

MSCE (FORM 4 WORD HISTORY COMPREHENSIVE STUDY NOTE)

MAJOR EUROPEAN POWERS

A. GERMANY

Became a nation in 1870 by uniting several small states of which **Prussia** was the largest. Was ruled by the Kaisers and the Chancellors. The first Chancellor was

Otto Von Bismarck.

The German leaders had great ambitions such as:-

- Developing Germany to a world power
- Having overseas colonies and an empire like France and Britain

In order to achieve these, Germany needed a strong army and navy

B. ITALY

This was a relatively new country formed in 1861. Before then the country had been a collection of small states like Germany. The country was poor in industrial growth and remained politically weak. In **1896** the country had been defeated by Ethiopia at the **battle of Adowa**

C. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

A large empire in central Europe made up of people with different ethnic groups or nationalities such as Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Slovaks and Serbs. Austria-Hungary was a union between Austria and Hungary and was ruled by emperors or kings. The first emperor was **Franz Joseph.**

Austria-Hungary faced the following problems within and from its neighbours:-

- Keeping all different people with different customs while most of them demanded independence.
- Its newly independent neighbor **Serbia** was becoming a powerful force in the Balkans of which Austria did not want.
- Its other neighbor, **Russia** supported Serbia

D. BRITAIN

Britain was a trading nation whose wealth depended on its overseas empire. It had a very large empire which included a quarter of the world's population. Her overseas empire was so big that it was called **the empire on which the sun never sets**

To protect her wealth Britain needed **a strong navy to keep** the trade routes open. As **an island**, the survival also depended on the navy.

SPLENDID ISOLATION

This was a policy followed by Britain **whereby for a long time she could not take part in European countries affairs.** Britain had been following the policy of splendid isolation because:-

1. As an island, and with its greatest navy than any other state, she felt safe from invasion

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2. She decided to concentrate on its huge overseas empire where her wealth depended through trade.

E. RUSSIA

This was the largest but by **far the most backward of the great** powers. The country was almost **agricultural with very little** modern industry.

In trying to extend her influence in Manchuria and Korea, Russia clashed with Japan, a country in the Far East. In the so called **RUSO-JAPANESE WAR (1904-1905)** Russia was **badly defeated**. The war ended with the **Treaty of Portsmouth in USA**. Russia failed to expand to the area.

Russia shared France's worries about Germany. **It feared that the Germans wanted to carve a huge empire out of Russian** land in Central Europe.

Russia was ruled by the **TSARS** or a emperors who were very **autocratic** (dictatorial) in their ruling. Examples of such Tsars include **Tsar Nicholas I** and **Tsar Nicholas II**

F. FRANCE

France had been defeated by Germany in a short war of **1870-1871**. France was also worried about the growing power of Germany, so the French had also built up their industries and armies. France had a large overseas empire and felt threatened by the ambitions of **Kaiser Wilhelm II**.

France's main concerns were:-

- To protect against attack by Germany
- To get back the rich industrial regions of **Alsace** and **Lorraine** which Germany had taken from it in 1870, and were looking for an opportunity to take revenge.

G. THE TURKISH EMPIRE

Was ruled by Muslims. The empire was very weak and for a long time had been called "**the sick man of Europe**" because it was on the verge of collapse due to revolts in the empire.

In the 19th century the empire begun to break up and different states in Europe competed to gain power in the Balkans which was under its control.

Taking advantage of its weakness, some countries in the Balkans became independent. Examples of such countries were Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Romania.

In 1900s Turkey was ruled by **SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II**, a dictator. With his leadership which made the empire even weaker, a group of young army officers led by **ENVER BEY** opposed him and formed an organization called the **YOUNG TURKS** in order to remove him from power so as to make Turkey strong. The Sultan was removed and was replaced by an army officer.

CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

In 1914, the major powers of Europe went to war. The major causes of the war were a series of events or the **rival between the great powers that can be traced back to the 1870's**. In the early years of the 20th Century, these rivalries became stronger until war became almost inevitable. In a nut shell, the following can be considered to have been the causes of the war:

1. Political alliances
2. Arms race and militarism
3. Nationalism in the Balkans
4. Murder at Sarajevo

1. POLITICAL ALLIANCES

These were systems **started in Europe whereby countries made friendship agreements with each other with the main aim of helping each other in time of wars**.

The alliance system was started by Germany and the man behind the starting of these was **OTTO VON BISMACK** the first chancellor of Germany.

REASONS WHY GERMANY STARTED THE ALLIANCE SYSTEMS

1. In **order to isolate France** after the Franco-Prussian war with the loss of **Alsace** and **Lorraine**, Germany knew that France would look for an **opportunity to revenge** and take back these **rich provinces**. Bismarck calculated that France would not revenge Germany on her own but **would seek allies to assist**.
2. The German leaders were also avoiding the idea of **ENCIRCLEMENT**. This meant that friendship between **Russia** to their East and **France** to their West was as an attempt to surround and threaten Germany. In case of war, Germany **should face two fronts** which could not make her to stand.

In order to isolate France, Germany signed the following alliances:-

(i).THE THREE EMPERORS LEAGUE 1872

It was signed between **Germany, Russia** and **Austria-Hungary**. It was called the three emperors league because **it bound the rulers of these three countries who were kings or emperors**. It was also called the **DREIKAISERBUND**.

In this alliance, Austria- Hungary and Russia agreed **not to attack Germany if there was a war between Germany and France**.

Bismarck now had an assurance that neither Russia nor Austria Hungary would sign an alliance with France that could threaten Germany.

Bismarck also believed that he had **succeeded in preventing Russia and Austria Hungary** challenging one another in the Balkans.

(ii)THE DUAL ALLIANCE 1879

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This was **signed between Germany and Austria Hungary**. In the three emperor's league, **Russia quarreled with Austria Hungary as both were interested in the Balkan area**. Russia therefore pulled herself out of the three emperor's league as Germany **chose to support Austria-Hungary**

The terms of this alliance read **that the two countries would help each other in case Russia and France attacked either of them**. However, this was a secret alliance.

(iii) THE TRIPPLE ALLAINCE- 1882

This was a continuation of the dual alliance. **Italy joined the Dual alliance** such that the **triple alliance** involved **Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy**.

Italy joined in order to protect herself from **France, Austria Hungary** against attack by **Russia**, and Germany and Italy from attack by **France**.

(iv) THE REINSURANCE TREATY 1887

This was signed between **Germany and Russia**. This treaty was trying **to prevent Russia from being an ally of France in trying to further isolate France** after the failure of the **Three emperors league**.

The reinsurance treaty was to be **renewed every three years**. Since it was signed in **1887**, it was to be renewed in **1890**.

CIRCUMSATNCES THAT MADE BRITAIN, FRANCE AND RUSSIA TO START SIGNING POLITICAL ALLIANCES

The activities of Germany made other European states to be active as well. **Britain, Russia and France** solved their problems arising from **conflict over colonies in North Africa and Asia**.

This was because all these countries considered **Germany as a common enemy** for different reasons, for example:-

FRANCE hated Germany because of the 1871 defeat, **the loss of Alsace and Lorraine** and the payment of 200 million Francs to Germany.

RUSSIA had clashes with Germany interest **in the Balkans**. Both of them wanted to control the area.

BRITAIN hated Germany because of the **competition in navy and industrial supremacy**

Until 1900 Britain had been practicing a policy of **SPLENDID ISOLATION**

REASONS FOR BRITAIN DROPPING THE POLICY OF SPLENDID ISOLATION

- She was afraid of the **alliance made by Germany** and therefore was afraid of being attacked as well.
- It was the **navy building up** that was done by Germany that threatened Britain most. Germany did not have large empire overseas so as to require a large navy as it was the case with Britain.

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Changes that took place in Germany in terms of leadership also led to the signing of alliances by other nations. In **1889 WILLIAM WILHEM II** who succeeded **WILLIAM I** dismissed **Otto Von Bismarck** as Chancellor. William Wilhelm felt no need to renew the reinsurance treaty with Russia in 1890. With this, Russia was drawn closer to France.

Alliances formed by France, Russia and Britain include:-

(i)THE DUAL ENTENTE 1893-1894

This was signed between France and Russia. It was also known as the **FRANCO-RUSSIAN ENTENTE**

In this treaty, France and Russia promised to **help each other in case Germany attacked either of them.**

(ii)THE ANGLO- JAPANESE ALLIANCE 1902

This involved **Britain** and **Japan**, a country in the far East. This was the first sign shown by **Britain to have broken the policy of splendid isolation.**

It was Germany's navy that threatened Britain and she was compelled to sign this alliance. The Anglo-Japanese alliance had **partly to deal with Germany's navy position and partly to get Japanese help in any clash with Russia over India.**

Through this alliance, Japanese ships would protect British possessions in the far East in any war.

(iii)ENTENTE CORDIALE 1904

This was a friendly agreement between **France and Britain.** Britain had been hostile to France because of their disputes over **colonies of Fashoda (Egypt) and Siam (Thailand).**

In the entente cordiale, the two countries decided to **iron out their differences over colonies.** In this the French recognized **British supremacy over Egypt** and Britain in turn **recognized French authority over Morocco.**

(iv)THE TRIPLE ENTENTE 1907

Involved **Britain, France** and **Russia** after Britain and Russia sorted out their differences over Persia; the entente cordiale became the triple entente.

By 1907, therefore, Europe had been divided into two hostile camps as **six** out of seven great powers made alliances. Only Turkey was not involved because was very weak such that it was called the **"sick man of Europe"**

HOW DID THE ALLIANCE SYSTEM CONTRIBUTE TO THE OUT BREAK OF WORLD WAR ONE

- Europe was **divided into two rival camps** as six out of seven great powers of Europe were involved in alliances. Only Turkey was not involved because the country was a **"sick man of Europe"**. This means that smaller nation in Europe

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were also involved in such alliances and allied themselves to the two camps. **Thus, a quarrel between smaller nations would attract the attention of bigger nations in trying to protect them.**

- The **discussions were held in secret** such that what was discussed in one camp could not be known to the other camp. This attitude **created fear of unknown and suspicion in Europe.**
- According to the agreements made, if **an ally was involved in a war**, then other partners of the **same group were involved** as well.

2. THE ARMS RACE AND MILITILISM

This was a competition among European nations in the building up of armaments and armed men (soldiers).

REASONS FOR THE ARMS RACE

- Imperialism whereby armies were used for **defending the overseas** empires.
- With political alliances, the race was intensified in order **to prepare for the undeclared war.**

The arms race was done in two ways:-

1. Increasing the number of soldiers by conscription
2. Increasing navy (the battleship)

THE ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL RACE

This was a competition in the production of navy between Britain the major sea power and Germany. As an island with a large overseas empire, Britain needed to have a powerful navy, particularly since the British army was very small. When Germany began to build their navy in 1888, the British thought that their navy was an attempt to challenge Britain.

The competition began when Germany passed the German law called **TIRPITZ** which authorized the German navy to increase her battleships. Britain responded to this by launching the **MHS DREADNAUGHT** in **1906**. This was the most powerful battleship that could easily destroy any of the order type battle ships.

Germany then copied it and started building a similar type of ship making the race to be more developed. The race reached its peak in 1909 when Germany refused to agree on the number of dreadnaughts they would build and refused to go on a **“naval holiday”**. The competition also involved the manufacturing of **submarines, torpedoes** and **“U” boats**.

Other European nations started **increasing the number of soldiers**. The reason was that incase a nation attacks, many soldiers would be able to defend a country especially with the alliances signed.

COMPARING THE SIZES OF EUROPEAN ARMIES FROM 1900-1914

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1900	1910		1914
BRITAIN	600 000 (0.6m)	550 000 (0.55m)	510 000 (0.5m)
RUSSIA	1 000, 000 (1.1m)	1 300 000 (1.3m)	1 400 000 (1.4m)
FRANCE	700 000 (0.7m)	800 000 (0.8m)	900 000 (0.9m)
GERMANY	500 000 (0.5m)	700 000 (0.7m)	900 000 (0.9m)

- Britain was the only power that had not introduced conscription (**compulsory military services**) hence the trend
- Russia had the largest but **badly equipped and trained army**
- Germany wanted to match with France but the German army was **well trained and equipped**.

HOW DID THE ARMS RACE LED TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

- It increased tension and hostility between the two hostile camps.
- Made the conditions favorable for the outbreak of a major war as most countries began to spend more on armaments so that by 1914 the generals and admirals were preparing for the undeclared war even if their governments did not want the war.
- Most of the plans for declaring war in order to defeat an enemy came up during this period. For example, the **German's schlieffen plan**, the **Frances plan 17**. These plans had to be used in order to prove their effectiveness hence the 1914 war.

3. NATIONALISM IN THE BALKANS

Nationalism means **the desire of people (a nation) to rule themselves**. Nationalism in the Balkans led to a series of events that led to the outbreak of world war one.

The Balkan region was under the weakening Turkish Empire which was falling apart. This made nationalities to declare themselves independent e.g. **Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece**.

Nationalism in the Balkans was escalated by the fact **that some big powers were also interested in the same area**. These had **to support the nationalities that wanted independence or had to stop such nationalities from achieving this**. This therefore resulted into conflicting ideas in the area.

THE INTERESTS OF RUSSIA, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND SERBIA IN THE BALKANS

1. **RUSSIA**: - considered herself as a big Slav brother and wished to help fellow Slavs in the Balkans. The Slavs also included the Serbs; therefore Russia supported them against Austria Hungary.
Russia also **wanted to extend its influence in the Balkans in order to gain access to the rich trade in the Mediterranean**.

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2. **AUSTRIA-HUNGARY:-** She had problems with Slavs who were demanding for their independence. She therefore thought **of suppressing nationalism even if it meant outside its empire.**

Austria-Hungary has also **its own ambitions of expanding into the whole of the Balkans area.** But Serbia, who stood directly **in their path**, would have to be conquered and removed from the map as an independent state in addition to the fact that it supported the Serbs in the area to be included in Serbia.

3. **SERBIA:** - wanted a big and strong Slav nation in the Balkan and was therefore supported by Russia.

THE BOSINIAN CRISIS- 1908

In 1908 **Austria Hungary** took **Bosnia-Herzegovina** which was a Slav nation. This was opposed by **Serbia**, another Slav nation with the ambitions of including the Slavs (about 3 million Serbs) to Serbia. But Serbia **was too small to do anything** about it on its own. So it looked to **Russia** for support and Russia just **sympathized with Serbia but could not really go to war.** This was because Russia **was just recovering from the Russo- Japanese war of 1905.** The crisis was important because:-

1. Austria Hungary now felt confident that it could rely on German support.
2. Made Russia to increase its armies and weapons so as not to back down again when Serbia will need any help from it.
3. Serbia had to accept that Bosnia was part of Austria Hungary, but would look for any opportunity to get it back from Austria Hungary.

THE BALKAN WARS

As a result of such atmosphere, there were two wars fought in the Balkans.

THE FIRST BALKAN WAR 1912

This was fought when **Serbia, Greece, Montenegro** and **Bulgaria** formed **the Balkan league.** The league was formed in order to:

1. **Fight the Young Turks so as to defeat Turkey.**
2. **Encourage nationalism in the area in order to share the spoils.**

Turkey was defeated. The war ended with the major powers signing the **TREATY OF LONDON (1913).** Turkey was divided among the Balkan states.

THE SECOND BALKAN WAR 1913

This was fought between **Bulgaria** and other **Balkan states.** The cause of this war was that **Bulgaria was not satisfied with the share she got after the first Balkan war.** Bulgaria wanted a larger share of **Macedonia** which was given to **Serbia.**

This time **Romania** and **Turkey** fought against Bulgaria too. The Bulgarians were defeated. The war ended with the **TREATY OF BUCHAREST** in Romania.

RESULTS OF THE BALKAN WARS

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These can also be viewed as contributing factors to the world war one:-

1. Defeat of the young Turks
2. Interventions of big powers such as **Russia** and **Germany**
3. Escalation of tension between **Serbia** and **Austria Hungary**. The support that Serbia received from Russia **will make it to act irresponsibly towards Austria Hungary** and the support Austria Hungary got from Germany **will make it to go ahead with the idea of removing Serbia.**

4. MURDER OF FRANZ FERDINAND AT SARAJEVO- 1914

- This was the **immediate cause** of the First World War. On 28th June 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, a nephew and an heir to the throne of Emperor **Franz Joseph of Austria Hungary** was **paying a visit to Sarajevo the Capital of Bosnia to watch the army displays.**
- Franz Ferdinand with his wife Sophia were shot dead by a Serbian youngster member of a secret anti-Austrian terrorists called **BLACK HAND SOCIETY or UNION OF DEATH**
- The Austrian government blamed Serbia and immediately sent an **ULTIMATUM** (a *statement of harsh demands to be answered within a limited period of time and if it expires drastic steps are taken such as declaring war on a country*)
- The Serbian government accepted most of the terms but refused one term that **allowed Austrian officials into Serbia.**
- Due to assurance of support from Germany, **Austria Hungary** declared war on **Serbia on 28th July 1914**. Russia felt the need to assist Serbia and **started the mobilization of soldiers on 29th July 1914.**
- Germany ordered **Russia to demobilize** when Russia continued; Germany declared war on **Russia on 1st August.**
- At the same time, **Germany** sent a ultimatum to **France for neutrality** but when France did not reply, **Germany declared war on France on 3rd August.**
- In order to attack France, Germany used the **SCHLIEFFEN PLAN** which was going through Belgium. But Belgium had obtained neutrality in 1898 which was defended by Britain. With this, **Belgium refused German to pass through.** Therefore Germany declared war on Belgium in **order to clear the way.**
- When Britain ordered the withdrawal of Germany soldiers on Belgium which was not honored, Britain **declared war on Germany on 4th August because Germany had violated the Belgium neutrality**

HOW DID THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND OF AUSTRIA HUNGARY FINALLY STARTED THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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1. Failure of Serbia to meet some of the **demands of ultimatum** from Austria Hungary.
2. Austria Hungary saw the assassination as **an excuse for attacking and solving the problem** of the Serbs within the Austrian empire. There was no evidence proved so far by this time that **Princip** was acting under orders from the Serbian government. Therefore declaring war on Serbia was a premature idea.
3. The influence of **Russia**. After the Bosnian crisis of 1908, Russia felt that it had let down its Slav allies in the Balkan particularly Serbia. So by this time Russia did not want to let down the allies and was determined to **assist Serbia at all cost, hence the war**.
4. The German influence on Austria Hungary. Germany was the first nation to assure Austria support. This made Austria Hungary to deliberately include a **harsh condition** in the ultimatum with the idea of declaring war on Serbia.

THE SCHLIEFFEN PLAN

- This was a plan made by count Alfred Von Schlieffen who was a German chief of staff up to 1905
- The plan was to defeat **France within six weeks regardless of whether France wanted it or not**. After defeating France, Germany would face the badly **equipped Russians**.
- The plan **was to avoid war on two fronts, against France in the west and Russia in the east**. For the Schlieffen plan to work, it had to be **used through Belgium thereby hitting France** on its back.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE SCHLIEFFEN PLAN

1. The Belgians had put up a **strong resistance against the Germans** than the planner expected.
2. The British and French forces attacked the Germany's communication lines.
3. The Russians attacked heavily in the east such that part of the German forces went for the Russians.
4. It was not well followed because it was planned by someone and used by another officer.

BRIEF CONTESTANTS OF THE WAR

THE ALLIES OR ENTENTE POWERS

Consisted of the following countries:

1. Britain
2. France
3. Serbia
4. Italy (joined in 1915)
5. The United States of America (joined in 1917)

6. Belgium
7. Romania
8. Greece
9. Russia (left the war in 1917)

THE CENTRAL OR AXIS POWERS

1. Germany
2. Austria Hungary
3. Turkey (joined in 1914 Nov)
4. Bulgaria (ended the war in Oct 1915 with the aim of gaining the lands she had lost in the Balkan wars)

A LOOK AT SOME NATIONS THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

1. ITALY

Was formerly in the camp of Germany and Austria Hungary, but when the war broke out, Italy did not take part.

Joined the allies after signing the secret **TREATY OF LONDON** in **APRIL 1915** with the allies.

In this treaty, Italy was promised to receive the areas of **Trentino, South Tyrol, Istria, Trieste** and **Dalmatian islands**. These at first belonged to **Italy** but were taken by Austria Hungary.

- Left the war in 1917 because of **Revolution at home**
- Was forced to sign a truce or armistice with Germany in order to pull itself out of the war
- The treaty was signed in May 1918 and was called the **TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK**
- The treaty was very harsh to the Russians as they lost most of the Baltic States such as **LATVIA, ESTONIA, LITHUANIA, FINLAND** and **POLAND**.

3. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

At first it only supplied food, warships and medicine to the allies. It joined the war against the central powers in April 1917 because of the following reasons:-

1. The German decision to adopt the unrestricted submarines warfare. This led to the sinking of the British liner **LUSITANIA** killing 128 Americans on board.
2. The **ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAPH**. In this, Germany was persuading Mexico to declare war on the United States, promising it **Texas, New Mexico** and **Arizona** in return. The telegraph was discovered by Britain and France.
3. Alleged German sabotage. There was evidence that German agents inside America were deliberately sabotaging (destroying) American industries and disrupting the communications system.

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With these Woodrow Wilson had little option but to declare war on Germany in April 1917.

THE END OF THE WORLD WAR ONE

On 9th November 1918, the Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany abdicated (resigned) and deserted to neutral Holland. At 11:00 am on 11th November 1918, Germany surrendered and the war came to an end.

RESULTS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Three important things came after the war:

1. The treaty of Versailles was signed
2. The league of Nations was formed
3. About eleven million people were killed with a great destruction of property.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

This was a peace conference held in the **hall of Versailles near Paris in France**. It was held two months after an armistice was signed to end the war.

About 32 nations attended the conference but Russia, the neutral powers and the defeated powers were not invited.

The treaty was to deal with Germany. Most of the decisions were made by four key political figures namely:-

1. **GEORGES CLEMENCEAU**: - the prime minister of France, nicknamed "**Tiger**"
2. **WOODROW WILSON**: - the president of the United States of America
3. **LLOYD GEORGE**: - the prime minister of Britain
4. **VITTORIO ORLANDO**: - the prime minister of Italy

AIMS OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY

1. To solve the problems which had led to world war one and bring peace
2. To form independent states from the empires of Russia, Turkey and Germany.
3. To weaken Germany.
4. To form a world body to keep peace and promote prosperity in the world that is the League of Nations.

ATTITUDES OF THE BIG FOUR AT THE CONFERENCE

Just from the beginning of the conference the leading statesmen namely Orlando, Woodrow Wilson, George Clemenceau and Lloyd George found it hard to reach a compromise. This was because they had conflicting ideas on aims of the conference.

- Some felt that the aim was to punish Germany.
- Others felt the aim was to cripple Germany so that it should not start another war.
- Some felt the aim was to reward the winning countries.
- They believed in a first and lasting peace.

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VITTORIS ORLANDO

- He came to the conference with the **aim of obtaining the territories promised** in the **London Treaty** that made Italy to fight for the Allies.
- He came into conflict with President Wilson who thought that Italian claims were exaggerated and it was also **against the principles of self – determination**.
- He therefore withdrew from the conference leaving the Big three.

WOODROW WILSON

- His aim was to build a better and more peaceful world from the ruins of the Great War.
- He came to the conference with **his 14 points** which he felt would help to solve future problems so that the world can live in peace
- Although he did believe that Germany should be punished, **he believed that the treaty** with Germany **should not be too harsh** because he believed that if Germany was treated harshly, some day it **would recover and want to revenge**.
- He believed that **nations should cooperate to achieve world peace**. He therefore proposed the setting up of an international body called **the League of Nations**.
- He also believed in **self –determination** (the idea that nations should rule themselves rather than be ruled by others). He wants the different peoples of Eastern Europe e.g. Poles, Czechs and Slovaks to rule themselves rather than be part of the Austria Hungarian Empire.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

- At peace talks was often in the middle ground between Clemenceau and Wilson. He wanted Germany to **be justly punished but not too harshly**.
- He just wanted Germany to lose its navy and its colonies because Britain **thought they threatened the British Empire**. However, like Wilson he did not want Germany seek revenge **in the future and possibly start another war**. He also wanted Germany to recover quickly so as to **resume trade with Britain**.
- But when he left Britain for Paris, he spoke of “**hanging the Kaizer and getting from Germany everything that someone can squeeze out of a lemon and a bit more**” which meant a very **harsh punishment**, but he changed.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

- Nicknamed the “**tiger of France**”
- He was the most difficult person at the conference
- He wanted a very harsh treaty that would cripple **Germany so that Germany should not attack** France again as it had done twice in 40 years.

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- France had suffered enormous damage to its land, industry and people. Clemenceau was therefore under intense pressure from his people to make Germany pay for the suffering they had endured both in 1870 and in the Great War.
- He was against Wilson's 14 points

TERMS OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY

The peace makers forced Germany to sign the treaty. Germany signed because the allied powers threatened to continue with the war. The terms included six areas and were as follows:-

1. MILITARY LOSSES

The size and power of the Germany army was a major concern of all the powers, especially France. The treaty therefore restricted German armed forces to a level well below what it was before the war. For example:-

- German army had to be reduced to 100,000 men
- Conscription was banned- soldiers had to be volunteers
- Germany was not allowed to have armoured vehicles, submarines, tanks and aircraft
- The navy could build only six battleships
- The **Rhineland** became a **demilitarized zone that is so no German troops were allowed into the** area. The area had to be occupied by the Allies soldiers- the Rhineland was important because it was the border area between France and Germany.

2. TERRITORIAL LOSSES

- Germany lost all African territories which became mandated e.g. Cameroon, Togo, Namibia and Tanzania which were given to Britain, France and South Africa
- **Alsace and Lorraine** were given back to France
- **Northern Schleswig** went back to Denmark
- **Upper Silesia** was to be taken by the League of Nations
- The **Saar area** (German's source of coal) was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years and a plebiscite (vote) would take place to decide its future. Meanwhile, coal was to be given to France.
- The **Anschluss**, the Union of Austria and Germany was forbidden
- Poland was recreated with a corridor to the German port of **Danzig**. The port was to be under the **League of Nations**
- Posen and West Prussia went to **Poland**
- Eupen and Malmedy were to be given to **Belgium**.

3. THE REPARATIONS

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The major powers agreed, without consulting Germany, that Germany had to pay reparations to the allies for the damage caused by the war. The exact figure was not agreed until 1921 when it was **£6,600 million**- an enormous figure to be paid in installments.

4. THE WAR GUILT CLAUSE

The allies put the blame for the war equally on Germany's shoulders and her allies.

5. THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL SELF- DETERMINATION

This was the attempt to make people choose their own form of governments instead of being forced to be ruled by the foreigners. This resulted into the creation of new states in Europe such as: - Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which were former Russian colonies, were declared independent.

New states of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were formed.

6. A BODY TO DISCUSS QUARRELS

In order to avoid future wars, a world body called the **League of Nations** was formed.

