Realpolitik and Mass Politics
Ca. 1848-1914
## Politics in the “Long” 19th Century

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Realpolitik after 1848

- Failure of the Revolutions of 1848 for liberals and romantics demonstrated that strong idealism was not enough to accomplish revolutionary goals
  - Age of Realism replaced Romanticism
  - Realpolitik – practicality drives political decisions, NOT ideology!!

- A new era emerges, in which nationalist goals are achieved in Machiavellian fashion
The Crimean War (1853-56)

- Surface Cause: Dispute between Russians and French over privileges in Palestine
- Underlying Cause: Eastern Question
- Result: Peace of Paris
  - Concert of Europe is NO MORE!!!
  - Russia was humiliated, so it began a period of modernization under Alexander II
  - Contributed to growth in Pan-Slavism in the Balkans
    - Leads to Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78
Second French Republic (1848-1852)

- President Louis-Napoleon, elected by universal suffrage, dedicated to conservative repression of radicalism

- Concessions to conservatives:
  - Returned control of education to Church
  - Minimized influence of Legislative Assembly
  - Reduced suffrage
  - Supported pro-military policies
  - Destroyed socialist movement by shutting down labor unions and exiling their leaders
Second French Empire (1852-1870)

- 1852: Through a coup, Napoleon III establishes the 2nd French Empire.
  - Cause: Legislative Assembly would not pay his personal debt or allow him to run for a 2nd term
  - Restored universal suffrage through plebiscite!
- His domestic policies included:
  - Vast public works projects through urban planning of Georges von Haussman (canals, roads, RR)
  - Removed legal barriers to trade unions
  - Encouraged industrialization and promoted economic prosperity, gaining the support of the middle class.
- Significance:
  - Demonstrated that authoritarian nationalism could reconcile popular and conservative forces within a nation.
Napoleon III followed these policies:

- Stopped Russian aggression in the Crimean War.
- Annexed Algiers
- Helped Piedmont gain independence from Austria, but stationed troops in Rome to protect the Pope
- Invaded Mexico in 1862 and set up the Austrian archduke Maximilian as King. After the US Civil War ended, the US forced French withdrawal.
Problems in the French Empire

- Nationalists protested after the humiliation of France in the Maximilian affair.
- Catholics were mad because Napoleon had helped Piedmont.
- Republicans were made that they didn’t have a democratic form of government.
- Workers were striking due to poor wages & working conditions.
French Revolution of 1870

- 1870: Napoleon plunged France into war with Prussia in hopes of restoring the glory of France (remember the Ems Dispatch)
- After the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war, revolts broke out & Napoleon III abdicated.
- A provisional gov’t was formed, but it was unsuccessful because it chose to stay in the war.
Italian Unification

After 1815, Italy was disunited and consisted of the following parts:

- Kingdom of the 2 Sicilies (Naples) controlled by Austria in Southern Italy
- Papal States and Austrian-controlled Parma, Tuscany, and Modena in North-central Italy
- Austrian-controlled provinces of Lombardy + Venetia and the free Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont in North Italy.
Italian Unification

- Nationalist movements to unite Italy in 1848 were a failure but nationalists did not give up.
- Several methods to unite Italy existed:
  - Mazzini: Romantic Republicanism “Young Italy”
  - Gioberti’s Presidential Pope
  - Cavour: Moderate Liberalism: wanted a constitutional monarchy under the king of Sardinia-Piedmont.
The Process of Unification

Cavour was the mastermind of the successful unification of Italy.

He did the following things:
- Strengthened the army and economy of Sardinia-Piedmont (he was its Prime Minister)
- Reduced influence of Catholic Church on education
- Created an alliance with Napoleon III at the Plombieres conference.
- Provoked war with Austria and forced Austria to ceded Lombardy to Sardinia-Piedmont.
More Steps in the Unification Process

The Duchies of Parma, Tuscany, and Modena successfully revolted against Austria and united with Sardinia-Piedmont.

