmanuel III had failed to ensure law and order. Due to his popularity in post-world war I era, many Italians expected him to re-instate law and order in Italy hence the rise of Fascism by 1922. Fascism was seen as the only hope for the Italians were ranging for constitutional rule and democratic governance.

Fascism was also facilitated by the weakness of Victor Emmanuel III and his liberal constitution. This constitution had not given enough powers to the king and it allowed the activities of political parties in Italy. Victor Emmanuel III had failed to unite Italians and check the emergency of private armies. He failed to stop Fascist march to Rome in Oct 1922. Mussolini exploited his weaknesses to take over the throne. The inherent weaknesses of Victor Emmanuel III made him unpopular amongst the Italian masses who turned their focus on B. Mussolini hence the rise of fascism in Italy.

The Italian force had been defeated at Caporetto. Italians who loved a glorious foreign policy were disappointed. Meanwhile Mussolini and Fascist party had a strong force of black shirt militiamen. He used these militias to eliminate anti-fascist group e.g. the murder of Matteotti in 1923. The black shirts also coerced people to join Fascist party. The mal-administration in post-war government of Italy. At the end of World War I, Italians expected government of peace, reform, liberty and equality to be put in place. But the government of Victor Emmanuel III had inefficient and corrupt officials. The desire for better form of government led to rise of Fascism to power.

## **MEASURES USED BY BENITO MUSSOLINI TO CONSOLIDATE HIMSELF TO POWER**

Mussolini incorporated all the opposition party leaders into his government; He dissolved these partisans as a strategy to build a single fascist party in Italy. Fascist servicemen were employed to eliminate these opposition groups and this led to a creation of a perfect Fascist government. To control public opinions, Mussolini censored the press in 1925; This served to silence the potential Fascist opponents. The minister for information had to scrutinize the newspapers in Italy and those which were against fascism policies had to be banned. This helped to prolong Mussolini's fascist rule in power.

Formation of a single party government helped Mussolini's to consolidate himself to power. In 1924 parliamentary elections Mussolini rigged and fascist party attained majority support parliamentarians. This majority support in the parliament favoured the interests of Fascist party. For example all the opposition parties like the socialists, communists and liberals were banned. The banning of political parties that Mussolini has less or no opposition at all. This made it easy for Mussolini to control and manage affairs of Italy.

The harassment of opponents was another serious form of power consolidation used by the emperor Benito Mussolini. It was also another instrument he used to maintain himself on power. Many were exiled, imprisoned while others were killed. The common exile for his opponents was Lampedusa Island in the Mediterranean Sea. The murder of socialist leader Matteotti after 1924 for having openly criticized the 1924 general elections greatly scared the opponents of Fascist party.

The employment of a strong spy network system was another measure used by Mussolini to consolidate himself to power. This group was led by secretary general of Fascist party-Farinacci. This made it quite royal to the Fascist government. By 1930 all the anti-Fascist government elements had been captured, eliminated and hunted down. This left the government of Mussolini free of opposition. With out opposition, Mussolini was able to fully consolidate himself to power as he had nothing to obstruct his power.

Mussolini tried to revive the foreign glory of Italy. In 1896 Italy was defeated by Ethiopia in the battle of Adowa. In 1935 he carried out revenge, attacked and occupied Ethiopia until 1941. In 1939 Mussolini occupied Albania as a strategy for expansion of Italian boundary. He allied with Nazism of Adolf Hitler by forming the Rome-Berlin Axis camp with the common aim of destroying socialism and communism in Europe. All these strategies earned Mussolini strong support and sympathy from the glory seekers Italian.

Mussolini introduced the fascist political organ known as; "The Fascist Grand Council". It constituted of a carefully selected hard-liners. This organ was over and above supreme political organ and parliamentary powers. It only respected the powers of Mussolini, parliament became powerless and

this was a true indication of Fascism. The Grand Fascist council was also responsible for monitoring the duties of the Head of state who was none other than Benito Mussolini. This gave him a chance to change Italy into a fascist state.

He tried to please all social classes of people in Italy. Mussolini attempted to promote the rights of industrial capitalists, workers and peasants. He did this by changing the government parliamentary system into the corporate state system. Under this, different classes of people were grouped according to their occupation in corporations. Each corporation had to send a representative in the parliaments to campaign for their interests. This allowed the fulfillment hence enabling Mussolini to consolidate himself to power.

Benito Mussolini reconciled the Catholic Church with state. In 1929, Mussolini entered an agreement with the pope known as the "Lateran pact". This aimed at ending long term conflict between the Catholic Church and the state. This had been on since the 1870 unification struggle largely Mussolini aimed at winning the majority Catholics to his Fascist side. It was against this background that Catholicism was recognised as a state religion and the city of Vatican was proclaimed a sovereign state under the pope. This earned Mussolini's support from the Catholics.

Mussolini also carried out infrastructure reforms in Italy. Public work programmes were made compulsory in Italy. This increased employment opportunities in Italy, massive public work projects were started e.g. construction of new bridges, roads, channels, railway lines, hospitals, schools and recreation centers. This made the Fascist government famous and it is this fame that prolonged the life span of Mussolini's fascist rule in Italy.

He imposed the strict supervision of education in Italy. Schools, colleges and universities were closely supervised. Teachers had to wear uniforms, and many text books were written to promote fascist ideology. Learners were encouraged to criticize teachers who opposed the Fascist ideas. Children were obliged to join government youth organizations which indoctrinated them to the interests of their leader-Mussolini. This made children love Mussolini and his fascist government because of what they were.

Better employment policies developed by Mussolini's fascist government helped him to tighten his grip on power for long. In employment policy, he tried to promote cooperation between the employers and workers. Trade unions were formed and controlled by Fascists. Fascist leaders could negotiate wages for workers. Both employers and workers formed one corporation under which they were required to end the disputes over wages and working conditions.

The Fascist intervention in Spain was another factor that helped Mussolini to consolidate himself to power. The Spanish monarchy was overthrown in a republican revolution of 1931. Members of the monarchy fled to the United States of America but General Franco stayed in the canaries from where he crossed to Morocco in 1935. While in Morocco, General Franco organized a guerrilla

army with the support of the moors. He planned to use guerillas to return to Spain and overthrow the republican government. Before this plan could be executed, Franco needed help from Europe. This was easily produced by Benito Mussolini who provided tanks, fighter planes, and the Fascist army. Spain was invaded and by 1939 both Madrid and Barcelona had fallen to General Franco. Up to 1945 Spain remained a puppet state of Benito Mussolini.

Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1936 partly allowed Mussolini to consolidate himself to power. Further consolidation to the throne was expressed in his decision over the League of Nations. In 1936, both Germany and Italy withdrew their membership from the League of Nations. In 1936, Italy opposed the League of Nations denouncing the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. In 1936 Germany condemned League of Nations occupation of her Rhine lands. The two formed a new alliance called Rome-Berlin-Axis.

The Italian occupation of Greece in 1923 also facilitated Mussolini's consolidation to power. In 1923 four Italians were murdered by Greeks mistaken to be spies. In response to this, Mussolini invaded and occupied an Island of Greece Corfu. League of Nations intervened, decided the fee for compensation of these Italians which Benito Mussolini challenged and decided to occupy Corfu Island forcefully. This was to glorify the Fascist government and his people. In the Italian glory seekers this was a great achievement made by Mussolini which made them their darling hence enabling him to consolidate himself to power.

## **THE DOWN FALL OF FASCISM AND BENITO MUSSOLINI**

The defeat of Italy in World War I greatly weakened the Fascist party. The Italian king was annoyed with Benito Mussolini and his Fascist army that supported Germany in World War II. Italy was defeated in Africa, Balkan peninsular, destruction of Italian infrastructure, death of army and the general decline of Italian economy. The Italian king dismissed and imprisoned him. He was replaced by Badoglio. The defeat of Italy was also blamed on Mussolini's mistakes and all the humiliating consequences of world war I were considered to be the product of Mussolini's mistakes.

The death of Benito Mussolini on 28th /4/1945. The desperate Nazi forces from Germany invaded the prison and released B. Mussolini. He formed his separate Fascist state in northern Italy. The Allies invaded this state and when he attempted to escape, he was captured and killed by his own soldiers on 28th April 1945. This marked the end of Fascism in Italy.

The aggressive character of Benito Mussolini led his own downfall and the collapse of fascism in Italy. He spent much of Italian revenues in external wars. At different intervals he aggressed countries like; Greece Spain, Ethiopia etc. This affected his relations with the international community. Under the regime of Benito Mussolini, Italy expanded to include Ethiopia, Corfu island, Italian Somaliland and Libya. He was respected as an emperor by all these conquered states. Therefore the size of the empire was too large to be administered by an individual. This ultimately led to the emergence of the



internal conflicts spearheaded by the conquered states.

Mussolini's Fascist power centralization undermined and ruined the lifespan of Mussolini's fascist rule. He eliminated other political parties like socialism, communism and liberalism. Most political opponents were exiled, imprisoned and some were killed. This practice denied Mussolini friends and sympathizers leading to the downfall of fascism in Italy. This made him very unpopular amongst the Italian masses who started organizing and mobilizing against his fascist regime.

His withdraw from the League of Nation in 1936 was another political blunder that Mussolini made and finally led to his downfall. His act of Ethiopian occupation led to his, condemnation by the international community. A number of economic sanctions were imposed on Italy by the League of Nations. This lack of internal and external support led to the unpopularity of Fascist state in Italy. Had Mussolini not removed Italy from the League of Nations, probably Italy would not have occupied Ethiopia and fascism would have stayed in Italy Longer than it did.