GERMAN REACTUONS TOWARDS THE VERSILLES TREATY

Germany strongly objected to the peace settlement under the following conditions:-

1. It was **a dictat or a dictated** peace. The Germans were not allowed into the discussions. They were simply **presented with the terms and told to sign**. Although they were allowed to criticize it in writing, **all their criticisms were ignored**. It would have been better for them to be allowed and take part in the discussion in order to make the treatment fair.
2. Many provisions were **not based on Wilsons' 14 points**
The Germans claimed that they had been promised terms based on Wilson's 14 points, but to their surprise most of the terms were not based on the 14 points. However, the 14 points had never at **all been accepted officially at the conference** and some points were again aiming at punishing Germany.
3. **Loss of territories in Europe as well as African colonies**, Germans certainly lost a lot of territory. This was a major blow to German pride and to its economy. Both the Soar and Upper Silesia were important industrial areas. At the same time as Germany was losing the land, the British and French were increasing their empires by taking control of German and Turkish territories in Africa and the Middle East. This indeed was against the idea of Self Determination.
4. The **disarmament was deeply objected**. The Germans claimed that 100,000 men were not enough to keep law and order at this time of political unrest. But some nations such as France did not disarm despite the fact that one of

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the Wilson's 14 points appealed for all round reduction in armament and not Germany only. In anger, Germany sank its own ships and claimed that they had not lost the war.

5. The Germans objected to the **“war Guilt Clause”**

The time or period for the conference to come up with such a decision was very short. It appears as if the allies wanted Germany to admit the responsibility and pay reparations. The blame would have been shared.

6. He Germans also objected **to the reparations** which they considered a humiliation. £ **6,600 million** was far much too high for German to pay. When Germany faced problems with the reparations, the allies reduced the amount to £2,000 million in 1929 thus the allies were admitting that £ 6,600 million was indeed too high.

7. Germany objected that the treaty was **signed by the wrong people**. Two representatives of the newly formed Weimar Republic were brought out to sign the Treaty on behalf of their government. Most have been signed by admirals or generals because they were the ones who led Germany to war.

8. Germany felt further insulted **by not being invited to join the League of Nations**. German complaints about the treaty would have attracted the attention of many members in the league. These would have sympathized with it and force Great Powers to reduce the figure.

CRITICISMS OR ASSESSMENT OF THE VERSAILLES SETTLEMENT IN TERMS OF STRENGTH AND WEAKNESSES

WEAKNESSES.

1. **The defeated powers, neutral powers and Russia were not consulted.**

Germany and other defeated powers were not involved in making the terms of the treaty. Germany therefore considered it as a diktat. It would have been better if all the defeated powers, neutral powers and Russia took part in the treaty.

2. **The meeting was dominated by the big three.**

Namely Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Orlando hence it was a meeting for the victorious powers.

The place where the treaty was signed was a wrong place.

France took advantage of this and imposed a lot of harsh terms on Germany. It would have been better if the treaty was signed in the neutral state such as Switzerland as it was suggested at first.

3. **The idea of self determination** was applied to all nations but Germany.

The Germans who lived in the Polish Corridor were sacrificed to Poland's economic need for a route to the Baltic. The Germans of Sudetenland were

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included in Czechoslovakia, the Anschluss was condemned. This would bring again the problem of nationalism later.

4. **The treaty created the problem of boundaries.**

The settlement created six more countries in Europe. This increased the number of states in Europe which meant more boundaries. This slowed down trade as it was difficult for goods to pass many boundaries. This means that a lot of tariffs and prices for commodities rose.

The treaty created a power vacuum in Europe

5. Germany was **greatly weakened, politically and economically** bordered by small weak new states. Two of the world's major powers Russia and USA refused to fully participate in European affairs and the Versailles settlement. Only France and half hearted Britain were left to balance German's potential strength. When Hitler came to power in Germany, he started attacking these weaker states as there was no powerful country to face him.

6. **Failure to consider economic needs**

It does not consider the economic needs of the newly created states. The new states which were created did not have the necessary infrastructure as economic units such as Upper Silesia were divided while more countries were putting up tariffs.

7. **The reparations**

The sum of £6, 600 million was too much for Germany. It was not possible for Germany to pay this amount of money because her industrial areas were taken away such as Rhineland, Saar and Upper Silesia. Germany also lost ports such as Danzig and Memel which could have helped in the trade. Moreover, the allied powers introduced tariffs against Germany. This greatly reduced the volume of German international trade.

8. The **settlement also created** many national minorities within states. The population of Europe was thus mixed up which brought bitter relations later.

STRENGTHS OR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF THE SETTLEMENT

- It led to the formation of new states where the principles of self determination was carried out in the hope of satisfying the old grievances. Examples of such states include Czechoslovakia for the Czechs and Slovaks and Yugoslavia for the Slavs, Serbs and Croats.
- It led to the formation of the League of Nations to preserve peace in the world.

WOODROW WILSON'S 14 POINTS

These 14 points put forward by the president of USA, were either rejected, changed or some not even achieved at all. The general concern by the

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European nations was that Wilson was an intruder in European affairs. Therefore what actually happened was contrary to Wilson's 14 points.

WILSON'S 14 POINTS	WHAT HAPPENED TO THE POINTS
Abolition of secret treaties i.e. no secret treaties	This was abandoned from the start as the allied leaders met in secret
Freedom of seas for all nations	Britain refused to this because she was a sea power
There would be free trade between nations- no trade barriers	Barriers were kept even increased in order to protect trade
All round reduction of armaments	This was completely disregarded as there was no real attempt to reduce arms.
Adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the population concerned	Britain and France increased their colonial claims
German soldiers to leave Russian land	The allies sent troops to attack the communists Russia
Restoration of Belgium	This was adopted
Alsace and Lorraine to return to France	This was adopted
The boundaries of Italy to be restored	This was not followed, Italy was just given her territories which she lost to Austria Hungary
Self governments for the peoples of Austria Hungary	This was carried out with reasonable fairs
Serbia, Montenegro and Romania to be restored and Serbia to be given an access to the sea	This was carried out
Independence for different races in the Turkish empire	This was carried out
An independent of Poland should be created and given an access to sea.	This was really carried out despite the fact that there were millions of Germans
Formation of an international organization to maintain peace i.e. the League of Nations	This was carried out and was the most important however it never worked as Wilson had hoped.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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Woodrow Wilson's 14 points was greatly supported at the Versailles conference. The result was the formation of the League of Nations which officially came into existence on **10th January 1920**. The League is often **spoken of as being the brain child of Wilson**. However, there was disagreement about what kind of organization it should be between Wilson, British and France as follows:

- President Wilson wanted the League of Nations to be like a world parliament where representatives of all nations could meet together regularly to decide on any matters which affected them all.
- Many British leaders thought the best league would be a simple organization that would just get together in emergencies
- France proposed a strong League with its own army. At the end, Wilsons had won although Wilson was certainly a great supporter of the idea of an organization for peace, some statesmen that had similar suggestions during the first world war include the following:-
 - Lord Robert Cecil of Britain
 - Jan Smuts of South Africa
 - Leon Bourgeois of France

AIMS /FUNCTIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1. To maintain peace and security through collective action so that quarrels should be solved at earlier stages. This would discourage aggression from any nation.
2. To encourage countries to cooperate especially in economy that is through business and trade
3. To encourage nations to disarm
4. To improve the living and working conditions of people in all parts of the world.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations has 42 members when it was just formed which rose to 55 by 1925 and to 59 by 1930s.

France, Britain, Italy and Japan were strong members that joined in 1919 when the league was just starting. However, Italy left the league in 1937, Japan left in 1932, Germany joined in 1926 and left in 1933, USSR joined in 1934 and most important America was never a member.

	Joined	Left
FRANCE	1919	
BRITAIN	1919	
ITALY	1919	1937
JAPAN	1919	1932

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GERMANY	1926	1933
USSR	1934	1939
USA	never joined	

ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The league was based on the **Covenant**. This was a set of 26 articles or rules which all members of the league agreed to follow. The league was organized through organs or bodies. The headquarters of the league was at **GENEVA in SWITZERLAND**.

The league had five main organs with commissions:-

1. **The Assembly**
2. **The Council**
3. **The Secretariat**
4. **The permanent court of International Justice**
5. **The International Labour Organization**
6. **The Special Commission**

THE ASSEMBLY

This was the league's parliament. It met annually and contained representatives from all member states. Each of them had one vote.

Any decision had to be **UNANIMOUS**- that is, every member had to agree to the decision. If one country says no then the decision could not be passed.

FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY

- Admitting new members to the League
- Appointing temporary members of the council
- Revising peace treaties
- Dealing with the budget of the League

THE COUNCIL

This was the executive body, much smaller which met more often, at least three to five times a year. It could also meet if there was an emergency issue.

It was made up of:-

- **Permanent members.** These were four nations in 1920; **Britain, France, Italy** and **Japan** were permanent members. United States would have been a permanent member but did not join the League of Nations.
- **Temporary members.** These were elected by the assembly for **three year periods** in rotation. The number of temporary members varied between four and nine at different times in the League's History.

The function of the council was to deal **with specific political disputes as those arose**.

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Each of the permanent members of the council had a **VETO**. This meant that one permanent member could stop the council acting even if all other members agreed.

If any disputes arose between members, the members brought the problem to the council then it was sorted out through discussion before matters go out of hand. However, if this did not work, the council could use a range of powers:

- a. MORAL CONDEMNATION:** they could decide which country was the “aggressor”, i.e. which country was to blame for the trouble. They could condemn the aggressor’s action and tell it to stop what it was doing.
- b. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SANCTIONS:** members of the League could refuse to trade with the aggressor
- c. MILITARY FORCE:** the armed forces of member countries could be used against an aggressor

THE SECRETARIAT:

- This provided the machinery which carried out decisions of the League. It was headed by a secretary General. The first secretary General was **Sir ERIC DRUMMOND** from **Britain**.
- The secretariat looked after all the paper work, preparing agendas, reports, writing resolutions for carrying out the decisions of the League.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

- This was based at **HAGUE** in the **Netherlands** and was made up of 15 judges from the member countries.
- This was meant to be a key part of the League’s job of setting disputes between countries peacefully.
- If asked, the court would **give a decision on a border dispute between two countries**. It also gave legal advice to the assembly or council.
- However, the court could not compel (force) states to appear before its jurisdiction. It also had no way of making sure that countries followed its verdicts (rulings).

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION (ILO)

- This brought together employers, governments and workers representatives once a year. It collected statistics and information about working conditions and it tried to persuade member countries to adopt its suggestions. Its aim was therefore to improve the conditions of working for people throughout the world.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSIONS

These were commissions which attempted to tackle other major problems. Examples of such commissions include:-

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1. THE MANDATE COMMISSION

The First World War had led to many former colonies of Germany and her allies ending up as the League of Nations mandates ruled by Britain, France and South Africa on behalf of the League. The Mandates Commission made sure that Britain or France acted in the interests of the people of that territory, not in its own interests.

2. THE REFUGEESS COMMITTEE

This helped to return refugees to their original homes after the end of the First World War.

3. THE SLAVERY COMMISSION

This worked to abort slavery around the world

4. THE HEALTH COMMITTEE

This attempted to deal with the problems of dangerous diseases and to educate people about health and sanitation.

ASSESSMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SUCCESSES OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The successes of the League of Nations can be looked at in terms of political, economic and social.

POLITICAL SUCCESSSES

It had settled disputes between nations which would have erupted into bigger wars. Examples of such disputes include:

1. The first dispute to be settled by the League of Nations involved a quarrel between Sweden and Finland in 1920. The nations quarreled over the **AALAND ISLANDS**. The islands were in the midway between the two countries. After studying the matter closely, the League said the islands should go to Finland. Sweden accepted the League's ruling and war avoided.
2. The League successfully settled a boundary dispute between Poland and Germany in Upper Silesia in 1921. Upper Silesia was an industrial region on the border between Germany and Poland. It was inhabited by both German and Polish people. Both Germany and Poland wanted to control it partly because of its rich iron and steel industry. The League decided that politically, the area should be divided into two but it should remain an economic unit supervised by the League for 15 years. Both countries accepted the decision.
3. In 1923 after Germany had announced that it could no longer pay reparations to the allies, the French forces occupied the Ruhr region- German industrial area, the League finally convinced France to withdraw from the area which indeed happened.

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4. The League of Nations solved the dispute between Italy and Greece (1923) over the Corfu Islands. Four Italians were killed during a frontier dispute between Greece and Albania. Mussolini, who regarded as a protector of the Albanians and partly because of killing the Italians, was furious and blamed the Greek government for the murder. He therefore demanded that Greek government should apologize, pay compensations to Italy and execute the murderers. The Greeks however, had no idea who the murderers were, and refused to bow down before Mussolini. On 31st august Mussolini bombarded then occupied the Greek island of Corfu. When the matter was referred to the League, it condemned Mussolini's actions. It also suggested that Greece pay compensation but that the money be held by the League. The money would then be paid to Italy only if the murderers were found.
Officially Mussolini accepted the League's decision. However, behind the scenes he got to work on the conference of ambassadors and persuaded it to change the League's ruling. The Greek had to apologize and pay compensation directly to Italy. Mussolini then withdrew from Corfu boasting of his triumph.
5. The League further solved a dispute between Greece and Bulgaria over the border raids. Bulgaria killed a commander of Greece border post. Greece raided Bulgaria as a result of this; the league asked Greece to withdraw its forces and asked Greece to further pay compensation for violating Bulgaria's territory.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SUCCESSES

1. It was involved in identifying loans for the reconstruction of Europe after the war
2. The health Committee, which later became the world health Organization worked hard to defeat the dreaded disease Leprosy. It started the global campaign to exterminate mosquitoes, which greatly reduced cases of malaria and yellow fever in later decades. Cholera, small pox and Typhoid fever were amongst.
3. The League did tremendous work in getting refugees and prisoners of war back to their homelands. It is estimated that in the first few years after the war about 400,000 prisoners were returned to their homes by the League.
4. It further carried out campaigns against slavery, drugs like marijuana, position of women and other social problems.
5. The League made recommendations on marking shipping lanes and produced an international highway code for road users.

WEAKNESSES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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Despite the successes, the League is said to have failed its main job that is preventing the outbreak of another world war. Even in the settling disputes the League failed miserably in solving those that involved major powers.

EXAMPLES OF AREAS WHERE THE LEAGUE FAILED.

1. The League tried to organize the **disarmament conference** by which members were to draft the size of their armies and how much to spend on armament. Germany was a member of this conference and she demanded that the size of her army should be like that of France. This was rejected and as a result **Hitler withdrew Germany from the League**. No action was taken against Germany's resignation.
2. In 1931 the **League was faced with a dispute between Japan (a major power) and China**. Japan invaded Manchuria, a province of China for economic and superiority reasons. The conflict was brought to the League and the league condemned Japan's invasion and asked her to withdraw from Manchuria. **Japan refused and she withdrew her membership from the League**. No action was taken by the League.
3. In 1935 the League failed to sort out a **dispute between Italy and Ethiopia** after the former had invaded the latter. The League asked Italy to withdraw her forces from Ethiopia but Italy refused. The League imposed sanctions against Italy especially those of trade. However, some vital products like oil, steel, coal were not included in the ban. Italy's economy was therefore running normally and weapons were made.
4. Further, USA and Germany traded with Italy making the sanctions even more ineffective. In 1936 the sanctions were lifted and the following year (1937) Italy resigned from the League of Nations.
5. The League failed to **check the growing power of Germany**. Germany under Adolf Hitler started flexing the muscles over the areas where Germany was told not to occupy. For example, it occupied Finland and started taking over areas but the League just watched.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- **Lack of troops**. The league did not have an army and therefore lacked a compelling force to its decisions. Member states were not willing to commit troops to the League.
- At **anytime important countries were not members**. For example:-
 - ✓ Germany was not a member until 1926 and left in 1933
 - ✓ The **USSR** did not join until 1934 and towards 1939 was rejected by Britain and France because of communism
 - ✓ Japan left it in 1933 after attacking Manchuria.

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- ✓ Italy withdrew from it in 1936 when was condemned for attacking Ethiopia
- **There were instances when small nations were unfairly treated** because major powers with which they had disputes ignored the League and used their greater strength to gain their ends. For example, in 1923 Greece was forced to pay compensation to Italy but Greece received no compensation for the naval bombardment of the island of Corfu.
- **It suited Great powers interests to settle matters themselves rather than refer them to the League.** Great powers bypassed it by making agreements outside the League. This includes the signing of the Locarno pact, Washington treaty, the pact of Paris, the Dawes plan and the Young plan.
- **The structure and rules were weak in that each member had the power of Veto and equal voting** rights. In addition, decisions had to be unanimous and this made it difficult to reach a compromise. Countries therefore spent a lot of time quarrelling.
- **Since it was born as part of the hated Versailles it was seen as a body for the victorious powers** only. Those that lost the war did not really support it. In addition, many nations thought that the Versailles had been unjust and needed amending.
- **Decisions were very slow.** When a crisis occurred, the League was supposed to act quickly and with determination. However, the League did not meet frequently and took too long to make decisions. In addition, it had little power to act in an emergency.
- **The league's work was also undermined by the Great Economic Depression** that started in America and affected the whole world. This made trade restrictions to be intensified and paved way for dictators to have opportunities to overthrow their governments' e.g. In Italy, Japan and Germany.
- **The United States of America was never a member** right away from the beginning. America would have provided both military and economic support to the League.

REASONS FOR AMERICA NOT JOINING THE LEAGUE

- The League was **linked to the Treaty of Versailles** Wilson insisted that all the signatories to the Treaty should join the League in order to support it. Many Americans hated the treaty itself as they thought it was unfair.
- To many Americans the plans for the League of Nations suggested America was **promising to send its troops to settle every little conflict around the world.** American had not forgotten the soldiers that died in the First World War and did not want many to die further.

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- Other American opposed the League because **they were anti-British and anti-French idea of acquiring colonies overseas**. They thought the American soldiers would be used for safeguarding these empires of Britain and France.
- Other Americans were worried **about the economic cost of joining the League**. They thought it would be as if the **USA were signing a blank cheque**. The USA would promise to solve all international problems regardless of the cost. Business leaders in particular argued that America had become a powerful country by isolationism- that is staying out of the European affairs.

THE INTER – WAR PERIOD 1919-1939

The period between 1919 and 1939 is referred to as the inter-war. This is **because it is the period just after the World war one and before world war two and thus is the period between the two major world wars**.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR ONE

Heavy dependence on imports as most of the industries were destroyed during the war, most European nations imported goods outside Europe especially America.

There was low industrial production. As routes for carrying raw material had been destroyed after the war. In addition to the destruction of industries, many industries that remained produced very low products. This was because the demand for such products was high but the supply was low

European nations had large debts to pay back to the United States of America. Most nations like Britain, France and Belgium borrowed huge sums of money promised to be retained after the end of the war. This was called the **LEND-LEASE** affair between the allies and America. It was particularly important when the war just broke out in 1914 to 1917 when America actually joined it. Consequently, such nations depended on German's reparations.

There were high unemployment rates in France, Britain and most European nations. Many people lost their jobs as many factories were closed down, money lost value and worse still the soldiers who returned from the war were not employed.

The prices of goods drastically went up inflation resulted, the printing of useless money became common while pensioners were not paid.

Such economic problems led to political unrest in Europe. Many uprisings resurfaced while dictators found a chance of throwing democratic leadership since they promised an end to the strikes, put people back to work, and good salaries. Examples of such dictators include Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany.

GERMANY IN THE INTER- WAR PERIOD

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The immediate post war period Germany was in chaos caused by the shock of the defeat in the war combined with the harsh treaty of Versailles.

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

One immediate need in Germany was to replace the old monarchy by a new form of government. The Hohenzollern family (the Kaisers) had ruled Germany from 1870- 1918. They were to be replaced by a republic which was to be responsible for the signing of a peace treaty with the allied powers.

This republic was called the **WEIMAR**. The republic took the name of a small town of **Weimar where the discussions for coming up with another government were held because there were disturbances in most of the German cities such as Berlin, Munich and Bavaria**. The republic was a democratic and had to come up with a constitution which had the following things:-

- Elections were to be held and the party with more votes wins.
- The president had the powers to rule without a Reichstag or parliament especially in emergencies
- All men and women over 20 years were eligible to vote.
- The first president of the Weimar republic was **FRIEDRICH ELBERT** with his Social Democratic party.

PROBLEMS FACED BY GERMANY AND THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC DURING THE INTER-WAR PERIOD.

The Weimar Republic had serious problems from the beginning and some of them helped to destroy it by 1933. Such problems include:-

- It was very difficult to form a strong government because of **the so many parties** that were formed. Not less than 20 political parties were formed. This meant that no one party had a majority of seats so governments had to be coalitions of a number of parties. This result was weak governments which often changed as parties left or entered the coalition. It also allowed a Weimar Republic to gain seats in the Reichstag- the Nazi party was an example.
- The republic was unpopular because it signed the **bitter Versailles Treaty**. Its politicians were called the **“November Criminals”** because they accepted to sign the Versailles treaty. Such people were secretly murdered. The politicians were accused of **“stabbing Germany in the back”** because they agreed an armistice in November 1918. The people believed that Germany had not been beaten on the battlefield but had been betrayed by the people who signed the Treaty. It was criticized in Newspapers and some politicians like Adolf Hitler took advantage of this and were looking forward to crush the Weimar Republic.

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- The president was given too much power than the Reichstag. This brought dictatorship as presidents could act on their own. Such was the case with Paul Hindenburg who came after Elbert.
- The **reparations** brought the problem of economy to the Republic. Germany found it hard to obtain money for reparations because her trading ports such as Danzig and Memel were taken away, industrial areas such as Saar and Upper Silesia were taken away and as this was not enough tariffs were put against German goods. With this Germany only managed to pay the first installment of reparations of £50 million in 1921. Germany was unable to pay the next reparations installment in 1922. With this, in January 1923 French and Belgian troops invaded the Ruhr region. This was the most industrial site for Germany. It produced almost 80% of coal, iron and steel in Germany. The French and Belgians were trying to force Germany to pay reparations.

RESULTS OF THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN OCCUPATION

- The German government responded by ordering the workers to carry out passive resistance, which meant to go on strike. The French reacted harshly, killing over 100 workers and expelling over 100,000 protestors from the region.
- More importantly, the halt in industrial production in Germany's most important region caused the collapse of the German currency. Because the government simply started the printing of more money. This idea of printing more money is called **HYPERINFLATION**. This came in as a solution for paying off debts.

Hyperinflation affected German people in various ways:-

- Workers needed wheelbarrows to carry home their wages. Wages began to be paid daily instead of weekly.
- **Money lost value such that it was nearly** too useless. For example, the exchange was as follows:-
 - ✓ 1921 £1 = **500 marks**
 - ✓ Nov. 1923 £1 = **14,000,000,000 marks**
- Pensioners found that their previous monthly pension would now not buy even a cup of coffee. Worse still most of them were not paid.
- The **prices of goods went higher and higher**. For example, the cost of a loaf of bread from 1918 to November 1923 was as follows:-

1918	0.63 marks
1922	163 marks
Jan. 1923	250 marks
July 1923	3,465 marks
Sept. 1923	1,512,000 marks

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Nov. 1923	201,000,000,000
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- **Unemployment** rose sharply

GUSTAV STRESEMANN

It was clear that the situation in Germany needed urgent solution. With this, the Weimar Republic elected Gustav Stresemann foreign minister and the secretary of state.

HOW DID STRESEMANN HELP TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS FACED BY THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC IN GERMANY?

- He called off the passive resistance of the German workers in the Ruhr region and agreed to start paying reparations again. As a result the French troops left the Ruhr area.
- He stopped the printing of the worthless paper money and created a new currency called the Rentenmark.
- He persuaded the American banks to give loans to Germany. This resulted into the Dawes plan and the Young plan.

THE DAWES PLAN 1924

This was a plan led by General Charles Dawes, American representative, helping Germany with loans so that it should continue paying reparations without damaging the economy. The Dawes's plan involved the following two things:-

- America **to release huge loans** to Germany so that Germany should rebuild her industry and continue paying reparations without crippling her economy.
- Germany to **pay reparations little by little according** to how she could afford.

RESULTS OF THE DAWES PLAN

- Germany's economy began to improve as more industries were rebuilt and more jobs were created.
- The Franco- Belgian troops were withdrawn from the Ruhr region
- Gustav Stresemann also tried to improve the Germany's relationships with other countries. In this, he made Germany to sign a number of treaties include the Locarno treaties and the Brian- Kellogg Pact.

THE LOCARNO TREATIES 1925

This was the agreement between Germany, France and Belgium over the restructuring of their borders. The three countries promised not to invade each other's borders.

Other countries which took part in the treaties include Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Britain.

After many days of hard negotiations they emerged with some important agreements as follows:

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- Germany finally accepted the borders with France and Belgium laid out in the Treaty of Versailles
- Britain and Italy guaranteed to protect France if Germany violated these borders.
- France and Germany agreed to settle any future disputes through the League of Nations.
- The most important result of these treaties was that Germany joined the League of Nations in 1926. Now the Soviet Union was the only major power not in the league.

THE BRIAND-KELLOG PACT 1928

It is also called the "**PACT OF PARIS**". This was the ideas of Briand, the French Foreign minister and Frank Kellogg, the American secretary of state to **condemn war as a way of solving problems**. The pact was signed by 65 nations including Germany, USSR, Italy and Japan.

TERMS IN THE BRIAND- KELLOG PACT

- The countries who signed the pact agreed to reject war as a way of solving problems or international disputes
- The countries agreed not to go to war for five years.
- The Briand Kellogg Pact increased the international relations but it had one weakness, namely it said nothing about how the pact would be enforced if one country broke the rules. This meant that the agreement would only work if members would keep their promises. This too applied to the Locarno treaties. Thus Japan put it on test by invading Manchuria in 1931 and went away smoothly with it.

THE YOUNG PLAN- 1929

This was a plan drawn by Owen Young, an American representative to reorganize Germany's reparations as the Dawes plan signed in 1924 came to an end. The Young plan involved the following two things:

- It reduced the size of the reparations bill from **£6,600 millions to £2,000 million** which was by 75%
- Germany was given a long time to pay, that is, **for a period of 59 years**. The reparations would have ended in **1988**. The Young plan was just accepted but did not work. In 1929 Gustav Stresemann died. In October the same year. The world economic crisis (the Great Depression) began in America.

HOW DID THE GREAT DEPRESSION AFFECTED THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC IN GERMANY

- Germany was hit particularly badly because American loans were demanded back. America was not in a position to lend any more money while Germany economy depended on such loans.

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- The result was disaster for Germany. Businesses were closed down, unemployment shot up. Millions of people became homeless and set up camps in outskirts of towns.
- Britain and France tried to help Germany by cancelling reparations in 1932 at the **LAUSANNE CONFERENCE**. But this did not help. It is not surprising that the German people began to listen to parties promising to do something. In particular they looked forward to Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party. Thus such problems in **Germany propelled Hitler to power**.

ATTITUDES OF BRITAIN, FRANCE AND USA TOWARDS GERMANY IN PAYING REPARATIONS

- Britain and France greatly demanded reparations from Germany. This was because the two countries wanted to use Germany's reparations to payback loan to the United States of America obtained during the war.
- America wanted Germany to recover faster economically hence released huge sums of money through the Dawes plan to Germany. By releasing loans to Germany it again able Britain and France to pay back the Americans' loans since Germany paid reparations to the allies.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AFTER WORLD WAR ONE

THE ECONOMIC BOOM AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION IN USA

After world war one. Europe faced economic and social problems. But during this time USA experienced the **BOOM**. Thus while Europe fell into an economic crisis after 1920 as a result of the war, the USA experienced what was termed "the **Roaring Twenties**" that in the economic Boom.