Garibaldi did the following:

- Invaded Naples in 1861, after securing Sicily.
- He won many battles in S. Italy and then turned the region over to King Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia-Piedmont.

Cavour invaded the Papal States, taking over everything except Rome.
Italian Unification

1861: Victor Emmanuel II becomes King of Italy.
1866: Venice annexed by Italy after Austro-Prussian War
1871: Rome annexed by Italy due to defeat of France in Franco-Prussian War
Government consisted of a limited monarchy with a bicameral legislature consisting of a senate (appointed for life by the king) and a chamber of deputies (elected by the middle & upper classes).
Problems in Italy

- Italy was poor with a large illiterate population.
- Most people were ignorant of democratic ideas & did not participate in government.
- The Pope condemned the new gov’t and decreed that Catholics should not participate in it.
- The north was more developed than the south and the 2 regions had little in common, economically and socially.
Solving Italy’s Problems

- Industry and trade were fostered by the government.
- Improved agricultural methods were developed.
- The Italian gov’t encouraged emigration to the US to ease over-population due to such a high birthrate.
- Italians paid high taxes to support a growing army & navy.
German Unification

- Unification was supported by the growing middle class & city-workers. (Their influence was growing due to industrialization).
- Competition between Austria & Prussia further complicated the unification process.
  - Creation of Zollverein in 1834
  - Humiliation of Olmutz leads to acceptance of "Kleindeutsch Plan"
- A turning point in Germany occurred when King William I became the king of Prussia in 1861.
German Unification

William began to strengthen the Prussian army, but liberals in Parliament opposed the spending of so much money.

William appointed Otto von Bismarck as chancellor in 1862.

- Bismarck was a typical conservative junker who opposed liberalism
- He raised money for the army by disregarding the constitution and invoking medieval laws.
  - His justification: “Gap Theory”
Bismarck

Known as the “iron chancellor,” Bismarck accomplished the following:

- Created a powerful & efficient army
- 1864: Danish war: ended Danish control of Schleswig & Holstein
- 1866: Austro-Prussian war (7 weeks war): established Prussian control of the German states
- 1867: North German Confederation established along the lines of federalism
  - King William I is president
  - Reichstag was a bicameral legislature
    - Lower house was elected by universal male suffrage
The Franco-Prussian War

- Realizing that only a war with France would allow the annexation of the S. German states, Bismarck engineered a war with Napoleon III in 1870 through the editing of the Ems Dispatch. ("Realpolitik")
- German armies overwhelmed French armies in several months, and in the Treaty of Frankfurt, France ceded Alsace & Lorraine to Germany and paid reparations to Germany.
Unification

Following the Franco-Prussian War, the 4 Southern Catholic German provinces joined the Prussian dominated Germany.

In 1871, the German Empire was declared with King William I as its Kaiser (emperor).

This made Germany the most powerful nation on the continent, and its military power began to rival that of England.
Although Emperor Francis-Joseph tried to solve the problems of the empire, they were too great for any one ruler to solve.

Problems faced by the empire included:

- The great number of national minorities which were living in the empire
- Over-extension of the empire into areas, such as Italy
- Failure to compete with the growing power of Prussia.
Dual Monarchy

- Revolts occurred in the Hungarian part of the empire between 1861 & 1867.
- 1867: Ausgleich:
  - Created a Dual Monarchy (Austro-Hungarian empire)
  - Made the Hungarians (Magyars) dominant over other nationalities in their region
  - Hungarians recognized the emperor and accepted common policies for finances & foreign policy.
  - Hungary could make its own local laws.
- Austria faced many revolts between 1860 & 1914
Austrian Issues in the Age of Mass Politics

- Debate over official gov’t language
  - Austria promoted German
  - Hungary promoted Magyar
- Nationalism will continue to weaken and eventually destroy the country after WWI
- Universal male suffrage granted in 1907
- Growth of Anti-Semitism
  - Jews gained full legal equality in 1867
  - Blamed for economic crises of the 1870s
Age of Mass Politics

- Increased suffrage and literacy during the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century resulted in higher expectations and demands among the people for governments to be responsive to their needs.