Another factor that led to the downfall of Mussolini and fascism in Italy was his cooperation with Nazi party of Germany. Both Adolf Hitler and B. Mussolini were world dictators heading young Nations of Germany and Italy respectively. Both were against socialism and communism ideas spreading from Russia. In 1936 Rome – Berlin axis alliance was assigned. His cooperation with Hitler made the enemies of Hitler also to hate Mussolini hence his downfall. The anti-Hitler crusaders also started working out modalities of how to also bring Mussolini down.

Improper devaluation of Italian currency the; Lire can not go unnoticed when looking at the factors that led to the collapse of fascism in Italy. It made the exports very expensive on the World Market especially cotton. The situation was worsened by World Economic depression of 1929-34. Wages and salaries were cut while the cost of living rose tremendously. This grievance contributed to his downfall as many Italians has lost hope in Mussolini's government and blame their poor conditions of living on the unrealistic policies of the fascist regime.

Economically Italy never gained a lot from World War I and yet it had contributed greatly. This caused economic hardships in Italy. To reconstruct the government, Mussolini had to overtax his people. His aggressive foreign policy involving attack of Spain, Greece, Ethiopia and World War II also needed a lot of funds and food which strained his economy. Italy's massive investment in the world war ruined his economy and yielded economic tragedy for the Italian economy. These included unemployment, inflation and general poor standard of living all of which undermined the credibility of the fascist regime hence leading to its downfall.

His intrigues in Italian education system. Teachers also led his downfall. Tutors and lecturers were forced to swear an Oath of allegiance to Mussolini. They were conditioned to teach in line with the interests of Fascism. From early childhood, learners were indoctrinated to the ideas and principles of Fascism. This education system was unpopular and it contributed to his downfall. To many

Italian liberals and intellectuals this was total ruining and spoiling of the education system since what was being taught in schools was all about loving Mussolini and fascism instead of concentrating on development aspects.

### **Revision Questions**

1. “The weakness of Victor Emmanuel III led to the rise Fascism to power by 1922”. Discuss.
2. Assess the achievements of Benito Mussolini of Italy 1922 – 1945
3. How did Benito Mussolini consolidate himself to the throne in Italy in 1922-1945?
4. To what extent was World War I responsible for the rise of Fascism in Italy by 1920?
5. Account for the rise and collapse of Fascism in Italy by 1945.
6. “Foreign policies led to the fame of Benito Mussolini”. Discuss.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### THE SECOND WORLD WAR OF 1939-1945

The seeds that led to the outbreak of Second World War were sown in the Versailles Peace Settlement that concluded the First World War in 1919. This war was fought between two camps, that is, the Axis powers comprising of Germany, Japan and Italy against the Allied Powers – Britain, France, Russia and USA as the major forces. The war started with German invasion of Poland on 1st September 1939 and ended with the surrender of Japan on 14th August 1945.

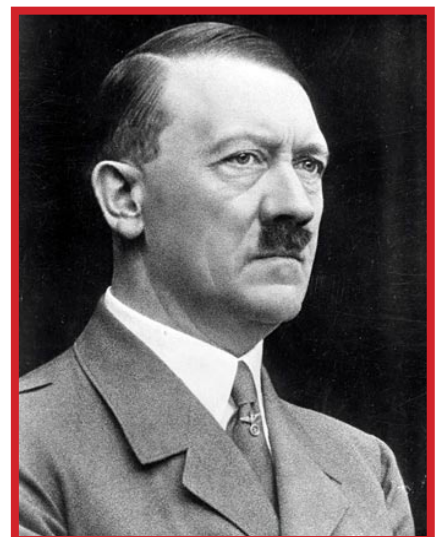
#### CAUSES OF THE WAR

Mistakes done by peace makers at Versailles Peace Settlement of 1919 led to the outbreak of world war. The delegates from the victor powers passed a hostile judgment on Germany as if Germany fought alone. This created a longtime hatred between Germany and the rest of the world. For example, Germany and her supporters were disarmed alone Germany was charged a heavy war indemnity, her soldiers were demobilized, she lost all her colonies to victor powers etc. These hostile terms of Versailles Peace Settlement on the defeated powers left them planning for revenge hence the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The presence of ideological difference contributed much to the outbreak of world war II. Axis powers were against socialism. The alliance of Axis powers was further against the spread of communism in the world. The leader of Germany and Japan in the binding of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis were agitators of capitalism and that's why Adolph Hitler openly attacked Russia in 1940 although Russia had not participated in unrealistic Versailles peace treaty of 1919 that over punished Germany. It should be remembered that the fear of communism led to the rise of dictators such as Hitler and Mussolini who ambitiously contributed to the outbreak world war II.

The weaknesses of the League of Nations. This was an international body formed in 1919 to ensure peace in the world after the devastations of World War I. However the League of Nations failed to restrain the intentions of world aggressors. In World War I Germany was defeated and over punished while Italy had participated on the side of victor powers but never benefited to the level of Britain and France after the war. This made Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini to violate the terms of the League of Nations which led to the war.

The expansionist policy of Adolph Hitler also contributed to the outbreak of world war II. Germany was the leader of Axis powers supported by Italy and Japan. This camp was also assisted by



*Adolf Hitler*

small nations like Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. This backing provided his objective of reviving Germany national pride and foreign glory that had been lost during the World War I. In 1935 Hitler invaded and recaptured Rhineland (Saar Coal Fields) from the victor powers, Austria March 1938, Czechoslovakia in September 1938 with Sudeten regions. These successive maneuvers made him to invade Poland on 1st September 1939 which resulted into World War II.

There was also the Arms Race Influence by 1939 that create war hysteria among nations hence leading to outbreak of world war II. This had caused World War I and at 1919 Versailles Peace Settlement it became an important clause of discussion. However the victor powers supervised the disarmament of Germany and her supporters while for them they were left free with underground secrets of armament. This gave an excuse of Germany to start rearmament by 1934. By 1939, the Axis powers were eager to put their plans in action, revenge on victor powers and regain the national prestige because they had properly rearmed which caused World War II.

The rise of military dictators in the interwar period played a fundamental role in the outbreak of world war II. The period 1919-1939 witnessed reformist actions of Fascists in Italy led by Benito Mussolini, Germany with Nazism Movement led by Adolf Hitler, Hirohito of Japan and General Franco of Spain. These endeavoured to overthrow World democrats of the time especially Britain, France and USA. These aggressive dictators formed their alliance camp of Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis which created panic and fear to allied powers resulting into World War II by 1939.

The impact of Appeasement Policy that was began by British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was another contributing factor in the outbreak of world war II. According to him, appeasing and pleasing major World aggressors could help to avoid another major war on a world scale. This laxity led to Japan invasion of 1931, Italy invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, the 1934 re-armament of Germany and her occupation of Rhineland, in 1938 Germany occupied Austria, and nothing was done to her. This policy exposed the weaknesses of Britain and France it increased world aggression and in September 1939 Germany invaded Poland leading to the outbreak of World War II.

The Spanish Civil War of 1931-1939 also contributed to the outbreak of world war II. In 1931 there was republican revolution in Spain that led to overthrow of Spanish Monarchy. The leaders of Spanish monarchy fled to South America including General Franco. In 1935 General Franco escaped and went to North Africa Moroccan from where he organized a rebel movement against the ruling republican government in Spain. This government was greatly supported by Britain and France. The rebels of General Franco were supported by Germany and Italy. This political crisis in Spain also contributed to outbreak of World War II.

The negative effects of world economic Depression of 1929 -1935 contributed to the outbreak of world war II. The economic depression of 1929-34 greatly distorted the international trade and relations. It led to economic nationalism where every country protected the entry of foreign goods into their market. Some aggressive countries like Japan, Germany and Italy opted to invade weaker nations in a bid to solve the economic depression by opening up new markets, employment opportunities and

attain raw materials. This aggression also contributed to the outbreak of World War II in 1939 as other big powers intervened to check on the advancing aggressive policies of Italy and Germany hence sparking off of world war II.

The Germany occupation of Poland on 1st September 1939 was a spark off factor in the outbreak of world war II. This acted as a spark towards the outbreak of World War II. The appeasement policy had reached a turning point. Adolph Hitler was allowed to occupy Saar Coal fields, Austria and Czechoslovakia but when Germany occupied Poland on 1st September 1939, Britain ordered her to withdraw. When she refused the Allied powers joined Britain on demand of the same. The Axis powers supported Germany to permanently occupy Poland. This resulted into the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

## **THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR**

The second world war led to the massive loss of lives and destruction of property. The war led to permanent physical disabilities on the affected countries. Memories of World War II are still prevalent to countries like Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Britain, Ethiopia, Burma, Indonesia, China, Korea and in Japan the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs of August 1945 have continued to die in disgrace. A number of industries, factories and residential homes were destroyed beyond repair as a result of the dangerous weapons and chemicals that were used during the war.

New superpowers emerged in the international politics. The economies of traditional powers like Britain, France and Germany were destroyed during the World War II. This gave a chance to USA (a capitalist) and Russia (a socialist state) whose economies had survived the damages of World War II to dominate the politics of the World. Their economies were followed by those of China and Japan which recovered very quickly. Therefore world war II opened chances to some nations to become strong and dominate international politics.

It increased the speed for the decolonization of Africa. African countries that had participated in World War II in support of their colonial masters returned determined to liberate their mother countries. They had acquired military skills from the war, witnessed the military weaknesses of their colonial masters, saw the defeat and destruction of their colonizers. For example the French defeat in Vietnam by Axis powers encouraged Algerian ex-servicemen led by Ben Bella to struggle for their independence in Algeria. Additionally the ex-servicemen realized that liberation is not a simple move because it involves war of which they were used to, hence giving them courage and impetus to fight for the independence of their countries.

It marked the end of Fascism, Nazism and rule of military dictatorship in the world. On 28th April 1945 Mussolini was murdered by his own soldiers, on 30th April 1945 Adolph Hitler committed suicide to avoid being captured alive. The active participation of Italy and Germany in World War II ended here. The military leaders in Spain, Japan and others across the World were all removed from

power and rule of democracy sprung up in Europe.