THE ECONOMIC BOOM

This was the greater economic expansion in the United States which happened in the early 1920s just after the First World War.

CAUSES OF THIS ECONOMIC BOOM

- During the First World War, the United States had greatly increased the **industrial capacity**.
- Most European countries started **manufacturing war weapons and stopped other industrial work**.
- **Trade routes in Europe were disrupted by the war** and certain raw materials were not accessible while many markets were closed down.
- **American industries** at this time prospered. Therefore, as the European industries were shrinking as a result of the war, the American industries were roaring forward.
- Europe **was destroyed by the war** while America was not.

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- After the war, the European powers **concentrated on rebuilding their destroyed industries**, cities and towns. American land had not been touched by the war. Therefore, there was no reconstruction to be done. With this, America tried to expand her old industries while building the ones.
- After the war, the **allies were paying back the debts borrowed** from America. Thus America found herself with millions of dollars from France, Britain and Belgium, no wonder she became the wealthiest country in the 1920s.
- America **opened up huge farmlands in the Prairies** where wheat was grown. This was helped by the construction of transcontinental railways for transporting wheat. This wheat helped the country to make capital for industries. In addition, there was a vast number natural resources such as coal and oil.
- The **Americans came up with scientific ideas on trade**. For example, the Hire purchase made the goods to be sold easily and make profits.
- Good **republication policies**. This involved the raising of import duties or tariffs where by protecting American industry while lowering the economic tax.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

This was the **world economic crisis which started in America in which there was a decline in international trade and general prosperity**.

The depression started in the United States of America in 1929 under the Republican president **Herbert Hoover**.

Just because America was an economic giant, the **whole world was affected by this depression especially Europe**.

The signs of the Great Depression started in America on **24th October 1929**. On this day, there was the **wall threat crash in which there was a fall in the stock exchange** in which there was a **fall in the stock exchange** in which people struggled to sell their shares as prices went down. The **24th October 1929** is known as the **Black Thursday** where millions of shares were just dumped.

CAUSES OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

1. Stiff competition in Agricultural produce as a result of new methods and increased use of machinery, **there was a lot of wheat produced**. Consequently, prices of wheat fell and millions of farmers were faced with a ruin.

2. Domestic industrial over production: American industrialists encouraged by high profits and helped by increased mechanization were producing so many goods such as cars, radios, vacuum cleaners and other goods. The result of this was that the market became saturated with goods and the prices fell. Factories were therefore forced to produce fewer goods- and this meant cutting back on

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their work forces which meant **fewer people could afford to buy consumer goods.**

3. There was unequal distribution of wealth. The enormous profits made by industrialists were not being shared evenly enough among the workers. The average wage for industrial workers rose by eight percent between 1923 and 1929. But during the same period industrial profits increased by 72%. The general public therefore with eight percent could not have enough buying power, to sustain the boom. Infact, during the boom years more than half of the Americans lived below the "povertyline"

4. Speculation: this is the buying of shares in companies for two main reasons:

To get the dividend, this is the annual sharing out of profits among the shareholders.

To make a quick profit by selling the shares at a profit later

Promises of quick profits made people to rush to their banks and withdraw money. But unfortunately share prices were reduced. The result was a disaster for the speculators as their money could not be recovered. This was exactly what happened on 24th October, 1929, the Black Thursday when 13 million shares were dumped at very low prices.

5. Tariffs were imposed which made exports to fall away.

The American government had put up tariff barriers to protect their goods from foreign goods. This was had because other states retaliated by introducing tariffs against American goods. This slowed down trade.

6. The American banking system was also bad. There were too many banks in the United States and many of them did not have enough money.

EFFECTS OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

- The **investors** were ruined.

The stock market crash ruined millions of investors who had paid high prices for their shares. Investors had bought shares on credit or with borrowed money. Their creditors too lost heavily since they had no hope of receiving payment.

- **Banks were closed.**

Banks were closed down because of speculation and withdrawals. Millions of people rushed to withdraw their money in belief that their cash would be safer at home. Many banks were therefore overwhelmed, did not have enough cash to pay and closed down for good.

- **Unemployment rose drastically.**

- As the demand for all types of goods fell, workers were laid off and factories closed. For those in work wages were cut by 25%.

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- People in **agricultural sector were hardest** hit by the depression. Unemployment in the towns meant that farmers sold less of their produce. Prices of farm produce fell so much that it was not profitable to even harvest the crop. Wheat was left to rot in the fields and farmers went bankrupt.

Huge numbers of farmers were unable to pay their mortgages. Some farmers organized themselves to resist banks seizing their homes. When sheriffs came to seize their property bands of farmers charged with weapons forcing the sheriffs to retreat.

Most farmers, however, had no choice but to pack their belongings into their trucks and live on the road, to look for work.

To make matters worse, for farmers, over farming and drought in the central and southern states of Kansas, and Oklahoma, turned millions of acres into a dustbowl and had driven farmers off their land. Thousands of farmers were therefore ruined.

- There **was a drop in the people's living standards**. People queued (lined up) for bread, charity in soup kitchens. Outside every large city, homeless people lived in camps nicknamed **HOOVERVILLES** after the president who was blamed for the depression.
- Some other **countries such as Germany** were badly affected economically.
- Germany's prosperity depended to a large extent on American loans. As soon as the crash came, the loans stopped and Americans called in short term loans. Most European nations such as Britain, France and Belgium depended on Germany's reparations. Such countries were badly affected too in all aspects.
- The depression had **the political effect**. In many states such as Germany, Austria, Japan, Italy and Britain the right wing governments came to power when existing regimes failed to cope with the situation. Dictatorship rose in Japan, Italy and Germany.

HOW DID PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER TRY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION

- He encouraged employers not to **reduce wages** and not to lay off workers.
- Authorized the government **to lend money to banks**, industrialists and farmers in order to save them from bankruptcy.
- He tried to **call in short loans** through declaring a one year moratorium on war debts.
- He followed the **Laissez-Faire** system which allowed the economy to run on its own because of fear from bankruptcy. Hoover's policies made very little impact on the depression.

THE RISE OF PRESIDENT FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL

Franklin Delano Roosevelt succeeded Herbert Hoover in 1933. He came up with measures for solving the economic depression in what became to be called a New Deal.

During the campaign he uttered statements such as **“I pledge you, I pledge myself to a New Deal for the American people. Let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself. This nation asks for action and action now”**

AIMS OF THE NEW DEAL

- **RELIEF**: to give direct help to the poverty stricken people who were without food and loans.
- **RECOVERY**: to reduce unemployment, stimulate the demand for goods and improve economy
- **REFORM**: to take measures that can prevent another economic disaster.

THE ROLE OF THE NEW DEAL IN SOLVING THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Measures that were contained in the New Deal brought assistance to the banks, industrial sector, agricultural sector and the projects launched in order to solve unemployment problems.

1. ASSISTANCE TO THE BANKS

During the depression, **people lost confidence in banks**. The first step that Roosevelt took was to try to restore confidence in the banks. He therefore **closed all the banks**. During this time government officials **inspected the accounts of every bank**. Only those banks that were properly **managed were allowed to reopen**. Such banks were supported **by government loans**.

2. ASSISTANCE TO THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Roosevelt set up the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (**AAA**) to help farmers to increase their income. In order to do this, it used the following ways:-

- It set **quotas to reduce farm production** in order to force prices gradually upwards. It often paid farmers to produce less food either by ploughing less land or by reducing their livestock which meant that food price went up and farmers' income increased.
- It could **increase money** to farmers who were having difficulty in meeting their mortgage payments.
- It helped **farmers to modernize** and to use farming methods which would conserve and protect the soil.
- However, the project failed to help farm workers. Many of these were evicted as there was less work for them to do.

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- The New Deal also introduced the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)** which built a **series of dams** on the Tennessee River. These dams made it possible to irrigate large areas that were affected by the dust bowl. **Trees were also planted** to improve the soil. **Dams also provided electricity** to the areas around the dams. Above all, building the dams created **thousands of jobs** in an area badly hit by the depression.

3. ASSISTANCE TO THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

In the Industrial sector, the National Industrial Recovery Act (**NIRA**) was put forward. This was the most important Act. It tried to get people back to work by setting up two important projects:-

i) **The Public Works Administration (PWA)**. This organization organized and provided cash for the building of useful works such as **dams, bridges, roads, hospitals, schools and airports**. These would be vital once America had recovered but in the short term they created millions of jobs.

ii) **The National Recovery Administration (NRA)**. This provided working conditions in industry and outlawed Child Labor. It used a symbol of blue eagle as an approval by the president. **Over two million employers** joined the scheme.

4. DEALING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

Several projects were launched in order to deal with unemployment problems. Such projects include:-

1. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)

It gave quick relief to the hungry and the homeless by loans, soup kitchens, clothing and setting up employment schemes such as roads, schools and hospitals at a larger scale. It had the Federal Theatre Project which created jobs for playwrights, artists, actors and musicians.

2. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

This provided jobs for young men in conservation projects in the countryside. It was involved in reforestation projects, planting trees and strengthening river banks. By 1940 about 2.5 million young men were employed.

3. The Social Security Act (SSA)

This introduced **old age pensions** and unemployment insurance schemes. However, it did not offer generous payments and it lacked sickness insurance. Such projects provided work for millions of Americans. The money they earned from this work could be used to buy food, clothing and other goods. This increased demand and in turn helped businesses demand more jobs.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NEW DEAL

- It solved the problem of **unemployment as many jobless** people were swallowed up in extra jobs.

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- It **restored the America's economy** such that people had confidence in the government.
- The public works schemes and the Tennessee Valley Authority provided a series of **long lasting value such as dams**, electricity and forests
- Improvement in social welfare of the people through the Social security Act which reduced "**ragged individualism**".
- The New Deal saved America **from fascism or dictatorial leadership** which happened in other parts of the world such as Japan, Italy and Germany.

CRITICISM (WEAKNESSES) OF THE DEAL

- The regulation of working hours, wages and increased taxation made the Deal unsuccessful.
- Many Americans believed that Roosevelt was behaving like a dictator forcing Americans to do whatever he wanted.
- Many businessmen did not like government interference in their affairs.
- The New Deal did little to the poorest in America: migrant workers, unskilled workers, farm laborers. The measures were particularly unhelpful to the Black people encouraging farmers to take land out of production made 200,000 blacks unemployed.
- The problem of unemployment remained large in 1930s despite the Deal.
- Conservative forces in Supreme Court ruled out that the NIRA was unconstitutional
- Roosevelt was inconsistent and kept changing his mind on policies.

RUSSIA AND THE USSR

In 1900 imperial Russia covered 1/6 of the world with Tsar as a ruler. This vast empire was headed by the world's most sufficient, petrifying, abusive, corrupt, clumsy and unenterprising bureaucracy. This Tsar Nicholas II ruled as an **AUTOCRAT**. This means that Tsar had absolute power to run Russia. He believed that God had placed Russia in his hands to rule as he saw it fit. **He did not have to consult anyone about any decision he made and he could appoint or sack ministers without even giving a reason.**

As there was no elected parliament in Russia, local councils called **ZEMSTOV**s have to look after matters such as schools and hospitals.

The **Okhrana** was responsible for arresting the Tsars opponents and sending them to labour camps in Siberia

It was also responsible for censoring books and newspapers

The Russian Orthodox Church also supported the Tsar and preached to its congregation that it was a sin to oppose him.

OPPOSITION TO TSARIST RULE

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Despite of his complete control there was opposition to Nicholas' rule. The groups that opposed Tsar were as follows:-

- The **LIBERAL**: these were middle class, educated Russians, such as doctors, lawyers and teachers. These wanted an elected parliament to help the Tsar run the country. In 1905 they formed the constitutional Democratic Party (the Cadets)
- The **SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES** (SRs): these were radical peasant's movement. Their aim was to carve up the huge estates of the nobility and then hand them over to the peasants. They believed in a violent struggle and were responsible for the assassination of two government official, as well as the murder of a large number of Okhrana (police) agents and Spies.
- The **SOCIAL DEMOCRATS** (SDs): these believed that the revolution would be made by the urban workers. They followed the ideas of the Karl Marx and were called **COMMUNISTS**. In 1903 the part split into two groups:
- The **BOLSHEVIKS** (majority group). This was led by Lenin. The party believed that revolution in Russia should be planned secretly by a small group of committed individuals who would seize power.
- The **MENSHEVIKS** (the minority group). This was led by Trotsky who later on joined the Bolshekis. The party believed that revolution should be a mass movement involving anyone. The Bolsheviks however, dominated the social democrats.

One major difficulty for these revolutionary groups was that their leaders were often in prison or in exile- Lenin for example, lived in London for years, Trotsky was exiled in London and Paris and other revolutionaries were in Switzerland. The History of Russia was full of problems

In 1904-1905 some people in Russia demonstrated against the Tsar. On this occasion which happened on 22nd January 1905, about 200,000 people in St Petersburg, carrying pictures of the Tsar, marched to the Winter Palace to petition him to help improve their working conditions led by **FATHER GAPON**, they sang hymns as they marched. But the Tsar was not in St Petersburg and the marchers' way to the palace was blocked by troops who opened fire, killing and wounding many. Since 22nd January, the day when this happened was on Sunday, the day is called the **BLOODY SUNDAY**.

Despite the groups not achieving what they wanted, the Tsar knew that people were not happy with him. It also signaled serious revolutions to happen in the near future. In addition, it acted as a training ground to put to good use whenever the next opportunity arises.

THE MARCH 1917 REVOLUTION

MSCE (FORM 4 WORD HISTORY COMPREHENSIVE STUDY NOTE)

In 1905 Tsar survived because he had the support of the army. Later on, he issued the October Manifesto in which he granted freedom of speech, the right to form political parties and agreed to the election of a parliament (Duma). Revolutionary leaders, such as Trotsky once more fled into Russia. The October manifesto and the creation of Duma promised so much. It was soon clear, however, that the Tsar was not prepared to give up any of his powers. The autocracy continued and more problems came in. This stirred up the March 1917 revolution which was to be followed by the November 1917 revolution.

CAUSES OF THE MARCH 1917 REVOLUTION

The following were the causes:-

- The ineffective Duma
- The impact of the First World War on Russia
- The peasant's grievances on land
- Problems faced by industrial workers
- Dissatisfaction with Gregory Rasputin

1. THE INEFFECTIVE DUMA AND HOW IT CONTRIBUTED TO THE REVOLUTION

- The tsar did not issue the Duma effectively. People cried for an effective duma but the Tsar **remained an autocrat**.
- The Dumas were a huge disappointment. The first one was **dismissed** by the Tsar after 75 days because of opposition to some of the Tsar's policies.
- The second lasted just three months because it also **opposed** Tsar.
- The third was mostly filled with supporters of the Tsar, so lasted its full- five-year term but acted as a **rubberstamp** for decisions taken by the government.
- The fourth Dumas, elected in 1913 also had a Tsarist majority, but its term was cut short by the outbreak of the War in 1914.
- No Dumas was therefore managed to pass any meaningful laws to improve the position of the poor in Russia as strong Dumas were dismissed and Tsar remained an autocrat as he put forward his speech in one of the Dumas “ **I created the Dumas not to have it instruct me but to have it advise me**”
- Therefore, the failure of the Dumas contributed to the revolution as people were dissatisfied with the Tsar's government while **demanding strong Dumas**.

2. THE IMPACT OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR ON RUSSIA

Russia went to the war with Britain and France against Germany and Austria Hungary. Russian failure in the First World War made the revolution certain. The war led to the dissatisfaction and the collapse of the Tsarist system in Russia because of the following:

- **Russian army performed badly** because:-

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- It was very large but poorly trained and equipped, with no enough ammunition and weapons. In fact a third of the Russian soldiers marched into the **battlefield without rifles and basic** supplies such as boots medical supplies and food.
- Leadership was also weak with **officers drawn from the nobles and winning promotion** more because of their birth and military skills. With these over 2 million Russian soldiers died and most of the surviving soldiers deserted from the army.
- The Tsar made a series of blunder in 1915 when **he made himself the commander-of- the army** and went into the battle field. This was a fatal mistake for several reasons:-
 - ✓ He was not a particularly able **commander with very little military experience**. He did this work of leading the army because he believed it was his duty and that the army would fight better if he was leading it.
 - ✓ To the people he was responsible for the Russian continued successive defeats
 - ✓ A final and more serious consequence was since he was at the battle front, the day-to day running of Russia at Petrograd was now left in the hands of **his wife Tsarina and** Rasputin. Tsarina Alexandria was a German by birth and was suspected, wrongly, by the people of being a German spy and therefore the people distrusted her. Rasputin was seen as an evil influence on government.
- The war had serious **economic effects** such as:-
 - ✓ The war affected those at home who had to put up with serious food shortages. With millions of peasants conscripted into army, there were no enough people to produce enough food.
 - ✓ The winter of 1916-1917 was severe and railways were badly disrupted by ice making it difficult to get food and fuel to the towns.
 - ✓ The Germans had disrupted the communication lines which again caused food shortages and inflation. Food prices rose and more people died of starvation.

3. THE PEASANTS GRIEVANCES AND HOW THEY CONTRIBUTED TO THE REVOLUTION

- The peasants wanted a change in their way of life. Important changes took place between 1906 and 1911 when the Tsar appointed a tough new prime minister called **PETER STOLYPIN**.
- Peter realized that if the peasant's grievances were met, much of the disorder would automatically disappear.
- He used a **"Carrot and stick system"** he offered the peasants the carrot by solving them their land problems. In trying to solve the land issue, he

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abolished the communal payment system and encouraged individual peasants to buy the land. He abolished and removed the hated captains. He set up a **peasants' bank** to provide loans.

- These land reforms resulted into the emergence of a class of wealthy peasants called **KULAKS**. However revolutionary leaders such as Lenin, watching Stolypin's actions in exile were worried because if the Kulaks got rich, then the pressures for revolution would be reduced.
- Stolypin used a **stick or hard punishment** on strikers, protesters and revolutionaries such that over 20 000 were exiled and over 1000 hanged. Those who were hanged became to be known as "**Stolypin's necktie**". But most conservatives who surrounded the Tsar were not happy with Stolypin's reforms and with this they assassinated him at **KIEV** in 1911.
- By 1917, Russian peasants' living standards were extremely low. With this the peasants needed good changes introduced by Stolypin.

4. PROBLEMS FACED BY INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND HOW THEY CONTRIBUTED TO THE MARCH REVOLUTION

- Russian industry was still backward. It was improved when **SERGIUS WITTE** was a minister of finance. Sergius Witte encouraged the development of heavy industry such as iron, coal, oil but the industrial workers had a lot of problems which contributed to the March Revolution. Such problems include:-
- Rapid and unplanned industrialization which contributed to low wages
- Long working hours
- Overcrowded and unhygienic houses.
- Employment of women and children therefore the workers wanted to see a change.

5. DISSATISFACTION WITH GREGORY RASPUTIN

- The royal ruling family, the Tsar was discredited for being very much in touch with Gregory Rasputin. The Tsar's government was dominated by Rasputin, **a course, illiterate and self professed "holy man" from Siberia**. People in Russia did not like him because he was often drunk and was a womanizer therefore blasphemous. Rasputin became friendly to the royal family because he healed their son **ALEXIS** who was an heir to the throne. Alexis was suffering from hemophilia.
- To **Tsarina**, Rasputin was a man of God. She never believed in those who criticized Rasputin. Rasputin swayed the Tsarina and she in turn dominated the Tsar.
- The Tsar asked **Rasputin's advice in the appointment of ministers and officials in Russia**

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- Rasputin used **his power to place his friends in important positions**.
- Rasputin's influence increased especially after the Tsar took charge of the army. The Tsarina became completely dependent on Rasputin and ministers **were appointed and dismissed on his** direction.
- Rasputin's power and influence aroused envy. He was murdered by a group of nobles led by prince **YUSOPOV**, in December 1916.
- Rasputin's influence weakened the royal family's standing in Russia but his murder came too late to save them.

THE REVOLUTION AND THE ABDICATION OF TSAR NICHOLAS II

- The long expected revolution finally began in Petrograd between 8th and 10th March when there were a lot of **strikes and demonstrations**. As law and order broke down the Tsar, who was at the front, was told what was happening but he chose to ignore the warnings and ordered the Duma to stop meeting. When soldiers were ordered to **shoot the rioters they refused and instead** joined the crowd in seizing the buildings, grabbing land and marched together to the Duma to demand a new government.
- When Tsar tried to return to Petrograd, his train was stopped outside the city.
- On 12th March, 10 members of the Duma formed the emergency committee which became the provisional government while a Soviet of workers and soldiers representing the interest of workers and soldiers was also formed in Petrograd.
- On 15th March 1917, the Tsar abdicated (resigned) in favour of his brother **GRAND DUKE MICHAEL** who refused to take up the throne. Within a week he and his family were arrested and removed to Siberia.

RESULTS OF THE MARCH 1917 REVOLUTION

- The Tsarist regime came to an end.
- It led to the formation of the provisional government which was removed by the November 1917 Revolution
- Led to the rise of Lenin.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

This was a government formed by the **Emergency committee** to rule Russia when the Tsar abdicated.

It was to run the country until elections could be held to choose a permanent government. The provisional government was first headed by **PRINCE LVOV** and in July **ALEXANDER KELENSKY** became the leader replacing **LVOV**.

There was therefore a balance of power between the provisional government on one hand and the soviet of workers and soldiers on the other. The soviet of workers and soldiers was dominated by communist parties.

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This Petrograd Soviet had more power in the city than the provisional government, as it took control of the armed forces of the city. When the Provisional government met, the soviet met too.

WEAKNESSES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

- 1) The government **itself was made up of members of different political parties** such as SRs, Cadets, Liberals and Mensheviks – with different views on how Russia should be governed. This often made it hard to make decisions.
- 2) It was **too slow in dealing with the peasants demand** for the distribution of land still under private ownership. This frustrated the peasants who started grabbing the land. Unfortunately the army also joined in land grabbing instead of controlling the peasants.
- 3) The **government failed to pull out Russia from the First World War**. The main reason for this was the fear of harsh terms and even the German occupation of Russia. This decision was unpopular with the army and the people. Soldiers demoralized by defeat were deserting in even greater numbers. People were suffering food and fuel shortages and were desperate for the war to end.
- 4) The **government was too slow in sharing power with the Petrograd Soviet**, an elected Committee of workers and soldier's representatives who tried to govern the city.
- 5) The **government lost support because it delayed elections** which it had promised for a constituent assembly (parliament). The government argued that this was not possible in the middle of a war with many soldiers absent.
- 6) The **economy was on the verge of collapse**. Inflation, rising bread prices, lagging wages and shortages of raw materials.
- 7) Experienced revolts from General Kornilov who wanted to take over the government.

LENIN

VLADIMIR ILYCH LENIN, born in 1870, near Volga.

- At the age of 17 his **brother was hanged by the Tsar's government for plotting against Tsar**
- He was thrown out of Kazan University for his political beliefs
- Graduated as a lawyer from St. Petersburg University
- Exiled to Siberia between 1897-1900.
- While in exile he wrote a revolutionary Newspaper called **ISKRA** (the Spark)
- When he was allowed to come to Russia he became one of the social Democratic Party which was based on **Marx ideas of Communism**.

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- He wanted to restrict the membership of the party to disciplined, professional and militant revolutionaries. **“we must train people”** he said, **“who will dedicate the revolution”**
- So he formed his own party called **BOLSHEVIKS** while his opponents formed the **MENSHEVIKS** under Trotsky and **PLEKHANOV**. But later Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks party.
- Lenin took part in organizing the **1905 revolution** and was exiled again to Switzerland for organizing the revolution. When the March Revolution broke out, Lenin was in Switzerland.
- Lenin returned from exile with help of the German government. The German government secretly sealed him in a train to Russia. The Germans **hoped that Lenin would take Russia out of the First World War which would ease the pressure on the Germans.**
- Soon after his return he published the **APRIL THESES**. In this, he talked about his program of withdrawing Russia from the war, nationalization of land and more programs that attracted people.

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY REMOVES THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT FROM POWER. THE NOVEMBER 1917 REVOLUTION

Lenin wanted to continue with the March 1917 Revolution in order to take advantage of it and take the provisional government by force.

CAUSES OF THE NOVEMBER 1917 REVOLUTION WHICH REMOVED THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The weaknesses of the **provisional government** itself made people not to support it thereby willing to support anyone who was against it.

THE RISE OF LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIKS PARTY

In October, Lenin persuaded the Petrograd soviet to take the decision to overthrow Kerensky's Government.

The Bolsheviks staged their revolution, taking Railway stations, bridges, communication lines and the winter palace.

The Revolution was done effectively and quickly under a brilliant organization of **LEON TROTSKY**. They defeated the provisional government

Alexander Kerensky fled.

REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

Despite that the Bolsheviks did not have the support of the majority of the Russian people, they were able to carry out their takeover in November 1917 because:-

- The **unpopularity of the provisional government** being a critical factor. The First World War continued badly to the side of the Russians, critical shortage

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of food in Russia which resulted into no massive demonstrations demanding the return of Kelensky.

- The Bolsheviks were a **disciplined party** whose leading figures, Lenin and Trotsky were dedicated to revolution. On top of that half of the army supported them, with most of the major industrial centers and cities being under control.
- In August that is, three months before the November revolution, General Kornilov marched with an army towards **Petrograd with an aim of taking power** from the provisional government. The Bolsheviks **supporters stopped him from reaching** the Capital and enabled his arrest. This made the Bolsheviks to be more popular than the provisional government.

HOW DID THE BOLSHEVIKS CONSOLIDATE THEIR POWER

- Lenin's slogan of "**Bread, Peace and Land**" and "**all power to the soviets**" made him and the party win a popular support.

LAND: he tried to fulfill this by abolishing and dividing up the private estates such as those of the church and Tsar. In this he created about 25 million small holders and this pleased the peasants.

BREAD: in this, a Supreme Council of National Economy was created to plan the economy, fixing wages, putting forward working hours, rules of overtime and holidays.

PEACE: Lenin feared that the involvement of Russia into the First World War would bring about the overthrow of communist rule, just as it had done to the provisional government. He then negotiated peace with Germany. The peace treaty signed on 3rd March 1918 called the **Treaty of BREST-LITOVSK**. This treaty was very harsh on Russia.

Russia lost a huge amount of land on her western frontiers which contained one-sixth of the population, three-quarters of her coal and iron and over one-quarter of her farm land.

The communists had paid a high price but Lenin knew he could not fight the Germans and his opponents in Russia at the same time. The signing of this peace treaty with Germany therefore ensured peace in Russia.

- **Through all power to the soviets**, Lenin introduced a dictatorial type of leadership in Russia. Thus although the Revolution had been fought to end the Tsars' autocracy, Lenin's control was as strong as that of Tsar. This **was done in order to consolidate power**. The following are examples of the communist dictatorship:-
- In the elections for the communist Assembly that were held in 1917, just after Lenin took over, the social revolutionary party won half of the votes and

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Lenin's Bolshevik or communist party did not have many votes. Lenin **dissolved the Assembly and refused** a coalition government. He was not prepared to hand over, or even share his power with any other group. This was the first step in setting up a **dictatorship by the communist party**.