- Major aspects:
  - Growth of nationalism and militarism $\rightarrow$ Increasing loyalty to governments
  - Universal male suffrage became the rule!!!
  - Governments were oftentimes led by conservatives who exploited national unity to divert attention away from domestic issues.
Accomplishments of Bismarck

- Consolidation of the German Empire:
  - Created a uniform currency, and legal code.

- Tried to suppress the Catholics in the South
  - Catholics organized the Center Party to oppose certain policies of the central gov’t, & Bismarck resented them because of their ties to the Catholic Church.
  - Bismarck passed a series of laws to restrict the church (restricting education & clergy) and the KULTURKAMPF resulted.
  - Eventually, Bismarck backed down to gain support of Catholic Center party against greater threat, the SPD.
Other Actions of Bismarck

※Tried to suppress the Social Democratic Party:
＞Socialists appealed to urban workers who resented low pay and bad working conditions.
＞Bismarck tried to suppress them forcibly in 1878 with anti-socialist laws, but this failed.
＞By the 1880’s, Bismarck began to undermine them by supporting social legislation to gain the support of the workers.
　※First European welfare state!
＞These programs included unemployment insurance & workers’ comp., and social security payments for retired Germans.
　※Unfortunately for Bismarck, workers did not leave the SPD; however, he again bypassed the middle class!
German Policies

1888: William II (defender of divine right) became king and Bismarck remained the chancellor, until he was dismissed by William.

William II did the following:
- Reestablished the legality of the SPD
  - Became the largest party in the Reichstag by 1912
- Built up a strong army & navy
- Encouraged industry & commerce
- Encouraged imperialism and annexation
The Third French Republic (1871-1940)

- Truly established after the defeat of the radical communist Paris Commune in 1871.
- Delegates in the new National Assembly ranged from various monarchists to radical republicans.
- Because of the dissension between different factions of monarchists, the Republicans passed a series of laws which collectively became the Constitution of the Third French Republic.
  - Established a weak executive and a universally elected legislative assembly characterized by multi-party coalition governments.
The Third French Republic in a Nutshell

- Leon Gambetta: Establishes the supremacy of Legislative Assembly
- Dreyfus Affair: a Jewish Republican army captain was framed by monarchist army officers for treason, but he will be found innocent.
  - Zola wrote “J’accuse” in his defense
  - Discredited monarchists and the church
    - Led to complete secularization of education system
  - Strengthened bond between liberals and socialists
    - Jean Juares and socialists become more popular in legislative assembly before WWI
Britain’s Use of Mass Politics

Tory party → Conservative Party

PM Benjamin Disraeli
- Argued for an aggressive foreign policy, pursuit of imperialism, and moderate reforms
- Reform Bill of 1867 – gave suffrage to urban working class
- Reduced gov’t regulation of trade unions

Whig party → Liberal Party

PM William Gladstone
- Supported Irish Home Rule, extension of suffrage, and opposed imperialism
- Reform Act of 1884 – Granted suffrage to rural workers, essentially universal male suffrage
Minority Issues in Britain

- **Women’s Rights**
  - 1890s – women demanded suffrage
    - Most advocates came from middle class
    - Militant suffragettes led by Emmeline Pankhurst
  - 1918 – All females over 30 can vote
  - 1928 – All women over 21 can vote

- **Irish Question**
  - Catholic South wanted Home Rule
  - Protestant North (Ulster) does not want HR
  - 1914 – Irish Home Rule Act is postponed due to WWI
  - Easter Rebellion in 1916 leads to Irish War for Independence
    - 1922 – Irish Home Rule granted, but Northern Ireland remains a part of Britain
Revisionist Socialism

Causes:

- Extension of suffrage
- Increase in standard of living
- Greater effectiveness of labor unions
- Nationalism reduced class tensions

Eduard Bernstein – *Evolutionary Socialism* (1899)

- Argued that Marx’s prediction of the dialectical process can be proven false
Russia in the 19th Century

- Russian society remained semi-feudal and backward, with much popular discontent.
- Russia remained isolated from Western culture and did not modernize.
- Oppression & censorship increased and the government was inefficient.
- Czars were anti-liberal
- Russia was weak internationally & began to lose foreign wars (Crimean, Russo-Japanese)
Nicholas I (1825-55)

Dictatorial ruler who stood for strong nationalism, autocracy, and religious orthodoxy.

He did the following:

- Expanded the royal bureaucracy
- Published a new legal code
- Fostered industry and Railroads
- Enforced strict censorship with secret police
- Had strong control over the military
- Lost the Crimean War
- Put down a Polish revolt
Alexander II (1855-81)

- TP in Russian History: Loss in Crimean War leads to era of modernization
  - Emancipation Act of 1861 – Abolished serfdom
    - However, Mirs reduced effectiveness of this reform!
  - Zemstvo Laws: created local assemblies to solve local problems in 1864
    - Popular participation was upended by domination of lords
  - Industrialization stimulated by railroad construction
    - Trans-Siberian Railway
  - As reform led to radical demands, many groups began to plot and carry out terrorist acts.
- 1881: Alexander was assassinated.
  - Led to reactionary conservatism of Alexander III
“Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Russification”

- Encouraged Anti-Semitism through use of pogroms
  - In response, Theodore Herzl develops Zionism

- Economic Nationalism of Sergei Witte
  - Advanced technology through western investment in Russia
  - Negative effects of IR in late 19th and early 20th centuries led to the strength of Marxist thought within Russia’s Social Democratic Party
Nicholas II (1894-1917)

- Industrial progress occurred during his reign, but urban & rural conditions remained miserable and the population was on the verge of revolution.
- 1905: Russia lost the Russo-Japanese war
  - Russia will refocus imperialism on Balkans
- 1905: Revolution occurred which included the Bloody Sunday massacre.
  - The czar was forced to accept the October Manifesto which created the Duma.
October Manifesto granted freedom of speech, assembly and press; however, Nicholas retained veto power.

Nicholas failed to uphold his promises made in the Oct. Manifesto and instead promoted more conservative policies under his chief agricultural advisor, Stolypin.

Economic growth in the agricultural sector begins as Stolypin encourages the development of the kulaks.
## Conservatism

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| 1815-1830| *Peterloo Massacre, 1819*  
*Com Laws, 1816* | *Return of Bourbon monarchy*  
*“White Terror”* | Carlsbad Decrees (Prussia), 1819, related to Mettemich’s values | Ruled by Mettemich; reactionary | Largely dominated by Austria |
| 1830-1848| (moved toward liberalism) | (moved toward liberalism) | Failure of Revolution of 1848-49 (Frankfurt Parliament); nationalism was politically impotent | Defeat of Kossuth in Revolution of 1848; nationalism was politically impotent | Austrian defeat of Revolution of 1848-49; nationalism was politically impotent |
| 1848-1871| Under Napoleon III: *“Age of Realpolitik”*; triumph of nationalist goals by means of conservatism. Decisions based on practical needs of the state. Reject ideology | “Age of Realpolitik”: Bismarck | | Syllabus of Errors, 1864: Pope Pius IX |
| 1871-1914|                  |                 | Bismarck: Gap Theory  
*Kulturekampf* |                                        | |