It led to formation of UNO as an international body meant to preserve and maintain world peace. The end of World War II led to formation of United Nations organization to replace the League of Nations. It was formed in February 1945 Yalta Conference and its headquarters were to be in New York. A General Assembly was established to represent all nations. The guiding body of UNO was the Security Council represented by 11 members but later increased to 15; Britain, china, France, Russia and USA were permanent members of UNO. UNO was to lay down strategies that would help the world avoid future disastrous wars.

Relief and Rehabilitation Programmes were put in place between 1943-47. By 1947 they had circulated the war torn Europe with relief items saved millions of lives from the scourge of famine, diseases, the destruction of homes and the general economic breakdown in many of the defeated countries. These programmes were meant to revitalize, the worst economic conditions which were being experienced in many countries as a result of world war II.

The Emergency of the World War II led to emergency of Cold War politics in Europe. This was an ideological war between the Eastern bloc (USSR) and Western bloc (USA). The USSR supported communist economies while USA supported capitalism. This war had begun silently in 1917 with establishment of communist regime in Russia but it became more pronounced in 1945 at the end of World War II. World leaders like Stalin of USSR, Truman of USA, Churchill of Britain, and General De Gaulle of France differed greatly in political ideologies.

The war led to formation of several world alliances and integrations. USA and the countries of Western Europe formed "NATO-North Atlantic Treaty Organization" while "Warsaw pact" was formed by communist World. The African countries and others, they formed the non aligned movement. Most of these alliances were formed on the basis of military and economic basis. The formation of these allies was meant to strengthen the capacities of the member states and to enable them have a joint approach to solving problems that affect them.

The wars led to defeat of Axis powers. Italy and Germany were defeated in April 1945 but Japan went on up to August 1945 when it was forced to surrender unconditionally after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bomb destructions. Since 1945 Japan has not been involved in manufacture of war nuclear weapons. The second world war was a big lesson to the Axis powers they were decisively defeated and vowed never to embark on the nuclear manufacture.

Formation of Marshal plan scheme was a result of world war II. It led to the birth of Marshal Plan for reconstruction of war ravaged areas. In 1947 this plan was launched for economic recovery of those countries whose economies were destroyed in World War II. The countries which benefited greatly under this scheme include; Greece, Turkey, Italy, Albania and Spain. They were offered financial aid that helped them to offset communism. Countries that supported capitalism greatly benefited in



marshal plan.

World war II let to the division of Germany into two parts. The Eastern Germany that believed in communist ideology and West Germany that was a capitalist state. The two states were separated by the Berlin Wall that was destroyed in 1989 with the collapse of Russian economy (communist) and the two divisions were combined leading to the end of Cold War. The division of Germany into two parts greatly reduced on her aggression on the European continent.

The war shifted the control of World affairs to USA. Traditionally European capitalist countries especially France, Britain and Germany had controlled the affairs of the world. Unfortunately their economies were destroyed during the World War II, USA whose economies were saved emerged a superior power after 1945. USA had an upper hand in formation of UNO that played a vital role in the decolonization of Africa and Asia. It is against this background that U.S.A as now the head master of the world and chief decision maker in the international politics.

### **REASONS FOR DEFEAT OF AXIS POWERS**

The Axis powers had poor of leadership and coordination. Adolf Hitler was a warmonger and had a strong hatred with most of Germany neighbors. For example in years preceding World War II, he had forcefully occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia in a bloodless coup which made Axis Camp quite unpopular in world politics. Due to poor leadership and lack of proper co-ordination made the Axis powers lack proper direction and good organization hence making them vulnerable to the attacks of the Allied powers.

The naval superiority of Britain led to the defeat of the Axis power. Britain was on the side of Allied forces. The strength of British as Sea power and her cooperation with the commonwealth states. Britain was protected by an efficient Air force, had a strong navy power supported by a 20 mile strength of water. The serious battle with Britain in 1940 greatly checked the ambitions of Germany to win the war. Had Britain not allied with the Allied forces probably the Axis powers could not have been defeated.

Poor combination of the Axis powers was another factor that led to their defeat in world war II. Axis Camp had a combination of weak powers like. Japan, Italy and Germany. Germany that would be strong was weakened by harsh terms of 1919 Versailles peace treaty. These countries also had small population compared to Allied powers. These countries had no colonies in the world compared to allied powers. Therefore the combination of the Axis powers could allow that coup to stand the strength of the Allied powers which were strong militarily and had some sound economies.

Allied forces were quite strong forces. It had a combination of USA, Britain USSR and France. Russia alone by 1944 had four times as many tanks as the Germans were proud of. Russia alone could assemble as many as twice in number of Germany troops by 1942. By 1945, USA war industries

could produce as many as 70,000 tanks and about 120 war planes which none of Axis powers could do. The military capacity of the Allied powers and the Axis powers were by far very different and the Axis powers could not have contained the situation.

Hatred for Nazi administration by Germans. This went beyond the borders of Germany as a country and unquestionably most people in Europe were on the side of the Allied forces. People hated Hitler's new European order of terror and militarism. The demands of forced labour, fear of Nazi secret police and the brutality of Nazi political authorities demoralized the Germans leading to the defeat of Axis powers. There was lack of support for the Hitler's Nazi administration which undermined his strength hence weakening the Axis powers camp.

Axis powers had underrated the strength of Allied forces. Hitler had imagined that his war with Britain would not involve the rest of commonwealth states. Adolph Hitler had failed to analyze the level of his popularity among the Germans and the nearby states. Japan also made a mistake by joining World War II against Allied forces and yet it was a small state on an island with even no industries. Italy was a young poor country and its actions in World War II were hinged on strength of Germany.

The strong economics of the Allied powers gave them an upper hand in defeating the Axis powers. The Allied Camp had strong economies and after 1919, the economy of Germany suffered series of embargoes and heavy war reparations while the economy of victor powers (later Allied Forces) were reconstructed and preserved after World War II. Much resources and manpower of Allied forces in World War II came from colonies while the rest of Axis powers had no colonies. League of Nations had imposed embargoes on Japan 1931, Italy 1932 while Germany in 1919.

High technology used by Allied forces in World War II enabled them to completely wipe out the April 1945 withdraw of Italy and Germany did not stop the war intentions of Japan. But the creation of atomic bombs by USA that hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 immediately forced Japan to pull out. In 1940, Britain had manufactured a Radar Machine that could detect German war planes, a combined factory of Britain and USA had manufactured Aircraft Missiles which were more sophisticated and dangerous, the Axis powers could not stand the vigour and strength of these weapons hence to give up the war.

They had performed well at the start of the war. The earlier success of Axis powers also accounts for their later defeat in World War II. They quickly ran short of the war supplies especially food, manpower, arms and ammunitions. For example between 1939-1940, Germany had successfully invaded Belgium, Poland, Yugoslavia, East Prussia and many countries in Central Europe. Italy had defeated Greece, Syria among others. By 1941 Japan had defeated the American Troops and challenged the Russian forces. These entire Axis bases had been overrun by Allied power by 1944 partly due to lack of constant war supplies to Axis forces.

The entry of USA on the side of the allied forces by December 1941. At first USA had considered this war as a European affair and had not joined it except of granting Britain (a capitalist) some funds. But

in 1941 Japan invaded Hawaii Island and destroyed the Pearl harbour that belonged to Americans. This conditioned America to join the war on the side of Allies. The entry of USA in the war on the side of the Allied powers was a bid blow to the success of the Allied powers hence leading to their defeat.

The unpopularity of Axis powers among the European nations. They were considered as states headed by military dictators breeding terror of aggression on the continent of Europe. For example Hitler of Germany, Mussolini of Italy and Tojo of Japan. Military aggression had led to disastrous World War I and it was renewed by the leaders of Axis powers in interwar period. This made Axis camp unpopular and its eventual defeat in 1945.

The defection of Badoglio greatly contributed to the defeat of the Axis powers in world war II .He was a successor of Benito Mussolini and he joined the Allied side after April 1945. This created disunity among the Axis powers. Italy was turned into a base of Allied forces as for example stores for war supplies of Allied forces, Aircraft bases etc which led to the defeat of Japan in August 1945 that marked the end of World War II and collapse of Axis powers.

### **Revision Question**

1. To what extent was Adolph Hitler responsible for the outbreak of World War II?
2. Examine the causes and the consequences of World War II 1939-45.
3. “It was largely economic depression that led to the outbreak of World War II by 1939”. Discuss.
4. Account for defeat of the Axis powers in the Second Word War 1939-45.
5. Compare the causes of World War I and the World War II in the 20th Century period.

## CHAPTER TWENTY

### THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (U.N.O) OF 1945

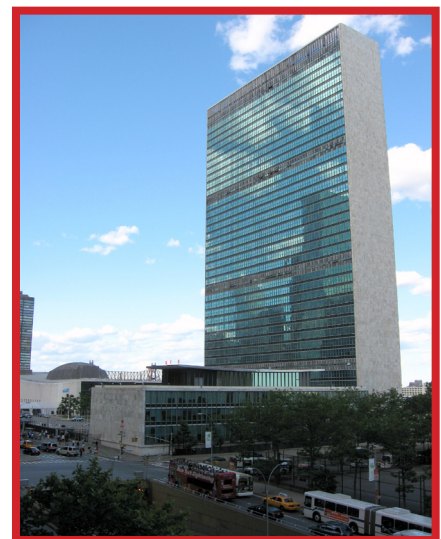
U.N.O idea was first suggested in October 1944 in the Conference held at Dumbarton Oaks. Its operational procedures were discussed and passed at Yalta Conference in Crimea February 1944. The outbreak of Second World War in 1939 earmarked the collapse of League of Nations that had been formed in 1919 to maintain and ensure international peace. Therefore the U.N.O was meant to replace it. The eligible members of the U.N.O were those of Allied Camp that had joined Second World War by 1st March 1945 against the Axis powers. They included Britain, china, France, Russia and USA as permanent members of U.N.O. These plus other states formed a 52 member group that made the final agreement for the formation of U.N.O at San Francisco in April 1945. The Security Council was an important organ for the U.N.O. This comprised of 5 permanent members of U.N.O as the primary goal for the U.N.O was to ensure permanent peace on the globe and protect the World from another destructive war.