- In December 1917, Lenin and the Bolsheviks set up a **powerful secret** police called **CHEKA**. The Cheka agents worked in factories and villages all over Russia to spy on people. Anyone suspected of being anti-communist would be arrested, tortured and could be shot without trial.
- Lenin launched what **became to be known as the Red Terror**. It was launched when opponents of Lenin tried to assassinate him in 1918. This was a campaign against his enemies in Russia. Over 50,000 opponents of communism were arrested and executed during this period.

PROBLEMS FACED BY THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

1) The economy was already in ruins. There was inflation. The Bolsheviks started printing fake banknotes.

2) There were still food shortages. The peasants despite having land wanted to make profit and not simply to feed the town.

3) The Bolsheviks were too ambitious. They hoped to succeed in making **Russia a communist state**. They nationalized all industries. This made them to face with **opposition from those who did not want communism**.

4) The Bolsheviks faced the Civil War from 1918 to 1921.

THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR 1918-1921

After four years of war against invading German forces, Russians in 1918 faced an even worse war, a civil war in **which Russian fought against Russian** over how the country should be ruled.

The civil war started between the **Bolsheviks** who wanted **communism** and their opponents.

The army belonging to the Bolsheviks, the supporters of communism was called

RED ARMY

Those who opposed the idea of communism were called **THE WHITE ARMY**

The whites were a mixed group composed of the social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, ex-Tsarist officers and other groups that did not like communism.

CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

The first six months of communist government had aroused great opposition. Infact, in August 1918, Lenin was shot three times by a Socialist Revolutionary agent but had a miraculous escape. The following were the areas of dissatisfaction:-

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- The **signing of the peace –treaty with the Germans**. Still more some Russians did not like it.
- The **murder of the royal family** together with Tsar by communist agents
- The **oppression and the Cheka** dissatisfied the Liberals, Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.
- The ill-**treatment to the Soviets** (elected Councils) all over Russia. The Soviets were replaced by the officials called the **COMMISSARS** who were supported by the **RED GUARDS**.

The main aim of the whites was therefore **to set up a democratic government based on western lines**.

The allies and foreign powers such as **Britain, France, Japan, the USA and Czechoslovakia** all sent troops to help the white army against the communists.

WHY DID THE ALLIES HELP THE WHITE ARMY IN THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

1) They were not happy with the **pulling out of Russia from the war**. This allowed German troops to move from the eastern front to fight on the western front.

2) Lenin had **cancelled Russia's debts to other countries which meant** that Britain and France will particularly square large debts.

3) After November 1918 when the First World War ended, the allies **wanted to destroy communism** ended, while it was still weak. They **hated communism**.

Despite the assistance from the allies, the Bolsheviks, the Bolsheviks, the Red Army or the supporters of communism won the war.

REASONS FOR THE BOLSHEVIKS (RED ARMY) WINNING THE CIVIL WAR.

- The Red Army (Bolsheviks) had an able organizer and a general called **LEON TROTSKY**.
 - ✓ He built up the Red Army by enforcing conscription on men over 18 years.
 - ✓ Being short of officers to lead the troops, he used experienced former Tsarist officers.
 - ✓ He imposed tough discipline on the Red Army: deserters were shot and if a regiment refused to fight every tenth man was executed.
 - ✓ He kept in touch with the fighting by travelling to the different fronts in a special train while making sure that the Red Army controlled all the good communication lines.
- While as the Red army fought for a single aim- the arrival of communism government, the whites were divided in their aims. Some of them wanted to restore the Tsar, some wanted a constitutional government, and some wanted more socialist revolution.

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- The whites were dispersed across Russia, poorly led and organized which made the Red army to pick them off one at a time. The whites were led by General Kolchak.
- The allied powers were not really dedicated to the destruction of the Bolsheviks. They were already tired with the First World War.
- Foreign intervention aroused a lot of resentment and national feeling in Russia. The whites became unpopular to the peasants because of foreign connections especially with the Japanese. The whites therefore, lost support of many peasants who feared that the white victory would mean a loss of their newly acquired land.
- Lenin took decisive measures known as “**war communism**” to the advantage of the Red Army.

WAR COMMUNISM

War communism was the name given to the **harsh economic measures the Bolsheviks adopted during the civil war**. It had two main aims:-

- To help with the civil war by keeping the towns and the Red Army supplied with food and weapons.
- To put communist theories into practice by re-distributing (sharing out wealth among the Russian people)

War communism involved the following things:-

- All large factories were taken over by the government
- Production was planned and organized by the government such that workers had to work hard and long hours.
- Strict discipline for workers and strikers could be shot.
- Peasants had to hand over surplus food to the government. If they didn't they could be shot.
- Food was rationed and ration cards were only issued by those in work.
- Free enterprise became illegal- all production and trade were controlled by the state.
- Opposition was looted out and destroyed by Cheka
- The church's power was destroyed completely.

RESULTS OF WAR COMMUNISM

- It made the Red Army to win civil war due to enough **food and weapons** at their disposal
- Peasants refused to cooperate by producing more food because government simply took it away. In anger some peasants destroyed their surplus and killed their animals. This led to food shortages, which along with

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the draught or bad weather, between 1920 and 1921 caused a terrible famine which claimed about 4-8 million of people.

- Made industrial workers poor and restless, therefore a decline in industrial production
- It made the communist government very unpopular. Discontented among peasants led to violence in the countryside. In towns workers went on strike, in spite of the penalty for striking being death. An example of such revolt was the **KRONSTADT**.
- The Kronstadt revolt made Lenin realize how unpopular war communism was and that he had to improve the economic situation in Russia. Failure to do so might end in the overthrow of the communist government. Lenin then announced a **New Economic policy (NEP)**.

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP) 1921

This was a policy introduced by Lenin in 1921 as a **solution to war communism**.

The **New Economic Policy (NEP)** involved the partial restoration of capitalism.

Generally, it involved the following measures:-

- Smaller industries, factories and small private businesses were returned to private ownership.
- Important industries such as coal, steel. Railways. Shipping, banks, transport and foreign trade remained under state control
- Peasants could keep part of their surpluses. Grain was no longer seized from the peasants instead peasants had to give a fixed amount to the government in tax.

Lenin called the NEP a “**breathing space**”

RESULTS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

- The economy began to recover and great progress was made with the electrification of industries.
- There was an increase in grain production as peasants responded positively.
- The life of ordinary Russians improved

BAD RESULTS

- Some communist leaders such as **KAMENEV** and **ZINOVIEV**, disapproved the NEP because it made the wealthy peasants called **KULAKS** to become rich at the expense of others who often became hired labourers
- It led to the creation of traders and businessmen called **NEPMEN**. These made huge profits by buying goods and food cheaply and selling them at much higher prices. To many people, the Kulaks and Nepmen would destroy communism.

DEATH OF LENIN

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Lenin died of heart attack on 21st January 1924.

LENIN'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES

ACHIEVEMENTS

- He had organized the 1905 revolution and led the November 1917 revolution that removed the provisional government in Russia.
- He supervised the drawing up of a new constitution which turned the Russian empire into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- He had created a powerful disciplined communist party using the Cheka to remove opponents of his policies.
- He introduced communism in Russia with one party state, controlling industry, army, police, the press and all aspects of life, through his belief in permanent revolution.
- The New Economic Policy improved the economy and living standards of the people in Russia.
- He sought contacts with foreign powers by signing a friendship treaty with Germany called the **TREATY OF RAPALLO** in 1922.
- He negotiated peace with Germany in 1918.

FAILURES

- He was a ruthless dictator who paved the way for more ruthless and brutal dictatorship of Stalin. He rejected genuine democracy when he used force in all of his activities.
- By introducing communism in Russia, he made Russia to be isolated facing powerful allies who were against it. This was partly the beginning of cold war.
- War communism ill-treated people, killed many through starvation.

THE POWER STRUGGLE AFTER THE DEATH OF LENIN

When Lenin died in 1924, a successor had not been appointed. With this, a **TRIUMVIRATE** of **Zinoviev**, **Kamenev** and **Stalin** ruled until 1926.

However, there were four members of the **POLITBURO** or the Central Committee namely:-

- **TROTSKY**: the commissar for war
- **ZINOVIEV**: Leningrad party boss and organizer of communist international
- **STALIN**: General Secretary of the Bolsheviks party
- **KAMENEV**: Moscow party boss.

These four struggled for power after the death of Lenin. But the real struggle was between the gifted Trotsky and Stalin.

Of these Leon Trotsky was the most gifted and Lenin's most likely successor. He had created the Red Army, and was a brilliant writer and thinker. In Lenin's view, Trotsky was the most suitable leader as he wrote in one of his testaments:

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“comrade Trotsky is distinguished not only by his outstanding ability. He is personally probably the most capable man in the present Central Committee”

As for Stalin, Lenin described him as a **“rude”** person and warned the people not to make him a leader. Lenin again wrote **“Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has great power in his hands, and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. Therefore I propose to the comrades that a way be found to remove Stalin from that post”**

JOSEPH STALIN

Born on 21st December 1879

- His real name was Joseph Djugashvili but later he took the revolutionary name of Stalin which means **“man of steel”**.
- Twice exiled to Siberia
- In 1917, he edited a newspaper for the Bolsheviks party. This news paper was called **PRAVDA (the truth)**.
- He held grudges and generally made his enemies suffer.
- Zinoviev and Kamenev were old colleagues of Lenin but made a mistake of underestimating Stalin.
- When Lenin died, these three men **Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev** worked together to destroy Trotsky and made it impossible for him to inherit Lenin's position.
- Trotsky was dismissed as commissioner for war in 1925 and the following year he was dismissed from the Central Committee (politburo) and in 1927 was expelled from the communists' party and exiled to Mexico in 1929.
- Trotsky was assassinated by Stalin's agent in Mexico in 1940.
- Stalin did not want to share power and so moved against other leading communists who might threaten him. He accused Zinoviev and Kamenev of holding orthodox opinions which were not wanted in Russia. Both were dismissed from the politburo, and exiled from USSR.
- Stalin then was on Bukharin. Bukharin was a more moderate member of the party who favored the New Economic Policy (NEP) and wanted to introduce communism gradually in the USSR.
- Stalin therefore accused Bukharin of holding the NEP and slowing down communism and upholding capitalism. He was therefore removed in 1929.
- Stalin therefore succeeded in becoming a leader in 1929 after removing all his fellow members of the politburo.

REASONS FOR STALIN'S SUCCESS

1) Stalin's **doctrine of “socialism in one country”** made him have more support. In this, Stalin made it clear that the emphasis should be placed upon **building up**

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the industrial and military strength of the USSR. This would turn Russia into a modern powerful state. To a soviet people weary of years of war and revolutions, Stalin seemed to be the man who understood their feelings.

2) Trotsky's policy of **Permanent Revolution worked against himself.** Trotsky believed that communism in Russia would only survive if other countries became communist states. He argued that the whole world should adopt communism. With this many people were worried that Trotsky would involve **USSR in new wars and conflicts.**

3) Trotsky's **brilliance worked against him.** His brilliance aroused envy and resentment among the other politburo members. He was seen **as an arrogant person** and often offended other senior party members, but more importantly he failed to take opposition and competition more seriously. Therefore, other politburo members worked together against him.

4) The other politburo **members underestimated Stalin.** They saw Stalin as **dull** and not a **competent administrator.** With this, they ignored Lenin's advice of removing him. This gave Stalin a room to **play divide and rule among the members** until he managed to remove all of them.

5) Stalin had taken **many important positions or jobs such as editor** of party newspaper called **Pravda**, War Commissar and General Secretary. He used these positions to put his own supporters into important posts and even to **transfer supporters of his opponents** to remote postings. Such positions also helped Stalin greatly as they gave him more supporters and made him to be known greatly.

6) When Lenin died, Stalin cheated Trotsky about Lenin's funeral day which made **Trotsky not to be present on Lenin's funeral day.** Stalin therefore, appeared as chief mourner and Lenin's closest friend. This made him gain support as Lenin's successor.

7) Other members of politburo disagreed among **themselves about the future of Russia.** This too gave a chance to Stalin to pick them off one by one.

STALIN AND THE USSR

When Stalin emerged as a leader in 1929, communist Russia faced a lot of problems such as:-

- The industry and agriculture were still very backward and inefficient
- There were constant food shortages
- There were a lot of political and social unrest.

With the above problems, many Russians thought that the danger of another attempt by foreign capitalist powers to destroy the new communist state was inevitable.

STALIN'S ATTEMPTS TO MAKE RUSSIA STRONG

Stalin therefore made determined efforts to overcome all these domestic problems by launching his domestic policies which involved:

- The **five-year plans** to revolutionize industry
- **Collectivization** of agriculture
- Introduction of a totalitarian regime through **great purges**.

1. THE FIVE YEAR PLANS

- Stalin believed that the only way for the **USSR** to make itself secure was to become a modern industrial country as he said “**to slacken the pace means to remain behind and those who lag behind are beaten, we are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries...we must make good the lag in 10 years...either we do this or they crush us**”.
- Industrialization would make Russia strong and have plenty of **weapons for security**. It would make socialism in one country to be possible so that some other countries would envy Russian economy and overthrow their capitalist governments for communism.
- In the five year plans, industrialization would be achieved through strong state control and planning.
- During these year plans, the state would decide what and how much would be produced.
- **GOSPLAN**, the state planning agency, was responsible for the plans. It set the targets an industry had to meet in five years. Each factory in an industry would have its own target to contribute to the overall target of that industry. Success in meeting targets was rewarded, failure was punished.
- Between 1928 and 1941 were three five year plans.

THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN 1928-1932

This concentrated on **heavy industry** such as **coal, iron and steel, oil and electricity**. Though it failed to meet its targets, substantial industrial growth was achieved.

THE SECOND FIVE- YEAR PLAN 1933- 1937

- The emphasis was also on **heavy industry**
- Mining, railway construction, exploitation of Siberian rich resources, canals, transport and Communication were also boosted
- In spite of all sorts of mistakes the first two year plans were a remarkable success.
- By 1940 Soviet Union had overtaken Britain in iron and Steel and within reach of Germany

THE THIRD FIVE- YEAR PLAN 1937-1941

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The emphasis was **on consumer goods but foreign hostility made it to switch to arms production.**

The Second World War which started in 1939 made Russia to start manufacturing war weapons rather than consumer goods.

RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

Russian industry changed and expanded economically because of the plans. In all key industries- coal, iron, oil steel, electricity. The USSR grew to be a major industrial power in ten years.

USSR was a modern state and it was this that saved it from defeat when Hitler invaded it in 1941

On the negative part

- There was a great deal of inefficiency and exaggeration of figures by managers since failure to reach the target could lead to imprisonment.
- The cost of human suffering was great:-
- Forced labor killed millions of people.
- The drafting of more women into industry.
- Factory discipline was strict and punishments were hard.
- Lateness or absence was punished by sacking and that often meant losing your house as well.
- Internal passports introduced to restrict the movement of people changing jobs.
- Slums with poor sanitation flourished.
- Poor working conditions with long working hours.
- Lack of enough food and rationing was common.

2. COLLECTIVISATION

Stalin's aim of very rapid industrialization was intended to be achieved with the help of agriculture.

He reasoned that in order **to buy necessary foreign machinery, agricultural exports** must be increased

To him, this would be achieved through **collectivization which meant reorganizing the 25 million independent peasant households so that very large farms are formed.**

All peasants were to put their lands together to form large joint farms called **KOLKHOZ**. Animals and tools to be pooled together.

Tractors were to be **provided in such communal farms**. Thus in 1929 the forcible development of collective farms began. Large collective farms were formed by amalgamating groups of about twenty small farms and peasants to own it collectively.

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The produce which was mainly grain was sold to the state at low prices.

Stalin hoped that collectivization would have the following advantages:-

- Easy mechanization as tractors would be used in communal farms
- Easier collection of grain
- Plenty of food for the new industrial centers
- Reduce the amount of labor due to the use of tractors such that excess labor would move and work in town
- Remove the Kulaks who acquired their wealth through the New Economic Policy. These were the destroyers of Communism.

By 1939, about 99% of Russian farmland was collectivized. Both poor and rich peasants resisted but it was the rich (Kulaks) who opposed even more.

RESULTS OF COLLECTIVISATION

- New collective farms proved less productive than the small ones they had abolished. This was because peasants were not familiar with collectivization.
- Strong resistant from the kulaks that were not willing to hand over their property. The government arrested and **liquidated** them, sending many to labor camps. The Kulaks retaliated by burning, destroying and killing their animals.
- Many peasants also resisted and coupled with famine, there was chaos as poor harvest and famine killed about 10million people.
- The best farmers were liquidated, that is killed.
- The number of livestock was halved.

3. THE PURGES (TOTALITARIAN, THE RULE OF TERROR)

- Joseph Stalin solved the problems of political and social unrest through **purges**, which went from 1934 to 1938. He used the murder of Kirov who was one of his supporters as an excuse to launch the purges. Kirov was murdered. However, it appears as if it was Stalin himself who organized Kirov's murder.
- The purges involved **arresting, torturing and the killing of all his opponents**. Many of the arrested "confessed" under torture to whatever charges were trumped up against them.
- The most **important figures in the party were tried in public**, in what was known as "**show trials**". The accused were always found guilty of treason and executed. This is what happened to Kamenev and Zinoviev in 1936 and Bukharin in 1938. Trotsky was followed and murdered in Mexico in 1940. Of 139 members of the **Communist Central Committee** elected in 1934, over 90 were arrested and most of them were shot. About 500,000 party members were arrested on the charges of anti-Soviet activities and either executed or

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sent to labour camps. The purges enabled Stalin to gain complete control of the Communist party.

- **The army was not spared.** Nearly 90% of army's top officials and very admiral in the navy were purged. The percentage includes 13 of 15 generals including the Supreme Commander of the Red army, Marshal Tukhachevsky. The purges in the army ensured loyalty of the armed forces to Stalin.
- The purges were also extended **to university lectures and teachers, miners and engineers**, factory managers and ordinary workers.
- This Great terror also greatly extended **to ordinary Russians**, millions of whom were arrested. Without even being tried they were executed or sentenced to labour camps in far of Siberia or the Arctic where millions worked to death or died of cold and hunger. The terror was carried out by the secret police, the NKVD (formerly the cheka).
- By 1939, it was clear even to Stalin that the purges and terror were destroying Russian Society and they were scaled down.
- About 20 million people were sentenced to labour camps and about 10 million people died.

RESULTS OF THE PURGES

- On the positive side, the purges enabled Stalin **to gain complete control over the Communist party**, the civilians and the army such that no riots happened.
- On the negative side, **many of the best brains in the party**, government, industry, civil service were purged- doctors, lawyers, teachers, lectures
- The army purges **removed the experienced soldiers and army generals**. Thus when Hitler invaded in Russia in 1941, Russia in the early years experienced a lot of defeats from Germany due to lack of good-quality and experienced officers.

STALIN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Many of Stalin's policies were based on the belief that one day the advanced capitalist nations, including Germany would attack the Soviet Union so as to try to crush Communism.

But the rise of Hitler in the 1930s alarmed Stalin so much that he gave up the idea of non-interventions abroad. Instead, he began to form popular fronts with non communist states. He went further seeking international relations such as:-

- He made **Russia to enter the League of Nations in 1934**. This was done to try to strengthen relations with Britain and France so as to be on the safe side against Hitler who hated communism and wanted to crush it. However, to Britain and France, Hitler was better off than communism such that they did not really accept to be in good terms with Russia.

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- In **1939 Stalin further signed a pact of mutual assistance with Czechoslovakia and France**. Russia and France agreed to help Czechoslovakia if attacked. This attack was expected from Hitler who wanted Czechoslovakia.
- The Munich crisis of 1938 convinced Stalin that Britain and France could not be relied upon. This is because the two nations made no effort to invite Stalin to the Conference due to his communism. With this, in order to protect Russia Stalin approached Hitler and the two signed **the Nazi-Soviet pact**.
- However, in 1941 Hitler launched the operation Barbarossa and attacked Russia, breaking the Nazi-Soviet pact. This forced Russia **to fight to the side of Britain and France during the Second World War**.
- Russian's relations with Britain and France strengthened only during the war. When the war was over, Stalin started acquiring countries on the eastern part in the name of spreading communism. This ensured bitter relations in what became to be known as **cold war**.
- Joseph Stalin died in **1953** and was succeeded by **Nikita Khrushchev**.

DESTALINISATION

This was the criticisms which Khrushchev made on Stalin about Stalin's cult of personality, his dictatorship and the purges and Red Terror.

This was a period of destalinisation, in which Stalin's place in Russian history was diminished.

STALIN'S ACHIEVEMENTS

- He modernized Russia **through his Five Year plans**. More industries, roads and canals were built.
- Through the heavy industrialization Russia became very strong in terms of weapons. This made Russia to stand up in the **Second World War** and at the end of the war emerged as a super power with the United States of America.
- He made communism **very strong in Russia** and tried to introduce it outside Russia especially after the Second World War.
- Collectivization led to the production **of more grain for export**
- Through his purges and rule of terror, he introduced **discipline in Russia** as all trouble makers were removed
- He tried harder to come to terms with outside nations **through joining the League of Nations**.
- He tried harder to come **to terms with Britain and France** despite being rejected due to communism.

STALIN'S FAILURES

- Collectivization reduced amount of grain in Russia and many peasants perished due to famine that occurred.

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- In trying to resist collectivization many kulaks, good farmers were liquidated
- The Five Year plans which he introduced induced human suffering, poor quality of products
- The purges removed capable leaders such as Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin in the party. These would have made good leaders. They also removed the civil service, the army and many civilians.
- His idea of spreading communism abroad threatened the Western capitalists' nations. This resulted into bitter relations in the name of Cold War.
- True education was rejected in Russia during his rule. It was only geared to Stalinist propaganda. School children were expected to join the Young pioneers. Poets wrote poems about him, composers wrote music praising him.
- Religious worship was banned. Stalin did not want the people to have loyalty to anyone else but him. Instead, people were encouraged to worship Stalin.

HOW CAN STALIN'S WORK BE ASSESSED IN FORM OF AN ESSAY

Stalin ruled Russia after Lenin. In Russia he did many things that made Russia strong but on the other part he did not do well.

Stalin through his five year plans made Russia to be very strong. Russia was transformed from agricultural state to industrial within a short period of time. For example, in the industry sector, electricity, coal, steel and machine tools were greatly increased. Thus it said that **Stalin found Russia working with wooden ploughs and left her equipped with atomic piles**. With such industrialization, Russia was able to defeat the Germans when Hitler invaded Russia in 1941 and emerged as a super power. No modern nation had ever increased its output as rapidly as Russia. By 1938 it was producing more tractors and locomotives than any other country in the world.

However, managers exaggerated the figures for fear to be killed or imprisoned. It also resulted into high human exploitation and suffering. High targets for industrial production placed unnecessary pressure on the workers such that there was poor quality of products.

Stalin made communism very strong in Russia and tried to introduce it outside Russia. After the Second World War nations such as Poland, Hungary, and Austria had Communist governments. However, by doing this he came into conflict with the Allies and a cold war developed with bitter relations between the Allies led by United States and the East led by Russia.

Stalin, through collectivization made a lot of grain export. However, this attracted a lot of criticisms from the peasants. Many were liquidated. It also resulted into famine in Russia that killed millions of people.

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Stalin, through his great purges and rule of terror removed many of his opponents and brought discipline in Russia. During this time Russia experienced a longer period of time without wars and revolutions than before when the history of Russia was characterized by wars and revolts.

However, the purges slowed the economic progress by removing many of the most experienced men, and almost caused defeat during the first months of the war by depriving the army of all its experienced generals.

Stalin died in 1953 and was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev who carried out a destalinisation campaign and tried to cement the relationship with the Allies.

Some historians have argued that we should not be asking why the Tsar's regime collapsed in 1917. Instead we should be asking why and how it was able to last so long. Comment on the settlement giving your own opinions.

DEVELOPMENT OF DICTATORSHIP IN GERMANY

ADOLF HITLER AND THE NAZI PARTY

Hitler was born on 20th April 1889 at Braunau, in Austria.

Went to **Vienna** the capital of Austria as he wanted to become an art student. After failing the entrance examination to the **Vienna academy Fine Arts** twice, he tried to earn a living by painting and selling post cards. He also did some odd jobs such as beating carpets and shoveling snow.

Because of such miserable experiences, **he grew to hate Vienna and its mixture of races.**

He particularly hated the Jews, who he became convinced that it was them who had caused him to be a failure in Vienna.

This early political interest and hate against the Jews had a lot of impact in his leadership

In 1913 he moved to Munich in Germany. When the First World War started, he immediately volunteered for service.

For the greater part of four years he was in or near the frontline

He rose to the rank of a corporal and awarded an **iron cross** as a brave soldier.

When Germany surrendered in Nov 1918, he was in a military hospital recovering from temporary blindness that resulted from his exposure in battle to mustard gas. He was deeply shaken by the news of the armistice.

ORIGINS OF THE NAZI PARTY

- The party started as a nationalist group called **German Workers Party**.
- The party was formed in order to address problems faced by the workers in Germany.
- After Hitler recovered from the mustard gas, he returned to Munich

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- He joined the German Workers Party which was led by **Anton Drexler**
- Hitler was then offered the leadership of the party. He then changed the name of the party from German Workers Party to **National Socialist German Workers Party** – shortened as **NAZI** party.

STRATEGIES USED BY THE PARTY TO GAIN SUPPORT

The party released the twenty-five points of its programs which attracted people's attention. Some of the points on the program included:-

- Calling for the union into one nation of all the Germans to form a greater Germany
- Demanding that citizens of non-German or Jewish origin be deprived of German citizenship
- Abolition of the treaty of Versailles
- Creation of a strong central government
- Adolf Hitler played a bigger role in his speeches.

HOW ADOLF HITLER ROSE TO POWER IN GERMANY

Many things propelled Hitler to power ranging from his personal qualities, support from the industrialists, the high unemployment rate, and support from the church, to the impact of reparations in Germany.

1. HITLER'S PERSONAL QUALITIES AND BELIEFS

His energy, commitment and above all his power as a speaker were soon attracting attention.

In his speeches, he attacked the Weimar Republic, the Versailles Treaty, and the Communists, the Jews, the **November criminals** and the idea of “**stab at the back**”

He declared that the Nazi party could restore the economy and assure work for all.

2. HITLER GAINED SUPPORT FROM THE INDUSTRIALISTS

Hitler preached against communism. **German businessmen, industrialist and land owners** were also **afraid of communism** which would take away their land and industries. This made them to support Hitler and the Nazi financially so as **to crush communism**.

3. THE IMPACT OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE GREATLY HELPED HITLER

- Many ex-service men and many of the growing number of people saw Hitler and the Nazi party as who could do something.
- He promised rearmament which appealed for **many people to find jobs**, removal of the Jews and many schemes which will swallow thousands of jobless people.

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- In line with this, in 1921 he set up a private army called **THE SA (Storm Troopers)** also known as the **BROWNSHIRTS** because of their uniforms.
- The **SA** consisted of young unemployed men and some former members of the Free Corps.
- Their job was to protect Nazi speakers at rallies.
- In practice they usually went much further and beat up opponents. For example, Social Democrat and Communist meetings were often broken up by violence.