*Includes Concert of Europe: 1815-1848*
## Liberalism

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| 1815-1830   | - Jeremy Bentham, utilitarianism ("greatest good for the greatest number")  
              - Catholic Emancipation Act, 1829                                      | - Jewish rights, 1791                        | Liberal university protests          | Liberal university protests (crushed by Carlsbad Decrees) |                               |
| 1830-1848   | - Reform Bill, 1832                                                     | - July Revolution, 1830; Louis Philippe     | Zollverein, 1834                    | Frankfurt Parliament, 1848 (failure)     | State Constitution (Sardinia/Piedmont) 1848 |
              - Factory Act, 1833                                                    | - State Constitution, 1830                  |                                     |                                            |                               |
              - Slavery abolished in empire, 1833                                    | - February Revolution, 1848                |                                     |                                            |                               |
              - Poor Law, 1834                                                       | - June Days Revolution, 1848               |                                     |                                            |                               |
              - Mines Act, 1842                                                      | - Louis Blanc; Louis Napoleon               |                                     |                                            |                               |
              - Repeal of Corn Laws, 1846                                            | - Universal male suffrage, 1848             |                                     |                                            |                               |
              - 10 Hour Law, 1847                                                    |                                            |                                     |                                            |                               |
              - Chartists                                                           |                                            |                                     |                                            |                               |
              - Whigs, Earl Grey                                                    |                                            |                                     |                                            |                               |
| 1871-1914   | - Reform Bill, 1867 (Disraeli)                                         | - Liberal Empire of Napoleon III, 1852-71  | - State constitution, 1871          | Universal male suffrage 1907: Austria and Hungary |                               |
              - Representation of People Act, 1884 (universal male suffrage) (Gladstone)  
              - (Women get suffrage in 1918 & 1928)                                   | - 3rd Republic: 1871-1940                 | - Universal male suffrage 1871       |                                           |                               |
              |                                                                        |                                            | - Jewish rights, 1871                |                                           |                               |
              |                                                                        |                                            |                                     |                                           |                               |
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# Nationalism

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<th>Italy</th>
<th>Others</th>
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| 1815-1830    | (Pre-1815) Herder, *Volkgeist* | Revolution of 1848 | • Prague Conference: *Austroslavism*  
• Revolution of 1848; Kossuth | • Carbonari  
• Revolution of 1830  
• Risorgimento  
• Young Italy  
• Mazzini | Greek independence, 1829 |
| 1830-1848    |         | Revolution of 1848 | • Prague Conference: *Austroslavism*  
• Revolution of 1848; Kossuth | Revolution of 1848-49; Mazzini, Roman Republic | Belgium independence, 1830 |
| 1848-1871    | Defeat in Franco-Prussian War | Unification, 1871: Bismarck | *Ausgleich*, 1867 | Unification, 1871: Cavour Garibaldi | Defeat in Franco-Prussian War |
| 1871-1914    | • Jingoism, Congress of Berlin, 1878  
• Disraeli pro-imperialism | Imperialism | Imperialism: Berlin Conference, 1886 (Bismarck moves away from belligerence in the Berlin Congress of 1878—Honest Broker of the Peace) | Language issue: German, Hungarian, Czech | Imperialism in Libya |

*Note: *Boldface indicates significant events or movements related to nationalism.
## Socialism

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<td>Utopian socialists: Saint-Simon, Fourier</td>
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<td>1830-1848</td>
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<td>• Louis Blanc: national workshops, 1848</td>
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<td>• Proudhon, “What is Property?” 1840</td>
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<td>1848-1871</td>
<td>1848, Engels and Marx, <em>Communist Manifesto</em></td>
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<td>Bismarck cuts a deal with the Lassallean Socialists.</td>
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<td>1871-1914</td>
<td>• Fabian Society, 1883; Socialism by democratic, non-violent means, favored by upper and middle-classes, intellectuals and authors.</td>
<td>Socialists gain seats in Chamber of deputies under Jean Jaures, 1905-14</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Labour party, Keir Hardie</td>
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<td>• First welfare state in Europe, 1880s</td>
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<td>• Welfare state: early 20th century (prior to WWI)</td>
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<td>• SPD largest party by WWI</td>
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