The highest office of U.N.O was the Secretary General whose seat was in New York the capital city of U.S.A and the headquarters of U.N.O. In setting up U.N.O, they tried to eliminate some weaknesses of League of Nations, e.g. the new General Assembly was to comprise of representatives from all member states unlike the League of Nations that had only considered the victor powers of World War I.

Important councils of U.N.O included the General Assembly, the Security Council, Secretariat, International Court of Justice, Trusteeship Council, the economic and Social Affairs Council. The specialized bodies of U.N.O include UNICEF, UNDP, UNHCR, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, UNRWA, IMF, ILO, and World Bank.

### AIMS FOR THE FORMATION OF U.N.O

- i) To reduce peace and protect the World from another destructive war possibly the 3rd World War; an active international body would mediate between conflicting powers and the likely war would be averted.
- ii) To provide freedom and protect the rights of individuals in their specific nations. World aggressions had denied the dominated people their rights and freedom.
- iii) It aimed at integration of World social, economic, educational, cultural and scientific research. The imbalance of these essential amenities had been one of the major causes of conflicts.



**UNITED NATIONS HEAD QUARTERS**

- iv) It was formed to provide relief rehabilitation services to affected countries in World War II. UNRWA (United Nations Relief Works Agency) was formed as a specialized body for relief services by U.N.O.
- v) It aimed at stopping smuggling and trade in illegal items like drug trafficking and other intoxicants used by artillery men handling the atomic bombs in World War II had to be avoided.
- vi) It aimed at promoting the ban of arms manufacture. This arms race had resulted into World War I and World War II. Therefore U.N.O aimed at supervision of disarmament policy. Stop the manufacture of dangerous and chemical weapons.
- vii) It aimed at promotion of economic integration and trade alliances between the more developed and less developed countries. This would lessen poverty to those countries with few resources.
- viii) It was formed to improve on World Health Services. The destructions of World War II left most medical centers destroyed. The casualties of Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs plus many other physical disabilities due to World War II needed an immediate attention. WHO was formed as a specialized body by U.N.O to care for the sick people.
- ix) It aimed at stopping the World aggressions. Weaker nations of the World were to be protected from further aggressive moves by U.N.O.
- x) It aimed at improving the welfare of citizens and of member states. ILO (International Labour Organization) was formed to improve the conditions of workers to bargain for their better wage working hours, feeding and better accommodation services.
- xi) It aimed at provision of justice to the war criminals of World War II. An international military tribunal was stationed at Hague in Holland to try Fascist Italians, Nazi Germans and some Japanese who were captured in World War II.
- xii) U.N.O also aimed at decolonization of Africa. It aimed at fighting colonialism and grant independence to countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. U.N.O did this by funding and training liberation movements in these countries.
- xiii) Child protection was another aim of U.N.O. Child labour, child marriage and child military service all had to be abolished by U.N.O. Their educational rights, health care, proper nutrition and accommodation had to be enhanced by U.N.O.
- xiv) U.N.O aimed at the protection of the environment. The World habitat flora and fauna had been destroyed by atomic bombs of World War II that were poured both on land and water. Testing of chemical weapons on the World environment was prohibited by U.N.O.



xv) U.N.O aimed at protection of homeless people in the World. Refugee life was one of the effects of World War II. Other than this, the undemocratic institutions, the despotic states of the world had led to the fleeing of the people into the nearby states for fear of being persecuted. U.N.H.C.R is a specialized body formed by U.N.O to care for refugees in 1951.

xvi) It was created to promote self determination of people e.g. Fight the racial segregation and the rights for women. Racial segregation between the whites and blacks had become a source of conflict in the World e.g. the Apartheid rule in South Africa. U.N.O also supported the emancipation of women who had been marginalized by men.

### **THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF U.N.O**

To a larger measure, U.N.O achieved most of its objectives although it has some failures as well and these achievements/success include the following: -

United Nations Organisation has promoted peace and security in the 3rd World War has been avoided. It tried to provide peace in the world Cold War politic U.S.A and U.S.S.R just ended in economic sanctions, malice and sabotage actions but not a practical war. U.N.O intervened in the Korean Crisis of 1950-53, U.N.O silenced the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956 among others. By doing this, UNO was trying to promote world peace and security.

UNO has maintained to restrain and check the powers of some of the global aggressive leaders. Aggressive leaders of the World were checked. for example in 1990-91 Saddam Hussein of Iraq tried to invade and occupy Kuwait but he was repulsed by U.N.O. In period 1965-75 President Gaddafi of Libya tried to annex Chad but he was stopped. President Ho-Ki-Minh of North Vietnam tried to invade his neighbours in the period of 1961-1975 but he was stopped by U.N.O.

Therefore UNO has managed to deal with some of the most aggressive leaders the world war has ever had.

U.N.O has succeeded in pursuit of disarmament policy. Despite of Cold War challenges, U.N.O tried to put some control on manufacture of war weapons, e.g. U.N.O presided over member states in signing of SALT (The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) of 1972. It was repeated again in 1979. This banned the manufacture of chemical weapons by member states. In 1973 U.N.O banned the use of space for testing of military tools. In 1969 a ban on manufacture of chemical weapons was declared. This has tried to contain and reduce on the level of the manufacture of nuclear weapons which would have probably been used to destabilise the global peace and security.

It has succeeded in the decolonization exercise. In Africa U.N.O intervened directly in the attainment of Libyan independence,





Somalia from the control of Italy. Namibia was also detached from South Africa. Asian countries like Indonesia, Kuwait, Israel and Palestine were also granted independence. It imposed sanctions on S. Africa Apartheid that contributed to her independence in 1994. UNO has done this through her principal organ, the trusteeship council that was mandated to deal with issues of granting independence to the colonies.

UNO has introduced Reforms in social-economic sectors. It has promoted social and economic progress in many countries of the world. This was done by provision of loans for development in 3rd World countries. World Bank and I.M.F has extended grants and loan facilities for development. This has checked underdevelopment in less developed countries. This had led to the improved standards of living of the people in many countries of the world especially developing countries.

Another big achievement of UNO is provision of Relief services. Through its specialized body like- UNHCR, U.N.O has tried to provide relief services to the victims of civil and ethnic wars. For example it offers care for refugee and victims of other natural calamities. Laws and funds have been put in place to protect such persons in host states. UNO has managed to provide assistance and relief services to the internationally displaced persons (IDPS). It has helped many refugees and IDPS in many countries such as Sudan, Kuwait, and Uganda among others

It has supported regional trade partnership. It has encouraged economic integration and economic progress between the Great powers and the less developed states. This has reduced the economic distance between these countries. For example the Association like United Nations Conference on Trade Agreement and Development (UNCTAD). This trade partnership had reduced the gap between Northern rich countries and the southern poor countries. The International Bank for Reconstruction and development (IBRD) has also brought all countries together.

It has helped in treatment of many diseases. U.N.O through its specialized agency of World Health Organization (WHO) has eliminated several diseases. Like chicken pox, small pox and also immunized the World against other 6 killer diseases. This has reduced infant mortality rate. Conference for awareness of AIDS has been organized by U.N.O through WHO fund. Medical facilities have been extended to many poor countries of the world to cater for the children have also immunized to help avert killer diseases

Medical facilities has been extended to many poor countries of the world to cater for the helpless. Children have also been immunized to help them avert killer diseases.

It has checked on the rate of drug consumption. U.N.O has checked on rate of drug trafficking and reduced the consumption of dangerous drugs like opium and cocaine. It has been made illegal and the victims of this trade always face serious punishments. It is against this background that drug trafficking is now a serious global case. It is against this background have been undertaken in many countries of the world to create awareness on the danger of drugs.

U.N.O has been successful in the liberation of women. It has sponsored programmes to sensitize women about their rights and roles in World development. NGOs advocating for women development and emancipation have been funded ever since 1975 Mexico conference that legalized the rights of women. FIDA, ACFODE and NAWO women organization in Uganda have also benefited from IMF and World Bank funds. Today women participate in political, social and economic affairs of their countries and have acquired highest political positions.

It has helped on the victims of natural calamities. U.N.O through its specialized agency UNRWA has provided relief services to victims of war, floods, earthquake, drought etc. Somalia has so far received this relief since 1964, Sudan since 1954 and Liberia since 1987, Darfur region, and Sudan and Iraq of recent years are also receiving this relief assistance.

Rights of children have been safeguarded. Children voice and protection by U.N.O have been implemented by a number of NGOs e.g. Save the Children Fund, Action Aid, ACCORD, World Vision among others. A law was passed that forbade children below 18 years from military service, marriage and employment in industries. UNO therefore succeeded in the declaration of the rights of children financial assistance has been extended to children especially those from poor countries to cater for their education and welfare.

Protection of the environment has been achieved partially. This was done through its specialized agency of UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme). This has been a bio-diversity programme which has emphasized afforestation programmes alongside utilization of World forests. Environmental pollution and other threats have reduced due to UNO efforts and preserve global environment. Global environment laws have been enacted to help countries save environment.

U.N.O tried to solve Middle East wars between Palestine and Israel; the dispute between the Jews and Arabs was brought to U.N.O Council in 1947. After series of investigations, U.N.O decided to divide the area into 2 i.e. the Arab State of Palestine and Jewish state of Israel. Although Middle East is still a harbor of wars and political unrest UNO has tried to intervene and arbitrate some of such conflicts.