4. HITLER GATHERED SUPPORT FROM THE ROMAN CHURCH

Hitler tried to get the churches to encourage their congregations to support the Nazis. At first he tried to reach agreement with the churches.

In 1933 he signed a **CONCORDAT** with the Catholics by which the church promised to keep **out of politics and in turn the Nazi would not interfere with the church.**

This was important because it **made the church not to preach or criticize** Hitler.

5. THE IMPACT OF REPARATIONS HELPED HITLER

Reparations brought the problem of inflation in Germany. **Prices of goods went up exceedingly**, factories closed down, many people being laid off. This resulted into revolts and dissatisfaction of the Weimar Republic. This **made many people to attend Hitler's rallies and listen** to what he said. The promises that Hitler made attracted masses to support him.

HITLER ATTEMPTS TO TAKE OVER THE GOVERNMENT BY FORCE THROUGH THE MUNICH PUTSCH- NOVEMBER 1923

In 1923 Germany was in deep trouble. France and Belgium had occupied the Ruhr industrial region as Germany failed to pay reparations.

Germany's economy which had already been weakened with reparation payment lost almost all value. Once again Germany was plunged into economic problems such that communist and nationalist revolts became common.

Hitler saw this as an opportunity to overthrow the government. On 8th November, 1923, at a rally in **Munich beer hall Hitler** announced a Nazi Revolution or Putsch. The next day he tried to seize the Bavarian government in what became to be known as the **NAZI BEERHALL PUTSCH.**

Hitler was supported by **Ernst Rohm** the leader of the Storm troopers and an ex-field Marshall **Von Ludendorff.**

RESULTS OF THE NAZI PUTSCH

It proved to be a failure as the police opened fire at the procession. About 16 Nazis were killed.

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Hitler, Ludendorff and other Nazi leaders were arrested. Hitler was sentenced to five years in prison.

REASONS WHY THE PUTSCH TURNED TO BE A FAILURE

- He had not made sure of the active support of the army such that the army and police stayed loyal to the government.
- Hitler overestimated his support from the people.

Hitler only served **nine months** in prison.

HOW DID THE TRIAL BENEFIT HITLER

- It was while in prison that he came to the conclusion that the Nazis would not be able to seize power by force. They would have to **work within the democratic system** to achieve power, but once in power, they could destroy that system.
- He gained enormous publicity for himself and his ideas as every word was reported in the newspapers
- While in prison he wrote a book called **MEIN KAMPF** (My struggles). In the Meinkampf, Hitler had written his political ideas about the future of Germany. Some of the ideas included in the Meinkampf are:-
- The Germans as a master race, superior and must stay pure and not to be mixed with the Jews and Slavs.
- The growing German nation needed **LEBENSRAUM** or **LIVINGSPLACE** from the eastern part. Areas such as Poland, Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia must be taken by force.
- To recover all territories lost in the World War I
- Destroying the Versailles and rearm Germany.

When Hitler was freed in December 1924, great changes had taken place in Germany. The nation showed signs of recovering from the war with the help of American Loans through the Dawes plan. Most people had work, homes, food and hope for the future.

Hitler started rebuilding his Nazi party after convincing the government that the party would act legally.

In 1925 Hitler set up the **SS** (or **SCHUTZSTAFFEL**). This was Hitler's personal bodyguards. The group was fanatically loyal to Hitler personally. It was led by **HEINRICH HIMMLER** a devoted Nazi totally loyal to Hitler.

In May 1925 President Ebert of the Weimar died and was succeeded by the old Field Marshall Paul Hindenburg.

HOW WAS HITLER ABLE TO USE THE WORLD DEPRESSION TO EXTEND SUPPORT FOR THE NAZI BETWEEN 1929 AND 1933.

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The Great Economic depression which started in USA soon was felt in Germany. Because Germany had **been so dependent on American loans**, and because it still had to pay reparations to the allies, the problems were more acute in Germany.

Unfortunately, Gustav Stresemann, the man who was behind German's success in terms of loans also died. Workers again faced unemployment, hunger, with life being harder in Germany. Strikes, boycotts and revolts became common.

These economic problems helped Hitler as people were looking for a person who could offer them jobs, reduce hunger and improve their living standards.

Hitler therefore started campaigning **promising more jobs for unemployed in state-financed** public works programs, help for employers to increase their profits. Hitler also promised a greater Germany. Only the Jews and Communists, who were blamed for all German's problems, were left out of the Nazi's plans for Germany.

In 1932, Hitler stood for presidency against the 84 year old Hindenburg. Hindenburg was re-elected but the Nazi became the largest party in the Reichstag with 230 seats. With this Hitler demanded to be made chancellor (prime minister). However, Hindenburg was suspicious of Hitler and refused. Instead he appointed Von Papen as Chancellor. When the army did not support Von Papen, Hindenburg chose Von Schleicher as Chancellor with Von Papen as vice.

HITLER BECOMES CHANCELLOR

When Von Schleicher resigned Paul Hindenburg made Hitler Chancellor and Von Papen as Vice. Thus on **30th January 1933**, Hitler became the German Chancellor.

Hindenburg and Von Papen decided to make Hitler Chancellor as a way of silencing him and as a solution to the strikes and boycotts. Hindenburg believed that with Von Papen supporters Hitler would be controlled. However, he had underestimated Hitler's political ability.

THE REICHSTAG FIRE

As soon as Hitler was appointed Chancellor, he demanded a general election in order to gain more power.

On the night of 27th Feb 1933 before elections, the Reichstag (parliament) building caught fire.

It was certain that the Nazi were responsible for it as **GEORING'S FLAT** was closer to it.

Hitler and the Nazis blamed the communists accusing Von De Lubbe who was found inside to have started the fire.

THE NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES

- The most serious threat to Hitler's position came inside his own party. The brown shirts storm troopers SA, posed a threat. Ernst Rohm the **leader of SA wanted his troops and regular army to be combined under his own leadership**. He hoped to become a defence minister. This alarmed Hitler because it would make Rohm more powerful than he was.
- Infact both the Nazi government and the army disliked such a strong badly disciplined groups of thugs to be combined to the army.
- Hitler therefore, gained the support of the army in an attempted to remove the SA. In return the army agreed to Hitler becoming a president upon the death of Hindenburg. In addition each soldier to take a personal loyalty of oath to him.
- Before the dawn on 30th June 1934, Rohm and most storm troopers were shot dead by the SS men. On the same occasion all **other people who had at any time opposed Hitler were murdered**. This became to be known as **The Night of Long Knives** where about 150 people were murdered including **Von Schleicher**. Only Von Papen managed to escape. Hitler claimed that SA was plotting to seize power.

RESULTS OF THE NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES

1. Hitler took this as an opportunity of removing his opponents even those who were not connected with the issue e.g. Von Schleicher
2. There was a shift of power from the SA to the SS
3. Hitler controlled the revolution which would have taken place between the SA and the SS. At least an atmosphere of peace was achieved. In fact President Hindenburg sent a telegram of congratulations, thanking Hitler for having **"saved the German nation against another revolution"**
4. The event was a step forward taken by Hitler removing opposition from the party.

In August 1934 Hindenburg died, and Hitler in addition to being a chancellor, became both **president and Commander-in – Chief of the armed forces**.

HOW DID HITLER CHANGE GERMANY FROM A DEMOCRACY TO A NAZI DICTATORSHIP FROM 1933?

This was done as a way of consolidating power and was done through:--

- The enabling law
- The use of Gestapo and SchutzStaffel (SS)
- Use of propaganda
- Use of concentration camps and more:-

1. THE ENABLING LAW

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- This was a law passed allowing **Hitler to make laws for the next four years without consulting the Reichstag** so as to allow him to have complete control over Germany.
- The law was passed when the Reichstag caught fire
- The enabling law destroyed the Weimar Constitution.
- It gave Hitler the power to pass any law without consulting the Reichstag and without the approval of the president
- He could even make treaties with foreign countries on his own authority

2. USE OF PROPAGANDA

- The Nazis continued to use propaganda to encourage the German people to have the same ideas and beliefs of the Nazi party and to ensure they stayed loyal to Hitler.
- **Joseph Goebbels** was responsible for propaganda as the Minister for propaganda and National enlightenment.
- Goebbels organized huge rallies, marches and meetings. Probably the best example was the **NUREMBERG RALLY** which took place in August each year. There were army parades gymnastic displays, bands, marches choirs and fly-pasts by the air force. Above all, it had Hitler to address the mass of people gathered in the arenas. The rallies brought color and excitements into people's lives. They also showed the German people the power of the state and convinced them the Nazi was supported by each and everybody.
- Goebbels also used the **1936 Olympic Games** in Berlin as a massive propaganda event to demonstrate the superiority of the Aryan race when German came top with a lot of medals. Internationally, a big expensive stadium and swimming pool were built to demonstrate how Germany had moved up technologically.
- No books could be published without Goebbels permission.
- New papers were censored. Only those printing stories that were favorable to the Nazis were allowed. Newspapers that did not support the Nazis were closed down- over 1500 were closed by 1934.
- The German newspapers became very dull reading and Germans bought fewer newspapers as a result.
- Goebbels took control of the local radio stations and used them to send out the Nazi message.
- Goebbels closely controlled the Cinema. Films were full of the greatness of Hitler and the massive achievements of Germany. Foreign films were censored.

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- Music was controlled. He banned the Jazz music which had been popular in Germany as elsewhere in Europe. He banned it because it was "black" music and Black people were considered an inferior race.
- Books written by Jews or by authors opposed to the Nazis were banned. In 1933 students were encouraged to burn huge piles of banned books looted from libraries.

3. THE USE OF GESTAPO AND SCHUTZ STAFFEL (SS)

a. THE SCHUTZ STAFFEL

When it was first set up in 1925, the SS had been small private bodyguards for Hitler. Later, it had played a major part in the removal of the SA in the Night of the Long Knives.

Under Heinrich Himmler, it was highly trained.

Its primary responsibility was for destroying opposition to Nazism.

It had unlimited powers. It could search houses, confiscate property and arrest people without charging them with offence. It could send people to concentration camps.

The SS had two important subdivisions:

The Death's Head units- responsible for the concentration camps and the slaughter of the Jews.

The Waffen SS- special armored regiments which fought alongside the regular army.

b. THE GESTAPO

This was Hitler's secret state police. They could arrest citizens on suspicion and send them to concentration camps without trial or even explanation.

It could also spy on people, read their mail and tap their telephone lines.

It was helped by a system of informers whereby local party members were encouraged to spy on their neighbors and fellow workers and to report anything that might be anti-Nazi. Children were even encouraged to spy on their parents. Gestapo became the most feared organization in Germany.

4. THE USE OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS

These were the Nazi's ultimate sanction against their own people. They were set up almost as soon as Hitler took power. The camps were usually in isolated rural areas and run by SS Death's head Units

Prisoners were forced to do hard labour. Food was very limited and prisoners suffered harsh discipline beatings, and diseases, a greater section of the prisoners died.

Jews socialists, communists, trade unionists, churchmen and anyone else brave enough to criticize the Nazis' rule ended up in these camps.

5. HITLER'S REMOVAL OF OPPOSITION PARTIES

The communist's parties were destroyed. In June 1933 the social democratic party was banned. Other political parties soon followed.

This removal of political parties became formal in July when Hitler introduced the law against the formation of new parties.

The law stated that the Nazi party was the only party allowed to exist in Germany

It also laid down severe punishment for anyone who tried to set up another party.

Germany was now a one-party state. Trade unions which tended to be anti-Nazi were also abolished and their offices destroyed. The leaders of political parties and trade unions were arrested and imprisoned. Many were to die in labour camps.

6. HITLER MADE HIMSELF THE FURHER

Hitler assumed the title of Fuhrer which means **"one leader"**. At the Nazi rallies the crowds repeated the phrase **"one people, one empire, one leader"**.

7. THE NUREMBERG LAWS

Hitler passed these laws in 1935 which deprived the Jews of German citizenship. The hatred of the Jews was called Anti-Semitism. Hitler hated the Jews because:-

1. He blamed the Jews for his hard life in his early years in Vienna.
2. He blamed Jewish businessmen and bankers for Germany's defeat in the First World War. He thought they had forced the surrender of the Germany army.
3. The Jews tended to be well educated and therefore held well-paid professions jobs or run successful businesses particularly the large department stores. This offended his idea of the superiority of Aryans.

Under the Nuremberg Laws:-

- Jews were banned from civil service. Most lost their jobs in broadcasting, teaching in schools and universities.
- Jewish shops and businesses were marked with a star of David. Jews were only allowed to shop in such shops of which later on were grabbed
- Marriages were banned between Jews and non-Jews.
- In schools Jewish children were segregated and humiliated.
- Thus Hitler's domestic policy was based on a strong control of the people in Germany.

HITLER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

From his earliest years, Hitler had certain basic belief about the future of Germany. His aim was to make **Germany a great power** again through:-

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- Destroying that hated Versailles settlement.
- Stopping Germany from paying reparations which drained the economy and brought more problems.
- Uniting all the Germans under one leader. This would involve annexing Austria, part of Czechoslovakia and Poland both of which had large German minorities.
- Restoring the armed strength of German by rebuilding up the army.
- Recovering the lost territory such as the Saar and the Polish corridor.
- The need to obtain Lebensraum or living space for Germany in the east.
- For Hitler to put his foreign policies into practice, he took Germany out of the League of Nation in 1933.
- He also took Germany out of the Disarmament Conference when the French refused to agree to German rearmament and equality with France.
- He supported nationalist movements in Spain.

TO WHAT EXTENT DID THE GERMAN PEOPLE BENEFIT FROM HITLER'S RULE

In his economic policy, he managed to reduce the unemployment through:

Setting up the **national labour service** which employed young men between 18 and 25 years. These did various jobs such as digging ditches and planting forests.

Setting up the **German Labor Front**. This was responsible for building new big motor ways called **AUTOBAHNS**, hospitals, schools, sports stadiums and other public buildings. These schemes created thousands of jobs.

Secretly at first and then more openly, Hitler **started rearming Germany**. Conscription for compulsory service took over a million off the lists of unemployed.

These new soldiers needed uniforms, weapons and equipments. Industries were set up for the production of weapons. This also **employed thousands** of men. Once the German air force, called **LUFTWAFFE** led by **GEORING** went into construction there again more jobs for fighters, engineers and designers.

There were other ways the Nazis reduced the statistics of unemployment. Women were forced out of **work to look after their homes** and families. **Jews** were dismissed from their jobs but they were not recorded as employed.

So unemployment in Germany fell by 1939 the Nazis were even declaring that there was a shortage of labour.

The Nazis also tried to control **people's leisure time**. A branch of the German labour front, called "**strength through joy**" organized people's leisure activities so that free time was not wasted. Cheap holidays were arranged including foreign travel and Mediterranean cruises, theatre trips and concerts.

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The Strength through Joy was also involved in the plan to manufacture a car cheap enough for workers to buy through a hire purchase. This car was called **VOLKSWAGEN** (people's car).

Hitler succeeded in making Germany a **self sufficient country**. A four year plan was drawn with the aim of making Germany self sufficient in four years. More raw materials such as coal, oil, iron and other metals were produced and synthetic raw materials such as rubber, fuel and textiles were developed. New factories industrial plants, towns, schools, hospitals, and big roads were constructed.

Hitler succeeded in making **Germany a peaceful** country. The **German Labour front** run by Dr Robert Leif controlled the workers and removed **their right to strike for better pay** and conditions but on the whole, the workers did not mind; they **had bread and work** and a lot of benefits. The businessmen were happy too. They were making profits again and the workers were well disciplined, not being stirred up by rowdy trade unionists for strikes.

On the whole, in terms of domestic policies, Hitler succeeded greatly. The economic problem which had affected the nation from 1929 to 1932 ended in their place there was employment and financial stability. The Nazis also restored Germany's honor and pride. There was more optimism and self confidence.

However, the price was heavy. The German people lived in a police state where their whole lives were controlled by the Nazis- their education, their religion, their work even their leisure time.

HITLER'S FAILURES

He transformed Germany into a **totalitarian state with no room for opposition** of any kind; no rival parties, no trade unions, no political debate. The Gestapo, SS and even the army helped in creating his dictatorship policy.

In addition to the Nuremberg laws which Hitler issued against the Jews, during the Second World War in 1942, Hitler issued the **Final Solution**. This **was issued with its aim of total extermination of the Jewish people**. The Jews who run away from Germany and occupied countries that were invaded and taken by Germany were affected. Many Jews were taken into concentration camps such as **Auschwitz** and **Treblinka** where they were shot, brutally treated or exposed to gas chambers.

In such concentration camps non-Aryans such as gypsies as well as political prisoners worked to death, gassed or shot.

About 6 million out of eight million Europe's Jews were killed in cold blood in what has become known as the **HOLOCAUST** or **CHURBAN** (destruction)

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Hitler's **foreign policy took Germany to another war**. In trying to fulfill the policy of Lebensraum, Hitler **took Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia** and when he tried to take **Poland**, Britain and France reacted and the Second World War had started.

When the Second World War was going badly towards Germany, Hitler committed suicide. Joseph Goebbels also committed suicide and other Nazi leaders.

CAUSES AND RESULTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Major countries that were involved in the war are Germany, Russia, USA, Britain, Japan and France .

CAUSES OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The following are the causes of the world war two which came about due to an interplay of a variety of reasons:-

- The Treaty of Versailles
- Aggression of Germany, Italy and Japan
- Appeasement policy
- Failure of the League of Nations
- Policies followed by the Great powers.

1. THE VERSAILLES TREATY

The terms of this settlement did not please Germany in many ways: Germany was not present at the peace settlement but she was simply asked to sign, Germany lost a lot of territories, the payment of enormous reparations, reduction in armament and the army. Germany suffered a lot because of the terms of this treaty and became very bitter towards Britain, France and other countries that were in support of the Versailles.

Therefore, the treaty caused the war because **when Hitler came to power in 1933, he decided to get rid of all harsh terms and this angered the victorious powers**. The only way to stop Hitler was to declare war on Germany hence the Second World War.

2. THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations had failed miserably to solve many problems from the earliest days of its birth. It failed to discipline its own members and many countries openly challenged it when it did try to impose sanctions, countries involved, simply withdrew from it because they had lost hope in its work. Example include:-

- Italy pulled out of the league in 1936 after attacking Ethiopia and the sanctions did not bite her at all.

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- Germany withdrew from the League in 1933 during the Disarmament conference and started to rearm herself outside the league.
- Japan pulled out of it in 1931 after the invasion of Manchuria.

So the League caused the war because **it proved to be a toothless body which could not stop the bigger nations**. Its authority was therefore eroded and no wonder member countries did not respect it at all.

3. POLICIES OF THE GREAT POWERS

There was a great deal of disunity among the Great powers due to the policies which each one of them followed e.g.

America: isolated herself from Europe by the neutrality Treaty of 1935-1937. She did not join the League of Nations right from the beginning.

Britain: sympathized with Germany and the policy of conciliation gave Germany a strong position to mature to reach a stage of beginning a war. Britain saw the dictators as a shield against communism spreading to the west.

France: could not get assurances from Britain and America to act against Germany, she also deserted the Czechs and therefore gave way to Hitler. France also started building a very strong defensive fortified wall called the **MAGINOT LINE** facing Germany.

Italy: broke off her friendship with France and Britain and sided with Germany through the signing of the Rome-Berlin Axis in 1936, the Pact of Steel in 1939 and the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan, the Tripartite involving Japan, Germany and Italy in 1940. This strengthened the position of the dictators in the world.

Russia: she did not send troops to help the Czechs in 1938. She signed the Nazi-Soviet non aggression pact in 1939. This made it possible for Hitler to invade Poland. Russia would have allied with the West and Poland thereby frightening Hitler to invade Poland. This situation inspired Hitler to provoke World War II because he would first of all take on Britain and France and after defeating them he was to attack Russia.

Poland: signed a treaty of friendship with Germany in 1934 and she had a fascist government which was very unpopular in the west. Her later difficulties with Germany in 1939 sparked off the Second World War as Britain and France wanted to defend her.

4. AGGRESSION OF GERMANY, ITALY AND JAPAN AND FAILURE TO CONTROL THE DICTATORS BEFORE BECOMING STRONG

From the early 1930s the newly established Fascist governments in Germany, Italy and Japan became aggressive by invading many countries. Various treaties among the three nations made Hitler to become very pompous and self confidence, acting the way he wished hence the World War II.

5. THE EXPANSION POLICY OF GERMANY REALLY CAUSED THE WAR.

This policy was outlined by Hitler in his famous book called **THE KAMPF**. In this book he set out his aims for the future:-

- To rearm Germany and recover its lost territories
- To unite all German speaking people under his control

In this book Hitler made it clear that Germany was a master race which needed living space called **LEBENSRAUM**. This living space had to be acquired through force. So Russia, Poland and other states in the East had to be conquered in order to provide this living space.

This policy then dragged it into conflict with other states as he occupied Rhineland, renewing the Anschluss, destruction of Czechoslovakia and annexation of Sudetenland. It was when Hitler was trying to fulfill his ambitions of expansion into the City of Danzig-Poland is when the second world war started when Britain and France decided to say enough is enough to Hitler's demands.

6. THE APPEASEMENT POLICY UNDOUBTED CAUSED THE SECOND WORD WAR

The term **appeasement** refers to the attempt made by Britain and France by **accepting some of Hitler's demands before 1939**. Hitler was therefore allowed to ignore the terms of Versailles which negatively affected Germany.

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

This man became the prime minister of Britain in 1937 and it was him who supported and promoted the appeasement policy. He thought that by making Hitler happy there would be peace in their time.

AIMS OF THE APPEASEMENT POLICY

- To avoid and postpone war by reducing the sufferings of Germans were subjected to.
- It also meant to make Hitler happy so as to stop him from making more demands.

WHY DID BRITAIN AND FRANCE FOLLOW THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

- The British and the French were more concerned about the **spread of communism** particularly the threat Joseph Stalin posed. Such policies saw Hitler as a strong barrier (buffer) to the spread of communism in Europe.
- Many politicians in these nations felt that the **Treaty of Versailles was unfair to Germany**. They assured that once these wrongs were put right Germany would become a peace loving nation again.
- Both the British and the French leaders vividly **remembered the horrific experiences of the First World War**. The people and their leaders did not want to see another generation wiped out by shells and machine guns. They wished to avoid another war at almost any cost.

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- Britain had not prepared itself for a **war by rearming and was in no position to** resist Hitler. Appeasement allowed it to rearm.

APPEASEMENT POLICY AT WORK

This policy operated in some areas which later on will be discussed as events that led to outbreak of the Second World War. Some of the areas where it worked include:

THE REARMAMENT OF GERMANY 1934-1939

After pulling out of the Disarmament conference Hitler announced the rearmament of Germany. This was first breach of the Treaty of Versailles.

Yet Britain thought that Germany just wanted a strong army necessary for defense as noted by Lord Lothian after visiting Hitler in January 1935 that ***"I am convinced that Hitler does not want war, what the Germans are after is a strong army which will enable them deal with Russia"***

- The Anglo-German Naval Agreement. This was the agreement between Britain and Germany whereby Britain agreed that Germany should rearm to about 35% of Britain. This was signed without prior consultation with France and Italy.
- The German occupation of the Rhineland
- German occupation of Austria- the reunion of Anschluss
- Germany occupation of Czechoslovakia

EVENTS LEADING TO THE OUT BREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR SOME OF THEM ARE THE AREAS WHERE APPEASEMENT WORKED.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

A civil war broke out in Spain between communists who were supporters of the Republican government and Right-wing rebels under General Franco. The Falangist wanted to replace the elected Republican government with a Fascist type of leadership modeled in Italy. Falangists with some leading generals in the army had been plotting with Benito Mussolini who was delighted to support them against the Republicans.

The Civil war started on 18th July 1936 when a leader of the falangist called **GENERAL FRANCO** was flown into Spain from exile.

Immediately Spain was divided into two armed groups fighting for different causes. The fascists groups fighting communism over political beliefs, peasants were fighting the rich especially the church men while the Catalonians and Basques were fighting for independence.

In this civil war, **Britain and France** did not send help in form of soldiers and weapons to help the Republican government. Only **Russia** sent help to the Republican government. On the other hand, **Mussolini (Italy) and Hitler**

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(Germany) sent war materials and soldiers to help General Franco and the falangists party in Spain. In the end General Franco won the civil war.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

- Hitler used the civil war as a **rehearsal for his soldiers and a testing ground** for his aircraft called **LUFTWAFFE**. After a heavy bombardment of **GUINICA** a town populated by the Basques majority in Spain, **HERRING GOERING**, and a German commander in chief was fully convinced that Germany was ready for the battle.
- Mussolini's support led to the spread of Italian influence to the Mediterranean land.
- This civil war brought the two most world dictators: Mussolini and Hitler together, as both supported the falangists against the Republicans.
- It showed total failure of the League of Nations to solve political problems. This failure encouraged Hitler and other dictators to pursue their ambitions.

ITALIAN INTRUSION OF ETHIOPIA

- Mussolini, in October 1935, invaded Ethiopia for a variety of reasons such as:-
- Wanted to make a big East African empire from which he could get raw materials
- Mussolini wanted to divert people's attention and he pre-occupied with outside problems since Italy had a lot of economic problems
- Mussolini wanted to display the military strengths of the new Italy
- He wanted to revenge since the Ethiopians had defeated the Italians at Adowa in 1896.

EFFECTS OF MUSSOLINI'S INVASION

- It cemented the relationship of Mussolini and Hitler since Hitler did not denounce Mussolini's actions and indirectly helped him after the sanctions were put on Mussolini.
- The League of Nations failed to stop Mussolini's unprovoked attack on Ethiopia. Its sanctions did not bite Mussolini at all.
- This failure by the League of Nations and other super powers to restrain aggressions made Hitler start the World War II.

GERMAN REOCCUPATION OF THE RHINELAND.

- **Rhineland**, the area of Germany which bordered France was made a demilitarized zone under the treaty of Versailles. It was still part of Germany, but the Germans were not allowed to station troops or weapons there. **This was to prevent sudden, surprise attack on France.**
- On 7th march 1936 Hitler took possibly his biggest ever risk by ordering his troops to march into Rhineland.

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- His army generals were very much afraid because Germany's army was no match for the French army. In fact secretly the generals were told to withdraw if France reacted.
- As the troops moved into the Rhineland, Hitler and his generals sweated nervously
- As this was clearly against the Treaty of Versailles Hitler feared that Britain and France would try to stop him.
- Britain and France did not react and the League of Nations paid its attention to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.
- This action made Hitler and Germany to continue **persuing the expansionist policies**. Had it **been that Hitler was stopped, he would have not continued with his policy of expansion**.

THE RENEWAL OF THE ANSCHULUS

- The joining together of Austria and Germany called Anschulus was forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles.
- But it was important to Hitler who wanted to unite all German- speaking people in one country.
- He first tried to take control of Austria in 1934 when members of the Austria Nazi party murdered the Chancellor of Austria.
- The Nazi tried to take over the government but were prevented by the future chancellor Schuschrigg and the position of the dictator of Italy, Mussolini.
- Mussolin threats forced the Nazis to back down and prevented Hitler from interfering.
- Four years later, in 1938 the situation was different. Hitler and Mussolini were now allies
- Hitler then entered Austria in triumph and union with Germany was established on 14th March 1938
- By using Austrian Nazis to threaten and intimidate people, a plebiscite (vote) took place by which 99.75% of the Austrians voted in favor of uniting with Germany.
- Britain and France said that this was a genuine claim and Hitler occupied Austria. Mussolini had not acted because of the **Rome- Berlin axis** and these supported nationalist movements in Spain such that they were friends.
- **Austria added power to German** which made Hitler to continue with his further demands.

THE OCCUPATION OF SUDENTENLAND AND THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Sudetenland was part of Czechoslovakia

Hitler was interested in the Sudetenland because:-

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- It contained 3 million Germans whom he wanted to join the Reich.
- He was fulfilling his policy of Lebensraum and wanted to use Sudetenland as an excuse in order to occupy the whole Czechoslovakia.

To justify his demands Hitler claimed that the Czechs government was mistreating the Germans in the Sudetenland and that he intended to “rescue” them by 1st October.

It appeared as if Hitler was prepared to go to war with Czechoslovakia because of Sudetenland. In Britain, trenches were dug for protection from air raids, gas masks were distributed and the armed forces were put on standby in preparation for the war. However, war was avoided when Mussolini persuaded Hitler to attend a four- power conference at Munich.

THE MUNICH CONFERENCE

This was a conference held in Munich, Germany to discuss a peaceful occupation of the Sudetenland by Hitler.

This conference was attended by four leaders

1. **Hitler** from Germany
 2. **Chamberlain** from Britain
 3. **Mussolini** from Italy
 4. **Daladier** from France
- Note that Joseph Stalin from Russia was not called for the meeting, together with the government of Czechoslovakia.
 - Chamberlain made three visits to Germany and had meetings with Hitler at his residence, at Godsberg and Berchtesgaden.
 - After the discussions at Munich, Britain, France and Italy accepted Hitler’s demand for Sudetenland.
 - Thus Czechoslovakia was betrayed and was forced to give away the Sudetenland.
 - Hitler did not like Chamberlain’s initiative. What he wanted was for the Czechoslovakia government to resist and then he would have taken this as an excuse to over-run the whole of the Czechoslovakia.
 - On the day after the Munich agreement, Chamberlain signed a separate agreement with Hitler in which the two countries promised to consult in the event of any problems and never to go to war against each other.
 - In the Munich is when Hitler noticed that Britain and France were cowards and afterwards he told his nation that “**our enemies are little worms**”, he said “**I saw them at Munich**”.

THE OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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- In pursuit of Lebensraum, Hitler wanted to occupy the whole of Czechoslovakia.
- Fearing open condemnation, he used the pretext that he wanted to take this country in order to protect the Slovaks from ill-treatment by the Czechs people.
- When Czechs president **EMIL HACHA** was called by Hitler to Berlin, he was threatened that Prague the capital was going to be destroyed and he fainted.
- In March, 1939, Germany occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia. This act showed that Hitler **was an aggression and it marked the end of the policy of appeasement.**
- Britain, France and other countries knew that Hitler's next target was going to be Poland where he needed to unite with the Germans of the port of Danzig and the Polish Corridor so as to give Germany access to sea.
- Because of this Britain, France and other countries entered into defensive treaties with Poland.
- Hitler's next target was **indeed Poland**. But he was scared more with Joseph Stalin and the USSR than Britain and France.
- With this, Hitler decided to sign a secret treaty with Stalin called the **NAZI-SOVIET PACT.**
- The two agreed not **to attack each other**
- Secretly they **also agreed to divide Poland between them**. Hitler was now confident of success in attacking Poland.

THE INVASION OF POLAND

- On 1st September 1939, the German army invaded **Poland** from the west and on 17th September Soviet forces attacked Poland from **the east**. Poland soon fell. Hitler believed that Britain and France will not act.
- Chamberlain tried to get them withdrawn from Poland but it was ignored. Hitler was determined to restore Germany's pre-war boundaries.
- On 3rd September, Britain declared war on Germany, followed shortly after by France.
- The Second World War had therefore started.
- **PHONEY WAR**: it was a strange period of non-war which happened between 1939 to 1940 when Hitler first attacked Poland.
- **BLITZKRIEG**: the lightning war made by Hitler in Germany. It was a very fast war so as to take an enemy by surprise and defeat the enemy. This helped Germany in the early attacks of Soviet Union, France and other countries.

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- **OPERATION YELLOW:** Germany invaded and defeated France in 1940. France was liberated by the allies on 6th June 1941 on the D-day
- **OPERATION BARBAROSSA:** happened on 22nd June 1941 when Hitler invaded Russia. This broke the Nazi- Soviet pact and brought Russia into the war to the side of the allies.
- **OPERATION SEA LION:** operation by which Hitler attempted to attack Britain but failed. The pipeline called Pipeline under the Ocean (PLUTO) was constructed under the water from North Africa to Britain to supply oil.

HOW DID THE WAR BECOME A WORLD WAR

- This was due to joining in the war by Japan to the side of Germany and America to the side of Britain, France and allies.
- On 7th December 1941, Japanese fighter planes attacked the American Pacific fleet at its base at **Pearl Harbour in Hawaii**.
- The attack destroyed a lot of battleships, aircrafts and servicemen and civilians.
- The direct result was America entry into the war to the side of Britain and France
- Germany also declared war on America
- The Japanese used suicide pilots called the **KAMIKAZE**
- After Germany had surrendered, with Hitler committing suicide, Japan did not surrender.

THE ATOMIC BOMBS ON JAPANESE CITIES

- The development of atomic bomb by America offered a solution to the problem of Japanese resistance to surrender.
- President Harry S. Truman ordered the bomb to be dropped.
- On 6th August 1945, a bomb was dropped over Hiroshima, about 80,000 people were killed instantly and almost as many died later from the effects of burns or radiation.
- Stalin joined the war to fight Japan on 8th August 1945 and the Soviet armies invaded Manchuria, but still the Japanese refused to surrender.
- On 9th August a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki causing 50,000 deaths, which was doubled later by the after effects.
- Some of the military leaders in Japan wanted to continue the war and another bomb was ready to be dropped on 18th august.
- This war, however was ended by direct intervention of "Emperor Hirohito", who broadcasted Japanese' unconditional surrender on 14th august, 1945.

EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR TWO

- Destruction of lives, property and homes.

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- USA and Russia emerged as the super powers in the world as they came out of the war still strong unlike Britain and France.
- Stimulated a rapid scientific and social development.
- Development of cold war.

RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II

- The end of Fascism in Germany, Italy and the rest of the world except in Spain and Portugal which were neutral during war.
- The division of Germany into west and east, partitioning of Berlin into West Berlin and East Berlin. It also ended Germany's threats to world peace.
- It led to the spread of Communism in Eastern Europe and South east Asia.
- It promoted decolonization. The imperial powers were weakened by the war. Complete end of colonial rule was noticed in Indonesia, India and eventually in Africa.
- It led to the foundation of United Nations Organization which replaced the League of Nations to maintain peace and security in the world.
- It created heavy and huge debts and economic stagnation in many countries.
- Helped USA to drop the policy of isolation and to come to the Center of political, social and economic wed of world affairs.
- It led to the development in Science; atomic bomb, nuclear energy. The destruction of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan explains this.
- It led to the creation of post-war economic and political alliances.
- It led to the cold war and strained relations between eastern and western countries.
- Germany and her friends were defeated
- Japan conquered and dominated the Far East.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (UNO)

ORIGINS: the United Nations Organization was formed after the League of Nations totally failed to carry out its duties. The first suggestion of the United Nations was made in 1941 in the Atlantic Charter.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

- This was a statement of proposals made by **Winston Churchill**, prime minister of Britain and **Franklin D. Roosevelt** of USA as to their aims in the war against Hitler.
- The two leaders were on board in the ship off the Atlantic Ocean. The two leaders had come up with the idea of the establishment of a wide and a permanent system of general security. With this it can be argued that the finding members of UNO were Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill.

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- This idea proposed by the two leaders was taken up in a declaration of the 26 nations fighting Germany, Italy, Japan signed on January 1, 1942 where the ideas of the Atlantic Charter were reaffirmed.
- Further meetings on General security were held in Britain, China and Russia in 1943. Here plans were made to replace the League with a stronger organization.

STEPS TOWARDS THE FORMATION

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE- USA

- This was a meeting held in October 1944 at Dumbarton near Washington in USA. It was attended by leaders of China, USA, Britain and Russia. This conference laid down the structure of the new organization.
- The conference however did not make any decision on the question of VETO- the right of a major power to block any action in the security council by refusing to agree to a decision; the question **of Trustee** and the **Colonial Territories** and **membership**.

YALTA CONFERENCE- CREMEA (USA, BRITAIN & RUSSIA ATTENDED)

It was a conference which was held from 4th – 11th February 1945 at Yalta in Crimea- Russia.

It was attended by Roosevelt of USA, Churchill of Britain and Stalin of Russia.

The conference settled the following questions:

- Veto in the security council should not apply to procedural but only to enforcement actions over major policy decisions
- That the trustee council be set up
- That all governments that had declared war on the Axis powers by 1st March would join.
- That Berlin, and Germany to be divided into zones
- Elections to be held in Eastern Europe so as to choose their form of government
- The polish question

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

It was a conference that was held in USA at San Francisco between April and June 1945.

It completed the drafting of the UNO document called the **CHARTER**

The Charter was signed by 51 nations. This was the beginning of the UNO 26 years after the birth of the League of Nations.

The headquarters of UNO to be in New York in USA

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By 1985 there were 159 member states. UNO founder's day was on 24th October, 1945. The covenant of the League of Nations was officially dissolved in 1946.

AIMS OF UNO

- Prevent future wars thereby promoting and preserving world peace.
- To prevent and remove all threats of peace.
- Suppress all acts of aggression.
- To settle all international disputes by international law.
- To promote socio-economic development.

The aims of UNO were therefore in line with the document which was produced by Churchill and Roosevelt called the Atlantic Charter. In this the two agreed that after the war, all mankind must have guarantee of their basic freedoms.

These basic freedoms are:-

- Freedom of speech.
- Freedom of worship and association.
- Freedom from fear and association and self-determination.

ORGANISATION OF THE UNO

UNO has six main organs:-

- **The General Assembly**
- **The Security Council**
- **The Secretariat**
- **The International Court of justice**
- **The economic and social council**
- **The trusteeship council**

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

It is made up of representations from every member state and each member nation has one vote.

It meets once a year- but representatives can meet in emergency sessions when need arise

FUNCTIONS

Debates and makes proposals about international problems like:-

- To consider the budget and how much member state should pay
- To elect the Security Council members
- Supervise the work of other UNO bodies. A majority or two third majorities is needed to pass a decision. No unanimous vote is applied in the UNO.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

It has five permanent members who live at Uno headquarters in New York.

The permanent members are USA, Russia, France, Britain and China

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The other 10 non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a two year period.

FUNCTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

To deal with international crises as they arise by calling on members states to take economic or military actions against an aggression.

Decisions require at least 9 of the 15 members to vote in favour. These 9 must include all 5 permanent members. This is where the veto arises because if only one member says NO, a decision cannot be taken.

Due to many vetoes by Russia, the General assembly in 1950 introduced **UNITING FOR PEACE RESOLUTION**. This stated that if the Security Council's proposals were vetoed, it **gives powers to the General Assembly to meet within 24 hours and vote**. In the General Assembly there should be two thirds in favor of the decision.

It also admits new members to the UNOs General Assembly

From 1945-1971 China of Taiwan was a permanent member of the Security Council but from 1971 up to day Communist China replaced Taiwan. Taiwan got frustrated and is not a member of UNO.

It has a military staff committee which can raise an armed force to intervene in a conflict.

THE SECRETARIAT

It is headed by the Secretary General who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The secretariat is based in New York in USA. The term is 5 years with a possibility of a re-election.

FUNCTIONS

Does administrative work, preparing minutes for meetings, translation, arranging meetings and making payments.

The Secretary General may bring to attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of world peace and security.

The following have been secretary generals from 1945 to 2012

1. **Trygve Lie** of Norway 1946-1952
2. **Dag Hammarskjöld** of Sweden 1952-1961
3. **U'Thant** of Burma 1961-1971
4. **Kurt Waldheim** of Austria 1971-1981
5. **Javier Perez de Cuellar** of Peru 1981-1991
6. **Boutros Boutros Ghali** of Egypt 1991-1996
7. **Kofi Annan** of Ghana 1996- 2007
8. **Ban Ki-moon** of South Korea 2007 –

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The General Secretary and his staff at the UNO headquarters in **New York** act as peacemakers and ensure the efficient running of UNO. The fact that UNO secretary Generals come from small countries is deliberate check against bias and manipulation by the super-powers who actually put self-interest first.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

- This is based in Hague in Holland.
- It has 15 judges of different nationalities elected for 3 years by the General Assembly and Council jointly.
- Only states may bring cases to the court and if they do that they must accept the court's decision.
- Only states may bring cases to the court and if they do that they must accept the court's decision.
- It has solved frontier disputes between Holland and Belgium.
- It has also solved disagreements between Britain and Norway over their fishing grounds.
- The International Court of Justice has not been successful in Law which is very difficult to define. Its major weakness also lies in the fact that countries are not forced to refer to it. Its ruling can only be forced voluntarily.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

It has replaced the League's Mandate Commission

FUNCTIONS

To see that all states looking after the trust territories prepare them for independence as soon as possible. The original territories affected were:-

- **AUSTRALIA:** New Guinea, Nauru
- **BELGIUM:** Rwanda and Burundi
- **FRANCE:** Cameroon and French Togo
- **ITALY:** Somaliland
- **NEWZEALAND:** Western Samoa
- **BRITAIN:** British Togoland, Tanganyika,
- **SOUTH AFRICA:** South West Africa (Namibia)

By 1970 most of these areas were independent. However, the trusteeship council failed to solve the South West Africa (Namibia) issue because South Africa refused to grant it independence.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC)

It has 27 members elected by the General Assembly with one third retiring each year.

FUNCTIONS

It organizes projects concerned with:-

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- Health Education and other Social and economic matters
- Promotes the respect and pursuit of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all
- To convene international conferences
- To consult specialized agencies
- To consult nongovernmental organizations concerned with ECOSOC

UNITED NATIONS SPECIALISED AGENCIES

Apart from the main organs, UNO has specialized agencies that tackle specific problems. Some of these are:-

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

It was originally founded in 1919. It was directly taken over from the League of Nations and is concerned with the improvement in the conditions of wages and standards of working.

Its headquarters is in Geneva. Member countries are asked to ratify labor conventions and recommendations. Each country is represented by the government, employers and employees.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION

Was formed in 1958 to fight epidemics, promoting maternal, and child welfare by supplying technical assistance particularly in the developing countries.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION

Its headquarters is in Rome and was established in 1945.

Its functions are to raise the standard of living by encouraging improvements in production and distribution of agricultural products.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATION SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION (UNESCO)

- Was formed in 1946.
- It encourages the spread of education and cooperation between scientists, artists and scholar's worldwide.
- It works hard to educate people to avoid war.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)

- Was formed in 1956 to:-
- Give advice and direction on sound economic policies
- Provide short term loans to countries in financial difficulties

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)

- Was found originally in 1946 to help children left in difficulties by war. But this time it has widened its horizons by including relief work for children suffering due to famine, earthquakes and violent whirlwinds.

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- It also sensitizes the youth about AIDS, orphans, alcohol and drug abuse, rape, environmental degradation, family planning and population control. Other dangers of pre-marital sex, youth self reliance and child labor.
- It also deals with issues of democracy and human rights and stresses youth rights like right to education, proper food, shelter and health.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR)

- It replaced the United Nations Relief works Agency (UNRWA)
- It provides food, shelter, clothing, schools and medical facilities to areas hit by disasters.
- It has at times traced separated members of one family and re-united them jointly with red- cross.

THE WORLD BANK

It was formed to:-

- Give larger and long term loans to countries.
- Like IMF, it also gives advice and direction on sound economic policies.

EXAMPLES OF THE CRISES WHERE THE UNO HAS SUCCESSFULLY SOLVED.

THE KOREAN CRISIS 1950- 1953

Korea was conquered by Japan and was occupied by the Japanese for some years. After Japanese defeat in 1945, Korea was divided into two countries with separate governments. These new countries after the division were North Korea (communist) and South Korea (democratic).

Due to these political differences, North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950. The Security Council of UNO ordered North Korea to withdraw and this did not happen. So the use of military force was authorized to drive them away. Sixteen countries sent in troops which were led by the American General Mc Arthur. North Korea and South Korea were helped to bring back the boundary to the 13th parallel. The UNO had **succeeded in stopping this act of communism aggression.**

THE SUEZ CANAL AFFAIR (1956)

This crisis came after the nationalization of the Suez Canal by president of Egypt. The principal shareholders of the Suez Canal were Britain and France. These countries appeared to be unhappy with the move. Working with Israel the two states of Britain and France invaded Egypt on 29th October 1956.

The security council of UNO was quick to condemn this act of aggression committed on Egypt and therefore ordered an immediate pull out of all foreign forces in the area.

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Britain and France vetoed the resolution. After the “**uniting for peace resolution**” by the General assembly and agreement was reached to have the British, French and Israel's troops withdrawn.

The United National Emergency Force was sent into the areas to maintain peace. This buffer force was designed to prevent combatants getting too close to each other. Israel forces were the last to leave Egypt in 1957. The UNO therefore had **succeeded in stopping this war which if left would have become a big war.**

THE CONGO CRISIS 1960

Congo was a Belgium colony. Trouble started after the withdrawal of Belgium troops in Congo in preparation for independence. Shortly afterwards the soldiers mutinied. Then Moise Tshombe demanded the succession of Copper rich Katanga from Congo. The prime minister of Congo Patrice Lumumba could not accept this because Congo depended on these rich Copper mines in Katanga. So bitter fighting started between Tshombe's forces and the Congos.

Patrice Lumumba appealed to UNO for help. The United Nations raised forces mostly from African states. In Congo the UNO forces did not disband the Congolese army called FORCE PUBLIQUE for the mutiny that took place. But they wanted to use it against a breakaway state of Katanga under Tshombe.

What is important is that the UNO managed to restore peace before their departure in 1964. The UNO force did prevent the intervention of outside forces; it did keep the economy going; it prevented the famine and civil war which are indispensable. It also brought to an end the succession of Katanga. Stability was restored in Congo.

However, trouble started when the UNO left Congo in 1964. A civil war broke out. Killings, robberies and many other bad things shook the government. It was General Sese Seko Mobutu who took advantage of this situation and with the backing from the USA stages a coup in 1965. Peace and order were restored.

SUCCESSES OF UNO.

- The UNO has succeeded to diffuse tensions wars and acts of aggression which would have matured into bigger wars. Some of such wars would have resulted into a third world war. Examples include:-
- The UNO successfully solved the dispute between Iran and the USSR in 1946, causing the withdrawal of soviet soldiers from Iran.
- The UNO defended South Korea against aggression by North Korea in the early 1950s
- The UNO helped to resolve the Congo crisis, which escalated into a very serious Civil war

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- In 1990-91 the UNO endorsed military action against it. Iraq was eventually defeated and forced out of Kuwait. **Had Iraq not been defeated**, other countries with expansionist's policies would have followed her example and that would have endangered world peace.
- The UNO has promoted the attainment of independence to many countries under the **Trusteeship Council**. The UNO pressurized the colonial powers to grant independence to most of African territories, it also supervised the independence elections of Zimbabwe and Namibia.
- The UNO through its specialized agencies has improved social welfare of people through education, health religion etc.
- The UNO has assisted millions of homeless people who have been uprooted by wars earthquakes and other natural disasters through its UNHCR
- It has promoted Human rights and justice worldwide.
- It has encouraged scientific research in medicine, agriculture, environment which has promoted the well being of the people.
- The UNO is succeeding in discouraging big wars by encouraging big powers to reduce weapons of mass destruction.
- Most developing countries have benefited from the UNO monetary instructions through loans for developing projects e.g. World Bank, IDA, and IMF.

FAILURE OF UNO

The UNO has experienced many problems in its efforts to maintain world peace and security and has not always been successful in solving them:-

- In most cases when a bigger power is an aggressor, it has failed to implement its decisions e.g.
- The UNO failed to resolve the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in 1947
- In 1948 it was unable to settle the Berlin crisis that almost caused a war. Between the Soviet Union and the USA, Britain and France. As a compromise Germany was split into two, East and West.
- The Palestinian problem which started in 1947 remains unresolved to this day due to involvement of USA and Britain.
- In 1956 the Soviet Union invaded Hungary. Although it was condemned by the UN it did not withdraw its forces.
- In 1979 the UNO unsuccessfully tried to force the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan
- Whenever UNO has tried to use sanctions to enforce its decisions, it has failed. In 1985 it declared economic sanctions against Zimbabwe. Some

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countries secretly traded with Zimbabwe. The same was equally true of the South Africa. Countries like USA, Britain, France and Germany continued trading and investing there.

- The UNO is failing to completely destroy all weapons of mass destructions in the world.
- The UNO is failing completely to eliminate some epidemics which are threatening mankind. E.g. the deadly disease AIDS
- Failure to stop the ozone layer due to chemical pollution which may cause untold suffering to mankind.
- Member states have undermined the effectiveness of the international court of justice by refusing to observe its rulings.
- Up to until the end of 1980s, the ideological differences between the Soviet Union (and her allies) and the USA (and her allies) militated against the success of UNO- cold war.

WEAKNESSES OF UNO

- Some great powers do not accept its decisions because they put self interest first.
- There is always lack of enough money to carry out its operations
- There is administration inefficiency in some branches of the UNO
- Slow to intervene in international disputes
- Has no mechanism to deal with countries that fall behind in paying their membership dues.
- Communist and Arab countries have seen it as biased towards capitalist western countries and dominated by USA
- More agreements seem to take place outside UNO and therefore it is becoming irrelevant
- There is generally voting by block and not by merit of the issues at stake e.g. countries from one region vote for one thing.
- Countries put more trust in rival bodies like NATO rather than the UNO.

COMPARISON OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNO

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN UNO AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The league was formed in 1919 after World War I while UNO was formed in 1945 after World War II.

- The league's headquarters were in **Geneva** while the UNOs headquarters are in **New York** in USA.
- The League **had no army to enforce** decisions while the UNO can raise an armed force to deal with any act of aggression.

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- The league did not have a **wider membership** while UNO has over **150 members** with USA and Russia joining when it was just starting.
- Decisions in the assembly had to be **unanimous** in the League while UNO General Assembly wanted a **two thirds majority**
- The council in the league had **4** permanent members while in the UNO **five** permanent members
- UNO **has more activities** than the League of Nations as evidenced by the works of specialized agencies such as UNICEF, FAO, UNHCR, IMF which the League lacked
- UNO has a **uniting for peace resolution** to override a veto while the League lacked this.
- UNOs **secretaries general** come even from the smaller states which was not the same as the League.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE UNO AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- Both organizations had similar aims that is to maintain peace and promote cooperation in social and economic matters
- The basic structure of both organizations is similar apart from some specialized agencies in UNO.
- In both organizations each country has one vote in the general Assembly.

POST WAR ALLIANCES

The Post War period was characterized by economic and political alliances. These alliances were formed between the eastern bloc on one hand and the western bloc on the other.

WHY WERE SUCH ALLIANCES FORMED

There were certain circumstances that created favorable conditions for the formation of such alliances. Examples of such circumstances include:-

1) The **spread of communism by Russia**. Soon after the war, Russia took most states in Eastern Europe and installed communist governments. Examples include; Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. With this the western bloc led by USA was trying to limit the spread of communism by imposing some policies such as **CONTAINMENT**.

WHY DID STALIN INSTAL COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE

He wanted to bring an end to future plans of invasions from Germany. Stalin wanted to use such states as buffer zones. A **BUFFER ZONE** is a country or an area of land which an aggressor army must cross before it can attack its main target.

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He wanted to make up for the 20 million dead Russian soldiers and civilians, and the extensive damage Russia had suffered in the Second World War. He therefore wanted the states to be satellites.

A **SATELLITE** is a country that is economically and politically dominated by another state.

1. Russia had never forgotten the support western governments gave to the whites during the Russian Civil War of 1918-1921 and viewed eastern countries as enemies.
2. The western countries criticized and condemned leaders and the government of Russia for the purges and ill-treatment of people. Stalin was not happy with these criticisms.
3. The iron curtain speech.

This was a speech made by the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in March 1946 at Fulton in USA. He said “**...from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across our continent...**” in this speech, he meant that Europe had been divided such that the western part was capitalist while the eastern part was communist. The iron curtain was not a physical division but a political and economic division between the one party states of communism of the east and the capitalist democracies of the west.

- 5) To assist European countries to **recover economically** so as to avert possible overthrow by the communist. This was done through the Marshal Plan and Truman Doctrine.

ALLIANCES MADE BY THE WESTERN BLOC

The attempts for unity amongst state started in Western Europe. During this time, there were people who believed that Western Europe should form closer cooperation between states. There was a need for unity in Europe because:-

- Cooperative effort would pull the resources together and this was seen as a tool for recovering from the ravages of the war.
- The countries were too small to become economically and militarily viable on their own.
- The threat from Russia could be met only by a joint action.
- The idea of the Federation of Western Europe failed but there were greater achievements made by countries to cooperate politically and economically.

POLITICAL ALLIANCES MADE BY THE WESTERN BLOC

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION (NATO)

- This was a military defence pact formed in 1949

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- Member states were Britain, Belgium, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Portugal and the USA. Greece and Turkey joined in 1955.
- The communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the Russian blockade of Berlin (1948-1949) helped in the formation of NATO as these events made western countries suspicious of Russia's intentions.
- A military headquarters called the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) was established in Paris under General Eisenhower of USA but moved to Brussels when France withdrew the membership.
- America assured Western Europe of her military commitment
- The member pledged that an attack on one member state was an attack on all.

PROBLEMS FACED BY NATO

- There have been disagreements among member states on certain procedures of activities.
- Some nations were not happy with the dominance of USA as a foreigner with this France withdrew her membership in 1966 and rejoined later.
- It was still weak militarily to the Warsaw Pact of the Eastern bloc.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

- It was formed in 1949 as an attempt to establish European parliament at Strasburg in France
- It was mainly concerned with cultural social and political matters. It consisted of the Council of ministers from member states.

PROBLEM FACED BY THE COUNCIL

Some member countries such as Britain and Scandinavia opposed the idea of supranational organization which some members wished.

ECONOMIC ALLIANCES FORMED BY THE WESTERN BLOC

ORGANISATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CORPORATION (OEEC)

- It was formed in 1949 to administer the Marshall Aid.
- It helped greatly in developing economic cooperation among European countries
- When USA and Canada joined, the name changed to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Later Japan and Australia joined.

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (EEC)

- Established in 1957 after the Treaty of Rome
- In Britain it was called the Common market
- Its original members were France, Luxemburg, Belgium, Italy, West Germany and the Netherlands.