Creation of cultural reform organs. Racism and Cultural intolerance has been solved by establishment of UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and cultural Organization). This was a specialized body with offices in each and every member of U.N.O. UNESCO has tried to integrate cultures of people through scientific research. This has checked the rate of racism in the World.

### **FAILURES OF U.N.O**

UNO has failed to maintain global peace and security. It has failed to maintain peace as for example since 1945 the world has had a number of civil wars e.g. the current civil war in Somalia whose roots were dated as far back as 1964, the Sudan civil war that began in 1984 and ended in 2005, the famous

Angolan Civil war that ended with the death of rebel leader Savimbi in 2004, the historical land crisis between Israel and Palestine, the 2005 up to date George Bush of U.S.A actions in Iraq that has resulted into the death of Saddam Hussein etc.

The arm of aggressors has not been pruned fully, the World aggressive leaders has not been restrained especially in developed countries e.g. In 2005 George Bush's plans of attacking Iraq was stopped by U.N.O Security Council and Secretary General but he took a personal decision influenced his government and British Prime Minister they attacked Iraq over allegations for possession of chemical weapons. In 1956, USSR invaded Hungary and refused to retreat despite of efforts applied by Security Council to force USSR quit Hungary.

Economic imbalance has persisted on the globe, U.N.O has not intervened sharply to reduce the economic distance between the more developed and less developed countries. The creation of north-north and the south-south economic camps has greatly hindered the growth and development of weaker nations. Developed countries still dominate World trade. They determine imports and exports of less developed countries with price levels. U.N.O has not solved this Neo-Colonial problem. International trade is full of imbalances since it favours the developed world at the expenses of the developing countries.

Weakeness in the health sector has discredited the UNO. In the field of health, U.N.O through its specialized body of WHO has not done much. Lack of sufficient funds, customs and taboos plus incurable diseases like AIDS has hindered the progress of W.H.O. Health manpower is limited with few doctors, midwives and nurses. The ratio of World population and available doctors is still small and unproportional, a factor that has increased the mortality death rate and life span of the people. Killer diseases such as polio, tuberculosis, malaria and HIV/AIDS are still at large in poor countries especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

U.N.O has failed to prevent the Cold War politics in the World, perhaps if the economy of Russia had not collapsed by 1989, the tension between Eastern Bloc and Western Bloc would still be on. The destruction caused by Cold War in form of malice, sabotage and economic sanctions was equally great. There were increased armed guerilla movements, assassinations and world terrorism. These cases are still at large in the world today and UNO has not managed to get them permanent solutions.

USA as a country has often influenced the decisions of U.N.O; the headquarters for U.N.O, IMF and World Bank are all located in USA. All the specialized bodies of U.N.O like UNESCO, WHO, UNHCR etc have their bases in USA. Perhaps this accommodative monopoly and being the only superpower has empowered her to influence events of U.N.O. this is another weakness. This has made UNO to be considered as a USA political organization hence discrediting it from being a global organisation

More wars have been fought even after 1945. Although 3rd World War has been avoided, several

major wars have been fought in the world since 1945. e.g. the Korean War of 1949, the Chinese War of 1953, Vietnam War of 1967-73, Iran-Iraq War of 1981, the Israel – Palestine War since 1948 etc. These have caused mass destructions similar to those of World War II.

Bad terms of foreign aid have burdened 3rd world states. The loans and grants given by IMF and World Bank to developing countries for economic recovery had not been helpful as expected. This is because they come with imperialistic strings attached. They have made the recipient countries poorer. They charge a lot of interest rates and send technical staff to supervise the activity of the loan who takes back a big fraction of the loan in form of wages and salaries.

Failure of Wild conservation programmes. These have not been properly executed by U.N.O. This has resulted into desertification effect as so many forests have been cut without replacement. World trade in illegal items still has threatened the species of fauna and flora. Trade in timber, opium, marijuana, ivory, and rhino horns, and cowries shells have not been banned fully by U.N.O. Environmental degradation is the order of the day in many countries of the world an indication that UN has failed to preserve global environment.

It has failed to create a permanent army to silence World conflicts. U.N.O has constantly relied on collective security to contain the World peace. Take for instance the 2006 and 2007 civil wars in Darfur region of Sudan and Somalia both in the horn of Africa. U.N.O has convinced Uganda, Egypt, Tanzania and Kenya to deploy peace keeping force in the area. Such military strategy is costly and unreliable to the goals of U.N.O. Even the peace keeping missions depend on the mercy of the member states have always refused to send their troops for the UNO peace missions.

U.N.O failed to timely intervene in the genocide conflicts of Rwanda. It failed to restrain the U.S.A in her attack of Iraq on allegations of chemical weapons manufactured by Saddam Hussein. Civil wars in Somalia have become permanent and constant. The historical conflicts between Israel and Palestinian Arabs. These wars have claimed millions of people in presence of U.N.O. UN up to now is reluctant on the early interventions in conflicts in many lives have perished due its interventions conflicts in many countries of the world.

Lack of enough funds is another failure of U.N.O. It requires large sums of money to finance its operations. It largely depends on contributions made by member states. This has limited its activities as for example in 1986, annual subscriptions from the member states were very poor and this affected its operations. Even most of its members are poor and usually fail to meet their annual membership subscriptions while others are too reluctant to contribute but money to the UNO treasury.

U.N.O delayed to decolonize S. Africa because of capitalism influence from Britain and USA, U.N.O left the apartheid rule to damage South Africa up to 1994. A new democratic white president took charge of S. Africa in 1992 called De Clerk. He cooperated and called for nominations in 1994 general elections which were won by a black president Nelson Mandela. This was another failure of

the UNO since it had become silent of the apartheid issue in S. Africa.

U.N.O has failed in her disarmament policy. By 1945, it was only America a super power that had nuclear bombs and weapons of mass destruction. But now many countries like North Korea, Pakistan, Iraq and Russia have manufactured these atomic bombs and nuclear machines. This puts the World into risk of a 3rd World War. Today, most countries have gone to manufacture deadly nuclear weapons and UN Hs kept quiet about it. All UN Security Council permanent members a regreat manufacturer of nuclear weapons.

No guiding rules and policies to scare the world aggressors.U.N.O has not instituted practical punishments for World aggressors and those countries that challenge the UN committees and Councils. U.N.O has over relied on sanctions like denial of IMF and World Bank loans and donations. Trade embargoes, denial of UN membership, denied attending World conferences, sports, etc. instead of military confrontations. Some serious countries of the World like USA, Libya, Israel and Palestine have continued with their aggressive plans despite of these sanctions.

### **REVISION QUESTIONS**

1. Assess the achievements of U.N.O up to 1970.
2. To what extent did U.N.O achieve the objectives of its founders?
3. Suggest solutions for the failures and problems of U.N.O up to 1970.
4. Account for the formation of U.N.O in 1945.
5. “Desire for peace and stability led to the formation of U.N.O in 1945” Discuss.
6. Examine the success and failures of U.N.O. up to 1970.

## **CHAPTER TWENTY ONE**

### **THE COLD WAR 1945-1990**

The cold war (1945-1991) was the continuing state of political conflict, military tension, proxy wars, and economic competition existing after world war II (1939-1945) between the communist world – primarily the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its satellite states and allies, and the powers of the Western world, primarily the United States of America (USA) and its allies. It was a period of tension and hostility between the United States of America and the Soviet Union from the mid 40s and the late 80s. It was called the cold war because there was no active war between the two nations, which was probably due to fear of nuclear escalation. Although the primary participants' military force never officially clashed directly they expressed the conflict through military coalition, strategic conventional force deployments, espionage, propaganda, arms race, rivalry at sports events, and technological competitions such as the space race.

The cold war was an ideological war which was characterized by tension, fear, military campaigns, suspicions, tactical skirmishes, and conflicts between the eastern communist Bloc led USSR and Western, capitalist Bloc. Included mainly, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and East Germany while western capitalist countries included, USA, Britain, and France. Despite being allied against the Axis powers, the USSR and the USA disagreed about the political philosophy and the configuration of the Post-war world while occupying most of Europe.

The Soviet Union created the Eastern Bloc with the Eastern European countries it occupied, annexing some and maintaining others as satellite states, some of which were later consolidated as the Warsaw Pact (1955-1991). The US and its allies used containment of communism as a main strategy, establishing alliances such as NATO to that end. However, it is important that the cold war started way back in 1917 with the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia led by Lenin and Joseph Stalin, and ended with the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

### **THE CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR**

The ideological war which was characterized by political conflict, military tension and economic competition that started immediately after the end of the second world war was caused by a number of factors which include the following:-

Ideological conflicts between the communists and capitalists played an important role in causing the cold war. As a result of the successful Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Russia, communism emerged which posed a great threat to the western capitalist states led USA. Russia came to the forefront of spreading the ideology of communism worldwide, which alarmed the Americans who followed democracy. Consequently two antagonistic ideological camps (blocs) were formed that included the



capitalist bloc led by USA and the communist Bloc led by USSR. it should be noted that two camps (Blocs) became antagonistic and started challenging one another in spreading opposite ideologies of capitalism by the western powers led by USA and communism by the eastern powers led by USSR therefore, in an attempt to spread their ideologies to the rest of the world, the two blocs led to the emergency occurrence of the phenomenon of cold war.

The failure of the Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam conference also played a crucial role in the outbreak of the cold war. The conferences Tehran and Yalta were arranged by the Allies to discuss how European man should look and how boarders should be drawn, following the war. There were dis-agreements amongst powers over the outlook of the European map that had been dismantled by the war. Each side held dissimilar ideas regarding the establishing and maintenance of post war security. The western allies desired a security system in which democratic government were established as widely as possible, permitting countries to peacefully resolve resolve differences through international organizations while the soviet union sought to increase security by dominating the internal affairs of the countries that bordered it. At the conference of post dam, serious differences emerged over the future development of Germany and Eastern Europe. The concerned powers failed to reach a comprise as Britain wanted to set up a democratic government, France wanted a strong army while Russia wanted to spread communism. These differences amongst the victor powers led to the outbreak of the cold war.