AIMS OF THE EEC

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- Full political union of European states
- To remove custom duties and trade restrictions in the member countries and set up common policies for agriculture and lands.

Britain refused to join the European Economic Community because:-

- She felt she was separated or sidelined as compared to France and West Germany
- She was doing trade with the Commonwealth of Nations which was more important
- Britain had a special relationship with America and therefore she could not give up her independence

ACHIEVEMENTS

- The elimination of custom duties and trade restrictions among members.
- Free movement of goods within the community.
- Came up with a common Agricultural Policy (CAP) which sets prices and compensates farmers when world prices go down.

PROBLEMS

- Conflict and friction between members as some would like to have the customs duties
- Biasness in terms of the buying of commodities from member states.

ALLIANCES MADE BY SOVIET UNION AND HER SATELLITES

THE WARSAW PACT

- It was a military alliance between Russia and her satellites. It was formed in 1955 in response to the formation of **NATO** by the western bloc.
- **Yugoslavia** did not become a member and **Albania** withdrew in 1962

THE COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU (COMINFORM)

- Was established in September 1947 by Russia
- The aim was to bring all **East European states together, and conduct trade among the members** only.
- Its target was to unite and strengthen **communist parties** in all countries even those communist parties in France and Italy under the Soviet bloc especially in Eastern Europe.
- Yugoslavia under **BROZ TITO** did not cooperate and was expelled.

THE COUNCIL OF MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE – (COMCON) – THE MOLOTOV PLAN 1949

- It was formed in response to the establishment of the OEEC by the West. It was formed in order to discourage communist states from getting aid to the **MARSHALL PLAN** established by the west. Russia dismissed the **MARSHALL** Aid

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and described it as the “**DOLLAR IMPERIALISM**” with the aim of the west spreading capitalism.

- The **COMICOM** coordinated the economies of Eastern European states with the economy of Russia. **Molotov** was the minister of Foreign Affairs in Russia.
- It was also used to strengthen Soviets domination of Eastern Europe by dictating the flow of trade.
- Its original members **were USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Cuba, East Germany and Albania.**

IMPACT OF THE POST WAR ALLIANCES

- 1) Countries in Europe recovered faster due to aid from either Russia or USA.
- 2) On the negative part, it strengthened the harsh relationship between the two blocs in the name of **COLD WAR** which was intensified elsewhere such as Cuba, Korea and Germany.

THE CONTAINMENT POLICY

It was a policy started by the USA under Harry S. Truman **to stop the spread of Communism in all countries of Europe.**

The containment Policy included the Truman's doctrine and the Marshall Aid.

THE TRUMAN'S DOCTRINE

It was a plan initiated by the USA under President H.S. Truman to **stop the spread of communism by helping those countries in Europe which disliked coming under the influence of communism.**

The famous statement of H.S. Truman on which this policy was based was made when he was addressing the US Congress in March 1947. The statement reads:-

“It must be the policy of USA to defend and support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressure”

Aid in form of money was being given to these countries to help fight communism.

The first recipients of this aid were **Greece** and **Turkey** which received \$400 million with this aid both Greece and Turkey successfully resisted communism.

THE MARSHALL PLAN OR EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAMME (JUNE 1947)

Started by the secretary of state **GEORGE MARSHALL** in which the USA was to give **economic aid in the form of food, fuel, machinery to assist countries to recover economically** and therefore make them shy away from communism.

The body administering the European recovery programme was referred to as **MARSHALL AID**

USA gave billions of dollars as aid to 16 countries e.g. Ireland, France, Italy and Britain.

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Czechoslovakia and Poland wanted to take part in the Marshall plan but the USSR described it as "Dollar Imperialism" the way of spreading capitalism. To compete with this, **COMECON** was formed by Russia and her satellites.

RESULTS OF THE MARSHALL PLAN

- 1) It speeded up economic recovery of Western Europe. Without the Marshall plan economic recovery of Western Europe would have taken ages and many countries would accept communism.
- 2) It helped to develop the idea of western European cooperation i.e. The Organization for European Economic cooperation OEEC.

THE COLD WAR

The Cold war was a period **of distrust, tension, suspicion and hostilities between the Western powers led by the United States of America and the Eastern powers led by Soviet Union or Russia after the Second World War.**

The war is termed Cold War because **there was no direct confrontation between the two sides by exchanging fire. Their war was only of words, threats and propaganda.**

THE COMING OF COLD WAR

Though Cold War did not begin until the end of World War II relations between the United States and Soviet Union had been strained since 1917, during the Russian Revolution.

The meetings, the allied leaders held at Yalta and Potsdam characterized the Cold War.

HOW DID THE MEETINGS HELD AT YALTA AND POSTDAM CHARACTERISE THE COLD WAR

At Yalta Conference, which was attended by **Stalin of Russia, Roosevelt of United States** and **Churchill of Britain**, the leaders developed a declaration to hold democratic elections in countries freed from the control of Germany. Disagreements **arose as Stalin the leader of Soviet Union did not agree to this decision as he wanted to establish the sphere of influence over Western countries.**

This meeting was held at Yalta in February 1945, marked the highpoint of wartime goodwill between the United States and Soviet Union.

At Potsdam near Berlin held in July 1945, Harry S. Truman succeeded F.D. Roosevelt who died in April 1945.

Just before the meeting, Churchill's Conservative Party was defeated in an election. Clement R. Atlee succeeded Churchill during the Potsdam such that the allied leaders who attended the conference were:

- **Clement Atlee for Britain**

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- Truman for USA
- Stalin for Russia

At this conference disagreements again arose between **Stalin and Truman about the rebuilding of Germany**. Stalin and Truman did not get each other well as compared to Roosevelt. Moreover, Roosevelt and Churchill knew how to handle Joseph Stalin than the new comers, that is Attlee and Truman. This sour relationship fostered Cold War.

CAUSES OF COLD WAR

1) Russia had suffered the greatest casualties in the War when Hitler ordered the operation Barbarossa on Russia. Stalin had asked the Western allies to open up the second front of invading Western Europe which would relieve German pressure on Russia. But the allies did not **act in time and this caused more suffering on Russia. Stalin felt that this was a deliberate so as to let Russia stand all alone against Germany.**

2) Ideological differences in their systems of governments. USA and Western countries followed capitalism while Russia and her Eastern allies Communism. So the western powers feared the spread of communism throughout the world because they felt this system of government had evil intentions of **manufacturing military hardware, dictatorial** and wanted to dominate the world. Russia accused capitalism as an **exploiting** form of government.

3) Soviet Union had never forgotten the support given to the **whites during the Russian Civil War of 1918-1921 by Western countries**. Because of this Russia never trusted the West.

4) Russia was told at the eleventh hour that **USA had atomic bombs while Britain was told earlier**. When the atomic bombs were used on Japan, Russia was shocked and paralyzed. To Russia, USA was not supposed to use an atomic bomb because Japan was **about to be defeated with the joining in of Russia against Japan**. Hence Stalin believed that Truman used the atomic bomb to **show how strong America was as compared to Russia**. The atomic bombs were to be used next on Russia and with this; Stalin thought America had evil intentions on Russia.

5) Popular American and British politicians were greatly hostile **to Russian desire to over punish Germany and dominate** Eastern Europe.

6) As the end of the World War II drew closer, Russia began to **install puppet communist governments in Eastern Europe**. Communists were in power in Poland, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia by 1948. This move and exercise **displeased western** countries because they **thought Russia**

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wanted to destroy democracy and spread communism, a thing opposed to the UNO charter and agreements of the Yalta conference.

INCIDENTS WHICH CHARACTERISED THE COLD WAR

Apart from the Marshall plan, Truman doctrine, the Iron Curtain speech, the following areas characterized the Cold War.

(i) THE BERLIN BLOCKADE AND AIRLIFT (JUNE 1948- MAY 1949)

Berlin, the capital of Germany was divided into four zones of occupation, just like the rest of Germany. The four zones were occupied by the **USA, France, Britain and Russia**.

Berlin was in the Soviet zone such that Britain, France and USA depended on the Soviet Union to keep open the routes in and out of West Berlin.

The Berlin Blockade was a situation whereby Stalin **the leader of Soviet Union closed all the roads, canals, power supply and railways between the West and West Berlin on 24th June 1948**.

WHY DID STALIN BLOCKED BERLIN

1) Stalin wanted to **force the west to give up West Berlin** by starving the two million inhabitants, who only had enough food and fuel to last for six weeks.

2) Stalin was not happy **with the developments taken in the West Berlin** and West Germany. For example:-

- While Stalin continued to extract reparations from the Soviet zone of Germany so as to make it weak and crippled, the western zones including West Berlin, were beginning to recover because of the **Marshall Aid**.
- Britain, France and the USA decided to join their western zones together and introduced a new currency to **aid recovery**.

HOW DID THE WESTERN ALLIES SORT OUT THE PROBLEM OF BLOCKADE

Truman was faced with giving up West Berlin or going to war. The Americans were not prepared to give up. If they gave in to Stalin on this issue, West Germany might be the next to be taken by Stalin. They decided to **use the AIRLIFT whereby the allies used the three air aero planes to supply West Berlin. So airplanes landed in West Berlin day and night every three minutes** carrying tones of fuel, food and other supplies. Stalin after seeing that the Blockade of Berlin would not make the western allies give up Berlin, he **re-opened the communications in May 1949**.

RESULTS OF THE BERLIN BLOCKADE

- Germany was divided into two states each sponsored by the occupying power.
- The three western zones including West Berlin were joined together to form the Federal Republic of Germany or West Germany with its capital at Bonn.

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- In the east, there was the German Democratic Republic or East Germany with its capital at Berlin.
- The airlift was costly to the part of the allies
- Strengthened the formation of Post War alliances such as NATO, Warsaw Pact, Cominform.

HOW DID THE BERLIN BLOCKADE VIEWED AS A COLD WAR AFFAIR

It deepened the sour relations and hostility between the west and Russia. The two parties never trusted each other but nursed mutual suspicion.

If America and her allies would have used force to invade Russia in trying to pass, war would have broken out

If Stalin would have shot down one of the planes carrying supplies to West Berlin, war would have broken out

Furthermore, American economic aid helped transform the West Berlin into a show piece of capitalism. This was not the same with East Berlin. Such that many people in East Berlin started rebelling and defecting to West Berlin. About 2 million escaped to West Berlin 1961. The East Berlin reacted by constructing a strong wall with machine guns, barbed wire and watch towers between West and East Berlin. Anyone trying to cross the wall to West Berlin was shot dead. This was a clear sign of Cold war at its best.

However, it also showed that the American policy of containment of Communism had worked since Stalin re-opened communication lines.

(ii) THE KOREAN WAR (1950-1953)

Korea was conquered by Japan and was occupied by Japan for some years. After the defeat of Japan in 1945 the **northern half was liberated by Soviet troops** and the Southern half by the **Americans**. This made Korea to be divided into two countries with independent governments namely: - **North Korea which became Communist controlled by Russia** and **South Korea which became democratic controlled by America**.

Due to these political differences, the **North communist** with the assistance from **Russia** and **communist China** attacked the South Democratic in June 1950. The South was nearly overwhelmed by this sudden attack which was **meant to unite the country by force**.

The **security council of UNO condemned the aggression of North Korea** and intervened with strong backing from **USA and other countries and managed to drive the North Koreans back**. The whole operation was led by General Douglas Mac Arthur of USA.

After three years of fighting, the boundary was brought back to 38th parallel.

RESULTS OF THE KOREAN WAR

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- **Korea was divided into two** parts; Communist North Korea with its first president as **KILM IL SUNG** and **PYONG YANG** as its capital, and South Korea, democratic with **SIGMAN RHEE** as its first president and **SEOUL** as its capital.
- **Millions of people were killed**, wounded and homeless with North Korea having more casualties.
- **Economic progress** was set back for a generation: most of the country's economic resources such as Coal, Iron, electricity and other resources remained under the control of North Korea and were relatively slow to develop.
- Made a defense agreement between the USA and Japan against Communism.
- The signing of the South- East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) incorporating Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, France, Britain, the Philippines and the United States. The SEATO was against the spread of Communism to these states by Russia.
- The UNO was highly praised for its work of fighting aggression.

HOW CAN THE KOREAN WAR VIEWED AS A CENTRE FOR COLD WAR

The fact that **North Korea** had support from **communist** states, such as Russia and Communist China and that South Korea was strongly supported by **USA** shows that the Cold War was at play in Korea.

(iii)THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS 1962

Cuba is a large island few kilometers from Florida in the Southern USA. It had long been an American ally. The Americans owned most of the Business on the island, had a huge naval base and bought a lot of sugar from the island in 1959, **FIDEL CASTRO** ousted the American backed dictator **FULGENCIO BATISTA** in Cuba. After this incident Castro refused to be under the control of USA, nationalized all American industries in Cuba.

The USA retaliated by:-

Cutting aid and stopped purchasing sugar and other goods

Organizing Cuba rebels for an attack on the island. This Bay of Pigs attack was a total failure because the rebels were easily captured. This failure was big shame to President John F. Kennedy administration and to Castro it was a victorious one.

Sensing danger and economic difficulties, Castro appealed to Russia for economic and military assistance. Thus Cuba became a Communist country very close to the USA.

Secretly Russia embarked on a project of **building Medium Range Ballistic Missiles** (MRBM) on Cuba and these had all major American cities as their

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targets especially **Washington DC** the Capital. But soon America U2 spy planes detected these nuclear sites on Cuba.

REACTION FROM THE UNITED STATES

The American government under J.F. Kennedy placed **a naval blockade** around Cuba and **threatened to blow up the island**. This blockade was to stop Russian ships carrying missiles from reaching Cuba.

Khrushchev, the Russian president then ordered the **Russian ships carrying missiles which were approaching the island to turn back**. Had it been that the Russian ships had continued, a nuclear war would have started since the American ships were also ready.

The Soviet government then agreed to remove the missiles.

RESULTS OF THE CRISIS

After the discussions between Nikita Khrushchev and John.F. Kennedy:-

- All Russian missiles were to be removed from Cuba and sent home as an exchange with the return of USA Jupiter missiles which were to be dismantled from Turkey which is also close to Russia.
- USA to leave Castro free and stop to overthrow his government
- A telephone line called **HOTLINE** was to be introduced between Kremlin House in Moscow and White House in Washington to enable the two leaders to discuss matters quickly and avoid the buildup of crises.
- The signing of the Test Ban Treaty in Moscow in 1963 between USA, Russia and Britain. This banned the testing of nuclear weapons in air or under water which pollutes the environment.
- The most important result of the crisis is that it brought relation of tension between the East and The West.

HOW IS THE CRISIS VIEWED AS AN INCIDENT OF COLD WAR

It was a struggle between **America and Russia on Cuba where the world was drawn closer** to a nuclear war since at this time both sides possessed nuclear weapons.

WHY DID RUSSIA PUT MISSILES ON CUBA

- Wanted to test out the strength of America in this atmosphere of cold war politics.
- The missiles were genuinely meant to defend Cuba from America
- They were a trap. Khrushchev wanted the Americans to find them and be drawn into a nuclear war
- Wanted Missiles as a bargaining counter. He would agree to remove them upon the conditions of removing the Jupiter Missiles from Turkey.

RESULTS / EFFECTS OF COLD WAR

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From the end of the 1940s onwards, the Cold war had a mainly negative influence on the international community:-

- It led to the escalation or increase in the arms race between the eastern and western blocs which had harmful effects on world peace and security.
- It was costly and lowered the development. Financial resources were heavily weighed in favour of buying and producing military hardware which made public and social sources like Health, Education and housing to be neglected.
- The Cold War undermined the efforts of the UNO to achieve international cooperation
- The Cold war led to the division of countries:
 - ✓ Germany into East and West, a situation that ended in 1990.
 - ✓ Korea into North and South Korea
 - ✓ Vietnam into North and South Vietnam (1976)
- Escalated Civil Wars in Africa e.g
- Angola where USA and South Africa supported UNITA rebel movement to destabilize Angola
- Mozambique where USA and South Africa sponsored RENAMO against FRELIMO
- On the positive side, it might be argued that the Cold War has prevented the outbreak of a Third World War through the signing of Treaties e.g. the **Strategic Arm Limitation Talks (SALT)** between **USA and Russia**.
- The Cold War came to an end in **1990**.

WHY DID COLD WAR NOT LEAD TO A MAJOR WAR

- Up to 1949, USA was the only power with atomic bombs. She **was reluctant to use them** from the Japanese experience unless if provoked. Russia too could **not dare an attack on USA**.
- When Russia started making atomic bombs after 1949 there was now a balance of power and **both powers knew how dangerous a nuclear war could be**.
- An additional reason was **the role of the United Nations** which tried its best to come in the crises that eventually would have resulted into a major war e.g. in Korea, Cuba and even Berlin.

DECOLONISATION IN ASIA AND AFRICA

INDIA

LOCATION OF INDIA

India is a country in southern Asia that ranks as the second largest country in the world in population, after China.

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It is bordered by Iran, USSR, China, Burma, Bangladesh, Nepal; the country forms a peninsula that extends southwards into the Indian Ocean. Due to its vastness, India is termed as a Sub Continent.

A BRIEF HISTORY ABOUT INDIA

Thousands of years ago, there was a flourishing civilization in the valley of the Indus River. The area was occupied by different groups of people such as the Aryans, Greek armies under Alexander the Great, the Persians, the English and Spaniard explorers.

HOW BRITAIN COLONISED INDIA 1750-1850

India formed the largest colony of British colonies in the world. Before, the British, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French took control of the country.

The British through the **British East India Company** drove out such groups of people from India and started trading peacefully in the region.

The British took full control of the region when they suppressed the mutiny in the region. They established law and order, built railways and ports and **started cotton factories and tea plantations.**

FACTORS THAT LED TO NATIONALISM IN INDIA

THE BRITISH COLONIAL POLICIES IN TRADE, PRESS, INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

Educated Indians hated **being second class citizens in their own land.** Being proud of their own culture, they found the British attitude of **racial superiority humiliating.**

Many educated Indians disliked with **holding of the examinations in England.** The system debarred all but a small minority from entering.

These factors contributed to nationalism **because the educated elite wanted to be given a share in the running of the government and for exams to be controlled in India.**

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

The British policy on trade was that India should just supply raw materials such as cotton, tea and minerals. **India in turn should act as a market for the finished goods which were often expensive.** This trade brought large profits to the British east India Company and not the Indians.

Therefore interns of trade the **Indians wanted to control this trade and cotton industry so that the Indians should be the ones benefitting more than British.**

ADMINISTRATION AND PRESS

The British policy on administration was through a viceroy with provincial councils. This system gave little opportunity for the expression of the Indian opinion. It was worse as **the press was also fully controlled.** This contributed to

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nationalism because the **Indians wanted to participate in the administration of their own land.**

THE FIRST AND THE SECOND WORLD WARS

When the First World War broke out in 1914, Britain declared that India was also at war with Germany. Indian troops fought in many parts of the world for the British.

In return for support, the **British promised more reforms and agreed to let Indians have greater role in political affairs.**

After the war there was the **Versailles Treaty where Wilson's expressed the idea of self-determination.** Britain was also weakened by the war. Such events after the war provided the background to Indian nationalism.

When the Second World War broke out, the British took India into the war. Though many **Indians resisted, the Indian soldiers fought for the British in the east.** Indian factories **produced supplies for the British and allied troops.** Britain promised to give India independence when the war was over. This contributed to nationalism as the Indians demanded **independence promised during the two wars.**

The war also **weakened** colonialists as the world was dominated by USA and USSR.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE.

The strength of Indian Nationalism was increased by the temporary agreement of **Hindu and Muslims.**

The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 which composed of a lot of Hindu. Fear of domination by Hindu majority in any system of representation in the government prompted the Muslims to form separate organization the Muslim League in 1906.

In 1916 the **LUCKNOW PACT** was signed led by Ali Jinnah, the Muslims **agreed to support the Congress Campaign for self government in return for separate representation for Muslims.** This unlikely Muslim-Hindu alliance, coupled with the economic discontent caused by the First World War persuaded the British that a change was required.

The Lucknow Pact achieved some success in that the government of India Act of 1919 came up with a series of elected provincial councils.

THE AMRITSAR MASSACRE CONTRIBUTED TO NATIONALISM

Poor handling of political situation like that of Amritsar contributed to national feeling against the British in India.

On April 13, 1919, thousands of Indians assembled in an enclosed area in the town of **Amritsar.** They were planning to go on strike as they refused to accept

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some concessions made in the Act of 1919. They demanded immediate home rule.

The British troops **entered the meeting place blocked the entrance and opened fire on the unarmed crowd killing 400 people and wounding 1,200**. This event called the **Amritsar Massacre exposed the cruelty of the British** from then on, Indians demanded complete independence from the British.

The Amritsar achieved some success to the Indians as the **British promised more reforms** such as the **MONTAGU-CHELMSFOLD** which increased the provincial legislative councils where Indians were most active. This was a step towards self rule.

THE INFLUENCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF A GREAT NATIONAL LEADER CALLED MAHATMA GANDHI

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi or **Great Soul** as he was generally known was born of lowly **Hindu parents in 1869**. Studied law in England before settling in South Africa.

While in **South Africa he championed the rights of the Indian minority**. It was in South Africa where he perfected the technique of opposing authority without violence called **NON-VIOLENCE or CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE**.

When he returned to India in 1915 he quickly became the leader of the **Indian National Congress**.

WHAT ROLE DID MAHATMA GANDHI PLAY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN INDIA

- He became the leader of the Indian National Congress, the most important political organization. It was the organization that led India to self-rule with **Jawaharlal Nehru** as the first prime minister.
- He broke the law that only the government could make salt. At the age of sixty, he walked **389Km to the coast and obtained salt by distilling sea water**. This was followed by the breaking of the salt law on a **large scale and a boycott of all British goods** such as cloth. Although Gandhi, Nehru and thousands of congress supporters were arrested, it made the British to give the Indian people more political power.
- He spent much of his time travelling often on foot, among the villages of India where his campaign on **behalf of the outcastes, or untouchables** won him the support of millions. In this, more than any other leader, he reached into the hearts and minds of the millions of Indians. Perhaps this was his greatest contribution to the nation.
- His method of **civil disobedience** greatly contributed to nationalism. His answer to Amritsar was a two year campaign of non-violence. This resulted

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into his imprisonment with thousands of people. Such mass demonstrations of passive resistance were an inspiration to the people of India who saw in Gandhi's example an effective method of embarrassing the government and forcing reforms and concessions.

- He refused to allow the Indians to join the Second World War. Instead he launched another civil- disobedience campaign called **"Quit India Movement"**. This was important because it made the British to take more gradual reforms and promised to release India, though he was imprisoned.

MAIN STAGES TOWARDS INDEPENENCE

Events which characterized the steps towards independence included the following:-

- Gandhi and the civil disobedience (1916-1922)
- The Simon Commission 1922
- The Round Table Conference (1935)
- The Government Act of 1935
- The elections of 1937

a. GANDHI AND THE CIVIL DISOBIDIENCE

Gandhi believed in the supremacy of the moral Law of "truth and love" "Satyagraha"- non violence or civil disobedience

He encouraged people to use all forms of peaceful **protest such as marches, meetings and strikes**. They were to refuse **to buy British goods, refuse to pay British taxes, and refuse to cooperate** with the British government in any way.

WHY DID GANDHI DECIDE TO USE NON-VIOLENCE

- Violence played into the hands of the British who **controlled the police and the army**, as the Amritsar had shown.
- He himself hated violence and he decided to fight the British with what he called "soul force" in a campaign of civil disobedience

The results of such civil disobedience were that he was imprisoned and so were thousands of his supporters. The British then saw that imprisonment would not solve the problem of India. The British then released the imprisoned people and invited Gandhi and other Indian leaders for a discussion about self-government.

b.THE SIMON COMMISSION- 1922

Growing awareness of Indian dissatisfaction prompted the British government to appoint a Commission of enquiry. The Commission was to report on the political situation, enquire whether the Indians were fit for self government.

The Indians regarded it as an insult and was rejected by Gandhi and the congress leaders. However, it showed that the British were to grant self –Rule soon.

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c.THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE 1935

A series of Round Table conferences in London between 1930-1932 simply drew new attention to the complexity of Indian problems.

The Round Table conferences made the princess agree to enter Indian federation.

In the Round Table conference of 1935 a new system of elected governments for various provinces was Indians and disorders dried down- another step towards self rule.

d.GOVERNMENT ACT 1935

The findings of the Simon Commission and Round Table Conferences provided the basis for the government of India Act of 1935.

Under the Act, **India was to be a federation and Indians to be represented in the Central Legislative as well as the rest of India.**

Burma was separated from India

ELECTION 1937

These were the first elections to be held in India. In this Indian National Congress leaders took eight of the eleven provinces.

TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

Soon after elections, the British promised to move out of India. Clement Attlee intended to give self-government to India but a series of riots and massacres took place in areas where Muslims and Hindus lived together. These disturbances ruined any chance there might have been of a single independent India.

The first task therefore was to split India by setting up a separate state for the Muslims.

INDEPENDENCE

On 15th August 1947, the British handed over the Control of India after setting up **West Pakistan** and **East Pakistan** as separate states for **Muslims**.

Jawaharlal Nehru became the first prime minister of India.

WHY WAS THE PARTITION OF INDIA NECESSARY?

The main problem **was the religious hostilities between the Hindu and the Muslims** which would have resulted into a civil war in India. Of the 400 million Indian populations, two thirds were the Hindus with the remaining part being the Muslims. After the victories of 1937 elections when the Hindus with **National Congress** won eight of the eleven states, the Hindu National Congress unwisely called on the **Muslims League** to merge with them. This armed the Muslim league that was afraid that an independent **India would be dominated by Hindus**. The Muslim leader, **MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH**, demanded a separate

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Muslim state of Pakistan. Ali Jinnah declared **that “Muslims can expect neither justice nor fair play under congress government... the Muslims must have their homeland, their territory and their state... Pakistan or Perish”**

Therefore, the idea of **Pakistan** as a separate Muslim state grew not out of ill-treatment of the Muslims but out of their fear of being ill-treated which in turn avoided the civil war.

Attempts to draw up a compromise solution acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims failed. The British proposed a Federal scheme in which the Central Government would have only limited powers while those of the provincial governments would be much greater. This would enable provinces with a Muslim majority to control their own affairs and there would be no need of a separate state. But when this did not work, the British decided to separate the two religious groups so that independence should be given faster.

Violence that broke out in August 1946 between the Hindus and Muslims necessitated the partition. This happened when the Viceroy, Lord Wavell invited Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru, to form an interim government. Nehru formed a cabinet which included two Muslims, but Jinnah called for a day of direct action in support of separate states as he could not trust the Hindus. Fierce rioting followed in Calcutta where 5,000 people were killed, and it soon spread to Bengal where Muslims set about slaughtering Hindus. As Hindus retaliated, the country seemed on the verge of Civil War. Therefore it was important to separate or partition India so as to avoid such bloodbaths. Thus Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last Indian Viceroy decided to partition India.

WHY DID THE INDEPENDENCE DELAY IN INDIA

The nature of the Indian society hindered progress towards self government. Hinduism believed in the caste system whereby:-

People were divided into different **social classes** which were hereditary

Many sub castes, outcastes or untouchables which were the lowest classes, lived a miserable life, and were excluded from occupation, forbidden to use roads, wells and schools. Marriages were also restricted according to classes.