The rise of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and united states of America as super powers undevated when discussing the factors that led to the outbreak of the cold war. After the success of the cold war. After the success of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, the union of soviet socialist republics was later established and started spreading the ideology of communism. The rise and formation of USSR under Vladimir Lenin as its first leader was a great threat the USA and the entire capitalist Bloc which believed in capitalism and democracy. USSR started competing with USA in arms manufacture, technology and making allies.

The emergence of new leadership in USA and Britain partly contributed to the outbreak of cold war. The new and uncompromising leaders that rose to the leadership positions in both USA and Britain made the ground much favourable to the outbreak of the cold war. In USA, Harry S. Truman came to power and replaced Franklin Roosevelt who was tolerant and very calculative in diplomatic relations. The coming to power of Harry Truman was a turning point in worsening the relations between the western capitalist states and the soviet union as he issued the Truman doctrine” in which he intended to contain Russian communist ideology from spreading in Britain, Winston church hill also came to power with a great desire to end the spread of communism in Europe the two leaders did have a healthy diplomatic approach to deal with the soviet questions and hence they ended up making reckless and inciting statements and policies that led to the outbreak of cold war.

The weakness of United Nations as an international peace keeping body also contributed to the outbreak of the cold war. United Nations which was formed on 24, October, 1945 after the end of

Second World War was charged with a responsibility of maintaining world peace. However, the body failed to reconcile and calm down the mushrooming tension between the USA and the USSR. United Nations allowed itself to be manipulated by USA which annoyed USSR hence increasing tension between the western capitalist states led by USA and the Soviet Union.

The weakness of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) as a peace keeping body. UNO which formed on 24th October 1945 was charged with maintaining world peace and security, but failed to cool the tension between USA and USSR. The United Nations failed to convince the powers to agree in the conferences of Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam which gave birth to sharp disagreements that precipitated cold war. Failure to stop arms race and the resurrection for the alliance system are all blamed on the United Nations. Therefore the weakness of the United Nations as an international peace keeping body as manifested in the above expression led to the outbreak of the cold war.

The creation of the post world war II alliances partly occasioned the outbreak of cold war. It should be remembered that the concept of alliance system by 1949 was not a new phenomenon as it had been in place as far as the pre-1914 days. However after the second world war, powers tried to resurrect the alliance system as it was evidenced in 1949 when USA, Britain, France and other countries formed North Atlantic Treaty organization (NATO) as an Alliance of the capitalist states while in 1955, the Warsaw Pact was formed by USSR as a counter alliance to protect the interests of the socialist states. This trend of affairs gave birth to the phenomenon of cold war as the counter alliances started working against the interests of each other.

The Marshall Aid plan introduced by USA played an important role in facilitating the outbreak of cold war. In June 1947, in accordance with the Truman Doctrine, the United States enacted the Marshall Aid plan which was a pledge of economic assistance for all willing to participate in reconstructing and re-instating the German economy which had been torn apart by the world war II. The plan aimed to rebuild the democratic and economic systems of Europe and to counter perceived threats to European balance of powers such as communist parties seizing control through revolutions or elections.

The plan also stated that European prosperity was contingent upon German economic recovery. It was a huge plan in which food, raw materials and money valued at 13 billion was aid countries, in case they agreed to become capitalist. However, this plan was opposed by Molotov, the Russian prime minister who came up with the Molotov plan intended to aid communist states. This trend of affairs made cold war inevitable.

The decision made by the victor powers during the Second World War to destroy Japan and Germany also precipitated the cold war. Russian expansionist policy in the East had all along been checked by Japan. In the west, Russian policy had been contained by a combination of capitalist powers in Europe including Germany.

However the destruction of Germany and Japan by the victor powers after World war II left Russia

with greater opportunities to continue and expand with her expansionist policies which created a lot of suspicion, mistrust and increased conflicts between the western capitalist states led by USA and the Eastern socialist states led by the Soviet Union hence leading to the outbreak of the cold war.

The Truman Doctrine is another factor that can not be underrated when accounting for the emergency of the cold war. On 12th, March 1947, President Harry S. Truman addressed a joint session of the American Congress and unveiled a policy which came to be known as the Truman doctrine, which framed the conflict as a contest between free peoples and totalitarian regimes. Truman declared that USA would support free peoples who were resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. This policy intended to contain the spread of Russian communism and help countries that were being threatened by Russian aggression. About \$400 millions were allocated to strengthen states particularly Greece and Turkey in which USSR had interest. This ultimately left the Soviet Union discontented and increased the chances for the outbreak of the cold war. Therefore the Truman doctrine was a serious factor that led to the outbreak of the cold war.

Formation of international spy networks also played a crucial role in the outbreak of the cold war. Due to the unabated suspicion and mistrust between the two rival and antagonistic blocks the two super powers of USSR and USA formed secret spy networks charged with a duty of discovering the military secrets of the other. For instance there was formation of KGB and the Communist Information Bureau in the USSR whose mandate was to spy on the military strength of the rival capitalist states mainly the USA. In the USA Truman formed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) after signing the National Security Act of 1947.

Competition for supremacy between USA and the USSR also played a noticeable role in the outbreak of the cold war. The two super powers made a number of strides (attempts) in order to acquire supremacy, the two rival and antagonistic super powers engaged in a number of ventures.

For instance, they revived arms race and started manufacturing sophisticated weapons despite the havoc it had caused in the past and the two powers also resurrected the alliance system by forming NATO to unite the western capitalist states and the Warsaw Pact to unite the Eastern communist states. There was spying on each power's military technology all these were attempts made by the USSR and USA to attain supremacy over each other and this created rivalry and hatred between the two superpowers leading to the outbreak of the cold war. However, 1991 saw the collapse of the USSR thus leaving USA as a supreme capitalist "Head of the west".

Winston Churchill's famous speech also leveled the ground for the outbreak of the cold war. It should be remembered that earlier on Joseph Stalin of USSR had threatened the west in his February 1946 speech when he said that communism and capitalism could never peacefully co-exist and that war was just a matter of urgency if communism was to be fully spread. Stalin's speech compelled Winston Churchill in March 1946 to also deliver a speech at Fulton, Missouri in USA on the World Affairs which came to be known as the Iron Curtain speech. He stated that; from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line all the capitals of the

ancient states of central and eastern Europe all these famous cities and populations around them lie in the soviet sphere and are subject to control from Moscow in his speech, Winston church hill called upon western capitalists to form western alliance purposely to guard against communist threats. This iron curtain speech increased tension between the western capitalist states and the Eastern communist states which later culminated into the outbreak of the cold war.

Strategic designs and motives between the new superpowers also contributed to the outbreak of the cold war. The increasing tension between the western bloc and eastern bloc made USA and the USSR struggle to dominate areas of strategic importance . For instance , outstanding deserts in the middle East, For danzing Mombasa cape of good hope in south Africa, major water bodies like Mediterranean sea, Black sea, Baltic Sea, Indian ocean and other places for testing weapons, carrying massive research and even commerce. Therefore as the two super powers struggled to control and dominate these strategic areas / places for economic motives, they ended up sowing seeds that later germinated into the cold war.

The conflict over the occupation of Germany between USA her allies and Russian also caused the cold war. When the Second World War ended, the victor powers of USA, Britain, France among others agreed among others agreed to jointly control Germany. It was generally agreed that USA and her allies take over west Germany while USSR and her allies take over the East Germany. Unfortunately, Berlin, the capital was located in the East and was supposed to be controlled jointly Russia decided to block USAs and her allies access to Berlin by instituting the Berlin Blocked which was meant to prevent food, materials, and other supplies from arriving in west Berlin the USA, Britain, France, Canada, Austria and Newzealand and several other counreis began the Massive Berlin air lift” Supplying west Berlin with food and other provision. This trend of affairs was a clear manifestation of the cold war.

The intervation of USA and USSR in different civil wars also contributed to the occurrence of the supported rival groups. For example, in china the united states supported the government of chiang kai shek as opposed to Russia support to Mao Tsetsung . In the Korean peninsular USSR supported North Korea against south Korea which was being supported by the United states in the 1950-1953 Korean war, the Berlin crisis of 1961, the Vietnam war (1959-1975), the Cuban missle crisis (1962), the soviet war in Afghanistan (1979-1989) among others were civil armed struggle in which the two super powers participated. This generated favourable grounds for the birth of the cold war.

## **CONSEQUENCES OF THE COLD WAR**

The cold war which commenced immediately after the Second World War in 1945 being caused by the ideological difference and other factors had far reaching effects on the political, social, and economic spheres of man kind on the world. These effects were both negative and positive in nature and character as illustrated below;-

The cold war encouraged neo-colonialism in the world. This was a result of the competition between the two conflicting Blocs, Eastern and western Blocs led by USSR and USA respectively. The two rival super powers intervened in the internal affairs of very many states in a bid to preach and spread their ideologies. They dictated and implemented policies of choice in the countries under their control. For instance, USSR created the satellite states which could effectively dominate and control. Such states included East Germany the people's republic of Bulgaria, the people's republic of Hungary, the Czechoslovak socialist republic, the peoples republic of Romania and the peoples republic of Albania. Much as these states were independent, they were being controlled by the Soviet Union in their Eastern Bloc. USA controlled and dominated the western Bloc. The two powers also intervened in the civil wars of many countries for examples Korea (1950-1953) Viet man (1959-1975) Cuba in 1962, Afghanistan (1979-1989) among others. All these were manifestations of neo-colonialism.

The cold war promoted decolonization of states. This was a big positive consequence of the cold war. In order to be considered as considerate, Britain, France, and other colonial masters started granting their colonies independence so that they could adopt and implement capitalism. On the contrary USSR was spreading propaganda against capitalism. It was emphasizing Marx's Philosophy that imperialism was the highest state of capitalism so that it would attract as many sympathizers as possible to communism. Against this background, a number of colonies were given freedom to be autonomous and they became independent nations. Therefore in a bid to spread their ideologies far and wide, the colonial masters granted their colonies independence as a result of cold war.

The world was divided into two conflicting and rival economic blocs as a result of cold war. There was formation of the western capitalist bloc led by USA and the Eastern communist Bloc led by USSR. The Western economic Bloc believed in the ideology of capitalism which advocated for private ownership of the means of production, consumer sovereignty, limited role of government in the market among others. The Eastern Economic Bloc believed in socialism / communism which advocated for the state control of the means of production, central planning and regulation of market. The two economic Blocs started with the emergency of the cold war in 1945 and divided the world into capitalist and socialist as they started looking for as many allied as possible to strengthen their camps. The world has since been divided until recent in 1991 when the USSR collapsed marking the end of communism in the world.

The cold war led to the formation of the non aligned movement. The cold war yielded mistrust, suspicion and hatred between the western capitalist Bloc and the Eastern communist Block which later led to the formation of the non-aligned movement. This was a body of states or nations that preferred to remain neutral and to avoid either capitalist or communist influences. It was formed in 1955 during the Bandung conference for Asian and African countries. Many emerging nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America rejected the pressure to choose sides in the East – West competition. At Bandung, conference in Indonesia, Dozens of Third world governments resolved to stay out of the cold war. The consensus reached at Bandung culminated with the creation of the Belgrade headquartered Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. However, this movement did not last long due to the sharp divisions



between member countries.

The cold war promoted arms race in the world. This was a result of preparations the countries made in anticipation of the future physical war. This was based on over increasing between the western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc. Arms race was intensified mainly between USA and USSR. There was stiff competition in the production of sophisticated in the production of arms between USA and USSR. United States and the USSR pursued nuclear rearmament and developed long-range weapons with which they could the territory of the other with in no minute. For instance in August 1957, the soviets launched the Worlds first intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) and in October, launched the first Earth Satellite, Sputnik which marked the inauguration of the space race. USA had manufactured Ballistic Missiles known as; polans, later Poseidon Jupiter and thorts.

There was establishment of the communist regimes especially in Eastern Europe as a result of the cold war. After the successful communist campaigns in Eastern Europe, Russia managed to convert states in Eastern Europe into communist nations. Such states include; East Germany, the peoples republic of Poland, the peoples republic of Bulgaria, the peoples republic of Hungary the Czechoslovak of Romania, and the peoples Republic of Albania. The communist ideology in those countries was being threatened by USA. To safeguard its capitalist interests in those states, USSR established communist regimes in those states. Therefore, the cold war led to the establishment of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe especially in Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia.

There was loss of lives and property, as a result of the increasing tension between the western Bloc and Eastern Bloc. Much as the cold war was not a physical war, but there were scenarios where the two Blocs collided which led to the loss of lives and property. For example in the Korean war 1950-1953 where USA was supporting South Korea against North Korea which was being supported by the USSR. In this war, a number of lives perished and property destroyed, the 1959-1975 Vietnam war consumed a lot of lives and property. The soviet war in Afghanistan (1979-1989) left a number of lives perished, the 1949 Chinese war in which USA and USSR ably participated registered a lot of death toll as many lives were lost and property destroyed, and many other places where the two super powers collided in a bid to spread their respective ideologies and to block the expansion of each others ideology. The participation and intervention of USA and USSR in the civil wars and in foreign affairs of other states was as a result of the cold war.

The era of cold war led to the creation of political instability in many states of the world. This is because USA and USSR sponsored rival groups in the world which created political instability and turmoil in parts of the world. For example in china, USA supported Chiang Kai – shek and his government while USSR supported Mao Tse Tung who was communist minded during the 1949 chinise war. In 1950 -1953 during the Korean war, USA supported south against North Korea which was being supported by the USSR the USA made use of central intelligence Agency (CIA) to do away with a string of un friendly third world governments and to support allied ones.



In 1953, USA operated the Operation Tax, a covert operation aimed at the overthrow of the newly elected Iranian prime minister, Mosaddegh who was suspected to be against the capitalist interests and was considered to be leaning towards communism as interpreted by Churchill. In a military coup ousted the left – wing president Jacob Arbenz Guzman in 1954 and replaced by Carlos Castillo Armas. These and many other cases were noted all of which gave birth to political instabilities in many countries of the world. This was as a result of the cold war being spearheaded by USA and the USSR.

The cold war led to the rise of world terrorism and encouraged international conflicts. This was mainly as a result of serious mistrust, suspicion and hatred by the western capitalist states led by and the eastern communist states led by USSR. This was because the two rival nations of USA and USSR each tried to eliminate their enemies through suicide bombings, assassinations, and even kidnapping. This made terrorist act inevitable as strong political leaders were eliminated mysteriously for instance, Patrice Lumumba, the new Congolese prime minister was assassinated mysteriously Samora Machel of Mozambique as well as Nkrumah of Ghana were assassinated, courtesy of the cold war. Therefore, due to the increasing political tensions generated by the cold war gave rise to acts of terrorism and international conflicts.

The cold war promoted scientific innovations as the two conflicting Blocs (Western and Eastern) tried to devise means of gaining supremacy over each other. The discovery of scientific innovations was a positive consequence of the cold war. Due to stiff competition for supremacy by two super powers of USA and USSR, there was space exploration as the two powers wanted to surpass each other in the field of science and military technology. In September and October 1959, Russia sent Rocket Lurik II and III respectively to the moon. This was in the bid to counter the USA pioneer V satellite that was sent to the sun. Later in 1961, the USA Armstrong and Yuri Gagarin of Russia were successful in their trips to the moon. This was a great indicator of a scientific discovery.

There was emergence of dictatorial regimes in the world at the time due to the outbreak of the cold war. This was because of different political and economic ideologies that had captured the world attention at the time. The two rival Blocs (camps) each supported the dictatorial regimes on the condition that their ideologies were to be implemented. For instance in Congo (Zaire now democratic republic of Congo) USA supported the comp organized by Tse Sseko Mobutu who later turned to be the worst autocratic leader on the African continent and in Uganda, Amin staged a successful coup against Obote's government due to the support from Britain, USA, and Israel. In South Africa, USA, Britain, France, Portugal, Italy and Israel supported the Apartheid regime because it was capitalist oriented. The Cuban famous dictatorial leader Fidel Castro got the support from the USSR.

## Revision Questions

1. Examine the causes and the consequences of Cold War up to 1990.
2. Account for Cold War politics between 1945-1990.
3. Assess the impact of cold war politics on Russia by 1970.
4. Assess the performance of the Non - Align Movement in Europe up to 1970.
5. Discuss the problems faced by members of Warsaw Pact up to 1970.
6. Why did the U.S.A. get involved in Europeans affairs between 1917-1939?
7. Briefly discuss the career and the achievements of two of the following in the Post-world war II period.
  - (a) General Franco.
  - (b) Gorbachev.
  - (c) Winston Churchill.
  - (d) Charles De Gualle.
8. Account for the formation of Non-Alignment Movement.
9. Account for the establishment of 1947 “Iron curtain” across Europe and what were its results?
10. Why did the Cold War Politics collapse by 1989?

## **CHAPTER TWENTY TWO**

### **THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION (N.A.T.O)**

NATO is an Organization formed with defense purpose by countries in Europe and North America (an alliance of Western Countries). It was formed under a military pact signed on 4th April 1949 in Washington and it comprised of 12 Countries like: USA, Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Norway, Portugal, Ireland, Denmark, Italy, Canada, Greece and Turkey that joined in 1952. West Germany joined in 1955.

NATO came up after signing Brussels pact on March 1948 that called for mutual support among European capitalist states in case of an attack. This pact was to operate in times of war and silent in times of peace. The leading figures in formation of NATO include Earnest Bevin, Winston Churchill and its first commander was Gen. Eisen However. Its major headquarters was Paris and the supreme headquarters was at Versailles both in France.

NATO is a product of cold war politics. That is why after August 1949 there was increased segregation of Communist states from NATO, in 1955 Warsaw pact an opponent camp was formed by countries like Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania. They met in Warsaw town and established the Soviet – led Political military Alliance in Eastern Europe to counteract with activities of N.A.TO.

Warsaw Pact of 1955 signed a protocol uniting member countries in matters of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance in case of attack from NATO states. That is why it remained a socialist international political and military landscape. The 1955 Warsaw Pact was renewed in 1985 for an additional 20 years. Unlike NATO formed in 1949, the Warsaw Pact had no Organizational Structures of their own. For more than 30 years after its inception Warsaw Pact functioned as part of Soviet Ministry of Defence. U.S.S.R had used Warsaw Pact as a tool to maintain its military mechanisms in Eastern Europe among its allies. Soviet Union has used Warsaw pact to politically dominate and militarily intervene in the affairs of its allies.

The formation of communist organizations in September 1947 by Stalin of U.S.S.R prompted the Western Alliance to form NATO. These communist Organizations included COMINFORM (Communist information) and COMECON (the communist Economy).

COMINFORM aimed at spreading and consolidating Russian style of communism by bringing together all the European Communist states. COMECON aimed at communist mutual economic policies, coordinate Joint Economic trade policies, aid, and provide military defense strategies to counter check the growing strength of powers.