This hindered nationalism as the lower **classes could not support the upper classes**. That is why Mahatma Gandhi appealed for the equality of classes as he travelled on foot among the lower classes in order to fight for independence.

Religion became an important factor in delaying the independence in India. The problem sprung from the hostilities between the **Hindus with a majority of the population** and the minority Muslims. The two religions had differences which often led to disputes for no apparent reasons.

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The Hindus regarded their religion as superior where as the Muslims saw it as an idolatry.

The food which could not be eaten by either of the two made them to ill-treat one another. For instance, Muslims could eat cattle which as the Hindus regarded it as a sacred animal. This made the Hindus not to be happy seeing Muslims eating cattle.

With these differences, the two sides could not come together and discuss the problem of India. It became worse when the religions formed the two religious blocs- the Indian National congress and the Muslim League. These had different views towards independence. Indeed these provided some justification for the British reluctance to grant self government. This really delayed independence because soon after the British created separate states, independence followed. Lack of enough education by many Indians contributed to the delay. Over 90% of the population was illiterate. These could not really understand the idea of self government and independence. Thus it was the only few western educated Indians who could understand politics better- Gandhi, Nehru and others with western ideas of Rousseau such educated people struggled for a long period of time before the majority could understand what they meant. This undoubtedly delayed the independence of India.

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED SOON AFTER INDPENDENCE

1. VIOLENCE

After the partition, over 40 million Muslims remained in India while almost half that number of Hindus was left as a minority group in Pakistan.

The three months following independence were among the blockiest in the history of the sub-continent. Looting, murder swept throughout India as Muslims were trying to go East Pakistan or West Pakistan and Hindus returning to India.

Mahatma Gandhi went on fasting, encouraged the people to stop fighting. He was also a victim of circumstances. A **Hindu person shot him dead in 1948** for trying to stop the violence.

2. STARVATION

The most immediate and pressing problem that faced independent India was the increasing gap between population and food. Although not enough, irrigation was practiced with the five year plans for agriculture to try to solve the problem.

3.INDUSTRY AND TRADE

While industrial production had developed during the British rule, there had been no serious or planned attempt to establish industry in India. As a solution to

it, the basic industries were under states control with an encouragement in private investment.

4. KASHMIR AND THE INDUS

India and Pakistan quarreled over the possession of **Kashmir**, the source of the Indus with good fertile area. The ruler of Kashmir was a Hindu, but the majority of the people were Muslims. Pakistani Muslims launched an invasion to take the area by force. Kashmir's ruler responded by seeking India's protection.

The UNO struggled to arrange for a ceasefire in the area.

NOTE: East Pakistan obtained independence and became to be called **Bangladesh**.

NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE OF KENYA

Kenya is a country on the east coast of Africa. It extends from the Indian Ocean deep into the interior of Africa. The equator runs through the center of Kenya.

Kenya was colonized by Britain. The country was called the British East Africa until 1920 when it was renamed Kenya colony and protectorate.

Kenya was populated by three main groups of people:-

- The **Africans**, the owner of the land
- The **Asians** who came to do business in the area
- The **Europeans** mostly the British who settled in Kenya from Europe as settlers.

With these three groups of people, the road to independence in Kenya was a rough one as white settlers from the Central Highlands dominated the colonial government in Nairobi.

FACTORS THAT LED TO THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN KENYA

Armed resistance to the British rule proved ineffective because of the superiority of the weapons of the colonizers and lack of unity among the various African groups. However, although Africans abandoned armed resistance, they did not give up their opposition to colonial rule. The political, social and economic structures imposed by the colonial administration were such which made African protest inevitable. Therefore, the Kenyans decided to rise against the British so as to demand independence because of the harsh British policies on Africans such as:-

- Land
- Religion
- Racial segregation practiced by the whites
- Economic development of the area especially in terms of cash crops
- Taxes imposed on the Africans
- Labour recruitment

1. LAND PROBLEMS

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There was much misunderstanding over the basic issues of **land tenure** and land use between the Europeans and Africans. To the Africans land was traditionally owned by the tribe or clan and could not be taken away without their agreement. To the Europeans land was a matter of **individual ownership with the right to sell it**.

African land use whether nomadic pastoralist or shifting agriculture, meant that there would be periods when parts of their land were left unoccupied or uncultivated, to the Europeans this appeared to be **vacant and empty land**.

These differences were made worse by government **regulations concerning land**. The good fertile highland suitable for cash crops was given to the whites. It was argued that the settlers would need control of this land if they were to bring in any development. The Africans were given **the infertile rocky places called "reserves"**. The Africans in Kenya were adversely affected with such land policies in the following ways:-

Any African who lived on Kenyan land that was wanted by white settlers was immediately forced to vacate it. With this, Africans felt that they had been deprived of their birth-right of owning the land.

The reserves were very small to match with the growing population, often infertile and not created with the welfare of the Africans in kind. Examples of such reserves were **Nandi, Kakamega and Kiambu**.

The Africans were **tenants at will and lived in fear of losing** even the little land they had probably discovered to be productive. This actually happened in 1932 when gold was discovered at Kakamega. All Africans were told to leave the place.

Thus Africans demanded independence in order to be free from such problems. Kikuyu or Gikuyu tribe was the one that was heavily affected by land policies.

2. RELIGION

Religion became an important source of conflict. Before colonization, Africans had their own religious systems **which were attached traditional beliefs**. The coming of Christian missionaries changed these systems by the **imposition of an allegedly superior doctrine**. The missionaries not only sought to change the traditional beliefs but they also directly and indirectly **scorned them as being heathen (bad morals)**. This was especially true with the traditional practices among the Kikuyu which were considered **to be bad morals** in the European religion. Africans were not wholly convinced of the new religion and many sought a return to their original ritual past without necessarily discarding the positive aspects of the new faith.

3. RACIAL SEGREGATION

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Racism means discrimination or special treatment according to race, in a negative sense. Colonialists employed **racial segregation in their administration of educational, housing, employment policies and in many aspects of economy**. They discriminated against the Africans. Africans were not happy because they were the **sufferers on their own land**. For example, the African Education lagged behind the European and **Asian schools** in numbers and facilities.

4. LABOUR POLICIES AND TAXATION

The extent of the European farms success depended greatly on **cheap and easily available African labour**. The general transition to a cash economy by the Europeans and Asians induced African to seek additional ways of earning money. This made Africans to migrate and become a **"squatter"** on European farms. Furthermore, the Europeans deliberately introduced tax such as poll tax and hut tax. In order for Africans to get money for tax, they had to work in European farms. In order to still force the Africans to work in European farms labour laws were passed which caused much hardship and suffering. Such labour laws include:-

- The 1915 **Native Registration Ordinance**: this enforced the registration of African adult males to facilitate labour recruitment.
- The 1919 **Northey Circulars**: this instructed chiefs and officials to urgently increase the labour force by all possible lawful means. This put a strong pressure on chiefs and other officials to produce their quota of recruits.
- The 1920 **Kipande Enforcement**: this was a regulation that all male Africans over sixteen years were forced to carry a Kipande, **which was an identity card. Failure to produce it was punishable offence. The idea behind it was to make it more difficult for labourers to desert their employer.** One advantage for this was that the labourer could not be employed by two different agents. However, to most Africans the Kipande became **a badge of servitude, and a major cause of discontent.**

Thus, land and labour issues were amongst the major grievances that led to the growth of African nationalism in Kenya.

5. IN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

In Kenya there was settler farming and African farming. According to Sir Charles Eliot, the British Commissioner from 1900 to 1904, large farming organized by settlers was necessary if the protectorate was to meet its costs of administration and maintaining the railway. In this view Africans **were not allowed to grow cash crops such as wheat, tea, coffee, sisal, cotton and pyrethrum.** However, the truth

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was that if Africans were allowed to cultivate such cash crops the following would have happened:-

- There would have been no **African labourers on European farms**
- The Africans would have completely **competed with the Europeans in production.**

Much of the marketing of these crops was in the hands of the settlers. Because of this, the greater part of communication in form of railway lines and roads was constructed in European's areas and settlement. Thus Africans wanted to take part in the growing of such cash crops, taking over the marketing of such crops hence rising against the settlers.

6. POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION

The British were committed to the **policy of indirect** that is governing native peoples indirectly using their **own leaders such as chiefs**. The British choose many people or chiefs who had been effective caravan leaders or labour recruiters or had a good knowledge of Kiswahili. Such chiefs and their village **headmen often acted ruthlessly in carrying out their administrative duties**. When their orders were resisted, they often resorted to **violence and looting**. For example, in 1920s the burning of huts and the confiscation of granaries of millet, maize were still recognized methods of tax collection.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN KENYA

The Africans were therefore faced with more problems in all aspects of their life-problems of a political, social and economic nature. It was against this background that political associations were formed to try to redress the grievances.

THE KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

- This was the first African political organization to be formed in 1920.
- It was formed and led by **chief Kionange**
- The organizations aim was to protect the Gikuyu land from further being alienated by the White settlers.
- It was generally, however, a chiefs movement and did not have much impact on the colonial administration.

THE YOUNG KIKUYU ASSOCIATION

- This was formed in 1921 by a group of young men. It was formed and led by **Harry Thuku**.
- The association demanded the removal of the "**Kipande**" system, a cut in the poll tax, better labor conditions and the return of the Kikuyu land.
- This was a more radical group in its approach which later on in 1922 contributed to the arresting of Thuku by the settlers.

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- Other important associations were Young Kavirondo, and the Kikuyu Central Association whose secretary general in 1928 was Jomo Kenyatta.

HOW DID THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR CONTRIBUTED TO POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

- It increased African sensitivity and aspirations
- The end of the war marked the return of African ex-servicemen, who now had a higher economic and political expectation.
- It brought political change to Britain in general and to the colonial office in particular. There was awareness that political change for the colonies was inevitable, particularly following the achievement of independence by India in 1947.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA KENYA AFRICAN UNION (KAU)

- Was formed in 1944 with a primary aim of **advising Eliud Mathu**, who had been elected by the colonial representative in the legislative Council
- African political leaders believed that a broad-based inter-ethnic organization should be set up in order to advise Mathu on matters affecting Africans in Kenya.
- In 1945 Harry Thuku resigned as chairman and was replaced by **James Gichuru**
- When Jomo Kenyatta returned to Kenya from Britain Gichuru stepped down and Kenyatta became the leader of KAU

THE MAU MAU REBELLION

- Mau Mau was a **group of young men and ex-soldiers best known as freedom fighters who were prepared to use violence in Kenya against the settlers and anyone who collaborated with them to achieve their ends.**
- The fighters had one objective of driving the settlers out of Kenya.
- The group developed in the 1940s and when it was outlawed by the government, its leaders moved into the forests such as Mount Kenya and Aberdare.
- At mid night meetings in the forests, members took oaths to kill Europeans and all Africans who collaborated with them. For example, Waruhiu who sided with the British was killed.
- From the forests the Mau Mau could attack European farms, main farm animals and setting on fire the settlers' buildings
- The group was led by **Dedan Kimathi and Waruhiu Itote** who were Ex-soldiers.

CAUSES OF MAU MAU REBELLION

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- Many Africans were not happy with the **policies of the British on land, labour, tax and all the injuries on them**
- They wanted to drive the settlers away so that they should **control the economies of Kenya from the crops, minerals and industries**. They were not happy to see that Europeans started taking Kenya as their homeland as one of the Europeans said “ **we are here to stay and other races must accept that fact with all that it implies**”
- The slow progress of the constitutional changes by the white settlers. When Kenya African Union asked for a greater African representation in the Legislative Council and direct elections the settlers were reluctant to accept.
- The Kenyans wanted **to freely practice their traditional beliefs** of which they thought could be followed better if the whites would leave the area.

RESULTS OF THE MAU MAU REBELLION

- The Mau Mau fighters lost their leaders Waruhiu Itote, commonly known as General China and **Kimathi** were captured and executed.
- The conflict resulted in a lot of **destruction of property** and life. The approximate numbers of life lost included 58 Europeans and Asians, 2000 Kikuyu civilians 1000 government troops, 10,000 Mau Mau fighters
- It had been a **costly war to the British**
 - ✓ About £50 million was spent
 - ✓ More British forces could be flown to Kenya
- The governor Sir Evelyn Baring **declared a state of emergency in Kenya** which resulted into the following things:-
 - ✓ The Kenya **African Union was banned**
- Kenyatta, and other KAU leaders were supporting the wave of violence. After arresting such leaders, the colonial government believed that “Mau Mau” fighters would not continue fighting. However, this made the fighters continue fighting from the forests.
- The conflict created a civil war in Kikuyu land. The government actively supported the loyalists who supported it and encouraged them to form a Home guard movement to protect their lives and property from Mau Mau.

INFLUENCE OF THE REBELLION

- The British received criticisms from those nations such as American who had always opposed colonialism.
- The white community, which had for a long time been strongly united on major issues, now became divided between those who hated colonialism who were called the moderates and those who supported colonialism called

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the extremists. At this time, the moderates had an upper hand than the extremists.

- Made the British government to abandon some of the oppressive laws on land, labour and tax which clearly provoked the crisis.
- The most important effect was the political change on the Africans, constitutional talks started, more Africans were represented in the legislative Council, more political parties were allowed which later on made Kenya to attain self rule. The Mau Mau movement therefore accelerated the pace of change in Kenya as professor Ogot puts it “ **the shock of Mau Mau had created the right atmosphere in that the imperial power was now willing to talk with African leaders**”

POLITICAL PARTIES FORMED AFTER THE MAU MAU REBELLION

KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (KANU)

- Formed while Kenyatta was still in detention in 1960
- It was formed by **James Gichuru** who became the president, **Oginga Odinga** was vice president and **Tom Mboya** as secretary general.
- The party aimed to work to establish a predominantly African government.
- The party was dominated by the **Kikuyu- Luo** ethnic group

KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (KADU)

- Formed by members who were not happy because KANU was only for the Kikuyu and Luo ethnic groups.
- The party wanted to work for a multi-racial or quasi- federal set up which would prevent Kikuyu-Luo domination after independence.
- The party was led by **Ronald Ngala** as president with **Daniel Arap Moi** as the Chairman.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE

THE LYTTTELTON PLAN 1954

- Carried out by Oliver Lyttelton, the colonial secretary
- He proposed a **constitutional design to produce a multi-racial council of ministers**.
- The significance of the proposal was that for the first time Asians and an African were assigned executive responsibilities.
- Africans, however, **rejected the proposal, demanding at least equality with Asians**, but eventually one of their representatives, B.A. Ohanga agreed to take a ministry.
- The proposal caused an outcry from the Europeans who objected to Asians and Africans taking part in the government of the country.

THE LENNOX – BOYD PLAN

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- Since the Lyttelton did not materialize, the new colonial secretary Lennox Boyd proposed another, for constitutional changes.
- In the Lennox plan, **there were to be an additional six African elected members**
- The eight African members opposed to this and demanded a total of 23 seats in the Legislative Council.
- In spite of the opposition, the Lennox Boyd proposals were accepted.

THE FIRST LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE

- In this African elected members were led by Ronald Ngala
- Africans demanded voting, Sir Micheal Blundell wanted multi-racialism while Briggs demanded regionalism.

THE SECOND LANCASTER TALKS

- The aim of this conference was to draw up a constitution for Kenya's independence.
- KANU delegates were led by Kenyatta while KADU by Ronald Ngala
- KANU argued for a strong Central form of government while KADU wanted a regional form of government called "majimbo"
- In the end there was a compromise between the two parties. The two sides agreed that:-
 - ✓ There would be a strong Central government led by Prime Minister
 - ✓ There would be a national Assembly consisting of two houses: the Lower House (House of Representatives) and the Upper House (Senate)
- There would be regional Assemblies.

THE MAY 1961 ELECTIONS

- In this KANU won more seats (19) and KADU (11). However, KANU refused to form a government and demanded the releases of Kenyatta from detention.
- Kenyatta was released in August 1961 and became the **president of KANU**
- Squabbles within KANU however, led to the formation of the African People's Party (APP)

MAY 1963 ELECTIONS

- KANU won most of the seats and Kenya achieved self government with Jomo Kenyatta as Prime Minister
- Ronald Ngala and his party formed the opposition
- On 12th December, 1963 Kenya became independent with **Jomo Kenyatta** as the Prime Minister
- In 1964 Kenya became a Republic with Kenyatta as president and **Oginga Odinga** as the Vice President

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- After independence Kenya became a one party state with all political parties dissolved and voluntarily joined KANU
- The parliament which was made up of two chambers became one house of Representatives
- The greatest ambition of Jomo Kenyatta was to weld the people of Kenya into a United, Harmonious Nation and his hatred of inter-ethnic bitterness was well known. He coined the slogan "**HARAMBEE**" meaning "**let us all pull together**"

SOME POST –INDEPENDENCE PROBLEMS FACED BY KENYATTA AND THE GOVERNMENT WITH POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

- Disagreements among the leaders of the KADU over the national policies. One part wanted to follow communist type thereby nationalizing Kenya's economy. This was led by Odinga Oginga the Vice President. Some leaders were conservatives these led by Kenyatta himself who did not want to.

SOLUTIONS

Kenyatta granted citizenship to some Asians so as to cement the relationship

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN AFRICA

NIGERIA

Nigeria is a country in West Africa and the largest of Britain's African colonies. Nigeria's struggle for independence took longer because of the following reasons:-

The country possessed very **few nationalist leaders as compared to other West African states.**

Its tribal-ethnic differences resulted into the division into many regions.

THE DIVISION OF NIGERIA

Nigeria was divided into three and later four main regions as follows:-

The **North** with the **Hausa and Fulani** as the major ethnic groups

The **West** with the **Yoruba** as the main ethnic group

The **East** with the **Igbo** as the main ethnic group

In 1963, **the mid-west Region** was carved out of the western region

The political parties that developed in Nigeria were based on ethnic support examples of such political parties plus their leaders include:-

The **National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon** (NCNC) which later became to be known as the **National Council of Nigerian Citizens** (NCNC). This was formed in 1944 by **Dr. Nnandi Azikiwe** commonly called "**ZIK**".

Dr. Azikiwe was an Igbo and the party gained a lot of support from the Igbos of the Eastern Region.

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The **Action Group** (AG). This was formed by **Chief Awolowo**. The party gained support from the Western Region and was dominated by the Yoruba.

The **Northern People's Congress** (NPC) formed in 1949 by Sir **Abubakar Tafawa Balewa**, an educated Muslim, who was prepared to work with the British, for gradual reforms. Later on **Ahmadu Bello** became the leader of NPC. The NPC was representing the Northern Region and was dominated by the **Hausa –Fulani**.

NIGERIA BECOMES A FEDERAL STATE

In 1957, the Eastern and Western regions gained self government under Azikiwe and Awolowo, respectively while the North gained the same powers in 1959 under Ahmadu Bello.

The only hope of keeping the country together was a constitution that gave strong powers to the region so that no group had to fear domination by another.

REASONS FOR THE FEDERATION

The major trouble was the growth of regional and ethnic rivalries and antagonisms.

The Northern region had received far less education than the two southern regions, East and West. This made the Northern part to be suspicious of the South because it knew that most of the leaders would come from the most educated south.

The population of the Northern Region was bigger than that of the two southern regions even if put together. This made the southern states also be suspicious because when voting will take place, the few leaders in the North will get hold of good positions through “**one man one vote**”

The East and West were also rivals, each believing itself to be the most advanced in the country and suspecting the other of maneuvering to take an unfairly large share of the “**national cake**”

Politics within each region was actually a very tense affair. This was because the majority ethnic group dominated the political parties. Among the small or minority ethnic groups, there was usually a lot of bitterness caused by the complaints that the powers of the regional government were being used to give an unfairly large share of new developments- schools, hospitals, roads, state appointments to majority ethnic group. Ultimately, the minority began to demand a separate region of their own.

With such problems, in 1957 Nigeria became a Federal state. **Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa** the leader of the NPC became the first **federal prime minister**. He therefore left the leadership of the NPC to **Ahmadu Bello**. Balewa brought

the Action group which was led by chief Awolowo into the government of National Unity.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF NIGERIA

Nigeria became independent on 1st October, 1960 with Abubakar the prime minister while **Dr Nnandi Azikiwe** became the first **Governor General**.

In **1963**, Nigeria became a republic within the British Commonwealth with **Dr Nnandi Azikiwe** as president.

Thus after independence, Nigeria was governed by a coalition of the **NPC** and the **NCNC** which controlled the Northern and Eastern regions respectively. Such that the governance was as follows:-

Dr Nnandi Azikiwe the leader of the NCNC was the National president

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the deputy leader of NPC, was the prime minister

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the leader of the AG was the leader of opposition in the Federal House. His deputy **chief Akintola** succeeded him as the prime minister of the western AG.

The Federal government did all it could to break Chief Awolowo's power. It played on the divisions in the Action group between those led by Akintola, who wanted to join the Federal government and those led by Awolowo who wanted to continue in opposition in the hope of winning the next federal elections. When fights between the two factions broke out in the western house of assembly in May 1962, the Federal Government declared a state of emergency in the western region.

For six months the federal government administered the region. At the end Chief Akintola broke with the Action group and formed his own party called United People's Party (UPP). Chief Awolowo was arrested on charges of treason.

With the action group reduced to a shadow of its own, the NCNC and NPC quarreled over the issue of census which showed that the Northern region had more people. This made the NCNC saw the North forever dominating the south. The NCNC rejected the census.

By the time of December 1964 when elections to the Federal House of Representatives were held, Nigeria was in a disturbed state. Workers had been on strike for higher wages, political violence was becoming the order of the day. The NCNC and AG joined to fight the elections but accused the NPC and its allies especially Akintola of rigging the elections. This was followed by lawlessness. The federal government did not intervene. A group of young major's disgusted with the inefficiency of the civilian government staged a coup in which the Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa, Chief Akintola and Ahmadu Bello were killed.

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MILITARY COUPS IN NIGERIA

This is **the taking over of the government by force by the army officers as a result of dissatisfaction of the civilian rule**. The first coup d'état took place in **1966**. The government was eventually taken over by the head of Nigerian Army **Major General Al Aguyi Ironsi**. Dr **Nnandi Azikiwe** who had been in London receiving medical treatment, returned home to find that his post as president had been abolished. The first coup was planned by young officers. Although these young officers failed to seize power completely, they caused enough disruption to make the continuation of the civilian government impossible.

After the first coup, Nigeria experienced coup after coup and later on a civil war.

CAUSES OF MILITARY COUPS IN NIGERIA

- **Popular dissatisfaction and failure of the civilian leadership.**
The civilian leaders that took over were **corrupt, concentrated on enriching** themselves which made people to be disappointed. This often led to so much **unrest such as strikes** that attracted the attention of the army.
- **Poor handling of the political situation.** For example, for example when there was lawlessness just before the first coup of 1966, the **Federal government did nothing** to contain the situation.
- The wide **spread belief that the elections of 1964-1965 had been rigged** contributed to the coup as it was followed by political unrest all over Nigeria especially the western side. The army took an action to control the situation. This brought General Ironsi to power.
- **Rivalries amongst ethnic groups resurfaced** after independence. Such rivalries reached men in the army and brought tribalism. When a certain ethnic group was heavily represented in the army but the government was in the hands of another and hostile group, it resulted into atrocities and assassinations. For example, General Ironsi who took over the government from the Civilians after the first coup d'état was Igbo. With this he was in turn murdered by the northern soldiers putting in place a northerner General Gowon.
- Sometimes coups followed coups because of the **malpractice done by the army generals** who took over the leadership. Such army generals were **very corrupt and did not want** to return the government to the civilian regime. An example of such an army was **General Gowon**.

RESULTS OF MILITARY COUPS IN NIGERIA

- Many **civilian leaders who later on could have led Nigeria were killed**. Such leaders include: Tafawa Balewa, Ahmadu Bello, and Chief Akintola

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- Such military coups **intensified the tribal differences because they extended to the army** as well. When the new leader General Ironsi took over the leadership, the Hausas began to fear the Igbos many of whom lived in the north where their skill and education had brought them the best jobs. This resulted into the Hausa army officers led by General Gowon to over throw Ironsi who was an Igbo, killed him and took over the government. General Gowon took over as the leader from Ironsi. Both before and after this coup, there were attacks on the Igbo's and massacres in the cities of North causing many igbos to escape to their eastern region.
- **Stagnation of the Nigerian economy** which depended up on the Oil reserves.
- Many army **officers and the army itself was purged out**, in an attempt to put wrong things right.
- The coups resulted into the **Nigerian civil war of 1966-1970**

THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

This was the civil war fought between **the igbos of the Eastern region** who formed their separate state called **BIAFRA** and the Federal military government led by **General Gowon**.

CAUSES OF THIS CIVIL WAR

Riots which flared up against igbos which were followed by the assassination of General Ironsi **fear of further deaths among the igbos cause the leader of the Eastern region called General Ojukwu to call the igbos to return to the Eastern region. Odumegwu Ojukwu then declared that** the Eastern igbo region had **seceded** (broken away) form the Federal Nigeria and had become a separate state called **BIAFRA**. Ojukwu did not even recognize General Gowon as the leader of Nigeria.

Ojukwu had therefore decided to secede from the federation playing on the fears of his people as **a result of the massacres in the North and believing** that the federation would not be united enough to fight him. **Moreover the rich oil reserves were in his region**. At first the federal government took no action against the secessionists and considered it as a mere police operation.

A long and bloody civil war followed when the secessionists took over Benin. This made the federal government to embark on a huge recruitment from 10,000 to nearly 250,000, on the eve of the civil war Gowon declared that the federal would now be split into twelve states.

The war lasted for so long because:

The Biafra army had **a trained leadership comprising officers** and technicians who had deserted the federal army.

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The early massacres in the north persuaded many secessionists that the federal army was bent on wiping out the igbo people.

Biafra received a great deal of overseas financial support from sympathizers in **France, Britain, Germany, United States, Portugal** and **South Africa**. These sympathizers believed that it was a war between northern Muslims and Biafra Christians despite the fact that the federal government was led by a devout Christian.

Four African states: **Ivory Coast, Gabon, Tanzania** and **Zambia** actually recognized Biafra as a sovereign state. Some African could not accept Biafra as a separate state because they knew that their own countries contained discontented tribes who might demand independence if Biafra was successful. As Togo's president said ***"recognition of Biafra would mean disorder for all Africa"***

When it was clear that Biafra was on the verge of collapse, Ojukwu did not accept since accepting would mean the completely wiping out of the Biafra by the Federal forces.

Gowon wanted to unify Nigeria and therefore insisted that Biafra must be defeated. Gowon's forces imposed an economic and military blockade of Biafra to suffer enormously from famine and diseases which made many to die. Ojukwu then escaped to Ivory Coast. He left his army commander Lieutenant Colonel Philip Effiong to announce the end of secession on January 12, 1970.

Biafra was partitioned into the twelve states.

THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR

Having won the war which lasted for two and a half years, Gowon followed a policy of the three Rs, **Reconciliation, Rehabilitation** and **Reconstruction**.

The Federal government did not take revenge on the defeated secessionists. No secessionist leader was executed, only a few Biafra army officers who had deserted the Federal Army were imprisoned and later released.