## **REASONS FOR THE FORMATION OF NATO**

NATO was formed on 4th April 1949 at Washington – U.S.A with a sole aim of providing mutual defence Alliance of Western powers so that, in case one member is attacked by a communist state, the rest would come to its aide. This was because after World War II the economies of Western European Nations had been destroyed which affected their military strength. Reasons for its establishment include;

To Check and contain the growing U.S.S.R Imperialism. Russia after World War II began sponsoring military invasions and coup de tats in her satellite states. For example the 1948 pro-soviet military coup de tats in Czechoslovakia. After such influence, she began establishing permanent military and trade links, development of socialist ideology among others. This scared Western Alliance capitalist states leading to formation of NATO. This was done in bid to check on the advance of communism in Europe as well encountering the Russian's policy of Soveitisation.

To strengthen the status of member states and defend the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of member States. This was against provocative aggression by non-member countries especially Russia. An attack on anyone of the member states would be regarded as an attack on them all. The member states pledged to seek for diplomatic settlement of inter-state conflicts and war threats as a basis of social economic progress.

The Berlin Blockade incident of 1948-49 also contributed to the formation of NATO, Under this, Russia intended to impose economic and soviet pressure against the Western powers. The Western powers considered this as clear evidence that Russia would aggress the world once more. That is why NATO was formed as a joint military and economic pressure to challenge Russia's socialist plans. After the end of world war II Germany was divided into two parts; Western and Eastern Germany which were taken by USA and USSR respectively. But Russia decided to block the Berlin in order to suffocate the industries of western capitalists. This forced western powers to form NATO.

The increased cold war politics, malice, sanctions and propaganda. As Western powers dealings with U.S.S.R worsened, NATO's importance grew stronger. Western leaders were threatened by Soviet Union when many communist states were installed in Eastern Europe. Communist states increased their territorial demands and their support for guerilla warfare in Greece also scared the Western alliance leading to the formation of NATO.

The growth of Soviet Military capability also threatened the balance of power with western powers. Many European states greatly doubted the capacity of U.S.A alone to protect all the capitalist states in the world. The solution was to form NATO that created a joint military force to protect the interests of the Western Powers. The increasing military capacity of the Soviet Union, scared the western powers of the USA, Britain among others who decided to form NATO.

NATO was formed to implement marshal plan of U.S.A. Other than military assistance, NATO, agreement was to help European Nations recover from economic shambles they incurred in the World War II. The agreement of NATO also delivered economic Aide of Marshal plan. The target of this was the capitalists in Europe plus any socialist country that could turn to the capitalist camp.

NATO was also formed to help Germany strengthen her forces. Germany was to use it and strengthen her forces. It was formed as a means by which Germany was to develop her own forces once again in Europe to outmatch the growing forces of Russia. The Germany side was defeated in both World War I and II. It was ordered to disarm, demobilize and pay heavy war indemnity in 1949 after World War II to victor powers. Therefore NATO was formed to rebuild the destroyed Germany forces.

The announcement effect of Winston Churchill in march 1949 also acassioned the formation of NATO .He was a British foreign Secretary, he uttered it while in Missouri(U.S.A) .He warned west capitalist states that; “Setting from the Baltic Sea to Trieste in the Adriatic Sea, an iron curtain has descended across the continent” i.e. communist Russia had been blocked from forceful territorial extension and transform Europe into the communist states. He requested for strong Western Alliance that would stand firm against Russian Soviet imperialism. This led to the formation of NATO. The eminent divisionism within UNO and its failure to prevent the Cold war; As a matter of fact Western powers needed another security organization that can ensure peace and check the growing strengths of Soviet Union. This led to the formation of NATO.

The danger of arms race. This was initiated by Russia like the manufacture of the Russian Atomic Bombs in 1948-49. Because of cold war politics, to scare and intimidate the capitalist States, Russia began manufacturing weapons of mass destruction. This created a security concern among the western powers which led to the formation of NATO. The desire by the western powers to make an integrated plan of Air force, mutual Aid in producing arms and ammunitions plus a combined military naval force. In a period of cold war politics a joint military base of capitalist states would easily challenge the growing strengths of communist camp.

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF N.A.T.O**

Formation of a joint army was one of the greatest achievements made by NATO. It succeeded to integrate the forces of member states into a single joint command force in 1950. That is, the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE). It was based in Paris – France and U.S.A President Eisner Horwver was its first supreme commander general. This was in line with the NATO purpose of a joint centralized force of western powers. This force was formed to check on the advancing threats of communism. To date, NATO force is still functional.

NATO managed to facilitate the armament of member states Since 1953, NATO had successfully modernized, increased the Navy and defensive weapons through the member states contributions. Due to cold war politics NATO has bought these weapons in competition with Warsaw Pact. It paved

way for the second re-unification of Germany N.A.T.O restored West Germany's sovereignty and entered it into the West European Union (W.E.U) by the Paris agreement of October 1958. It has finally engineered the free Germany re-unification in 1992 (amalgamation of West and East Germany).

Another significant achievement NATO made was checking the soviet expansionist communist ideology. N.A.T.O checked Russian expansionist mission in Western Europe. N.A.T.O contained Russian influence in Europe by providing no penetration for Russian territorial expansion and communism since 1949. This contributed to the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and Warsaw Pact in 1989. N.A.T.O could no longer panic due to threats from Red Army of Soviet Union. This marked the end of cold war politics.

Pacification of the member countries is another achievement made by NATO. It has pacified the member states. It created closer political unity and lessened rivalry and antagonism among member states. This is evidenced by the level of political and economic stability among the N.A.T.O states. They were able to counter the threats and spearhead the developmental plans. However, they had some disagreements for example some states hated American domination of N.A.T.O affairs. In fact in 1966 president De Gaulle of France withdrew France from N.A.T.O because of American over control of NATO affairs.

It outcompeted the growth of her socialist opponents. NATO has been growing with increased membership of her enemies mainly Soviet Union (USSR). The declaration for downfall of Warsaw Pact was made in 1989 when U.S.S.R began receiving loans, Aid, grants and donations from U.S.A, IMF and World Bank to finance socialist states and their activities. Therefore NATO managed to strengthen the capacities of the member states and this gave them a competing edge to challenge USSR and her allies.

N.A.T.O has operated as a base for Western Military and economic organization. Economic organizations have been formed along N.A.T.O. aims and objectives e.g. EUROCOM, E.E.C among others. The member states for EUROCOM were also in E.E.C and all of them were originally in N.A.T.O. Therefore NATO laid a good foundation for the formation of the future military and economic organizations.

It has aided some European states to acquire independence. N.A.T.O has endeavoured to provide independence to weak European States and security to member states. This was to provide safeguard from the possible aggressors especially Soviet Union. For example capitalist states like Turkey and Benelux. This enabled such countries to attain quick economic development.

Had it not been for NATO's efforts, some, weak. European states such as Turkey would have taken long to develop and reach fashionable heights ensured some permanent peace in Europe. Since 1949 Europe had had no major wars involving strong states of Western and Eastern bloc. Instead N.A.T.O had been instigating and directing wars in socialist and Asian states of Caribbean Sea, Middle East, Africa and China among others. This underdeveloped those countries when NATO capitalist states



were rapidly growing. NATO has continued to maintain and ensure peace in the world.

N.A.T.O succeeded in the maintenance of war pressure on Soviet Union. she made territorial demands on Turkey by helping the Greece guerillas with their objective demands from Turkey. N.A.T.O repulsed the Soviet forces from North of Iran. NATO managed to control Eastern Europe leading to the formation communist camp of 1948 in Czechoslovakia. In 1950 NATO violated the terms of Potsdam agreement. The formation of NATO meant that the western powers (capitalistic bloc) were ready to exert pressure on the soviet union as well as containing the spread of communism.

### **WEAKNESSES OF N.A.T.O**

NATO failed to end the spread of communism in Europe. Many communist parties existed in France and Italy. NATO failed to stop the spread of communism. In fact in 1981 a communist party came to power in France led by Mitterrand Francois. He ruled France up to 1995 when cold war politics ended in 1989. These communist party activities in Europe were called “the Euro- communism”. Therefore NATO failed to destroy the communist pattern of development in Europe. It also failed to ensure absolute unity and cooperation among member states.

Absolute unity and cooperation has failed. For example in 1943, Greece and Turkey conflicted. Turkey invaded Cyprus but despite of serious complaints from Greece over this Turkish invasion, N.A.T.O failed to solve these disputes. That is why Greece later withdrew its membership from N.A.T.O after realizing that NATO had failed to arbitrate her conflict with Turkey. This brought dis-unity between Greece and other member states of NATO.

Failure to stop formation of minor alliances. This has undermined the growth of N.A.T.O as an organization since it caused divisions among the member states. For example in 1962, Britain and U.S.A signed the Anglo-American Alliance by which USA supplied Britain with submarines, firing nuclear war heads. In 1987, France signed a protocol to form a Franco - Germany Brigade force. Such Alliance within N.A.T.O worked to weaken the general growth of N.A.T.O.

It has failed to contain communism in the Third World countries. This was common in countries like Cuba and China despite the collapse of Soviet Union and communism in 1989. Policies and instruments to eradicate Socialism had not been installed by N.A.T.O. Even countries like Georgia and Vietnam still practice the socialism principles. Therefore failure to contain and completely wipe out NATO communism not in Europe, but also in the world war. Failure to respect the NATO Charter by some member states is a great failure of NATO.

According to its charter of 1949, members were not allowed to violate the agreed rules and regulations, laws, commands, strategies and principles of N.A.T.O. But this has not been respected by member states for example the N.A.T.O involvement in the liberation of Angola and Mozambique. This was done without the Consent of N.A.T.O Executive Council.

**Revision Questions**

1. Assess the achievements of N.A.T.O since 1949.
2. Account for the formation of N.A.T. in 1949.
3. Examine successes and failures of N.A.T.O by 1970.
4. Why was N.A.T.O. Formed in 1949?







